



Camden's Britannia

Volume I Introduction

First Published in English 1610

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Frontispiece



Portrait of William Camden

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Bibliographic Note

Camden's *Britannia* was first published in Latin in 1586. It proved very popular, and ran through five further editions, of 1587, 1590, 1594, 1600 and 1607, each greatly enlarged from its predecessor. The first English language edition, translated by Philemon Holland, appeared in 1610, again with some additional content supplied by Camden. There were many subsequent editions, often with further additions by various hands.

This Ex-Classics version is based on a 1695 edition published by Edmund Gibson, as transcribed by the University of Michigan at <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo2/B18452.0001.001?view=toc>; This version has numerous lacunae where (presumably) the original text was illegible. These have been provided by reference to Gibson's second edition published in 1722, at https://archive.org/details/gri_33125011116247 (vol 1.) and https://archive.org/details/gri_britanniaora02camd (vol 2) The maps and illustrations have also been taken from the 1722 edition.

Spelling and capitalization have been modernized. Placenames have been given in their modern versions. Some obvious misprints have been silently corrected, and punctuation in some cases changed to make the text more readable. The Latin tags not translated in the text are glossed in the endnotes, which are by the Ex-Classics Project. Greek words have been transliterated. Marginalia have been omitted.

Title page of 1695 Edition

CAMDEN'S BRITANNIA,
Newly Translated into English:
WITH LARGE ADDITIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

Publish'd by EDMUND GIBSON, of QUEENS-COLLEGE in OXFORD.

Cic. de Divinat. Lib. 1.

Quem non moveat clarissimis Monumentis testata consignataque Antiquitas?

LONDON

Printed by F. Collins, for A. Swalle, at the
Unicorn at the West-end of St. Paul's Churchyard ; and
A. & J. Churchil, at the Black Swan in Pater-Noster-Row.
1695.

Title Page of 1722 Edition

BRITANNIA:
OR A
Chorographical Description
OF
GREAT BRITAIN
AND
IRELAND
Together with the Adjacent Islands.

Written in Latin
By *WILLIAM CAMDEN*, Clarenceux King
at ARMS:

And Translated into English: with ADDITIONS
and IMPROVEMENTS.

THE SECOND EDITION

Revised, Digested, Published with large ADDITIONS

By *EDMUND GIBSON*, D.D. Rector of LAMBETH;
and now Bishop of Lincoln, and Dean of his Majesty's,
CHAPEL-ROYAL

VOL. I.

LONDON:
Printed by Mary Matthews, for AWNSHAM CHURCHILL,
and Sold by WILLIAM TAYLOR, in Pater-Noster-Row.

MDCCXXII.

Introduction by Edmund Gosse

There is no more remarkable example of the difference between the readers of our light and hurrying age and those who obeyed "Eliza and our James," than the fact that the book we have before us at this moment, a folio of some eleven hundred pages, adorned, like a fighting elephant, with all the weightiest panoply of learning, was one of the most popular works of its time. It went through six editions, this vast antiquarian itinerary, before the natural demand of the vulgar released it from its Latin austerity; and the title-page we have quoted is that of the earliest English edition, specially translated, under the author's eye, by Dr. Philemon Holland, a laborious schoolmaster of Coventry. Once open to the general public, although then at the close of its first quarter of a century, the Britannia flourished with a new lease of life, and continued to bloom, like a literary magnolia, all down the seventeenth century. It is now as little read as other famous books of uncompromising size. The bookshelves of to-day are not fitted for the reception of these heroic folios, and if we want British antiquities now, we find them in terser form and more accurately, or at least more plausibly, annotated in the writings of later antiquaries. Giant Camden moulders at his cave's mouth, a huge and reverend form seldom disturbed by puny passers-by. But his once popular folio was the life work of a particularly interesting and human person; and without affecting to penetrate to the darkest corners of the cavern, it may be instructive to stand a little while on the threshold.

When this first English edition of the Britannia was published, Camden was one of the most famous of living English writers. For one man of position who had heard of Shakespeare, there would be twenty, at least, who were quite familiar with the claims of the Head-master of Westminster and Clarenceux King-of-Arms. Camden was in his sixtieth year, in 1610; he had enjoyed slow success, violent detraction, and final triumph. His health was poor, but he continued to write history, eager, as he says, to show that "though I have been a studious admirer of venerable antiquity, yet have I not been altogether an incurious spectator of modern occurrences." He stood easily first among the historians of his time; he was respected and adored by the Court and by the Universities, and that his fame might be completed by the chrism of detraction, his popularity was assured from year to year by the dropping fire of obloquy which the Papists scattered from their secret presses. It had not been without a struggle that Camden had attained this pinnacle; and the Britannia had been his alpenstock.

This first English edition has the special interest of representing Camden's last thoughts. It is nominally a translation of the sixth Latin edition, but it has a good deal of additional matter supplied to Philemon Holland by the author, whereas later English issues containing fresh material are believed to be so far spurious. The Britannia grew with the life of Camden. He tells us that it was when he was a young man of six-and-twenty, lately started on his professional career as second master in Westminster School, that the famous Dutch geographer, Abraham Ortelius, "dealt earnestly with me that I would illustrate this isle of Britain." This was no light task to undertake in 1577. The authorities were few, and these in the highest degree occasional or fragmentary. It was not a question of compiling a collection of topographical antiquities. The whole process had to be gone through "from the egg."

As a youth at Oxford, Camden had turned all his best attention to this branch of study, and what the ancients had written about England was intimately known to him. Anyone who looks at his book will see that the first 180 pages of the Britannia could be written by a scholar without stirring from his chair at Westminster. But when it came to the minute description of the counties there was nothing for it but personal travel; and accordingly Camden spent what holidays he could snatch from his labours as a schoolmaster in making a deliberate survey of the divisions of England. We possess some particulars of one of these journeys, that which occupied 1582, in which he started by Suffolk, through Yorkshire, and returned through Lancashire. He was a very rapid worker, he spared no pains, and in 1586, nine years after Ortelius set him going, his first draft was issued from the press. In later times, and when his accuracy had been cruelly impeached, he set forth his claims to attention with dignity. He said: "I have in no wise neglected such things as are most material to search and sift out the truth. I have attained to some skill of the most ancient British and Anglo-Saxon tongues; I have travelled over all England for the most part, I have conferred with most skilful observers in each county.... I have been diligent in the records of this realm. I have looked into most libraries, registers and memorials of churches, cities and corporations, I have pored upon many an old roll and evidence ... that the honour of verity might in no wise be impeached."

It was no slight task to undertake such a work on such a scale. And when the first Latin edition appeared, it was hailed as a first glory in the diadem of Elizabeth. Specialists in particular counties found that Camden knew more about their little circle than they themselves had taken all their lives to learn. Lombard, the great Kentish antiquary, said that he never knew Kent properly, till he read of it in the Britannia. But Camden was not content to rest on his laurels. Still, year by year, he made his painful journeys through the length and breadth of the land, and still, as new editions were called forth, the book grew from octavo into folio. Suddenly, about twelve years after its first unchallenged appearance, there was issued, like a bolt out of the blue, a very nasty pamphlet, called *Discovery of certain Errors Published in the much-commended Britannia*, which created a fine storm in the antiquarian teapot. This attack was the work of a man who would otherwise be forgotten, Ralph Brooke, the York Herald. He had formerly been an admirer of Camden's, his "humble friend," he called himself; but when Camden was promoted over his head to be Clarenceux King-of-Arms, it seemed to Ralph Brooke that it became his duty to denounce the too successful antiquary as a charlatan. He accordingly fired off the unpleasant little gun already mentioned, and, for the moment, he hit Camden rather hard.

The author of the Britannia, to justify his new advancement, had introduced into a fresh edition of his book a good deal of information regarding the descent of barons and other noble families. This was York Herald's own subject, and he was able to convict Camden of a startling number of negligences, and what he calls "many gross mistakings." The worst part of it was that York Herald had privately pointed out these blunders to Camden, and that the latter had said it was too much trouble to alter them. This, at least, is what the enemy states in his attack, and if this be true, it can hardly be doubted that Camden had sailed too long in fair weather, or that he needed a squall to recall him to the duties of the helm. He answered Brooke, who replied with increased contemptuous tartness. It is admitted that Camden was indiscreet in his manner of reply, and that some genuine holes had been pricked in his heraldry. But the Britannia lay high out of the reach of fatal pedantic attack, and this little cloud

over the reputation of the book passed entirely away, and is remembered now only as a curiosity of literature.

In the preface the author quaintly admits that "many have found a defect in this work that maps were not adjoined, which do allure the eyes by pleasant portraitures, yet my ability could not compass it." They must, then, have been added at the last by a generous afterthought, for this book is full of maps. The maritime ones are adorned with ships in full sail, and bold sea-monsters with curly tails; the inland ones are speckled with trees and spires and hillocks. In spite of these old-fashioned oddities, the maps are remarkably accurate. They are signed by John Norden and William Kip, the master map-makers of that reign. The book opens with an account of the first inhabitants of Britain, and their manners and customs; how the Romans fared, and what antiquities they left behind, with copious plates of Roman coins. By degrees we come down, through Saxons and Normans, to that work which was peculiarly Camden's, the topographical antiquarianism. He begins with Cornwall, "that region which, according to the geographers, is the first of all Britain," and then proceeds to what he calls "Denshire" and we Devonshire, a county, as he remarks, "barbarous on either side."

With page 822 he finds himself at the end of his last English county, Northumberland, looking across the Tweed to Berwick, "the strongest hold in all Britain," where it is "no marvel that soldiers without other light do play here all night long at dice, considering the side light that the sunbeams cast all night long." This rather exaggerated statement is evidently that of a man accustomed to look upon Berwick as the northernmost point of his country, as we shall all do, no doubt, when Scotland has secured Home Rule. We are, therefore, not surprised to find Scotland added, in a kind of hurried appendix, in special honour to James I and VI. The introduction to the Scottish section is in a queer tone of banter; Camden knows little and cares less about the "commonwealth of the Scots," and "withal will lightly pass over it." In point of fact, he gets to Duncansby Head in fifty-two pages, and not without some considerable slips of information. Ireland interests him more, and he finally closes with a sheet of learned gossip about the outlying islands.

The scope of Camden's work did not give Philemon Holland much opportunity for spreading the wings of his style. Anxious to present Camden fairly, the translator is curiously uneven in manner, now stately, now slipshod, weaving melodious sentences, but forgetting to ty them up with a verb. He is commonly too busy with hard facts to be a Euphuist. But here is a pretty and ingenious passage about Cambridge, unusually popular in manner, and exceedingly handsome in the mouth of an Oxford man:

"On this side the bridge, where standeth the greater part by far of the City, you have a pleasant sight everywhere to the eye, what of fair streets orderly ranged, what of a number of churches, and of sixteen colleges, sacred mansions of the Muses, wherein a number of great learned men are maintained, and wherein the knowledge of the best arts, and the skill in tongues, so flourish, that they may rightly be counted the fountains of literature, religion and all knowledge whatsoever, who right sweetly Bedew and sprinkle, with most wholesome waters, the gardens of the Church and Commonwealth through England. Nor is there wanting anything here, that a man may require in a most flourishing University, were it not that the air is somewhat unhealthful, arising as it doth out of a fenny ground hard by. And yet, peradventure, they that first founded a University in that place, allowed of Plato's judgment. For he,

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being of a very excellent and strong constitution of body, chose out the Academia, an unwholesome place of Attica, for to study in, and so the superfluous rankness of body which might overlay the mind, might be kept under by the dis-temperature of the place."

The poor scholars in the mouldering garrets of Clare, looking over waste land to the oozy Cam, no doubt wished that their foundress had been less Spartan. Very little of the domestic architecture that Camden admired in Cambridge is now left; and yet probably it and Oxford are the two places of all which he describes that it would give him least trouble to identify if he came to life again three hundred years after the first appearance of his famous Britannia.

From *Gossip in a Library*, 1913

The Life of Mr. Camden.

WILLIAM Camden was born in the Old Bailey, in London, May 2, 1551. His father Sampson Camden was a painter in London; whither he was sent very young, from Lichfield, the place of his birth and education. His mother was of the ancient family of the Curwens of Workington, in the county of Cumberland. Where or how he was brought up till twelve years of age, we must content ourselves to be in the dark, since his own diary gives us no insight into that part of his life. There is a tradition, that he was scholar of the Blue-Coat Hospital in London; which, if true, assures us that his father left him very young: because the particular constitution of the place admits of none but orphans. But the Fire of London, which consumed the matriculation-books, with the whole house, has cut off all possibility of satisfaction in that point.

When he came to be twelve years old, he was seized by the plague, and removed to Islington, near London. Being fully recovered, he was sent to Paul's school, where he laid the foundation of that niceness and accuracy in the Latin and Greek, to which he afterwards arrived. The meanness of his circumstances gave him no prospect of any great matters; and yet his friends were unwilling that such fine parts should be lost, and a youth in all respects so promising, be thrown away, for want of encouragement. Nothing was to be done without a patron, whose favour might countenance him in his studies, and whose interest might supply the narrowness of his fortune.

At that time, Dr. Cooper (afterwards promoted to the bishopric of Lincoln, and then to that of Winchester) was fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford, and master of the school belonging to it. To his care he was recommended, and by his means, probably, admitted chorister. No project could have a better appearance upon all accounts. For as his gradual advancement in that rich and ample foundation would have been a settlement once for all, so one in the Doctor's station must on course carry a considerable stroke in the business of elections. But as promising as it looked, when it came to the push he missed of a demy's place. So, defeated of his hopes and expectations in that college, he was forced to look out for a new patron, and to frame a new scheme for his future fortunes.

The next encouragement he found, was from Dr. Thomas Thornton. By him he was invited to Broadgate Hall (since called Pembroke College,) where he prosecuted his studies with great closeness; and the Latin graces, used by the college at this day, are said to be of his compiling. Among his other acquaintance, he was peculiarly happy in the two Carews, Richard and George, both of this Hall, both very ingenious, and both antiquaries. For though the first was a member of Christchurch, he had his chamber in Broadgate Hall; and Sir William Dugdale's affirming the second to have been of University College, seems occasioned by two of the surname being members of this house about the same time. I know not whether we may date his more settled inclination to antiquities from this lucky familiarity and correspondence. 'Tis certain, that nothing sets so quick an edge, as the conversation of equals; and 'tis by some such accidents that men are generally determined in their particular studies and professions.

Here he continued almost three years: in which time, by his diligence and integrity, he had settled himself so firmly in the good opinion of his patron, that when the doctor was advanced to a canonry of Christchurch he carried him along with him,

and entertained him in his own lodgings. He was then scarce 20 years old: an age wherein the study of arts and sciences, and the want of a judgment solid enough, excuse men from much application to the deep points of religion and controversy. And yet even then, his reputation upon that account cost him a very unlucky disappointment. He stood for a fellowship of All-Souls College; but the popish party, (such, at least, whose inclination lay that way, whatever their profession was) out of an apprehension how little his advancement was like to make for their cause, opposed it so zealously, that it was carried against him. Many years after, upon an imputation of popery, (which we shall have occasion to speak to by and by,) among other testimonies of his fidelity to the Church of England, he urges this instance as one. For the truth of it, he appeals to Sir Daniel Dun, then fellow of the college, and a person whose prudence and integrity recommended him more than once to the choice of the university, in their elections for parliament-men.

After five years spent in the university, and two remarkable disappointments in his endeavours towards a settlement; his poor condition put him under a necessity of leaving that place. Whether he had taken the degree of bachelor does not certainly appear. That in June, 1570, he supplicated for it, is evident from the register of the university; but no mention made of what answer he had. Three years after he supplicated again for the same degree, and seems to have taken it; but never completed it by determinations. However, in the year 1588 he supplicated the convocation (by the name of William Camden Bachelor of Arts of Christchurch,) that whereas from the time he had taken the degree of bachelor, he had spent 16 years in the study of philosophy and other liberal arts; he might be dispensed with for the reading of three solemn lectures, and so be admitted to proceed. His supplication was granted, upon condition he stood in the following Act; which it seems his other occasions would not permit him to do, nothing appearing of it in the public records of that time. When he attended the funeral of Sir Thomas Bodley, he had the degree of Master of Arts voluntarily offered him by the university; but then, he had no occasion for it, having established his reputation upon a better bottom; and so, it seems, declined it.

This was all the relation Mr. Camden had to the University of Oxford, which he left in the year 1571. From thence he betook himself immediately to London; but with what prospect he went, or what encouragement he found, we have no distinct account. I cannot believe that he fell into any particular employment; because himself has told us, that upon his leaving the university, he surveyed a considerable part of England. *Relicta academia, studio incitato satis magnam angliae partem fide oculata obivi,*<4> are his own words, in his answer to Mr. Brooke. And he must mean that interval of four or five years, between his bidding adieu to Oxford, and his advancement to the second mastership of Westminster School. He had powerful motives to induce him to this search after antiquities. His own natural genius lay so strong that way, that even when he was a schoolboy, he could neither hear nor see anything of an antique appearance, without more than ordinary attention and notice. While he was in the university, not a spare hour but it went upon the same business. When he came to be engaged in the tedious business of teaching school, he would fain have weaned himself from his old trade, have drawn back his inclinations, and have confined his thoughts, as well as body, to the narrow bounds of a school. But all was in vain: the itch still returned, and stuck so fast by him, that he could not get rid of it. When a vacation gave him liberty to look abroad, he declares it was not in his power to keep within doors: the bent of his own genius was always pulling him out, not to

impertinent visits and idle diversions, but to entertainments which he relished above all these; stately camps and ruinous castles, those venerable monuments of our forefathers.

This propensity of nature was seconded by the importunity of friends, and received very early encouragement from persons of the best rank. The noble Sir Philip Sidney was always pushing him forward, whilst in Oxford; and after his removal, the two Goodmans (Gabriel and Godfrey, Doctors in Divinity) kept up his spirits, with supplies both of books and money. The interest also which the former of these had in the collegiate church of Westminster, procured him the place of second master in that school.

We may well imagine that his fame spread throughout the kingdom, proportionable to his knowledge of it; and consequently must not doubt that a person of so great attainments could want applications from all hands to undertake the antiquities of his native country. But the difficulties, on one hand, appeared so very great, and the helps, on the other, so very inconsiderable, that nothing could prevail upon him to engage in such a frightful task. So that what collections and observations he had hitherto made, seem to have been only designed for private satisfaction, and to quench a secret thirst, which nature had brought along with him into the world. In the meantime, Ortelius, (that great restorer of geography, as he terms him) took a journey into England, and applied himself particularly to Mr. Camden, as the best oracle one could possibly consult about the state and affairs of the kingdom. The tender regard he had for the honour of his country, backed with the authority and persuasion of this great man, wrought him by degrees into some sort of compliance; and at last, over-ruled him into a resolution of improving his stock and digesting his papers, in order to the use and satisfaction of the public.

He entered upon it with almost all the disadvantages that could attend any undertaking. It was a sort of learning that was then but just peeping into the world; when that heat and vehemence of school-divinity (which had possessed all hearts and hands for so many hundred years before) began to cool by little and little. For while that humour of metaphysical niceties continued, it was so entirely the entertainment and study of the age, that little else could edge in with it. No room for poetry, oratory, history. But when polite learning came upon the stage, and the sweetness of a Greek or Roman author began to out-relish the crabbed notions of the school-men, the vein turned wholly the other way, and this latter was thrown out of doors. Then the industry of learned men was entirely employed upon publishing and refining such authors as had lately got footing in the world. And yet after all, the historians did not yield that pleasure and satisfaction which might be expected from so much niceness both in language and composition; because they could not follow them through all the scenes of action, nor frame their conceptions to the several marches of the armies. To remove this inconvenience, they began to make particular surveys, to fix the old places in their proper stations, and to assist the imagination by representing the towns and roads in charts and tables.

Italy was the first place where this light broke out; and there the difficulty was very inconsiderable. The remains of the old names was direction enough in a great many cases; and where that guide failed them, they were helped out by their histories; which indeed are so many, and withal so very particular in every the least circumstance, that they even point out the places, and excuse one from any tedious search and application in settling the geography. France, Spain, and Germany had not

this advantage in so high a degree; but yet as they had their share of the Roman arms, so had they the good fortune to come under the hands of the Roman historians. These were sufficiently acquainted with their affairs, by their nearness to Italy, and their long subjection to the Roman Empire; and so described them with a tolerable exactness. But Britain was another world to them; and accordingly when their pens engaged in our matters, they were not able to handle them so nicely, but were forced to clap up things in general terms: a way of writing that makes it very hard to trace them. So that here, the best direction in that search, seems to be the old *Itinerary* of Antoninus; and, God knows, a heap of bare names, without the circumstances of action, is but a very poor guide.

However, as poor as it was, it had been a much more comfortable bottom to set out upon, had it only been sound and entire. But he found it so mangled, either by the transcribers' negligence or ignorance, or both, that he plainly perceived he must rectify and patch up that, before he could go any farther. Most ancient authors of any note, have been sufferers that way; but this kind (wherein miles and distances are compendiously expressed) is particularly exposed to the ill treatment of librarians. Had figures never been invented, we had been eased of a great deal of trouble, that piecing up of distances and chronologies does now give us. There was no way to cure this, but by collecting the various readings occasioned by such blunders, and letting the whole matter be determined by the majority of copies. To this end, he left no corner unsearched, from which he might reasonably promise himself either manuscript or printed copy of Antoninus's *Itinerary*, Ptolemy's *Geography*, or the *Notitia*; <49> so far at least as they concerned Britain. His learned acquaintance at home were all set to search, and his correspondents abroad, Ortelius, Merula, Sweertius, Puteanus, and others, were employed in the same service. He had heard of some itinerary tables in the library of Conrad Peutinger, a nobleman of Augsburg; and he never rested till he had compassed that branch of them which belonged to Britain. They are since published by Welsler under the name of the *Peutingerian Tables*; <126> the authority whereof Mr. Camden makes use of throughout his whole *Britannia*.

After he had fixed this point, and begun to trace out the old towns and stations, he considered that the Romans did not frame a new name to every place they conquered, but generally contented themselves with what they found; only filed off a little of the roughness, and clothed it in a fashionable garb. That the names and places mentioned in Britain by Latin authors, as easy as they sounded, as spruce and court-like as they appeared, were yet all barbarous at the bottom, and of a pure British extraction. It was a language he had no knowledge of; and so in settling the ancient places, whenever he came to muster up his probabilities (for indeed a great many of them are capable of no better evidence) he was always jealous that something was lodged in the meaning of the name, which (if he knew it) might either destroy the notion he had advanced, or confirm him in his present opinion. This brought a new task upon him, and a very heavy one too; the conquering a tongue which had no manner of relation to anyone he was master of before. However, there was this comfort, it was a living language, and he wanted not friends who were critics in it.

His entrance upon the Saxon affairs quickly convinced him that the knowledge of this language was necessary to his design, as much, if not more than that of the British. These latter conquerors were not so modest as the former. The glory and extent of the Empire, was what the Romans aimed at; and if the Britons could but have patience to submit, they might enjoy what they had, and live as quietly as they pleased. But the Saxons (whatever they might pretend) came over upon another

errand: their business was not dominion, but possession; and when they had gained their end by driving off the poor Britons, they made it their next business to root out all memorials of them. The old names were changed, new methods of government framed, and in a short time everything had a Saxon appearance. So that now almost all our names of places are originally Saxon; and Mr. Camden thought it as vain an attempt to set about his design without this help, as to take a survey of Greece or Italy, and all the while not know one syllable of the language of either country.

Thus every new monster that sprang up, was more terrible than other. The poor Britons carried their language along with them into the western parts of the island, and there defended both it and themselves against any mixture of foreigners. It was only transplanted, and the change of soil did it little or no harm: so that to this day 'tis preserved entire, but only for a word here and there of Latin original, which by their long intercourse with the Romans, had dropped in among it. Had the Saxons took the same course upon the Norman invasion, and when they found themselves out-matched, only resolved upon some corner for a retreat, and stood it out to the last; theirs too might have been a living language to this day, and learnt (as we do French, Spanish, or Italian) with a little study and conversation. But their submission to the Norman, was the loss of both their liberty and language. A mixture of pride and policy makes the noise of a foreign dialect very disagreeable to the ears of most conquerors; who look upon it as a reproach, to see the language reign, when they have subdued the people. William, after he had wrought himself into a sort of settlement, and thought he might be practising upon the English without any great danger, ordered that all the public pleadings should be in French, that their charters and writings should run in the same language, that children should not be instructed in their mother-tongue, but in the Norman only. And the reign of Edward the Confessor had prepared the nation to receive all this, without any great resentment. The Normans bore such a sway in his court, as to give the customs and language of their own country an air and authority here in England: so that even in his time, it begun to be thought a piece of good breeding to be master of the French carriage, and to run down the English as rough and barbarous. When the way was opened beforehand, we need not be much surprised, to find in the next reign so very few who could even read the Saxon character; or to hear, that the main objection against Wolstan, Bishop of Worcester, was, that he did not understand the French tongue. In short, the old Saxon grew so fast out of request, that their common talk, about the latter end of Henry the Second, would pass at this day for good broken English, and be intelligible enough.

After it was disused in common conversation, we cannot imagine that the books should be much minded. The monks indeed were concerned to preserve their charters; but those who seized upon the church-lands at the dissolution of monasteries, were as much concerned to have them destroyed. And to do it the more effectually, they wisely burnt whole libraries together; or if they saved them out of the fire, it was with no other design than to furnish the shops of mechanics with waste paper. The havoc was so universal, and the use of them so little understood, that it was purely by chance that any were preserved.

With what resolution must we suppose a man armed, to engage in a work of so much confusion? A language that had lain dead for above four hundred years, to be revived; the books wherein it was buried, to be raked out of ashes; and (which was yet worse) those fragments, such as they were, so very hard to be met with. Almost the whole stock of the kingdom came into three collections; that of Archbishop Parker,

given to Bennet College in Cambridge; Archbishop Laud's given to the Bodleian library; and that of Sir Robert Cotton, now the richest treasure of that noble library.

Nor was this condition peculiar to the Saxon monuments: all our English historians were in the same circumstances. They suffered as much by the dissolution, lay in as many holes and corners, and were altogether as hard to come by. And yet without these, Mr. Camden's design was at a stand. It was a true sense of the use of such originals, and of his own great misfortune in not being better furnished, that induced him afterwards to publish an entire volume of them. Sir Henry Saville collected another: and those two leaders have been followed by the editors of the *Decem Scriptores*, by Dr. Watts, Mr. Fulman, Dr. Gale, and Mr. Wharton. Had he entered upon his work with these advantages, he had met with his materials in a much narrower compass, and found his task infinitely more easy.

Thus, the same hand removed the rubbish, laid the foundation, and raised the fabric. The old itinerary was settled, the British and Saxon tongues conquered, our ancient historians perused, several parts of England surveyed; and now he durst think of reducing his collections to some method and order. It had been above ten years in growing, when the first edition came out, *an.* 1586, dedicated to that eminent statesman William Lord Burghley, treasurer to Queen Elizabeth. How well it was received, we may appeal to the several editions. In the compass of four years, there were no less than three at London, besides that at Frankfurt in 1590, another in Germany, and again another in London in 1594. To bear so many impressions in so short a compass, was a very extraordinary matter at that time, when books were not half so much read and relished, as they are at present. In short, we may perhaps safely affirm, that Mr. Camden was the only person living, that was not satisfied with it. For though men are generally but too fond of their own, and so inclined to partiality in the main; yet 'tis certain, that every author understands the particular failings of his work, infinitely better than the nicest critic that pretends to censure it. Just as an intimate acquaintance sees farther into the odd humours and ill qualities of his friend, than another that but accidentally falls into his company once or twice.

But the general applause it met with could not draw him to any extravagant thoughts of what he had done already, nor tempt him to slacken his pursuit for the future. No, he that had weighed the matter, knew best what could be done, and what vast improvements it might receive from time and opportunities. His own searches led him daily into new discoveries, the continual information of friends increased the treasure; both these helped him out of numbers of doubts and scruples, and so made way for new matter, which he had suppressed before out of a tenderness of imposing errors upon mankind. Thus, when a design is well laid, it thrives strangely: new matter breaks in upon us; almost whatever we read, hear, see, or do, turns one way or other to the main account. And when the standard is thus fixed, assistance pours in from all parts, as it were, to the headquarters.

Most of the other editions had been refined, enlarged, and corrected by the author: but they came too fast upon him to do so much as he desired, after that of 1594. He resolved it should rest for some time, and be gathering. Two years after, he took a journey to Sarum and Wells, and returned by Oxford. After two years more, he travelled as far as Carlisle, along with Sir Robert Cotton. But in the midst of those preparations for a more complete edition, he was unexpectedly interrupted; and instead of laying out his thoughts and endeavours after fresh discoveries, was called to a defence of what he had already published.

The occasion of it was this. In the year 1597, upon the death of Richard Leigh Clarenceux King at Arms, Sir Fulk Greville recommended Mr. Camden to the Queen, as a person every way qualified for the place, and one that had highly deserved of Her Majesty and her kingdoms. The Queen, without more ado, gives him a grant, and Mr. Camden accordingly was created, October 23 in the same year; having the day before been made Richmond Herald, because by the constitution none can be King at Arms but who has been first herald. At that time Mr. Brooke was York Herald, who, upon Leigh's death presently had an eye upon that preferment, and doubted not but the station he had already in the college would secure it to him. The greater his assurance was, the disappointment lay so much the heavier upon him; and (as men who lay too much stress upon their own merits, are always hurried on to revenge upon the least injury,) his next business was, to find out a fair opportunity of showing his resentments. Mr. Camden at the end of each county has drawn down the history of the respective earls: and he thought, probably, that if a quarrel could be picked in the business of families, it would be most suitable to his present purpose. The plot was well contrived, if the charge could have been made out. As it would have shown Mr. Camden's forwardness in engaging himself on a subject he was not master of; so would it have convinced the government of their unreasonable choice, not only in preferring a person who knew little of the matter, but (which was worse) in rejecting one that was an absolute critic. After two years study, 1599 he published a book with this title, *A Discovery of certain Errors published in print in the much commended Britannia, &c.* without licence, without name either of printer or bookseller.

Before we enter upon the merits of the cause, be pleased to observe by the way the different humour and carriage of the two parties. It was an opinion of merit that first raised a confidence in Mr. Brooke, and then an uneasiness when his expectation failed him. So far was Mr. Camden from entertaining the least thoughts of it, that till the whole business was over, he did not dream of any such thing, but the news was a perfect surprise to him. And when my Lord Burleigh (who was his great patron) expressed his dissatisfaction, that he had not applied himself to him upon that occasion; he modestly returned this answer, that 'twas purely a thought of Sir Fulk Greville's, without so much as his knowledge.

It was not much for the reputation of the former to throw off his true name Brokesmouth, and take that of Brooke, as one of greater vogue and dignity. Perhaps Mr. Camden had as little temptation as he, to be fond of his family upon account of any eminence it could pretend to, especially on the father's side. And yet so far was he from being ashamed of his meanness, such a pious and tender regard did he preserve for his memory, that even out of respect to his trade, he left a gilt bowl of 16*l.* price to the company of painter-stainers in London, with this inscription, *Gul. Camdenus Clarenceux, filius Sampsonis, Pictoris Londinensis, dono dedit.*<6>

After Mr. Camden became a member of the college, he discharged his office with great integrity, and maintained an amicable correspondence with all his brethren. How far his adversary may lay claim to this character, let the following instance witness. Upon a private pique against one of the college, he contrived such a malicious piece of revenge, as is not commonly heard of. He employs a man to carry a coat of arms to him ready drawn, to pretend that it belonged to one Gregory Brandon (a gentleman that had formerly lived in London, but was then gone over into Spain,) and to desire he would set his hand to it. The man does his errand very formally; and for fear a little time and consideration might break their measures, pretends that the vessel which was to carry it, was just ready to set sail. He, smelling nothing of the

design, without more ado receives a reward, and puts the seal of the office, with his own name, to the paper. Presently Brooke carries it to Thomas Earl of Arundel (then one of the commissioners for the office of Lord Marshal,) assures him that these are the arms of the kingdom of Aragon with a canton of Brabant; and that that Brandon, to whom he had granted them, was a mean inconsiderable person. The Earl acquainted the King with the whole matter, who resolved that he should not only be turned out of his place, but, upon a fair hearing in the star-chamber, be severely fined for his affront to the crown of Spain. However, upon the intercession of the Earl of Pembroke, he grew a little calmer, and was prevailed upon to refer it wholly to the commissioners. When they came to a hearing, the gentleman who had been thus imposed upon, submitted himself entirely to the mercy of the court; but withal desired their Lordships to consider, that 'twas a pure oversight, and that it was the importunity of the messenger which drew him to the doing it without due deliberation. Brooke, on the other hand declared openly in court, that it was from beginning to end a contrivance of his own, to gain an opportunity of convincing their Lordships of the sordidness of the other, who for the sake of a little money would be guilty of such a gross piece of knavery. They were amazed at the confidence of the man; and when His Majesty heard the circumstances of the case, he had them both committed to prison; one for treachery, and the other for carelessness. The party accused presented a petition to the commissioners, humbly requesting that they would use their interest with His Majesty for his gracious pardon. This was seconded by an ample testimonial under the hands of his brethren, setting forth their concern for his misfortune, and the great integrity wherewith he had behaved himself in all other matters. Brooke too got friends to intercede for him: so, after a severe reprimand from my Lord Chamberlain, they were both dismissed.

But, to return. By this time one will be easily convinced, that it was not any concern for truth, or for the honour of the English nobility, which induced him to lay open the errors of Mr. Camden, but a vein of ill-nature, which run through all his actions. And the success of it was answerable; for the next year Mr. Camden reprinted his *Britannia*, and at the end of it published a learned defence of himself and his work. He modestly declares, that 'tis very possible he might fall into several errors; that, for his part, he ne'er pretended to be exempt from the common failings of mankind; but conceives, however, that allowance ought to be made to slips here and there, when men deal in such a variety of matter: that he thinks himself, notwithstanding, very coarsely treated: and to show at once the impudence as well as weakness of his adversary, he clears himself from his objections upon undeniable authorities, and then shows into what palpable mistakes this great reformer had dropped, even in the midst of his criticisms.

As this made him a fair instance, how malicious practices do generally return upon the author; so the publication of another book in the year 1619 gave him some farther experience upon the same head. It was a catalogue of the succession of kings, princes, and dukes, down from William the Conqueror, with their several arms. Mr. Camden made a collection of the errors in it; not so much those of haste or inadvertency, (no, he had lived too long in the world not to know that these were the common failings of mankind) but such as were downright blunders, and the pure effects of his ignorance. He was now too old and infirm to endure the fatigue of close study, and thought he had too little time before him to bestow any of it upon quarrelling and controversy. But Mr. Vincent, a person admirably skilled in the business of families, (then only Pursuivant under the title of Rouge Croix, but

afterwards made Windsor Herald, and Keeper of the Records in the Tower) undertook, upon this occasion, to convince Mr. Brooke that he had not such a share of infallibility as he had flattered himself withal. He published this answer in the year 1622. With what success and applause, I appeal to the commendations of Mr. Selden, and of other learned men, which appear in the beginning of the book.

Another branch of Mr. Brooke's accusation against Mr. Camden, was plagiarism. He considered likely, that drawing down of families was no part of Mr. Camden's office when he first published his *Britannia*; that it was also an accidental thing to the design of a survey; that therefore the world would make allowance for little mistakes in genealogies; and upon the whole matter, was afraid that the objections he had raised upon that head would not be much damage either to the reputation of the book or the credit of the author. To strike home, he endeavours to insinuate, that how gay soever the composition might look, and how uniform soever the work appeared, yet if men would be at the trouble to examine, they might find the sum and substance of all that was said, in the posthumous papers of Glover and Leland. So that if this suggestion did but take, Mr. Camden had no farther share in it, than ranging a parcel of loose papers into a little method and order. Methinks (by the way) it might have been some excuse, that possibly Glover and Leland, (whom, forsooth, he followed so close) had led him into some of those many errors he pretends to correct in his *Britannia*. Why should not they share in the mistakes, as well as they do in the useful discoveries?

The former of these, Mr. Glover, was Somerset Herald, and so eminent a master of his profession, that (in Sir William Dugdale's opinion) Mr. Camden and he were the two greatest men that had ever been of the college. Had he lived out the common term, he would have made a greater figure in the world, and we at this day might have enjoyed the fruit of his labours. But he was cut off at 45 years of age, and left behind him a confused mass of collections, which were purchased afterwards by my Lord Burleigh, and communicated to Mr. Camden. Of what use they were to him, anyone may be easily convinced, by comparing his *Britannia* with those papers, which were repositied in the archives of the college. Miscellanies of that nature are generally no more than short hints to carry us to something further, and are heaped up together without anything of consideration. So that 'tis impossible for any but the collector to dive into the true meaning of most things, and unbecoming a person of common judgment and curiosity to lay much stress upon any. But if they had been as serviceable to him as his adversary would persuade us, I cannot see how he could be fairly charged with ingratitude or injustice, after he has more than once afforded Mr. Glover such an honourable character.

As the *Itinerary* of Mr. Leland has gained a greater name and esteem, so it will be harder to remove the objection raised upon that bottom. Far be it from me to injure the memory of that great man. He was the first that turned the eyes of the kingdom upon that part of learning; and let it be said to his immortal honour, what he did was faithful, and what he designed was glorious. In the year 1533 (25 Hen. 8) he had a commission under the broad seal, whereby he was empowered to search the libraries of all cathedrals, abbeys, priories, colleges, &c. And in the 28th year of the same King, he obtained a special dispensation to keep a curate at Poperinge, where he was rector; having represented to His Majesty the great advantage might be made by travelling over England. When he had got together large collections, he fixed in London, with a design to fall about such books as he had encouraged the King to expect, when he obtained his dispensation. Also, in the 37th of Hen. 8 he presented

that King with a scheme of the several projects he had laid, under the title of a new year's gift, wherein he promises a description of Britain, as under the Romans; a survey and history of each county, in 60 books; a survey of the British isles, in 6 books; and a work concerning the nobility of Britain, in 3 books. But the very next year (out of an apprehension, as most think, that he should never be able to complete what he had undertaken) he fell distracted, continued so to his dying day, and left his papers in confusion. The greatest part of them are now in the public library at Oxford, presented to it by Mr. William Burton author of the *Antiquities of Leicestershire*, into whose possession they had at last come through several other hands. The only work, I think, that he left complete, was, his *Lives of the British Writers*, in Latin: wherein he has been but coarsely used by Bale, Pits, and some others, who, 'tis said, have made up their volumes upon that subject, in a great measure out of Leland's store. But now, at last, he is like to have justice done him by a diligent and judicious author, from whom we may shortly expect an accurate edition of that part, with suitable improvements.

But the main charge against Mr. Camden is grounded upon the survey of Britain, and of the Isles; for, I think, anyone will excuse him in what relates to the Romans, that does but consider what mad work they made of it, who undertook to settle the old towns in Britain, before Mr. Camden. Now, giving these posthumous papers the splendid title of an itinerary, flourishing upon the number of books proportionable to the counties of England, and to back these, observing that Mr. Leland roundly affirms, that he had ample materials ready by him; all this looks very big, and is an admirable handle to anyone that has a mind to employ his ill nature. But men would do well to consider at what a low ebb learning was then, and what a plausible figure several things make in the infancy, which after a little growth and improvement appear to be very inconsiderable. To describe the course of a river, and the distance of one town from another; to tell you whether a bridge was of wood or of stone, or how many arches it had; was an useful piece of instruction at that time, when travelling was not much in fashion. And perhaps one may safely affirm, that the counties of England were then more strangers to the affairs of their neighbours, than the nations of Europe have since been to one another. They would not be at the pains to view, and they wanted maps to let them see at a distance; so everything that informed, was kindly received, and a work was looked upon as a mighty project which at present would be but coldly entertained. Now, to take an estimate of matters barely by their names, and to frame ideas of what's past by the present condition of things, is a very dangerous way of arguing. Altogether as unreasonable, as if upon hearing an historian make a bustle about the wars between the Romans and Sabines, and very formally drawing up the armies on both sides; a man should presently conclude that each of them could not be less than a hundred thousand strong. When all the while, their set battles would hardly amount to a sally or a skirmish at this day. If men would carry this consideration along with them, they might find that the change of things between the times of these two authors, had rendered a good part of the former's *Itinerary* altogether unuseful to the *Britannia* of the latter. The contrivance of maps had given them at once a view of the whole kingdom, and the correspondence (occasioned by the improvement of trade and commerce) had informed every mechanic in what before would have been a good discovery.

That he had seen the itinerary of Leland, he does not deny. That he likewise made use of it is plain, because he has told us so in several parts of his book. But do not they two very often jump, without any mention of Leland's name? It's very true

they do; but suppose I say that Canterbury is a city, that there is a stately castle at Windsor, that Oxford is an university; am I therefore a plagiary, because Leland or any man else has said so before me? Suppose also, I observe that St. Austin repaired an old church at Canterbury, that St. Cuthbert was the saint of Durham; can any man have so little sense as to fall upon me because I make use of Bede's authority rather than Leland's? Can we think Mr. Camden travelled England with his eyes shut? Or if he carried them open, that he could not distinguish a wood from a fen, or a mountain from a meadow, as well as the rest of mankind? And why then all this pother about plagiarism? He set out with a prodigious stock of learning almost in all kinds, he surveyed the greatest part of England, he had access to all libraries and records, had the assistance of learned men both at home and abroad; and if any can believe that one of Mr. Camden's temper would make no use of these opportunities, but rather spend thirty years in piecing up the remains of others, let him enjoy his own opinion. All I can say, is, that the publication of Leland's itinerary would be the best defence of Mr. Camden.

In the year 1607 he put the last hand to his *Britannia*; which gained him the titles of the Varro, Strabo, and Pausanias of Britain, in the writings and letters of learned men. Nor did it ever after meet with any enemies that I know of; only, Sir Simon D'Ewes encouraged us to hope for animadversions upon the work, after he had observed to a very great man, that there was not a page in it without a fault. But it was only threatening; and neither the world was the better, nor Mr. Camden's reputation e'er the worse for it.

One cannot well conceive how the compass of a man's life should have brought a work of this nature to greater perfection. But, alas, it had but a small share in his hours. Yet though his time was divided, the whole was spent in the service of the public. He was always either exciting the present age to virtue and honour, by representing to them the venerable monuments of their ancestors; or laying a foundation for the happiness of posterity, by forming youth into religion and learning. They are two professions that seem to look quite different ways; and yet he managed them to such advantage, that if he had been continually abroad, 'tis hard to imagine how the antiquary could have been better; or if constantly in the school, how the master could have been more diligent. He was not content to train up those who were under his immediate care, unless (like the good old orator) he put himself in a condition to be a guide to them, even after it should please providence to remove him.

His predecessor, Dr. Edward Grant, had composed a Greek grammar for the use of his school. This, Mr. Camden by long experience had found to be in several things deficient, and in the whole frame not so well suited to the design, as one would desire. So, he contrived a scheme of his own, the effect of two and twenty years observation; the method whereof, upon the publication, appeared to be so clear, easy, and compendious, that it has ever since been taught in most schools throughout England, as the best introduction to that language.

While he was consulting the interest of the living, he did not forget to pay a just veneration to the dead. When the fatigue of the school obliged him to look out for a little recreation, he refreshed his spirits by viewing the stately monuments of antiquity. Those, I mean, which are erected to the memory of the Kings, Queens, and nobility of England, in the cathedral church of Westminster. And that it might not be in the power of time or revolutions to deprive posterity of the same pleasure, he copied them all out, and published them in the year 1600, with an historical account of

the foundation of that church. He had also took some pains in collecting the monuments in the churches and chapels of the University of Oxford, as appears from the fragments of them still remaining.

But this was only the fruit of his spare hours, and the business of a particular place. The next public service, was his volume of *English Historians*, published at Frankfurt in the year 1603, and dedicated to his patron Sir Fulk Greville, as an acknowledgment for the good office he had done him, when he was promoted to be King at Arms. This it was, that freed him from the attendance of the school, that put his time in his own disposal; and (like the Mantuan poet)^{<7>} he was not ungrateful to his Maecenas, nor forgot to pay the first-fruits of his ease and quiet to this his benefactor. Part of them were never before published; and such as had seen the light, he sent abroad much more correct and accurate. What great light they give into the affairs of the English, Normans, Irish, and Britons, is no news to those who think it worth their while to look into the histories of their own kingdom. And if these few be of so much consequence, what might be expected from the whole body of our English historians? If but a little taste be so delightful, what pleasure might we promise ourselves from a full meal? To see them all ranged into order of time; to have those that are already published, refined by the assistance of copies; and such as lie still in manuscript, rescued at last from dust and ashes: what a satisfaction would this be to the curious, and what an honour to the nation? If it had been done a hundred years ago, 'tis more than probable, that the same hand which gave us the Britannia, had furnished us likewise with a civil history. That he had once set about it, himself has told us; and I no way doubt, but one of the greatest rubs that discouraged him, was this confusion of our old historians. When they are got together, 'tis then time enough to think of an universal history; but 'tis a little too soon to talk of melting and refining, when the best part of the ore is still under ground.

The next year gave him an opportunity of paying a public respect to his great friend and acquaintance Sir Robert Cotton, by the edition of his *Remains*. It appears by the original, that at first he had designed to dedicate this work to Sir Fulk Greville; but the volume of historians having already given him an opportunity of making his acknowledgments there, he now thought it a piece of duty to show his gratitude to Sir Robert, a person, whose conversation and library were the main support of his studies.

The discovery of the gunpowder plot gave him the next occasion of employing his pen in the service of the public. His Majesty was not content only to appoint a solemn thanksgiving for that deliverance, but also thought it necessary to convince foreign nations of the justice of his proceedings; and to give timely notice to the reformed churches abroad, to be always upon their guard against those inveterate enemies of the Protestant religion. Mr. Camden was pitched upon as a person best qualified to draw up the whole case in a Latin style agreeable to the subject. It was published in the year 1607 and was ranked among the books expressly prohibited by the Church of Rome in 1667.

The *Grammar*, the *Westminster Monuments*, the volume of *Historians*, the *Remains*, and lastly the *Proceedings against the Conspirators*; though they are all of them highly useful, and very well becoming the character of Mr. Camden, yet they fall far short of his Britannia. And no wonder: they were only the fruit of his spare hours; like so many digressions from his main design: and while that was growing, seem intended only to convince the world that he was not unmindful of the public interest. The last of these was published the same year that he put the last hand to his

Britannia: so that now he was at liberty to set about in earnest, what he had had in his eye for ten years before, the annals of Queen Elizabeth.

This work was begun in the year 1597. At the instance of William Lord Burghley; who had both an entire veneration for the Queen, and by his constant favours had that interest in Mr. Camden, to which few or none could pretend. But he dying the very next year, and the difficulties of the work sensibly increasing, Mr. Camden did not prosecute it with so much resolution as formerly, but began to have a sort of indifference whether he brought it to any head or not. This coolness was increased by the death of the Queen, which happened some years after. But when he saw no one that had more strength and leisure would take the task upon him, now the care of his *Britannia* was pretty well over, a strong sense of gratitude spurred him forward, and he could not be wanting to the commands of the best of patrons, nor the memory of the best of princes. So, in the year 1608 he fell to digesting his materials; but did not publish before the year 1615 and came no lower than 1589. As it had been long expected and earnestly desired by the learned, so did it meet with an agreeable reception from all hands, as appears by the several letters of thanks from the greatest persons of that time. And a very eminent man of our own nation scruples not to affirm, that this, and my Lord Bacon's history of Henry the Seventh, are the only two lives of the kings or Queens of England which come up to the dignity of the subject, either in fullness of matter, or beauty of composition.

The pleasure which the first part afforded, increased the application of his friends, and made them so much the more importunate with him, to consider that the infirmities of old age were drawing on apace, and that he could not better employ the remaining part of his time, either to the service of the public, or the satisfaction of the curious, than by going on as he had begun. Especially considering, that himself had been an eye-witness of the latter part of her reign, and maintained an intimate correspondence with some who had borne the greatest share in the government. How little it was Mr. Camden's humour to leave things imperfect, let the *Britannia* witness. But the censures he met with in the business of Mary Queen of Scots, and the private resentments of some persons who thought him too severe in the character of their ancestors, were enough to have made him stop his course, and not venture any farther in such a troublesome road. That historians raise themselves almost as many enemies as they tell truths, is a just, though very melancholy observation; and the publication of this gave him so large experience of it, as to make him peremptorily resolve that the second part should not see the light till after his death. He wisely considered, that men's writings and actions do meet with a more favourable construction, after they are once removed out of the world; but if what he had delivered with the utmost sincerity, should after all give offence to particular persons, that he should however be out of the noise of their clamours, and beyond the reach of their disturbance. Though the whole was finished in the year 1617, as appears from his epistles; yet he persisted in his resolution against all the importunities of friends. And lest the common fate of posthumous papers should be urged against him, he took care that a fair transcript of it should be deposited in the hands of his intimate friend Petrus Puteanus; and kept the original by him, which is now in the library of Sir John Cotton. So the second tome came not out before the year 1625.

The records and instruments out of which he extracted his annals, are most of them, if not all, in Cotton's library. By a manuscript of Dr. Goodman's (who was afterwards Bishop of Gloucester) we learn, that he desired them of Mr. Camden, as a legacy, when he died; but had this answer returned, that no man should have

commanded them more freely, if they had not been promised to Dr. Bancroft Archbishop of Canterbury. Upon his death he translated the right of them to his successor Dr. George Abbot, (who had undertook to publish them;) and the bishop tells us in the same manuscript, that he had heard Archbishop Laud say, they were deposited in the palace at Lambeth. 'Tis probable, these were only such as related to the ecclesiastical affairs of that time, which Mr. Camden did not think himself so immediately concerned in. But what they were, cannot now be known: they must have been destroyed in that havoc and confusion made in the library of Archbishop Laud by Prynne, Scot, and Hugh Peters; for upon a diligent search made by the late Dr. Sancroft, at his first promotion to the see of Canterbury, not one scrap of them appeared.

From the end of Queen Elizabeth to his own death, he kept a *Diary* of all the remarkable passages in the reign of King James. Not that he could so much as dream of living to make use of them himself, at that age, and under those many infirmities which a laborious life had drawn upon him. But he was willing however to contribute all the assistance he could, to any that should do the same honour to the reign of King James, which he had done to that of Queen Elizabeth. If this were practised by persons of learning and curiosity, who have opportunity of seeing into the public affairs of a kingdom; what a large step would it be towards a history of the respective times? For after all, the short hints and strictures of that kind, do very often set things in a truer light than regular histories; which are but too commonly written to serve a party, and so draw one insensibly out of the right way. Whereas if men are left to themselves, to make their own inferences from simple matters of fact, as they lay before them, though perhaps they may often be at a loss how to make things hang together, yet their aim shall be still true, and they shall hardly be mistaken in the main. One single matter of fact faithfully and honestly delivered, is worth a thousand comments and flourishes.

Thus, the interest of the public was the business of Mr. Camden's life, and he was serviceable to learning till his dying day. For so much merit, one would think the greatest rewards too mean: but a little served his turn, who always thought it more honourable to deserve, than to have preferments. He never made application to any man for promotion; but so long as he faithfully discharged the office he had, was content to trust providence for what should follow.

The first step he made, was the second mastership of Westminster School, in the year 1575. In this station he continued till the death of Dr. Grant head schoolmaster (which happened in 1593,) whom he succeeded. (But before that, two years after the first edition of his *Britannia*, he had the prebend^{<299>} of Ilfracombe, belonging to the church of Salisbury, bestowed upon him by Dr. John Piers, bishop of that see.) What satisfaction it was to him to see the fruits of his industry in the school, learn from his own expression of it in a letter to Archbishop Usher. *At Westminster* (says he) *God so blessed my labours, that the now Bishop of London, Durham, and St. Asaph, to say nothing of persons employed in eminent place abroad, and many of especial note at home, of all degrees, do acknowledge themselves to have been my scholars.* What a comfortable reflection was this, that he had laid the foundation of those pillars which proved so considerable supports both to Church and State? Here he lived frugally, and by his long labours in the school gathered a contented sufficiency for his life, and a supply for all the charitable benefactions at his death. He refused a mastership of requests, when offered; and kept to his school, till the place of

King at Arms was conferred upon him without his own application, or so much as knowledge.

These were all the preferments he was ever possessed of. We might have reckoned another, if the following project had but succeeded. In the year 1609. Dr. Sutcliff Dean of Exeter, resolved upon building a college at Chelsea, for a certain number of divines, who should make it their only business to confute the errors of the Church of Rome. The proposal was highly approved of by King James, who accordingly nominated the doctor first provost of the college; and seventeen very eminent divines, under the title of *fellows*. And because it was evident, that matters of history would of course fall in with controversies in religion, they concluded it necessary to be armed against all such cases; and so pitched upon two excellent historians, Mr. Camden, and John Hayward, Doctor of the Civil Law. They fell to building, but found their revenues fall short; and so the whole design dropped.

To be particular in his acquaintance, would be to reckon up almost all the learned men of his time. When he was young, learned men were his patrons; when he grew up, the learned were his intimates; and when he came to be old, he was a patron to the learned. So that learning was his only care, and learned men the only comfort of his life. What an useful and honourable correspondence he had settled both at home and abroad, does best appear from his letters; and with what candour and easiness he maintained it, the same letters may inform us. The work he was engaged in for the honour of his native country, gained him respect at home, and admiration abroad; so that he was looked upon as a common oracle, and for a foreigner to travel into England, and return without seeing Mr. Camden, was thought a very gross omission. He was visited by six German noblemen at one time, and at their request wrote his *lemma* in each of their books, as a testimony that they had seen him.

Brissonius, Prime Minister of state in the French court, when he was sent into England by his master K. Hen. 3 to treat of a match between his brother the Duke of Anjou and Queen Elizabeth, would not return a stranger to Mr. Camden; who, though but second school-master of Westminster, and not full thirty years of age, had yet those qualities which effectually recommended him to the friendship and conversation of that great man. Some of the servants of the Elector Palatine (who came over about the match with Elizabeth eldest daughter to King James) were severely reprov'd by Gruter for neglecting to do themselves that piece of honour. He wondered with what face they could stay so many months in England, and all the while *neque consulere ejus oraculum unicum, neque adspicere ejus astrum primum*, "not consult its only oracle, nor see the brightest star in it." With Gruter himself Mr. Camden kept a constant correspondence, whilst he lived; and when he died, left him *5l.* for a ring, to be a memorial of their old acquaintance.

Peireskius (that universal patron of learning) understood the value of Mr. Camden's friendship; and as he was always ready to lend him the utmost assistance he was able, so did he find him highly serviceable in whatever related to the affairs of England. Particularly, Monsieur Duchesne, in his preface to the *Norman Writers*, gratefully acknowledges, that the *Elogium Emmae*, the writings of *Gulielmus Pictaviensis*, and several catalogues of the Norman nobility who came over along with the Conqueror, were all owing to Mr. Camden; and that they were procured for him by the interest of Peireskius.

His acquaintance with Thuanus was late; but when begun, it was very intimate, and lasted till the death of that glory of France, and the prince of modern

historians, as Mr. Camden afterwards styled him. The first letter he sent him, was by the hands of Mr. Lisle, in the year 1606. Whether this was about the business of Mary Queen of Scots, I know not; but 'tis certain, if Thuanus had taken Mr. Camden's advice, he had not given so much offence to the English court, by that part of his history.

That he desired Mr. Camden's information upon that head, is plain from his letter to him; but what particulars were returned we know not: only thus much in general, that he should by all means be very nice and tender in the relation of that matter. Thus far we learn from Thuanus's own letter sent the next year after, along with the second tome of his history. *Sed valde vereor (says he) ut temperamentum illud, de quo monueras, in rerum scoticarum narratione ubique servaverim.*<12> Wherein he also tells him, that if the Scotch affairs of that time could have been wholly passed over, he was sensible how much odium and ill will he had avoided; but that, being so very notorious, and so much in everybody's mouth, it had been an unpardonable crime in an historian to waive them. That he delivered everything upon the authority of several of that kingdom, who had been eye-witnesses, and laid no farther stress upon what Buchanan had said, than as he found it confirmed by them. For which reasons he desires, that if any reflections should be made upon it at court, Mr. Camden would do him this friendly office, to clear him from all suspicion of being an enemy to either the English or Scotch nation; and to satisfy everyone, that he had acted in it with the utmost integrity. But King James was extremely offended to find it run so much to the disadvantage of his mother; and the more, because he knew several of the matters of fact, upon which the charge was grounded, to be utterly false. Whereupon he employed Mr. Camden to draw up animadversions upon that part of the history, and to transmit them to Thuanus; which indeed make the story much more fair on the Queen's side, than either he or Buchanan had represented it.

It has been said, that *when Mr. Camden's first volume of the Annals appeared, Thuanus writ severely to him, finding that it was so different from what had passed between them in letters.* If they who affirm this have Thuanus's letter to produce, I have nothing to say to it. But if their only authority be a current report of the kingdom, one may observe two or three circumstances which seem to make against it, or at least to imply that he could have no great reason to quarrel with Mr. Camden upon that score. For, in the beginning of his letter sent along with the second tome, he excuses himself, and says, he's afraid he has not altogether observed that moderation and tenderness, which Mr. Camden had prescribed, in the Scotch affairs; and absolves him from any false information in matters of fact, when he tells us, towards the end of the same letter, that he set down the whole matter as he had it from particular persons of that kingdom: *Rem, ut ex scotorum, qui interfuerant, sermonibus didici, ita literis mandavi: & ad eorum fidem scripta a Buchanano expendi.*<13> So that if Mr. Camden did gratify his request, and sent him his observations upon that head, it seems he made no use of them. Again, if he had been led into errors, and thrown under His Majesty's displeasure by any instructions Mr. Camden sent over, it might have been expected from one of his candour and modesty, that in the *Animadversions* he should at least have begged his pardon, and let him know, that when he writ, *that* was his opinion, but that he had since been better informed by His Majesty and the sight of records. Whereas, instead of this, there is a vein of sharpness runs through that whole paper, and he gives Thuanus very broad hints, that he had followed Buchanan but too close. So that expressing his dislike of several passages in this history the very next

year, if Thuanus had been drawn into those errors by Mr. Camden, he might have made his resentments long enough before the publication of the annals.

He settled an intimate acquaintance with Hottoman, who was secretary to Robert Earl of Leicester; after whose return into France (where he was employed on an embassy into Germany) they two kept a close correspondence. Nor must we forget the learned Franciscus Pithoeus, who settled a very early familiarity with him; or Petrus Puteanus, of whose fidelity he had so great a confidence, that when he had taken up a resolution of suppressing the second part of the *Annals* till after his death, he thought he could not lodge the copy in any safer hands.

His acquaintance at home lay mostly among the learned; having no inclination, to court the favour of great men, nor time to spend upon that sort of attendance.

Mr. Tho. Saville of Oxford was one of the first of this kind; whose untimely death in the flower of his age was a very sensible loss to Mr. Camden. But his intimate acquaintance with his brother Sir Henry Saville, made amends for it; who was so great an admirer of Mr. Camden's learning and goodness, that he would fain have prevailed upon him to spend his latter days at his house in Eton College. *I am sure, (says he) you might make me a happy man in my old age, without any discontent, I hope, to yourself. I dare say we would all do our best that you should not repent of your living here.* The same Sir Henry was exceeding serviceable to him in the settlement of his history-lecture in Oxford; having experienced the difficulties by his establishment of an astronomy-lecture in the same university, a little before.

Archbishop Usher consulted him upon all occasions, and in return gave him great assistance in the affairs of Ireland; as the learned Dr. John Jonston of Aberdeen did in the antiquities of Scotland.

Sir Robert Cotton was his companion both in studies and travels, both at home and abroad. He and his library were the two oracles Mr. Camden generally consulted; and his journey to Carlisle in the year 1600 was rendered much more pleasant and profitable by the company of so true a friend, and so great a master of antiquities. Dr. Francis Godwin, first, Bishop of Llandaff, and then of Hereford, afforded him the same satisfaction in his journey into Wales.

Dr. James (the first keeper of Sir Thomas Bodley's library in Oxford) was very useful to him in his studies, as we learn from some letters that he received from him. I am willing to take this opportunity of publishing them, because they all relate to the affairs of learning: and we cannot doubt, but if these had come to hand, the excellent editor of his epistles would have allowed them a place among the rest.

My loving and good Mr. James,

Your great pains to satisfy my desire, omitting thereby your private business, hath been far more than I could wish you should have undergone, and much more than I can deserve; and therefore requireth greater thanks than in words I can remember: but assure yourself I will register them up in a most thankful mind. As soon as ever the year openeth, with God's grace, I will take a journey to Cambridge, to satisfy myself with *Essebiensis*, and some other specified in your catalogue, albeit that I see in matters before the Norman Conquest, in the paucity of writers, they do all trace one another, and therefore few especial notes do occur in them. In the mean, with a million of hearty thanks to you, and my hearty commendations to Mr. Causton, I rest, greatly indebted to you,

Your loving friend, William Camden.

Camden's Britannia

Good Mr. Causton, and my good Mr. James,

Let it not seem strange, that I should conjoin you two thus jointly in one, when as love and good liking, with the mother of friendship, *similitudo studiorum*,^{<14>} hath so assuredly linked you together. I most heartily thank you both, the one for opening the passage and entrance, and the other for admitting me into his amity. And verily, in this behalf, I do congratulate inwardly to myself, that I have now gotten so good a friend, unto whom (I solemnly vow) I will most willingly perform all offices of true friendship whatsoever. Only I am sorry that I was then absent, when I should have enjoyed his presence the last week at London. But more sorry am I, that the good opportunity of those good MSS. hath overslipped me; for the printer, who is impatient of stay, is now already forward, and my occasions will not permit me to come now to Cambridge. I have long since seen *Fordon*, *Gervasius Tilburiensis*, *Gualterus Conventrensis*, and *Trivet*; some copies are here extant amongst my friends; and lately I happened upon Talbot's notes in *Antonini Itinerarium*: only I desire you to look into that *Exameron Angliae* and *Notabilia Bristoliae*, and *Worcester*, if there be any special observations; as also in the *Historical Epitome* of Alexander Essebiensis. As for his *Poem of the Festival Days*, I long since read it over. Thus commending myself to your good love conjointly, and you both to the gracious protection of the almighty, I heartily bid you farewell, resting

Yours most assuredly, Will. Camden.

Decemb. 6. 1599.

Right worshipful,

My ancient good friend Casper Gevartius living now at Paris, a man by his works not unknown to you so conversant among books, hath written to me as much is herein enclosed. My desire is, that you would satisfy him by me, if there be in your library any such MS. of Manilius' *Astronomicon*. I have been informed, that there is one, and that a learned student of your university hath conferred it with Scaliger's edition. If this be true, I most earnestly request you to communicate thus much with him, and to understand whether he be purposed to set it out himself: if not, whether he will be content to impart *Variantes Lectiones* with Gevartius, who (I presume so much of his candour) will not defraud him of the honour due to his labour and learning; if not, I will send you a copy of Scaliger's edition, and desire you to get some student to confer it with the MS. and I will satisfy him to his full contentation, and shall rest indebted to you for your care herein.

Your loving friend assuredly,

W. Camden, Clarenceux.

Westm. 22. Jan. 1614. Anni Juliani.

Sir Henry Spelman calls himself his ancient friend; and in his account of the society of antiquaries which settled in London, makes Mr. Camden one of the chief. I find it before his original manuscript of the *History of Terms*, by way of preface; but the publisher thereof has followed an imperfect copy, and nothing of it appears in the printed books. It may be a piece of service to supply that defect; and not at all unseasonable in this place, since it gives us a further light into Mr. Camden's acquaintance, and shows us what that age took to be the most effectual method for improvement of ancient learning.

About 42 years since, divers gentlemen in London, studious of antiquities, framed themselves into a College or Society of Antiquaries, appointing to meet every Friday weekly in the term, at a place agreed of, and for learning sake to confer upon

some questions in that faculty, and to sup together. The place, after a meeting or two, became certain at Darby House, where the herald's office is kept, and two questions were propounded at every meeting, to be handled at the next that followed; so that every man had a sennight's^{<15>} respite to advise upon them, and then to deliver his opinion. That which seemed most material, was by one of the company (chosen for the purpose) to be entered in a book, that so it might remain unto posterity. The society increased daily, many persons of great worth, as well noble as other learned, joining themselves unto it.

Thus it continued divers years; but as all good uses commonly decline, so many of the chief supporters hereof, either dying or withdrawing themselves from London into the country, this among the rest grew for 20 years to be discontinued. But it then came again into the mind of divers principal gentlemen to revive it; and for that purpose upon the — day of — in the year 1614. There met at the same place Sir James Ley knight, then Attorney of the Court of Wards, since Earl of Marlebury, and Lord Treasurer of England, Sir Robert Cotton knight and baronet, Sir John Davies His Majesty's Attorney for Ireland, Sir Richard St. George knight, then Norroy,^{<16>} Mr. Hackwell the Queen's solicitor, Mr. Camden then Clarenceux, myself, and some others. Of these, the Lord Treasurer, Sir Robert Cotton, Mr. Camden, and myself, had been of the original foundation, and to my knowledge were all then living of that sort, saving Sir John Doddridge knight, Justice of the King's Bench.

We held it sufficient for that time to revive the meeting, and only conceived some rules of government and limitation to be observed amongst us, whereof this was one; that for avoiding offence, we should neither meddle with matters of state nor of religion. And agreeing of two questions for the next meeting, we chose Mr. Hackwell to be our register, and the convocator of our assemblies for the present; and supping together, so departed.

One of the questions was, touching the original of the *Terms*; about which, as being obscure and generally mistaken, I bestowed some extraordinary pains, that coming short of others in understanding, I might equal them if I could in diligence. But before our next meeting, we had notice that His Majesty took a little mislike of our society, not being informed that we had resolved to decline all matters of state. Yet hereupon we forbore to meet again, and so all our labours lost. But mine lying by me, and having been often desired of me by some of my friends, I thought good upon a review and augmentation to let it creep abroad in the form you see it, wishing it might be rectified by some better judgment.

The manuscript is now in the Bodleian library: and anyone who has leisure to compare the printed copy with it, will find the additions under Sir Henry's own hand to be so considerable, that he will have no occasion to repent of his labour.

Thus much for his education, his works, his friends. Let us now view him in his retirement. He found the noise and hurry of business extremely injurious to a broken constitution, that was every day less able to bear it; and thought it was time to contract his thoughts, and make himself more master of his hours, when he had so few before him. Thus, when he was towards sixty years of age, he took a house at Chislehurst, some ten miles from London; where he lived till his dying day, and compiled the greatest part of the *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*.

About two years before his death, when the pains and aches of old age had made him in a great measure incapable of study, he entered upon another method of

-serving the public, by encouraging others in the same search. He was not content to have revived antiquity, to have nursed and trained her up with the utmost care and tenderness, unless (like an indulgent father) he provided her a fortune, and laid a firm foundation for her future happiness. It was a design he had many years before resolved upon; witness the conclusion of his *Britannia, Nihil aliud nunc restat, &c. Quam ut deo opt. max. & venerandae antiquitati anathema consecrarem, quod libens merito nunc voveo, &c.*<17>

This was his pious vow; and he was willing to see it discharged e'er he died. Where to bestow this charity, was a point that did not cost him much thought: his own education, and other circumstances, gave the University of Oxford a sort of title. So, after he had settled everything in due form of law, he sent down his gift by the hands of his intimate friend Mr. Heather. On the seventeenth day of May, in the year 1622. Dr. Piers Dean of Peterborough, and then vice-chancellor, declared in Convocation, how Mr. Camden had founded a history lecture, and for the maintenance of a professor, had transferred over all his right in the manor of Bexley in Kent to the chancellor, masters, and scholars of the said university, with this proviso, that the profits of the said manor (valued at about 400*l.* Per annum) should be enjoyed by William Heather, his heirs and executors, for the term of 99 years, to begin from the death of Mr. Camden: and that during this time the said William Heather should pay to the professor of history in Oxford, the sum of 140*l.* Yearly.

Hereupon, the university sent him a public letter of thanks; and because they understood, Mr. Heather was a person for whom he had a singular respect, they voluntarily conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Music, along with Mr. Orland Gibbons, another of Mr. Camden's intimate acquaintance. This civility procured them a new benefactor, and a new lecture. For afterwards, Mr. Heather, as an acknowledgment for this favour, founded a music lecture, and endowed it with the annual revenue of 16*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

The first history professor was Mr. Degory Whear, nominated by Mr. Camden, upon the recommendation of the chancellor, vice chancellor, and other learned men. His first essay was a general direction for the reading of histories; which he dedicated to his patron. Mr. Brian Twine, a person admirably well versed in the antiquities of England, procured a grant from the founder to succeed; but he dying before him, the right of election devolved upon the university for ever.

Thus, by the same act, he discharged his vow, and eased himself of the cares and troubles of the world. The little he had left he disposed of by will (which he drew up with his own hands, about six months before his death) in charities to the poor, legacies to his relations, and some small memorials to his particular acquaintance. All his books of heraldry he gave to the office; the rest, both printed and manuscript, to the library of Sir Robert Cotton. But the printed part, upon the erection of a new library in the church of Westminster, was removed thither by the procurement of Dr. John Williams, Lord Keeper of England, Bishop of Lincoln, and Dean of this church, who laid hold of an expression in the will, that was capable of a double meaning.

He was never out of England; though no one could have promised himself a more kind reception among foreigners. He chose a single life; apprehending that the encumbrances of a married state was like to prove a prejudice to his studies. He lived and died a member of the Church of England; and gave such clear proofs of his entire affections towards it, that 'tis a wonder how a certain Romish author could have the face to insinuate, that he only dissembled his religion, and was allured with the

prospect of honours and preferments. His zeal against popery lost him a fellowship in Oxford, brought most of his works under the censure of the Church of Rome, and exposed him to the lash of Parsons, Possevinus, and others. Many of his scholars became eminent members of our church; and he converted several Irish gentlemen from popery, as the Walshes, Nugents, O'Reillys, Sheas, the eldest son of the Archbishop of Cashel, &c. Whether these look more like the actions of an hypocrite in religion, or the effects of a firm persuasion and a well-grounded zeal, let the world judge. After so many testimonies, Mr. Camden might very well say, *My life and my writings shall apologize for me: and despise the reproaches of one who did not spare the most reverend and learned prelates of our church; nor was ashamed to bely the Lords Deputies of Ireland, and others of honourable rank.*

In his writings, he was candid and modest; in his conversation, easy and innocent; and in his whole life, even and exemplary.

He died at Chislehurst, the ninth day of November, 1623, in the 73rd year of his age. ('tis by a mistake in his monument, 74.) Being removed from London, on the nineteenth of the same month he was carried to Westminster Abbey in great pomp. The whole college of heralds attended in their proper habits, great numbers of the nobility and gentry accompanied, and at their entrance into the church, the prebends and the other members received the corpse in their vestments, with great solemnity, and conducted it into the nave of the church. After the funeral sermon (preached by Dr. Sutton, one of the prebends) they buried him in the South aisle, hard by the learned Casaubon, and over against the ingenious Chaucer. Over the place, is a handsome monument of white marble, with his effigies to the middle, and in his hand a book, with Britannia inscribed on the leaves. Under this is the following inscription:

QUI. FIDE. ANTIQUA. ET. OPERA. ASSIDUA.
BRITANNICAM. ANTIQUITATEM:
INDAGAVIT.
SIMPLICITATEM. INNATAM. HONESTIS.
STUDIIS. EXCOLUIT.
ANIMI. SOLERTIAM. CANDORE. ILLUSTRAVIT.
GUILIELMUS. CAMDENUS.
AB. ELIZABETHA. R. AD. REGIS. ARMORUM.
(CLARENTII. TITULO.) DIGNITATEM.
EVOCATUS.
HIC. SPE. CERTA. RESURGENDI. IN
CHRISTO. S. E.
Q.
OBIIT. AN. DNI. 1623. 9 NOVEMBRIS.
AETATIS. SUAE. 74.

That is,

"William Camden, who illustrated the British Antiquities, by ancient truth and indefatigable industry, and adorned his innate simplicity with useful literature, and illustrated his pleasantness of humour with candour and sincerity. He was appointed by Queen Elizabeth to the dignity of Clarenceux King of Arms. Here he lies quietly, in the certain hope of resurrection in Christ. He died 9 November 1623, aged 74."

Mr. Camden's Dedication

TO THE MOST SERENE
AND PUISSANT PRINCE,
JAMES, KING OF
GREAT BRITAIN,
FRANCE AND IRELAND,
DEFENDER OF THE FAITH,
BORN FOR THE ETERNITY OF
BRITISH RENOWN AND EMPIRE,
THE FOUNDER OF LASTING PEACE
AND AUTHOR OF PUBLIC SECURITY,
WILLIAM CAMDEN
HIS MOST DEVOTED SUBJECT
DEDICATES THIS WORK

Mr. Camden's Preface.



I think I may, without the least scruple, address the courteous reader in the same words I made use of twenty years ago, upon the first edition of this book; with some very small additions. The great restorer of the old geography Abraham Ortelius, thirty years ago, did very earnestly solicit me to acquaint the world with Britain, that ancient island; that is, to restore Britain to its antiquities, and its antiquities to Britain; to renew the memory of what was old, illustrate what was obscure, and settle what was doubtful, and to recover some certainty (as much as possible) in our affairs, which either the carelessness of writers, or credulity of vulgar readers had totally bereft us of. A great attempt indeed, not to say impossible; to which undertaking as no one scarce imagines the industry requisite, so no one really believes it, but he who has made the experiment himself. Yet as the difficulty of the design discouraged me on the one side, so the honour of my native country encouraged me on the other; insomuch, that whilst I dreaded the task, and yet could not decline doing what I was able for the glory of my country, I found (I know not how) the greatest contrarieties, fear and courage, (which I thought could never have met in one man) in strict confederacy within my own breast. However, by the blessing of God, and my own industry, I set about the work, full of resolution, thought, study, and daily contrivance; and at spare times devoted myself wholly to it. I have made but a timorous search after the etymology of Britain, and its first inhabitants: nor have I positively asserted what admits of doubt; for I very well know, that the original of countries are obscure, and altogether uncertain, over-run as it were with the rust of age, and, like objects at a great distance from the beholders, scarce visible. Thus the courses and mouths of great rivers, their turnings, their confluence, are all well known, whilst their springs for the generality lie hid and undiscovered. I have traced the ancient divisions of Britain, and have made a summary report of the states and judicial courts of these flourishing kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. I have compendiously settled the bounds of each county (but not by measure) and examined the nature of the soil, the places of greatest antiquity, what dukes, what earls, what barons there have been. I have set down some of the most ancient and honourable families; for 'tis impossible to mention them all. Let them censure my performance, who are able to make a true judgment, which perhaps will require some consideration: but time, that uncorrupted witness, will give the best information, when envy, that preys upon the living, shall hold its peace. Yet this I must say for myself, that I have neglected nothing that could

give us any considerable light towards the discovery of hidden truth in matters of antiquity, having gotten some insight into the old British and Saxon tongues for my assistance. I have travelled very near all over England, and have consulted in each county, the men of best skill, and most general intelligence. I have diligently perused our own writers; as well as the Greek and Latin ones, that mention the least tittle of Britain. I have examined the public records of this kingdom, ecclesiastical registers, and libraries, acts, monuments, and memorials of churches and cities; I have searched the ancient rolls, and cited them upon occasion in their own style, though never so barbarous, that by such unquestionable evidence truth might be restored and vindicated. Yet possibly I may seem guilty of imprudence and immodesty, who though but a smatterer in the business of antiquities, have appeared a scribbler upon the stage of this learned age, exposed to the various censures of wise and judicious men. But to speak the truth sincerely, the natural affection I have for my country, which includes the good will of all, the glory of the British original, and persuasion of friends, have conquered that shyness of mine, and forced me, whether I would or no, against my own judgment, to undertake a work I am so unfit to prosecute; for which I expect on all sides to be attacked with prejudice, censure, detraction, and reproach. Some there are who cry down the study of antiquity with much contempt, as too curious a search after what is past; whose authority as I shall not altogether slight, so I shall not much regard their judgment. Nor am I wholly without reasons, sufficient to gain the approbation of men of honesty and integrity, who value the honour of their native country; by which I can recommend to them in these studies a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction of mind, becoming men of breeding and quality. But if there are such men to be found, who would be strangers to learning and their own country, and foreigners in their own cities, let them please themselves, I have not wrote for such humours. There are others perhaps who will cavil at the meanness and roughness of my language, and the ungentleess of my style. I frankly confess, neither is every word weighed in Varro's scale; nor did I design to gratify the reader with a nosegay of all the flowers I could meet with in the garden of eloquence. But, why should they object this, when Cicero the father of eloquence denied, that such a subject as this could bear a flourish, which, as Pomponius said, is not a proper subject for rhetoric.

Many, perhaps, will fall foul on me, for daring to trace the original of ancient names by guess only; who, if they will admit of no conjecture, I fear at length must exclude the best part of polite learning, and in that a good part of human knowledge: for the mind of man is so shallow, that we are forced to explain and follow some things in all arts by guess. In physic there are the symptoms, tokens, and signs, which in reality are but conjectures. In rhetoric, civil law, and other sciences, there is an established allowance for supposition. But since conjectures are the signs of somewhat that lies hid, and are (as Fabius says) the directors of reason to the truth, I always accounted them the engines with which time is wont to draw up truth from the bottom of Democritus's well.

But if they will admit of any conjectures at all, I doubt not, but my cautiousness and moderation in the use of them will easily procure favour. Plato in his *Cratylus* would have us trace the original of names down to barbarous tongues, as being the most ancient; and accordingly, in all my etymologies and conjectures, I have had recourse to the British or (as 'tis now called) the Welsh tongue, which was spoken by the first and most ancient inhabitants of this country. He would have the name of everything to agree with the thing itself; if it disagree, I give it no admittance. There is (says he) in things, a sound, a form, a colour; if these are not in the word, I reject it

with contempt. As for obscure etymologies, strained, far-fetched, and variously applicable, I thought them not worthy to be inserted in this book. In short, I have been so cautious and frugal of my conjectures, that (unless I mistake) to an impartial reader, if I seem not lucky in my adventures, I shall not seem too forward in adventuring. And though in so much scope, I have sometimes made two conjectures upon one and the same thing, yet in the meantime I do not forget, that unity is the sacred band of truth.

There are those, 'tis probable, who will stomach it at a great rate, that I have taken no notice of this or that family, when 'twas never my design to mention any, but the best; nor all of those neither, (for they would swell into volumes) but only those that lay in the way and method I proposed for finishing this work. Yet in another place, I hope (by God's permission) to do somewhat of this kind for the honour of the English nobility. But whoever takes it so heinously, may probably be of the number of those who have been the least serviceable to their country, and who claim their nobility from a modern date. The same persons, it may be, will condemn me for commending some who are living; but I have done it briefly, with moderation, and an assurance of their merit, from a reputation established by the consent of the discerning world, and not from a principle of flattery. Yet from that commendation I have given them, they themselves are admonished, that their behaviour be not disagreeable, to the end that they may not only support, but increase their character. Posterity, whatever writers commit to paper, will do justice to everyone in their characters; and to them I appeal from this present age. In the meanwhile, let them remember, that to praise the good, is but to hang out a light to those that come after us; for 'tis a true saying of Symmachus, *Imitation receives encouragement from the promotion of the good; and an emulation to virtuous actions, is raised by the example of another's honour*. If anyone says, that I have sought occasion to mention and commend this or that person, I am ready to confess it: for it is not criminal to use the good with a due respect; and we ought to have some grains of allowance for the good deserts of our friends. But which way soever it comes about, virtue and honour have always enemies to encounter; and men generally express a veneration for what is past, and vent their spleen at what is present. Far be it from me, that I should be so partial a judge of men and manners, as to think our age, under the government of such great princes, barren of men of worth and character; but those who grudge the virtuous a good name, I fear, may complain, that they themselves are pointed at by a similitude of manners, in the discredit and scandal of the bad.

Some will accuse me of leaving out this or that little town or castle; as if I had designed to take notice of any besides the most famous and ancient: nor could it have been worthwhile to have mentioned them, since nothing's memorable in them but their bare names. For that which I first proposed to myself, was to search out and illustrate those places, which Caesar, Tacitus, Ptolemy, Antoninus Augustus, *Provinciarum Notitia*, and other ancient writers, have recorded; the names whereof time has either lost, changed, or corrupted; in search of which, I neither confidently affirm what is uncertain, nor conceal what is probable. But I would not have it laid to my charge, that I have not hit upon all, though I have been at the expense and trouble of making an industrious enquiry; any more than it is objected to the miner, that in digging, whilst he traces out the greater veins of metal, he overlooks the smallest and hidden ones. Or, to borrow that saying of Columella, *As in a great wood 'tis the business of a keen huntsman to take what game he can upon the hunt: nor was it ever laid to anyone as a fault, that he did not take all*. The same may be said for me.

Somewhat must be left for the labours of other men. Nor is he a good teacher (says a great man) who teaches everything, and leaves nothing for the invention of others. Another age, a new race of men, will produce somewhat new successively. 'Tis enough for me to have broke the ice; and I have gained my ends, if I have set others about the same work, whether it be to write more, or amend what I have written.

There are some, I hear, who take it ill that I have mentioned monasteries, and their founders; I am sorry to hear it; but (not to give them any just offence) let 'em be angry if they will. Perhaps they would have it forgotten that our ancestors were, and we are, Christians; since there never were more certain indications and glorious monuments of Christian piety and devotion to God, than those; nor were there any other seminaries for the propagation of the Christian religion, and good literature, however it came to pass, that in a loose age some rank weeds run up too fast, which required rooting out.

But mathematicians will impeach me, and lay to my charge the gross mistakes I have committed in stating the degrees of longitude and latitude. But spare me a little: I have collated all the astronomical tables, new and old, printed and MS., those of Oxford and Cambridge, and those of King Henry the Fifth. They differ much in latitude from Ptolemy, but agree pretty well with one another (not that I believe with Stadius, that the globe of the earth is removed from its centre,) and upon that score I have relied upon them. But all differ as to longitude, and agree in nothing. What therefore could I do? Since our modern sailors have observed that there is no variation of the compass, at the Isles of Azores, I have thence commenced the account of longitude, which yet I have not everywhere taken critical dimensions of.

I need not ask pardon for being obscure, or fabulous, or for making extravagant digressions; for I apprehend no danger of being censured as unintelligible, unless it be by those, who have no taste of ancient learning, and have not so much as dipped in our histories: and as for romances, I have shown them no countenance: and to keep myself from straggling, I took Pliny's advice, and often had the title of the book in my eye, and at the same time put the question to myself, what I undertook to write? Maps have been hitherto wanted in this work, which would have added much to the beauty of it, and are of infinite use in these studies, especially when there is a description too. But this is a defect which was not in my power to supply. Though they are now done by the care of George Bishop and John Norton, according to the description of those excellent chorographers Christopher Saxton and John Norden. But lest I should exceed the bounds of a preface: the better to accomplish this work, I employed the whole bent of my labours, for some years, to the strict enquiry after truth (with duty and integrity, for the honour and illustration of my country) in matters relating to antiquity. I have not slandered any family, nor blasted anyone's reputation; neither have I taken the liberty of descanting upon anyone's name, nor violated their credit, nay, not so much as Geoffrey's of Monmouth, whose history (which I would by all the means I can use, establish) is yet of little authority amongst men of learning. Neither have I affected anyone part of knowledge, unless it be that I am desirous to know. I frankly own that I am ignorant, and many times erroneous, nor will I patronize or vindicate my own mistakes. What marks-man that shoots a whole day, can always hit the mark? There are many things in these studies *cineri supposta doloso*,^{<18>} which glittering, are not gold. Many errors are owing to a treacherous memory; for who is so much master of it, as to treasure up every occurrence there, so as to produce it upon all occasions? Many errors proceed from unskilfulness; for who is so good a pilot as to cruise in the unnavigable sea of antiquity without splitting

upon rocks? And perchance I may have been led into errors by the opinion I have had of others, whose authority I have relied upon. Nor truly is there a falser step to be made (says Pliny) in the paths of truth, than when a stanch author asserts a false thing. Inhabitants may better observe the particulars of places; but if they will inform me of any mistake, I will thankfully mend it; and add what I have unwarily omitted: what I have been too dark in explaining, I will explain better, when I have a clearer light to guide me; give me but protection from envy and contention, which ill become men that pretend to candour and integrity. Yet these favours, most courteous reader, let your own good nature, my pains, the common love we entertain for our country, and the glory of the British name, intercede with you for, in my behalf, that I may speak my mind freely without prejudice to others, that I may stand upon the same bottom that others have done before me in the like circumstances, and that the errors which I own, you may pardon; all which, as I think they are better bestowed by, than requested of just and good men, so I think them not fit to be asked of those mean and undeserving persons, whose tongues are slandering while their teeth are going, who are carping in all companies, full of reproach and malice. I have learnt of the comedian, that slander is the treasure of fools, which they carry in their tongues; and that envy (in spite of it be it spoken) according to that long and true observation I have made, never harbours but in a sneaking, narrow, and starveling mind. Generous souls, and men of breeding and manners, as they have learnt to slight envy, so they have not learnt how to make use of it. But as for me and my works, there remains nothing, but that I humbly submit them with the greatest deference and veneration to the men of learning and sincerity, who if they do not approve, at least, I hope, will pardon what I have attempted out of that zealous affection I profess for my native country.

Adieu.

Epigraphs

Through dangerous fords, o'er ways unbeaten too
The searchers after truth are bound to go;
This poor employ can few professors get,
A boyish task, below the men of wit.
But 'tis a work of hardship when begun,
A load uneasy to be undergone.
Terentianus Maurus, *de Litt., de Syll. de Metr.* 1.61-6

Books take their doom from each peruser's will,
Just as they think, they pass for good or ill.
Ibid. 1.1286

Britain.

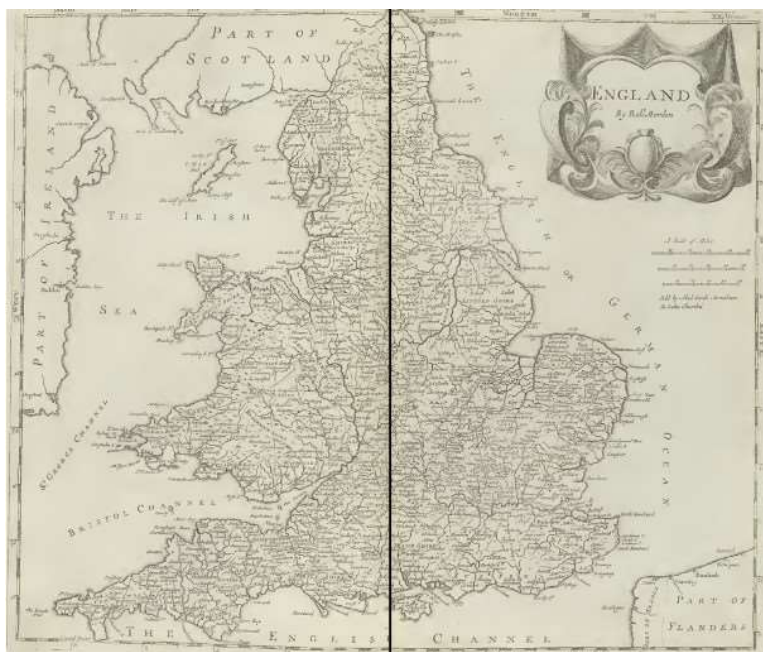


Illustration — England and Wales

BRITAIN, called also Albion, and by the Greeks *Bretania*, *Bretniche*, *Albion*, and *Alaion*, the most famous island of the whole world, is divided from the continent of Europe by the ocean. It lies over against Germany and France in a triangular form, having its three promontories shooting out three several ways, viz. Belerium [the Land's End] towards the West; Cantium [the Kentish foreland] towards the East; Tarvisium or Orcas [Caithness] towards the North. On the West, between it and Ireland, the Vergivian or Irish Sea breaks in; on the North it is beaten upon by the vast and wide northern ocean; on the East, where it faceth Germany, it is washed by the German ocean; on the South over against France, by the British Channel. Thus divided by a convenient distance from these neighbouring nations, and made fit by its open harbours for the traffic of the whole world, it seems to have advanced itself on all sides into the sea. As it were, for the general benefit of mankind. For between Kent and Calais in France, it runs so far out into the sea, and the Channel is so contracted, that some are of opinion that a breach was there made to receive the sea, which till that time had been excluded: and to confirm it, they bring Virgil's authority in that verse,

Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.
 And Britain quite from all the world disjoined.

Because, says Servius Honoratus, Britain was anciently joined to the continent. And that of Claudian they urge, in imitation of Virgil,

—*nostro diducta Britannia mundo.*

And Britain severed from our world.

And it is not unlikely, that the outward face and fashion of the earth may by the deluge and other causes have been altered; that some mountains may have been raised and heightened, and many high places may have sunk into plains and valleys; lakes and meres may have been dried up, and dry places may have become lakes and meres; and some islands may have been torn and broken off from the continent. But whether it be true indeed, and whether there were any islands before the flood, I shall not here argue, nor give too rash a judgment upon God's works. All know that the divine providence hath disposed different things to the same end. And indeed it hath always been allowed, as well by divines as philosophers, that isles, scattered in the sea, do no less contribute to the beauty of the whole world in general, than lakes dispersed in the continent, and mountains raised above plains.

Livy and Fabius Rusticus have made the form of this island to resemble an oblong platter or two edged axe; and such certainly is its shape towards the South (as Tacitus observes,) which yet hath been ill applied to the whole island. For northward the vast tract of land shooting forward in the utmost shore, groweth narrow and sharp like a wedge. The ancients thought it so great and so very large in circumference, that Caesar, who was the first of the Romans that discovered it, wrote, *that he had found out another world, supposing it to be so great, that it seemed not to be surrounded with the sea, but even to encompass the ocean.* And Julius Solinus Polybistor asserts, that for its largeness, it almost deserved to be called another world. Nevertheless, our age, by the many surveys made by several persons, hath now well-nigh found the true dimensions of the whole isle. For from Tarvisium to Belerium, reckoning the windings and turnings of the shores along the West side, are computed about 912 miles. From thence along the Southern coasts to Cantium 320 miles. Hence coasting the German ocean, with crooked bays and inlets for 704 miles, it reacheth Tarvisium. So that by this computation, the whole island is in circuit 1836 miles; which measure, as it falls much short of Pliny's, so is it also somewhat less than Caesar's. Schitinius Chius is not worth my mentioning, who in Apollonius *De Mirabilibus* (having told us strange stories of fruits growing in Britain without kernels, and grapes without stones) makes its circuit 400 furlongs and no more. But Dionysius Afer in his description of the world, hath given a much better account of the British islands, that is, Britain and Ireland.

Vast is the compass of the British coasts;
A like extent no rival island boasts.

And with him Aristides and other Greek writers agree, who by way of excellency have truly called Britain *Megalon Endon*, the Great Island.

Now they that have more accurately compared the spaces of the heavens with the tracts of earth, have placed Britain under the 8th climate, and include it within the 18th and 26th parallels, computing the longest day at 18 equinoctial hours and an half. The Land's End, according to the spherical figure of the earth, they place 16 degrees and 50 scruples from the farthest point westward; and the Kentish Foreland in 21 degrees of longitude. As for the latitude, they measure in the Southern parts 50 degrees 10 scruples; at Caithness 59 degrees 40 scruples. So that Britain, by this situation, must needs enjoy both a fertile soil, and a most temperate air. The summers here are not so scorching, by reason of the constant breezes which fan the air, and

moderate the heats. These, as they invigorate everything that grows, so they give both to man and beast at the same time their health and their refreshment. The winters also here are mild and gentle. This proceeds not only from the thickness and closeness of the air, but also from the frequency of those still showers, which do with us much soften, and break the violence of the cold. Besides that, the seas which encompass it, do so cherish the land with their gentle warmth, that the cold is here much less severe than in some parts of France and Italy. Upon this consideration, Minutius Felix, when he would prove that the divine providence consults not only the interest of the world in general, but also of each part, makes use of our island as an instance. *Though Britain* (saith he) *enjoys not so much the aspect and influence of the sun, yet instead thereof, it is refreshed and comforted by the warmth of the sea which surrounds it.* Neither need we think that reflection strange, which he makes upon the warmth of the sea; since Cicero makes the same observation. *The seas*, saith he, *tossed to and fro with the winds, grow so warm, that from thence it may readily be inferred, that there is a certain heat that lies concealed in that vast fluid body.* To the temperate state also of this island Cescenius Getulicus, a very ancient poet, seems to have respect, in these his verses concerning Britain.

Probus in virg. Geo.
Non illic Aries verno ferit aera cornu,
Gnossia nec Gemini praecedunt cornua Tauri,
Sicca Lycaonius resupinat plaustra Boötes.
 Not there the spring the Ram's unkindness mourns,
 Nor Taurus sees the twins before his horns,
 His northern wain where dry Boötes turns.

Caesar also takes notice, that this country is more temperate than Gaul, and the cold less piercing. And Cornelius Tacitus observeth, *that in this island there is no extremity of cold:* and farther adds, *that except the vine, the olive, and some other fruits peculiar to the hotter climates, it produceth all things else in great plenty: that the fruits of the earth, as to their coming up, are forward in Britain, but are very slow in ripening. Of both which there is one and the same cause, the excessive moisture of the earth and air.* For indeed our air (as Strabo hath observed) is more obnoxious to rain, than snow. However, so happy is Britain in a most plentiful product of all sorts of grain, that Orpheus hath called it the very seat of Ceres. For to this island we are to apply that expression,

— see here the stately court
 Of royal Ceres! —

And in ancient times, this was as it were the granary and magazine of the western empire. For from hence the Romans were wont every year, in 800 vessels larger than barks, to transport vast quantities of corn, for the supply of their armies in garrison upon the frontiers of Germany. But perchance I may seem too fond and lavish in the praises of my own country; and therefore you shall now hear an old orator deliver its encomium. *O, fortunate Britain, the most happy country in the world, in that thou didst first behold Constantine our Emperor. Thee hath nature deservedly enriched with all the choicest blessings both of heaven and earth. Thou feelest neither the excessive colds of winter, nor the scorching heats of summer. Thy harvests reward thy labours with so vast an increase, as to supply thy tables with*

bread, and thy cellars with liquor. Thy woods have no savage beasts; no serpents harbour here, to hurt the traveller. Innumerable are thy herds of cattle, and the flocks of sheep, which feed thee plentifully, and clothe thee richly. And as to the comforts of life, the days are long, and no night passes without some glimpse of light. For whilst those utmost plains of the sea-shore are so flat and low, as not to cast a shadow to create night; they never lose the sight of the heavens and stars; but the sun, which to us appears to set, seems there only just to pass by. I shall here also introduce another orator, using these expressions to Constantius. *And I assure you, no small damage was it, not only to lose the name of Britain, but the great advantages thence accruing to our commonwealth; to part with a land so stored with corn, so flourishing in pasturage, rich in such store and variety of metals, so profitable in its tributes, on all its coasts so furnished with convenient harbours, and so immense in its extent and circuit.* Also nature's particular indulgence to this our island, a poet of considerable antiquity hath thus expressed, addressing himself to Britain in this epigram, in some men's opinion not unworthy to be published.

*Tu nimio nec stricta gelu nec sydere fervens,
Clementi coelo temperieque places.
Cum pareret natura parens, varioque favore
Divideret dotes omnibus una locis,
Seposuit potiora tibi, matremque professa,
Insula sis foelix plenaque pacis, ait.
Quicquid amat luxus, quicquid desiderat usus,
Ex te proveniet, vel aliunde tibi.*

Nor cold nor heat's extremes thy people fear,
But gentle seasons turn the peaceful year.
When teeming nature's careful hand bestowed
Her various favours on her numerous brood,
For thee th'indulgent mother kept the best,
Smiled in thy face, and thus her daughter blessed.
In thee, my darling isle, shall never cease
The constant joys of happiness and peace.
What e'er can furnish luxury or use
Thy sea shall bring thee, or thy land produce.

This happy fertility, and pleasantness of Britain, gave occasion to some persons to imagine that these were the Fortunate Islands, and those seats of the blessed, where the poets tell us, that the whole face of nature always smiled with one perpetual spring. This is affirmed by Isacius Tzetzes, in his comment upon Lycophron, among the Greeks a man of considerable reputation. And our own ancestors, it seems, admitted the same notion, as literally true. For when Pope Clement VI (as we read in Robert of Avesbury) had declared Lewis of Spain King of the Fortunate Islands, and to effect his project, had begun to levy forces in France and Italy; our countrymen were presently possessed with an opinion that the Pope's intent was to make him King of our island, and that all these preparations were designed for Britain, as one of those Fortunate Islands. Nay, so prevalent was this conceit, that even our grave ambassadors, then resident at Rome, hereupon withdrew in a disgust, and hastened home to acquaint their country with its approaching danger. Nor indeed would any man in our age be of another mind, supposing him barely to consider the fortunate state and the happy circumstances of this our British island. It is certainly the masterpiece of nature, performed when she was in her best and gayest humour;

which she placed as a little world by itself, upon the side of the greater, for the diversion of mankind. The most accurate model which she proposed to herself, to beautify the other parts of the universe. For here, which way soever we turn our eyes, we are entertained with a charming variety, and prospects extremely pleasant. I need not enlarge upon its inhabitants, nor extol the vigour and firmness of their constitution, the inoffensiveness of their humour, their civility to all men, and their courage and bravery, so often tried both at home and abroad; and not unknown to the remotest corner of the earth.

But concerning the most ancient and the very first inhabitants of this island, as also the original of the name of Britain, divers opinions have been started; and a great many (as a certain writer has expressed it) who knew little of the matter, have yet espoused it very warmly. Nor ought we Britons to expect more certain evidences in this case, than other nations. For, excepting those in particular, whose originals the holy scriptures have plainly delivered, all the rest, as well as we, remain under a dark cloud of error and ignorance, concerning their first rise. Nor indeed could it otherwise be, considering under how much rubbish the revolutions of so many past ages have buried truth. The first inhabitants of countries had other cares and thoughts to trouble their heads withal, than that of transmitting their originals to posterity. Nay, supposing they had never so much desired it, yet could they never have effectually done it. For their life was altogether uncivilized, perfectly rude, and wholly taken up in wars, so that they were long without any learning, which as it is the effect of a civilized life, of peace and leisure, so is it the only sure and certain means of preserving and transmitting to posterity the memory of things past. Moreover the druids, who were the priests among the Britons and Gauls, and to whose care was committed the preservation of all their ancient traditions: and likewise the bards, who made it their business to celebrate all gallant and remarkable adventures; both the one and the other, thought it unlawful to commit anything to books or writing. But, supposing they had left any matters upon record, yet, without doubt, at so vast a distance and after so many and so great alterations they must needs have been lost long since. For we see, that stones, pyramids, obelisks, and other monuments, that were esteemed more durable than brass itself, for preserving the memory of things, have long since perished by the injuries of time. But in the subsequent ages, there arose in many nations a sort of men, who were very studious to supply these defects out of their own invention. For when they could not tell what to deliver for certain truth, yet, that they might at least delight and please some men's wanton fancy, they invented divers stories (everyone according to the strength of his own imagination) about the original and names of people. These fancies some men quickly embraced, without a more curious search into the truth; and most were so taken with the pleasure of the fables, that they swallowed them without more ado.

But to omit all other writers, there is one of our own nation, Geoffrey ap Arthur of Monmouth, (whom I am loth to represent amiss in this point) published in the reign of Henry II, *A History of Britain*, translated, as he pretends, out of the British tongue: wherein he tells us, that one Brutus, a Trojan by descent, the son of Silvius, grandchild to Ascanius, and great-grandchild to the famous Aeneas, (whose mother was Venus, and consequently himself descended from Jove.) That this man at his birth cost his mother her life; and by chance having killed his father in hunting, (which thing the magicians had foretold) was forced to fly into Greece; that there he rescued from slavery the progeny of Helenus, son of Priam, overcame King Pandrasus, married his daughter, put to sea with the small remainder of the Trojans,

and falling upon the island of Leogetia, was there advised by the oracle of Diana, to steer his course towards this our western island. Accordingly, that he sailed through the Straights of Gibraltar, (where he escaped the Sirens) and afterwards, passing through the Tuscan sea, arrived in Aquitaine. That in a pitched battle, he routed Golfarius Pictus, King of Aquitaine, together with twelve princes of Gaul, that assisted him. And then after he had built the city of Tours, (as he says Homer tells us) and overran Gaul, he crossed over into this island, then inhabited by giants. That having conquered them, together with Gogmagog, who was the greatest of them all, from his own name he gave this island the name of Britain, in the year of the world 2855, and 334 years before the first Olympiad, and before the nativity of Christ, 1108. Thus far Geoffrey. But there are others, who bring other grounds and reasons for this name of Britain. Sir Thomas Eliot Kt. a very learned man, derives it from a Greek word, *Pritaneia*, which term among the Athenians signified their public revenues. Humphrey Lloyd, who hath the reputation to be one of the best antiquaries of this kingdom, with much assurance refers its original to the British word *Prideain*, that is to say, of a white colour. Pomponius Laetus tells us, that the Britons of Armorica in France gave it that name. Goropius Becanus will have it, that the Danes settled themselves here, and so called it *Bridania*, i.e. Free Dania. Others derive it from *Prutenia* [Prussia,] a part of Germany. Bodin supposeth it took its name from *Bretta*, a Spanish word, which signifies earth. Forcatulus, from *Brithin*, which, as it appears in Athenaeus, was the name of a sort of drink among the Grecians. Others deduce it from the *Brutii* in Italy, whom the Greeks called *Brettioi*. But those pedants are by no means to be endured, who would have it to be called Britain, from the brutish manners of the inhabitants.

These are all the opinions (so far as I know) that were ever thought worthy regard, touching the name of Britain. But as we cannot choose but think the fictions of foreigners in this matter extremely ridiculous, so we must needs own, that divers of our own countrymen give us no very satisfactory account. And indeed, in these and other such like cases, it is much easier to detect a falsity, than to establish a truth. For, besides that it is in itself an absurdity to seek the reason of this name in a foreign language, the general consent of the more noted historians confute Laetus; all informing us, that those Britons of France went from hence, and carried the name along with them thither. Also Britain flourished under this name several hundred years before the names of *Dania* and *Prutenia* were ever known in the world. And what hath our Britain to do with the Spanish *Bretta*? (which indeed I question much, whether it be a Spanish word,) and why should this island be so called, rather than any other country? It can hardly be made out, that the drink *Brithin* was ever used in our country; and to deduce the name of our nation from a liquor of the Grecians, is ridiculous. The Italian *Brutii* were indeed, as Strabo noteth, by the Lucani called *Brettioi*, which implies as much as fugitives or rovers: but that the *Brutii* ever roved so far as Britain, can never be proved. To come now to the conjectures of our own countrymen: Eliot's *Pritaneia* seems very improbable, since that word was peculiar to the Athenians; and the Greeks were wont to call this island *Brettanian*, not *Prutaneian*. Lloyd's *Prideain*, from whence he derives Britain, seems so far-fetched, and so overstrained an etymology, that I need not allege, how the word *Cain* comes originally from the Latin *Candidus*; which had crept into the provincial language of the Britons.

But now could we be but once well satisfied, that this history of Brutus were true and certain, there would be no farther occasion for any laborious search after the

original of the British nation; that business were all at an end, and lovers of antiquity would be excused from a troublesome and tedious enquiry. For my part, I am so far from labouring to discredit that history, that I assure you, I have often strained my invention to the uttermost to support it. Absolutely to reject it, would be to make war against time, and to fight against a received opinion. For shall one of my mean capacity presume to give sentence in a point of so much consequence? I refer the controversy entirely to the whole body of learned antiquaries; and leaving every man freely to the liberty of his own judgment, shall not be much concerned at anyone's opinion.

And yet here I find myself obliged to take notice (and I hope, since I search after nothing but truth, with the reader's pardon) that there are learned and judicious men, who endeavour divers ways to invalidate this relation, and are wont to attack me, when I offer to defend it, with these or the like arguments. Their first objection they draw from the age wherein these things are said to have been done, and peremptorily assert, that all is purely fabulous, (the sacred histories excepted) whatsoever is delivered by historians, as done before the first Olympiad, i.e. the year 770 before the birth of our saviour. Now these things which are told us concerning Brutus, precede that period by above 300 years. This exception they ground upon the authority of Varro, the most learned among the Roman writers, the fabulous time, or age. With whom the first period of time, which was from the creation to the deluge, bears the title of *Adelon*, i.e. obscure and uncertain, so called from our ignorance of the transactions of those times. The second, which was from the deluge to the first Olympiad, he calls *Mythichon*, i.e. fabulous, because most of those histories are fabulous, even of the Greek and Roman authors, who were the learned part of the world; and much more among a barbarous and unlearned people, such as were doubtless, in those times, all the inhabitants of these northern parts. In the next place they allege, that this relation is not confirmed by the authority of any proper writer, which in all history must be allowed to be the thing most material. Now they call those proper writers, who have antiquity and learning agreeable; and in proportion to those, they give more or less credit. But to all this sort of authors, as well as to the ancient Britons themselves, they confidently aver, that the very name of Brutus was perfectly unknown. Farther they say, that Caesar himself hath assured us, that above 1600 years ago, upon the strictest enquiry, *he could only discover thus much, that the inland parts of Britain were inhabited by such as were the true and ancient natives; but that the sea-coasts were peopled with foreigners, who had passed over thither out of Belgium.* Tacitus also (above 1400 years ago) who had made diligent search into these matters, says, what sort of men did at first inhabit Britain, whether bred and born in that island, or whether they came thither from foreign parts, among such a barbarous people, cannot now be discovered. Also Gildas Sapiens, who himself was a Briton, and lived above 1000 years since, says not one word concerning this Brutus; nay, even declares himself not well satisfied, whether the ancient Britons had any records or writings at all, wherein they had transmitted their history and original to posterity. And therefore he plainly confesses, *that he took all out of foreign writers, and not out of any writings or records left by his own countrymen. For if there ever had been any such, they were in his time quite lost, having either been burnt by the enemy at home, or carried away by the exiles into foreign parts.* Nennius also, disciple of Eluodugus, in the preface to his *Chronicle*, written 800 years since, complains, that the greatest scholars among the Britons, had but little learning, and that they had left no memorials. And confesseth, that whatsoever he had written, was collected out of the annals and chronicles of the holy fathers. They also argue, that

Bede, William of Malmesbury, and all the rest, who wrote before the year 1160, seem not to have ever heard so much as the name of our Brutus; there is as to this particular in all their writings such an universal silence.

They observe farther, that the very name of this Brutus was a stranger to the world, until a most barbarous and ignorant age gave an opportunity to one Hunnibald, a trifling writer, to obtrude his Francio, a Trojan, son to King Priam, as the founder of the French name and nation. Hence they conclude, that when our countrymen had once heard that their neighbours the French, derived their pedigree from the Trojans, they thought it below them, to come behind a people in descent, whom they equalled in valour. And hereupon, 400 years ago, our Geoffrey ap Arthur of Monmouth, first of all gratified the Britons with this Brutus, as founder of the British nation, and feigned him not only of a Trojan, but also of a divine extraction. Before which time they urge that there never was any the least mention made of such a man as Brutus.

They add moreover, that much about the same time Scotch writers set up their fictitious Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, King of Egypt, as the foundress of their nation. That thereabouts too, some persons abusing their parts, and mis-spending their time, without any ground of truth, forged for the Irish, their Hiberus; for the Danes, their Danus; for the Brabanters, their Brabo; for the Goths, their Gothus; for the Saxons, their Saxo, as the founders of their several nations. But now this our more knowing age hath discovered all these impostures; and since, the French have rejected their Francio as a mere counterfeit. *The French*, saith the most learned Turnebus, *when they lay claim to a Trojan original, do it purely in emulation of the Romans*. For when they saw this people so much build upon that, as the most noble pedigree, they thought it convenient to invest themselves in the same honour. Since also the most sober and thinking part of the Scots have cast off their Scota; and the force of truth itself hath at last entirely prevailed against that Hiberus, Danus, Brabo, and all the rest of these mock-princes; they much wonder why the Britons should so fondly adhere to their Brutus (as the original of their island's name) and to their Trojan extraction; as if there had been no Britons here before the destruction of Troy (which happened about 1000 years after the deluge) or as if there had not lived many valiant men in the world before Agamemnon.

Farther yet they tell us, that the greatest part of learned authors, as Boccatus, Vives, Hadrianus Junius, Polydore, Buchanan, Vignier, Genebrardus, Molinaeus, Bodinus, and other persons of great judgment, do unanimously affirm, that there never was such a man as this Brutus. Nay more, that very many of our countrymen, persons eminent for their learning, reject him as a mere impostor. Among whom in the first place, they produce John of Wheathampstead, Abbot of St. Albans, a man of excellent judgment, who wrote long ago concerning this matter in his *Granarium*. *According to other histories (which in the judgment of some men, deserve much more credit) the whole relation concerning Brutus, is rather poetical than historical, and upon several accounts, rather fanciful than real. As first, we find nowhere in the Roman histories, the least mention, either of the killing of the father, or of the begetting or banishment of the son. Secondly, Ascanius, according to several authors, had no son, whose proper name was Silvius. For they give us an account but of one that he ever had, to wit, Julius, from whom afterward the Julian family had its original, &c. And thirdly, Silvius Posthumus, whom possibly Geoffrey may mean, was the son of Aeneas by his wife Lavinia, and he having had a son named Aeneas, in the 38th year of his reign, ended his life, not by any mischance, but by a natural death. By all which circumstances it is apparent, that that kingdom, which is now called England, was not*

heretofore named Britain, from Brutus the son of Silvius, as many will have it. But others look upon the whole as no other than a ridiculous piece of foppery and vanity, to lay claim to this nobility of descent, when we cannot ground our pretence upon any probable foundation. 'Tis virtue alone that gives nobility to any nation; and it is a greatness of mind, with exactness of reason, that makes the true gentleman. Suitable hereunto, Seneca in his Epistles, tells us out of Plato, that there is no King, who was not extracted from slaves; nor any slave that descended not from kings. Let this therefore be allowed the British nation, as a sufficient evidence of their honourable original, that they are courageous and resolute in war, that they have been superior to all their enemies round, and that they have a natural aversion to servitude. In the second place, they produce William of Newburgh, a much more ancient writer, who in this rough language, fixed the charge of forgery upon Geoffrey, the compiler of the British history, as soon as ever he had published it. A certain writer, started up in our days, hath devised strange and ridiculous tales concerning the Britons, and with a sort of impudent vanity, hath extolled them far above the gallantry of the Macedonians or Romans. His name is Geoffrey, but he hath the additional one of Arthur too, because he sent abroad, under the honourable title of an history, the fables of King Arthur, taken out of the old fictions of the Britons, with some additions of his own, which he hath coloured over with a little Latin. The same man, with yet greater boldness, hath published as authentic prophecies (and pretends to ground them upon certain truth) the fallacious predictions of one Merlin; unto which also, in translating them into Latin, he hath added a good deal of his own invention. And a little after, Besides, in that book of his, which he entitles The History of the Britons, how saucily and bare-facedly he forges everything, is obvious to anyone who reads it, not altogether a stranger to the ancient histories. For such men as have not informed themselves of the truth, swallow all fables that come to hand by the lump. I say nothing of those great adventures of the Britons before Julius Caesar's landing and government, which he either feigned himself, or handed down the fabulous inventions of others, as authentic. Insomuch, that Giraldus Cambrensis, who lived and wrote in the same age, made no scruple to call it, *the fabulous History of Geoffrey*. Others deride Geoffrey's foolish topography in this narration, and his counterfeited testimony of Homer; and would persuade us, that the whole story is a thing patched up of mere incongruities and absurdities. They remark farther, that these his writings, together with his Merlin, stand condemned, among other prohibited books, by the Church of Rome. Others observe, that the greatest admirers of this our Brutus, are themselves still wavering and unresolved in the point. That author (say they) who takes upon him the name and title of Gildas, and briefly glosseth upon Nennius, in the first place imagineth this our Brutus, to have been a Roman consul; in the next, to have been the son of one Silvius, and then at last of one Hessian. I have heard also, that there is a certain Count Palatine very earnest to have our Brutus called *Brotus*, because his birth was fatal to his mother, *brotos* in Greek signifying mortal. In the judgment of others, these men might have bestowed on the Britons a more probable, and yet a more illustrious original, if they had drawn their descent, either from Brito the Centaur, mentioned by Higinius; or from that Bretanus, upon whose daughter Celtice (according to Parthenius Nicaeus, a very ancient author) Hercules begat Celtus, the father of the Celtae, and from which Bretanus, Hesychius deriveth the word Britain.

Thus I have laid before you the observations, and opinions of other men upon this subject. If I have any ways impaired the credit of that history concerning Brutus, no man can reasonably quarrel with me; for I hope, in matters of this nature, every man may be allowed the liberty of his own thoughts, and of publishing those of other

men. For my part, it shall never trouble me, if Brutus pass current for the father and founder of the British nation. Let the Britons' descent stand good, as they deduce it from the Trojans. I shall never contradict it: nay, I shall show you hereafter, how with truth it may be maintained. I am not ignorant, that in old time nations had recourse to Hercules, in later ages to the Trojans, for their originals. And let antiquity herein be pardoned, if she sometimes disguise the truth with the mixture of a fable, and bring in the gods themselves to act a part, when she designed thereby to render the beginnings, either of a city, or of a nation, more noble and majestical. For Pliny well observes, *that even falsely to pretend to a descent from illustrious persons, argues some respect for virtue.* And for my part, I readily agree with Varro, the most learned of the Romans, that these originals, fetched from the gods, *though in themselves false, yet are at least thus far useful, that men, presuming upon a divine extraction, may thereby be excited to generous enterprises, and pursue them with a more than ordinary eagerness; which makes them seldom fail of extraordinary success.* From which words (by the way) St. Austin gathers, that the most learned Varro was inclined to think, that all such opinions were really groundless; though he did not openly and expressly own it. Since therefore men are not yet agreed, either concerning the notion of the name, or concerning the first inhabitants of Britain; (and whether as to these points the truth will ever hereafter be more clearly discovered, now it hath lain so long, and so deeply buried, I must declare myself extremely doubtful:) I hope the reader will be inclineable to excuse me too, if I modestly interpose my own conjecture, without any prejudice to or against any person: not in a contentious humour, but as becomes a man, that pretends only to discover truth; which I am now doing with such a disinterested zeal, that even the just apprehensions of censure, could not persuade me to desist. Now, that I may with the more ease and success discover the reason of this name, if possible; I will in the first place endeavour to find out, as well as I can, who were the first inhabitants of this island. Though indeed these first planters lie so close in the most hidden retirements of antiquity, as in some thick grove; that there is but very small or no hopes of ever retrieving by my diligence, what hath, for so many ages past, lain buried in oblivion.

To run up our enquiries therefore as high as we can (omitting Caesar, Diodorus, and other writers, who will have the Britons to be *autochthones* and aborigines, home-bred, and never transported from any other place; imagining that mankind at first sprung out of the earth like mushrooms;) we are informed by Moses in the sacred history, that after the flood, the three sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, after their issue were multiplied to a great number, left the mountains of Armenia, where the ark had rested, separating themselves into the several quarters of the earth, and that by them the whole world was peopled. It may also farther be proved, as well by reason, as by the authority of Theophilus Antiochenus, that when their families came to be dispersed abroad by little and little, some of their posterity at last arrived in this our island. *Whereas* (says he) *in old time there were but few men in Arabia and Chaldea, after the division of tongues they more and more increased. Hereupon some took their way toward the East, others to other parts of the great and wide continent; others traveling towards the North, seeking a place where to settle, still marched on, taking possession of all that lay before them, until they came at last even to Britain, seated in the northern climates.* Moses himself doth also expressly assert the same, when he informs us, that the islands of the gentiles were divided in their lands, by the posterity of Japhet. The islands of the gentiles, divines do interpret to be those which lay farthest off: and Wolfgangus Musculus, a divine of considerable repute, is of opinion, that the nations and families which descended from Japhet, were

the first possessors of the European islands; such as are (saith he) England, Sicily, &c. Now that Europe fell to the share of Japhet and his posterity, besides divines, Josephus and other authors, have delivered as their opinion. To which purpose, Isidore cites this passage out of an ancient writer. *The nations, which sprang from Japhet, possess from the mountain Taurus to the North, all the middle part of Asia, and all Europe, as far as to the British ocean, and gave their names both to the places, and to the people; a great many whereof, have been since changed; but the rest remain the same.* And we see in the Europeans, that [prophetical] benediction of Noah fulfilled, *God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant.*

For it was Europe, as Pliny saith, which produced that people, who were the conquerors of all other nations, and have more than once triumphed over the other parts, which were the share of Shem and Cham: and this was peopled by Japhet and his posterity. For from his several sons, came the several nations; from Magog, the Massagetae; from Javan, the Ionians; from Thubal the Spaniards; and from Mesech, the Moscovites. And his eldest son Gomer, in these our most remote parts of Europe, gave both original and name to the Gomerians, who were afterward called Cimbri and Cimmerii. For that name of the Cimbri or Cimmerii, did, in process of time, almost fill all these parts of the world, and spread itself very far, not only in Germany, but in Gaul also. Josephus and Zonaras both observe, that those who are now called Gauls, were from Gomer, formerly named Gomari, Gomeraei, and Gomeritae. And from these Gomari or Gomeri of Gaul, I have always been of opinion that our Britons had both original and name; in which I am confirmed by the proper and genuine name of the Britons. For the Welsh to this day call themselves Kumero, Cymro, and Kumeri; a Welsh woman, Kumeraes; and their language Kumeraeg. Neither do they own any other name, although some pretenders to learning have from thence of late, coined the new names of Cambri and Cambria. And that very grammarian, whom Virgil lasheth in his *Catalects* and calleth the British Thucydides, Quintilian saith, was a Cimbrian. And from whence now can we imagine these names should be derived, but from that ancient Gomer, and from those Gomeri, who were so near to us in Gaul, the seat doubtless of the old Gomerians? The learned are of opinion, that the Germans issued from Ashkenaz, the Turks from Togarmah, both sons of Gomer; because the Jews at this day call the latter Togormath, and the former Aschenas. That the Thracians, Ionians, Ripheans, and Moschi, &c. are the posterity of Thirax, Javan, Riphath, and Moschus, no man questions; for the affinity of the names sufficiently proves it. Likewise, that the Ethiopians descended from Chus, and the Egyptians from Misraim, the sons of Cham, there is no man but will readily grant; because the two people are called by these very names in their own languages. Why then should not we allow that our Britons, or Cumeri, are the true and genuine posterity of Gomer; and that from him they derive this name? For the name in itself seems very much to favour this deduction: and 'tis confessed by all, that the posterity of Gomer did plant themselves in the utmost parts of Europe. Which also the very name of Gomer intimates, a name which he owed not to mere chance, but to a divine designation. For Gomer in the Hebrew tongue signifieth bounding, or the utmost border. And here let no man, with intention to defame our Cumeri or Cimbri, object what Sextus Pompeius writeth, that thieves in the old Gallic language were called Cimbri. For although the Cimbri (of whom it is likely our Cumeri of Britain were a party) in that boisterous age of the world, wherein the soldier was the only man of honour, roved from these parts of Europe, as Poseidonius tells us, plundering all along as they went, as far as to the Lake Maeotis; yet the word Cimber signifies no more a thief, than Egyptian doth a

superstitious person; Chaldean, an astrologer; or sybarite, a nice delicate man. But because those nations had such a general propensity to such or such things, the name of the nation was applied to those who agreed with them in that humour. As to this point, that oracle Joseph Scaliger concurs with me in the same opinion. But as to Berosus, let no man wonder that I here make no use of him, from whom our authors at this day borrow so much assistance. To declare my mind once for all, I have no opinion of the authority of that history, which passeth under the name of Berosus. For I am of the same mind with several of the most learned men of the present age, as Volaterranus, Vives, Antonius Augustinus, Melchior Canus, and especially Gaspar Varrerius, who all of them esteem it nothing else but a ridiculous invention of some obscure impostor. This Varrerius, in his censure of Berosus printed at Rome, hath said enough in reason to spoil any man's good opinion of that author.

This is my judgment concerning the original of the Britons, or rather my conjecture. For in a matter of so great antiquity, it is easier to proceed by conjecture, than to offer at any positive determination. Now this account of our descent from Gomer and Gaul, seems much more substantial, more ancient, and better grounded, than that from Brutus and Troy. Nay, I do not despair to prove, that our Britons are really the offspring of the Gauls, by arguments taken from the name, situation, religion, customs, and language of both nations. For in all these particulars the most ancient Britons and the Gauls seem to have agreed, as if they had been but one people. That I may prove this assertion, give me leave to make a small digression.

As touching the name, because I have spoken of it before, thus much only shall be repeated; that as the ancient Gauls were called Gomeraei, Gomeritae, and by contraction Cimbri; so likewise were our Britons called Cumeri and Kimbri. Now that the Gauls were called Gomeri, Josephus and Zonaras, as I said before, do both witness. And that they were also called Cimbri, may be gathered out of Cicero and Appian. Those barbarians, whom Marius defeated, Cicero plainly terms Gauls. Caius Marius (saith he) put a check upon the Gaulish forces, who were pouring into Italy. And all historians agree, that these were the Cimbri; and the coat-armour of Beleus, their King, digged up at Aix in Provence, where Marius routed them, does evince the same. For these words, Beleus Cimbros, were engraven upon it in a strange character. Also writers do unanimously agree, that those were Gauls, who under the conduct of Brennus, robbed the temple of Delphi in Greece; and yet that the same were called Cimbri, we learn plainly from Appian in his *Illyrics. The Celtae or Gauls*, saith he, *who are called Cimbri*. And now, I think it needless to have recourse to Lucan, who calls that ruffian, hired to kill Marius, a Cimbrian; whereas Livy and others affirm him to have been a Gaul: or to Plutarch, by whom the Cimbri are called Galloscythians: or to Reinerus Reineccius, an excellent historian, who, grounding upon Plutarch's words in his *Sertorius*, is very positive that the Gauls and Cimbrians used the same language. Nor will I insist upon that Cimbrian word, which is the only one now extant, by Pliny produced out of Philemon, to wit, *Morimarusa*, i.e. the dead sea, which is purely a British word. For *mor* in the British tongue signifieth sea, and *marw*, dead.

Seeing therefore, that these nations agree in their most ancient name, whence can we conceive that name should pass over into this island, but along with the first planters that came hither out of Gaul, a country separated from it but by a very narrow channel? For the world was not peopled all at the same time; but it must be granted as a certain truth, that those countries, which lay nearest to the mountains of Armenia, (where the ark rested after the flood, and from whence mankind was propagated) were

first of all inhabited. As for instance, the lesser Asia and Greece, before Italy; Italy before Gaul; and Gaul before Britain. On this occasion we may with satisfaction consider, how the great creator, when he framed the world, contrived such a connection between the parts of the main land, and placed the islands at such convenient distances, that no one is so remote, but that it is within a clear view of some other land. To this end probably, that when countries should come to be overburdened with people, they might see where to discharge themselves; till so, to the glory of its creator, the universe in all its parts should be replenished with people. We may therefore reasonably imagine, that the ancient Gomeri were either pushed on by such as pressed forward for room, or sent abroad, to ease an over-peopled country, or carried from home by the natural itch which mankind hath to see foreign countries. Upon some one or other of these accounts, those ancient Gomeri might probably at first cross over the Channel into this our island, which lay so near them that they could easily discern it from the continent. Reason itself also tells us, that every country must have received its first inhabitants, rather from neighbouring, than from remote places. Who would not judge, that Cyprus had its first inhabitants from Asia, next to it; Crete and Sicily from their neighbour Greece; Corsica from Italy; and to come nearer home, Zealand from Germany, bordering upon it; or Iceland from Norway, rather than from the remote parts of Tartary or Mauretania? In like manner, why should we not think that our Britain was first of all peopled by the Gauls, which were our next neighbours; rather than that the Trojans, Italians, Albans, or Brutians, who lie at such a vast distance from it, were its first inhabitants. Nor indeed do writers fetch the first inhabitants of Britain from any other place, than from Gaul, its next neighbour. *The innermost parts of Britain, saith Caesar, are inhabited by those, who, according to tradition, are believed to be aborigines; the sea-coasts, by such as came out of Belgium in Gaul on purpose to make new conquests; and these people are generally called by the names of those cities from whence they came, now they are settled in their new plantations.* For there were in Britain, as well as in Gaul, people called Belgae, Atrebatii, Parisii, Cenomanni, &c. Tacitus also saith, *if we consider all circumstances, 'tis probable that the Gauls first peopled Britain, which lies so near them.* Bede too, among all our writers a most constant friend to truth, gives this as his opinion. *At first, saith he, this island was inhabited only by those Britons, (from whom also it took its name) who from Armorica, as 'tis said, crossed over into Britain, and there planted themselves upon the Southern coasts.* The Armorican tract he calls the sea-coasts of Gaul, which lie directly opposite to our island. It makes also very much to our purpose, that Caesar relates, how in his time Divitiacus, who governed a great part of Gaul, had Britain also at the same time under his dominion. And what is of yet greater moment, Pliny reckons the Britanni or Britons among the maritime people of Gaul, and places them right over against our island of Britain, near the county of Boulogne: as also Dionysius Afer, a more ancient writer, hath done in these verses.

Near the great pillars on the farthest land,
 The old Iberians, haughty souls, command
 Along the continent, where northern seas
 Roll their vast tides, and in cold billows rise:
 Here British nations in long tracts appear,
 And fair-skinned Germans ever famed in war.

Eustathius, who wrote a comment upon him, thinks the Britons in Gaul to be here meant; His words are: *and from these Britons, the isles of Britain over against*

them took their denomination. But Avienus, and Stephanus in his book of cities, are of another opinion.

Moreover, there was one and the same religion in both these nations. *Among the Britons, saith Tacitus, you will find in use the religion of the Gauls, and the people possessed with the same superstitious persuasions. The Gauls, saith Solinus, after a detestable manner, to the injury rather than the honour of religion, offered human sacrifices.* That the Britons did the very same, amongst others, Dio Cassius assures us in his Nero. That both nations had also their druids, appears plainly by Caesar and Tacitus. Out of the first, I shall here insert an entire passage concerning this subject. *The druids are present at all divine offices, look after all both public and private sacrifices, and interpret the mysteries of religion. The youth in great numbers apply themselves to these druids for education; and all people have a great reverence for them. For generally in all controversies, as well public as private, it is they that make the determination: and whenever there is any outrage or murder committed, when any suits arise about estates, or disputes about bounds, all is left to their judgment. They appoint rewards and punishments at their discretion. If any, either private person, or body of people, abide not by their decree, they forbid him the sacrifices. This among them is esteemed the most grievous of all punishments. Those who are thus interdicted are reckoned the most profligate of mankind; all men studiously decline their company and conversation, and shun their approach, as if they feared some real infection. They are excluded from the benefit of the law, can sue no man, and are incapable of all honours. Amongst all these druids, there is one chief, who hath the supreme authority. Upon his death, his successor is some one that hath the best repute amongst them, if there be any such; but if there be several of equal worth and merit, he succeeds by the election of the druids. Sometimes the sword decides, which party shall carry it. These druids, at a set time every year, have a general assembly in the territories of the Carnutes, that lies about the midst of Gaul, in a certain place consecrated to that purpose. Hither resort from all parts such as have any controversies depending, and are wholly determined by the druids. This sort of religious profession is thought to have been first in Britain, and from thence carried over into Gaul: and even now, those that desire thoroughly to be instructed in their mysteries, for the most part travel into Britain. The druids are exempt from all military duties; nor do they pay tribute, like the rest of the people. And as they are excused from serving in the wars, so are they also from all other troublesome charges whatsoever. These great privileges are a cause that they have many disciples; some address themselves to be admitted, others are sent to them by their parents or kindred. There they make them (as it is said) learn by heart a great number of verses; and thus they continue under this discipline for several years, not being allowed by their rules to commit what they are taught to writing; although almost in all other their affairs, both public and private, they make use of the Greek character. This rule they have settled amongst them, I suppose, for two reasons. First, because they would not have the vulgar made acquainted with their mysterious learning; and next, because they would have their scholars use and exercise their memories, and not trust to what they have in writing; as we see it often happen, that when men rely too much upon that help, both their diligence in learning, and care in retaining, do equally abate. One of the principal points they teach, is, the immortality and transmigration of souls. And this doctrine removing the fear of death, they look upon as most proper to excite their courage. They also make discourses to their scholars concerning the stars and their motions, concerning the magnitude of the heaven and the earth, the nature of things,*

and the power and majesty of the immortal gods. Whereupon Lucan thus addresses himself to them;

*Et vos barbaricos ritus moremque sinistrum
Sacrorum, Druidae, positis repetistis ab armis,
Solis nosse Deos, & coeli sydera vobis,
Aut solis nescire datum: Nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis, vobis authoribus umbrae
Non tacitas Erebi sedes Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt. Regit idem spiritus artus,
Orbe alio longae, canitis si cognita, vitae
Mors media est. Certe populi quos despicit Arctos.
Foelices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget lethi metus; inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animaeque capaces
Mortis, & ignavum est rediturae parcere vitae.
And you, o druids, free from noise and arms
Renewed your barbarous rites and horrid charms.
What gods, what powers in happy mansions dwell
Or only you, or all but you can tell.
To secret shades and unfrequented groves,
From world and cares your peaceful tribe removes.
You teach, that souls, eased of their mortal load,
Nor with grim Pluto make their dark abode,
Nor wander in pale troops along the silent flood:
But on new regions cast resume their reign,
Content to govern earthy frames again.
Thus death is nothing but the middle line,
Betwixt what lives will come, and what have been.
Happy the people by your charms possessed,
Nor fate, nor fears disturb their peaceful breast.
On certain dangers unconcerned they run,
And meet with pleasure what they would not shun.
Defy death's slighted power, and bravely scorn
To spare a life that will so soon return.*

By what name soever these their priests were known to the Celtae, and to the Britons, in their own tongue; this word *druidae* seems derived from a Greek original; to wit, *Drus*, an oak: not only because they esteemed nothing more sacred than the mistletoe of an oak; whence Ovid writeth thus,

*At viscum Druidae, Druidae clamare solebant,
Run druids to the mistletoe, they sung.*

But also because their usual residence was in groves, amongst oaks; nor did they perform any of their ceremonies without some of the branches or leaves of that tree. But this their practice Pliny hath in these words more particularly described. *The druids (so the Gauls call their men of religion) hold nothing more sacred than the mistletoe, and the tree on which it grows, provided it be an oak. Therefore they choose out solitary groves, wherein are no trees but oaks, nor perform they any ceremonies without the branches or leaves of that tree. So that from thence, (if we regard the Greek signification) they may very well be thought to have taken the name*

of Druidae. *Indeed, whatsoever they find growing to, or upon an oak, they take to be sent from heaven, and look upon it as a certain sign, that their God hath for himself made choice of that particular tree. But it is a thing very rare to be met withal; and when it is found they resort to it with great devotion. In these ceremonies they principally observe that the moon be just six days old: for the moon is their guide in the computation of their months and years, and of that period or revolution, which with them is called an age, i.e. thirty years complete. And they choose the sixth day, because they reckon the moon is then of a considerable strength, when she is not as yet come to her half. This product of the oak they call by a name answering to all-heal; and when they come to it, they solemnly prepare a sacrifice, and a festival entertainment under the oak, and bringing thither two white bulls, whose horns are then, and not till then tied. This done, the priest habited in a white vestment, climbs the tree, and with a golden pruning-knife, cuts off the mistletoe, which is carefully received in a white woollen cloth by them that attend below. Then they proceed to kill the beasts for sacrifice, and make their prayers to the God, that he would bless this his own gift to those persons to whom they shall dispense it. They have a conceit that a decoction of this mistletoe, given to any barren animal, will certainly make it fruitful: also that it is a most sovereign antidote against all sorts of poisons. So much religion do people commonly place in fopperies.*

It is farther observable, that Diodorus Siculus calls these self-same priests of the Gauls, in the same sense, *Saronidai*. A word signifying oaks, as all men know that understand the Greek tongue. And Maximus Tyrius likewise writes, that *The Celtæ or Gauls worship Jupiter, of whom they make the highest oak, saith he, to be the representation*. It may also seem to proceed from these druids, that our Saxon ancestors, (as we read in Aelfric) called a magician in their language, *Drý*. If you have a mind to be farther informed concerning these men, you may consult Mela, Lactantius, Eusebius *de Praeparatione Evangelica*, and the comedy *Aulularia* of Pseudoplautus.

Among their religious, the Gauls had also their bards, whose office it was, to sing to the harp those songs they had made upon the great exploits of famous men; on which account, the before cited Lucan thus speaks to them,

*Vos quoque qui fortes animas belloque peremptas
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis aevum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina bardi.*
And you, old bards, who made it all your care
To sing of war, and men renowned in war,
When peace returning raised your joyful tongue,
Secure continued your immortal song.

The same sort of men have also this denomination among the modern Britons. For they now call such men bards, who beside this their poetical function, do also addict themselves particularly to the study of genealogies. But there is no account left us, whether the Britons believed, as the Gauls did, that they were descended from Dis. For this reason it was that the Gauls always reckoned by nights, and set the night before the day in their usual account of time. And in this point it is certain, that our Britons agreed with them: for that space of time which the Latins call *septimana*, and two *septimanas*, they term *withnos*, i.e. eight nights, and *pymthec-nos*, i.e. fifteen nights.

Likewise both nations seem to have contrived one and the same form of government. For neither of them was under the rule of a single person, but as Gaul, so also Britain, had many kings. And, as the Gauls, upon extraordinary emergencies, used to call a public council of the whole nation, and choose one to be their general commander; so the Britons did just the same upon the like occasion, as we may gather from these words of Caesar, *the chief command, saith he, and management of the war was by an unanimous consent committed to Cassivellaun.*

Nor were these nations unlike in their manners, customs, or ways of living. Both were stout, and much given to war; both delighted in blood, and both of equal boldness and bravery, either in engagements, or exposing themselves to dangers; as we find by Strabo, Tacitus, Dion, Herodian, and others. *In their manners, saith Strabo, the Britons are something like the Gauls; and immediately he adds, as to their fighting they are for the most part fierce and cruel, like some of the Gauls.* With him Tacitus agrees, *the Britons, that part of them which the Romans have not yet conquered, still remain, saith he, just such as the Gauls were formerly.* And in another place, the Britons are next to the Gauls, and much like them. Mela tell us, that the Britons, when they fought, were armed after the fashion of the Gauls.

The Britons, says Strabo, in their wars, used a great number of chariots, as do some of the Gauls.

It was the custom of both nations in the field to draw up their men distinct, according to their provinces, that the several people might have an opportunity to signalize their valour. That this was the practice of the Gauls, appears by that place in Caesar, *the Gauls, saith he, drawn up in distinct bodies, according to their several cities, guarded the fords.* Tacitus affirms the same of the Britons, in the fight of Caratacus, *the troops of the several countries stood in the front of their fortifications.*

The Gauls, saith Strabo, are of a quick docile wit, and readily take any sort of learning. Nor were the Britons herein inferior; nay, Agricola, in Tacitus, prefers their parts and ingenuity before that of the Gauls, so that the same Britons, who formerly rejected even the Roman language, were now grown ambitious of eloquence.

That the Gauls were a well-meaning and a downright honest sort of people, we have Strabo's authority, and the same is implied in Tacitus, concerning the Britons, in that place, where he tells us, that they cheerfully and readily bore the levies both of men and money, and all other burdens imposed upon them by the empire, if they intermixed not injurious provocations.

Caesar relates, that the Gauls were much inclined to alterations in their government, out of a natural inconstancy and levity. The Britons in like manner, saith Tacitus, were divided into several parties and factions.

By means of this levity of the Gauls, which Caesar calls by the gentle name of an infirmity; they at last became so credulous, that the credulity of the Gauls grew proverbial, and gave occasion to that of the poet,

Et tumidus Galla credulitate fruar.
And be a Gaul in fond credulity.

Neither in that respect have our Britons degenerated; for they have an ear still open to every idle story, and out of a superstitious fear or hope, give credit to any of the silliest predictions.

We read in Strabo, that the Gauls would be highly concerned, when they saw any abuse offered to their relations. That the same sympathy dwells in our Britons, above what is to be found in any other nation, is a thing so notorious, and so commonly observed, as that it needs no proof.

The Gauls, as we find in Caesar, according to their distinction from the rest, either in birth or riches, had in proportion so many more servants and dependants in their retinue: these they called ambacti. And this was the only piece of state amongst them. Nor do our British nobility or gentry, at this day, account anything so honourable as a great retinue; from whom 'tis thought the English learned to carry with them such troops of attendants. In which humor, not long since, they far outwent all other Europeans.

Caesar and Strabo do both tell us, that the houses of the Britons were seated in the midst of woods, and in all points like to those of the Gauls.

The Gauls, as Strabo writes, wore chains of gold about their necks; and *Bunduica the British Queen* (saith Xiphilin) *wore a golden chain, with a garment of many colours.* Nor is that sort of ornament any where more in use in our days, than in this island amongst us and our modern Britons.

That both the Britons and the Gauls wore a ring upon their middle finger, we learn from Pliny.

The same Strabo observeth, that the Gauls took a pride in having long hair. Caesar tells us, that the Britons wore their hair at full length.

It appears by many authors, that the Gauls used a certain sort of garment, which in their language they called *brachae*: that these were also common to our Britons, is proved by this verse of Martial,

Quam veteres brachae Britonis pauperis.
Then the coarse *brachae* the poor Britons wore.

I pass over what Silius Italicus writes of the Gauls,

Quinetiam ingenio fluxi, sed prima feroces
Vaniloquum Celtæ genus ac mutabile mentis.
And talking Celtæ, changeable and vain,
All fire at first, but soon grown cold again.

because these qualities are common to most nations. I might here give many more particular instances of the greet agreement there was between these two nations; but I forbear, lest what I say should give occasion of scandal to some ill-natured men. Besides, I always liked that rule, moderation is good in everything; and perhaps also this argument from community of manners will not appear very cogent to some sort of men.

But now we come to the language; a particular, upon which lieth the main stress of this controversy, as being the surest evidence of the original of a nation. For there is no man, I suppose, but will readily allow, that those people which speak the same language, must necessarily be derived from one common original. As for

instance, suppose all our histories that ever were written had chanced to be lost, or, suppose no author had ever told us, that we English are descended from the Germans, the natural Scots from the Irish, the Britons of Bretagne in France, from our Britons of this island; yet the great affinity of language, would alone manifestly prove it: nay, would be of much more weight than the authority of the best historians. If therefore I can here make it out, that the ancient Gauls and our Britons speak the same language; the consequence is so clear, that all men will be forced to allow, that they must have certainly had one and the self-same original. Nor is it of any concern in this case, what Caesar hath written, that the Gauls themselves spoke divers languages; since Strabo tells us, that they differed from one another only in dialect. *They did not all of them, saith he, use a language every way the same, but in some small matters varied from one another.* But that the language of the ancient Gauls, was the same with that of the Britons (making an allowance for some small variety in the dialect) we may reasonably infer from that place in Caesar, where he writes, that it was usual for the Gauls, who would be thoroughly instructed in the discipline of the druids, to go over into Britain to our druids, to learn it. Now seeing the druids had no books, of necessity we must conclude, that their instructions were given in the same language which was used by the Gauls. But this Cornelius Tacitus expressly affirms, *the Britons and Gauls, saith he, differ not much in their speech.* Upon these reasons, Beatus Rhenanus, Gesner, Hottoman, Peter Daniel, Picardus, and all others who have searched into the depths of antiquity, concur with me in this opinion. Except only some few, who are very earnest to have it believed, that the Gauls spoke the German language. But now, lest any man should throw dust in our eyes, that truth may not be seen, I will here insert a collection I have made out of authors of ancient Gallic words, as many at least as I could meet with. For the main body of that language hath been long since shipwrecked in the sea of oblivion. And here it will soon be seen, that very many of them, without any the least straining, but with much ease, and scarce any alteration, agree very well with our British words, both in sound and sense.

That *divona* In the Gaulish tongue, signifies the *God's fountain*, we have Ausonius's authority in that verse of his concerning a fountain at Bordeaux.

Divona celtarum lingua fons addite divis.
Divona fountain of the gods in Gaul.

Now our Britons call God *dyw*, and a fountain *vonan*, of which two words *divonan* is a compound, contrived according to the Latin idiom for verse-sake into *divona*.

We find in several authors, that Jupiter, whom from thunder the Greeks called *Brontanos*, and the Latins *Tonans*, i.e. *The thunderer*, was worshiped by the Gauls under the name of *Taranis*. Now *taran* in British signifies thunder; and suitable to this sense, the Germans may be conceived to have given to Jupiter the name of *Thonder*. For Thursday they call *Thonderdach*, which is as much as to say, the Thunderer's day.

The Gauls had another God, called by Lucan, *Hesus*, by Lactantius, *Heus*. The author of the *Querolus* termed him the Barking Anubis, because he was pictured in the shape of a dog. Now *Huad* with our modern Britons signifies a dog.

It is very certain, that the Gauls worshiped Mercury, under the name of Teutates, as the inventor of arts, and guide to travellers. And *duw-taith* in the British, imports as much, as the God of journeys. Nor am I ignorant, that Mercury, by Plato in

his Phaedrus and Philebus, is called Theut. Though I know some will have Teutates to be the German Tuisco, mentioned in Tacitus, and the same with Mars; and that from him, we, who are descended from the Germans, do call Mars's day, Tuesday. Concerning these three gods of the Gauls, take, if you please, these three verses of Lucan.

*Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
Teutates, horrensque feris altaribus Hesus
Et Taranis Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae.*
And those vile wretches that with human blood
Teutate's and fierce Hesus's altars load,
And barbarous Taranis his shrine that vies
With cursed Diana's Scythian cruelties.

We learn from St. Austin and Isidore, that these foul spirits, commonly called *incubi*, were termed by the Gauls *dusii*. Because they daily and continually practise their uncleanness. Now that which is continual and daily, the Britons still do express by the word *dyth*.

Pomponius Mela writeth, that a sort of religious women, devoted to the service of a certain deity in Gaul, under a vow of perpetual virginity, were by them called *senae*. I would rather read it *lenae*, if I could safely do it. For those religious virgins, whom we nowadays call nuns, the Britons, as we find in an ancient glossary, called *leanes*, from whence came originally that name of Lean-Minster, now Leominster, a very ancient nunnery among the Britons.

The Gauls, saith Polybius, called their mercenary soldiers in their own language, *gaessatae*. And the Britons at this day call their hired servants *guessin*.

Servius tells us, that valiant men were by the Gauls called *gessi*. And *guassdewr* among the Britons signifieth a stout and valiant man.

Hither also may be referred *gesum*, which was a weapon proper to the Gauls, as *pilum* was to the Romans, and *framea* to the Germans. But of this by and by.

As *phalanx* was the proper name of a legion among the Macedonians, so was *caterva* among the Gauls, as you may see in Vegetius. Nor is this word yet out of date among our Britons, who term a troop *caturfa*, and war, they call *kad*, and that warlike strength that lies in a legion, *kaderne*. It is read too *caterna* in some copies of Vegetius.

To this *kad* may not improperly be referred *cateia*, which was a sort of warlike weapon among the Gauls, as you have it in Isidore.

Gessa, a Gaulish weapon, Servius interprets a spear or pike, to which the British *cethilou* seems to be akin; and that (according to Nennius's exposition) signifies *stakes burnt at the ends*, as also, a *warlike seed or generation*.

Pausanias tells us, that the Gauls whom Brennus led into Greece, called that sort of horse-fight, which consists of three horses [abreast] in their own country language, *trimarcia*. For an horse, saith he, was among the Gauls called *marca*. Now this is absolutely a British word. For *tri* with them, signifies three, and *march*, a horse.

In the same book Pausanias writeth, that the Gauls caled their own country shields, *threos*. Which to this day the Britons call *tarian*.

Caesar tells us in his *Ephemerides* or journal, as we have it from Servius, that once being in Gaul taken by the enemy, and carried away on horseback in his armor, they were met by a Gaul that knew him, who insultingly cried out *cetos Caesar*, which in the Gaulish language was as much as to say, *let go Caesar*. Now *geduch* among the Britons is a word of the same importance.

Rheda among the Gauls, saith Quintilian, is a word of the same signification as *caruca* (i.e. a chariot) among the Latins. This word is not now to be found in the British tongue; but it is apparent, that it hath been a British word, by these words at this day used; *rhediad* (a course) *rhedec* (to run) and *redecfa* (a race.) Now that all these words came originally from *rheda* is beyond dispute. Nor should I think it an absurdity to deduce Eporedia, the name of a city among the Salassi, from the same original, since Pliny saith it took its name from horse-tamers.

There was also another sort of chariot, that was much used in both nations, both called by one name, *covinus*, and the driver of it *covinarius*. And though both this word is lost, and that sort of chariot too, yet the primitive thereof, if I may so say, remains still amongst our Britons; in whose language, the word *kowain* signifies to carry in a wagon.

Essedum was also a Gaulish wagon, or rather as chariot fitted for the wars, which Propertius as well as Caesar attributes to the Britons;

Esseda caelatis siste Britanna jugis.
And stop the British chariots with engraven yokes.

Circius is a wind, by that name very well known, to which Augustus Caesar not only vowed, but actually built a temple in Gaul. Now Phavorinus, a Gaul by birth, declareth in Agellius that word to be of a Gallic original. *Our Gauls*, saith he, *call by the name of circius, that wind, which blows upon their own coast, and which is the fiercest in all those parts; so named I suppose, from its blustering and whirling.* It is certain, that this particular wind is more raging and violent, than any other. Now that *cyrch* amongst our modern Britons signifies force and violence, plainly appears by the Welsh litany.

From Livy we learn also, that the Pennine Alps, by Caesar called *Summae Alpes*, as overtopping the rest, took that name not from *Annibal Paenus* [i.e. The Carthaginian] but from the very highest mountains thereabouts, the top whereof was consecrated, and had the name of *Penninus* given to it by the mountaineers of Gaul. Now the tops of mountains are called *pen* by our Britons at this day; as for instance, *Penmon-Maur*, *Pen*, *Pendle*, *Pencoh-Cloud*, and *Pennigent*, the highest mountains amongst us, have all borrowed their names from this word: and so hath also the *Appennine* in Italy.

The cities of Gaul, which bordered upon the sea, Caesar tells us, were by the Gauls named *Aremoricae*; with whom our modern Britons agree, in applying the same word exactly to the same sense. For *armor* with them signifies by the sea, or upon the sea. And in the very same notion Strabo calls them in Greek *Apocheanidas*.

In the reign of Emperor Diocletian, the peasants in Gaul raised a rebellion, and imposed upon their party the name of *baucadae*. Now swine-herds and rustics are called *beichiad* by the Britons.

The thieves of their own country, the Gauls, saith Sidonius, are called by the name of *vargae*. Now I have observed in the glossary of the church of Llandaff, that thieves were formerly called *veriad* in the British.

The *allobrogae*, saith that ancient and excellent scholiast upon Juvenal, were therefore so called, because *brogae* among the Gauls signifies a country, and *alla*, another; as being translated thither from some other country. Now *bro* in Welsh signifies a country, and *allan*, without or extraneous; so that the etymology is just the same in both languages.

There is, saith Pliny, *an herb like plantain, called by the Gauls glastum*; with which many writers say the Britons used to paint themselves. This is that herb, which we now call woad. It maketh a blue or sky colour, which colour is called *glas* by the Welsh to this day. This herb, according to Pliny, was by the Greeks called *isatis*; and the dyers termed it *vitrum*, as we learn from Oribasius. Out of whom Pomponius Mela may easily be corrected, by inserting *vitro* instead of *ultra*, in that place, where he saith, *Britanni, &c. ultra corpora infecti*, that is, *it is uncertain whether it were for ornament, or some other end, that the Britons died their bodies with vitrum or woad*.

The Gallathae, [or Galatians in Asia minor] who spake the same language with our ancient Gauls, had, as we learn from St. Jerome, a little shrub, which they called *coccus*, with which they made a deep red or scarlet colour; and that very colour is at this day called *coch* in the British language.

That the *brachae* was a sort of habit common to the Gauls and Britons, we have shown before. Diodorus Siculus describes these *brachae* as a sort of a coarse parti-coloured garment. Now foul tattered clothes are by the present Britons called *brati*.

If *laina* was an old Gaulish word, as is hinted in that place of Strabo, where he says, the Gauls weave themselves thick coats of coarse *wool*, which they call *lainae*; the Britons have not gone very far from that word, who now call wool by the name of *glawn*.

Festus Pompeius tells us, that *bardus*, in the language of the Gauls, signifieth a singer. Now that word is absolutely British.

We learn out of Martial and others, that *bardocucullus* was a sort of garment worn by the Gaulish bards: now as *bard*, so the other part of that word remains entire among the modern Britons, who call a cloak *cucul*.

Gaul, saith Pliny, *yieldeth a peculiar sort of corn, which the natives call brance, we sandalum, a very fine sort of grain*. Among the Britons likewise, a sort of grain, which yields a pure white flour, is called *guineth vranc*, and with us in Norfolk *branke*.

The herb, which the Greeks from its five leaves call *pentaphyllon*, was by the Gauls called *pempedula*, as we find in Apuleius. Now *pymp* in the British signifies five, and *deilen*, a leaf.

As *pymp* for five, so *petor* was the word among the Gauls for four, as we learn out of Festus, who will therefore have *petoriturum*, a Gaulish chariot or waggon, to be so named from its four wheels. Now the word *pedwar* signifies four among the Britons.

Amongst the wooden instruments, the *canterium* of the Latins, (the same which we in English call a *leaver*;) the Gauls, saith Isidore, called *guvia*; and it is now called *guif* in Welsh.

Betulla, Pliny saith, was a Gaulish tree; we call it birch. He would say it were a British tree too, if he were now alive: for it grows very plentifully in Britain; and is called in Welsh *bedw*.

Wine diluted with water, Athenaeus saith, the Gauls called *dercoma*; and *dwr* signifies water among our Britons.

In like manner, (not to trouble you with too many instances) fern, according to Dioscorides, was called *ratis* by the ancient Gauls; and is now by the Britons called *redin*. The elder-tree was called *scovies* by the Gauls; and now by the Britons, *iscaw*. *Serratula* in Latin, in Gaulish *vetonica*, is now by the Britons, and by us also, called *betony*. That which in Pliny the Latins called *terrae adeps*, i.e., the fatness of the earth, and the Gauls *marga*, is by our Britons called *marl*. That which the Latins call *candida marga*, white marl, and the Gauls *gliscomarga*, might probably be called *gluysmarle* by the Britons: for *gluys* in Welsh is as much as bright or shining. *Tripetia*, a word in Sulpitius Severus, said to be used by the Gauls for a three-footed stool, is by the Britons termed *tribet*. The measure of 100 foot, the Gauls, according to Columella, called *candetum*; in British it is *cantroed*. We read in Suetonius, that the bill or beak of a bird was by the Gauls called *becco*; the same is called *pic* by the Britons.

Neither should I be so wild in my fancy, nor so extravagant as Goropius, if I should derive Suetonius's *Galba*, which signifies one over-fat, from the British word *gallvus*, denoting one of a very big size; or Verrius Flaccus's *bulga*, or a leathern budget, from the British word *butsiet*; or *soldurii* in Caesar (which in him, were such as had vowed to live and die together) from *sowdiwr*; or Pliny's *planarat*, for a plough, from *arat*, which in British signifies the same thing; or Isidore's *taxea*, for lard, from the British *tew*; or Diodorus Siculus's *zithum*, from their *cider*; or *cervisia*, [beer] from *keirch*, i.e. oats, whereof the Welsh in many places make beer; or rather from *cwrwf*, which we in English call *ale*.

That all these words properly belonged to the ancient Gauls, appears by the authors we have cited; and you see, that as they agree in sound with our British words, so they do as fully also in their signification.

Another thing let me here add: the ends of the names of places. That since the ancient names of places in both kingdoms had the same terminations, to wit, *dunum*, *briva*, *ritum*, *durum*, *magus*, &c. It may be inferred that those nations could not be altogether different. For this may be used as a convincing evidence that we English are descended from the Germans, because the modern names of our towns do end in *borough*, *berry*, *ham*, *sted*, *ford*, *thorp*, and *wich*; all which do plainly answer and exactly correspond with the German terminations of *burg*, *berg*, *heim*, *stadt*, *furdt*, *dorpe*, *wit*.

Moreover, so rational an account may be given of some Gaulish words, out of our British language, answering exactly to the nature and property of the things so named, that of necessity we must conclude, either those to have been names imposed by the Britons, or else that the Britons spake the Gaulish language. An instance or two to this purpose may be sufficient.

A third part of Gaul, saith Caesar, is inhabited by those who in their own tongue are called Celtae, in ours Galli; by the Greeks Gallathae. But whence these people were called Celtae, and Gallathae, the most learned among the French could never tell us. I wish they would consider, whether this may not be deduced from the British word gualt, which to this day signifies the hair of the head in the Welsh tongue, as gualtoc doth comata, i.e. long-haired: from whence the names of Celtica, and Gallathae, and Galli, may all very well seem to have been derived, only a little mollified by some difference in the pronunciation. Now that the Celtae were called Comati, from their large heads of hair, which they wore always at its full length, is universally acknowledged by the learned: and as for the letters C, K, Q, and G, whether in power or sound, there is but little difference among them.

That the noble river of Garonne in France runs with a mighty force, and as it were with a rough current, is a thing very well known: from whence the poets have given it the epithets of the strong, the sea-like, the rapid Garonne. All which the British word *garrw* doth fully import.

The river Arar, or Saone, moves so incredibly slow, that you cannot tell by the eye, which way it has its course. Hence by the poets it is called the slow, and the still Arar. Now *ara* with the Britons signifies slow and still.

Rhodanus, the Rhône, which receives the Arar, runs with a very swift and violent current; and is therefore termed hasty, swift, and precipitant. The word sounds not much unlike *rhedec*, which signifies *celerity in running*.

Strabo and others tell us, that the mountains *Gebennae* [now called the *Cevennes*] run along in one continued ridge through a great part of Gaul. But that *kevin* signifies the ridge of an hill amongst our Britons, appears by the British lexicon. There is also near Otley in Yorkshire, a long ridge of hills which I have seen, at this day called the Kevin by the people of those parts.

Whereas stones were in old time erected in Gaul by the roadside, at the just distance of every fifteen hundred paces; and since the French *leuca* or league containeth, as Jornandes observes, just the same number, and *leach* in the British signifies a stone; I would desire the learned among the French to consider whether their word *leuca* be not derived from thence.

Near the seaside, in that part of France which was heretofore called Narbonensis, where Hercules and Albion fought (if we believe the old fable,) on all sides for many miles together, the stones lie so thick, that one would almost think it had rained stones there. From whence it is by writers called the stony shore, and the stony field. The French at this day call it *Le Craux*; and yet they know not the reason of that name. Now in British stones are called *craig*.

That people which in old time inhabited the sea-coast of Gaul, lying nearest to Britain, were in their own language called Morini. Now *mor* is in British the sea, from whence that word seems to have been derived. For the Britons call *morinwyr*, such as live upon the sea-coast; as *aremorica* of old, in the Gaulish tongue, and now in the British, signifies *by the seaside*.

Arelate, a famous city of Gaul, which is seated in a marshy and watery soil, may seem to have taken that name purely from its situation: for *ar* in British signifies, *upon*, and *laith*, *moisture*.

Uxellodunum, saith Caesar, is a town having on all sides a rocky access, and situate on the top of a high hill. Now *uchel* in British is as much as lofty, and *dunum* among the ancient Gauls signified an high ground, or an hill, as Plutarch in his book of rivers tells us out of Clitiphon; and the same word was also used in that sense by the ancient Britons.

Pliny placeth the promontory Cytharistes in Gaul, near Marseilles, where the town of Toulon now stands. And if you ask our present Britons what they call *cythara*, i.e. an harp, in their language, they will tell you, *telen*.

Again, (to put this matter past all farther dispute) it is very evident, that though the modern French language is come from, and made up for the most part of the Latin and the German, yet nevertheless there still remain in it a great many old Gaulish words. And I have had it from some who are skilful in both languages, that very many of those French words, which can be reduced neither to the Latin, nor to the German original (and therefore may be presumed to be remains of the old Gaulish language) do come as near to the British as 'tis possible. For example. The French at this day use the word *guerir*, the Britons *guerif*, to heal. The French use *guaine*, the Britons *guain*, for a sheath. The French *derechef*, the Britons *derchefu*, for moreover. The French *camur*, the Britons *cam*, for crooked. The French *bateau*, the Britons *bad*, for a boat. The French *gourmond* for a glutton, the Britons *germod*, for too much, or beyond measure. The French *baston*, the Britons *pastwn*, for a staff. The French *accabler*, the Britons *cablu*, for to oppress. The French *havre*, the Britons *aber*, for an haven. And *comb* is yet in use with both nations for a valley.

Many more words there are of this sort, by the recital whereof I might perhaps tire and disgust my reader; though they are of very great use in this point.

Now, whereas Tacitus tells us, that the Aestii, a people of Germany, used the habits and customs of the Suevians, but a language that came nearer to the British; it makes nothing against my assertion. For those languages, that are most of all remote, do yet agree in some particulars. Thus Augerius Busbequius, late ambassador from Emperor to the Grand Signior, has observed many German and English words in the Taurica Chersonesus.

From all these instances, this conclusion may be justly drawn; that the ancient Gauls and Britons did certainly speak the same language. And from thence also we may infer this other necessary consequence, that the original of the Britons is to be referred to the Gauls. For it is not to be denied, what we have before observed, that Gaul, as being nearer to Armenia, must needs in course have been peopled before Britain. Besides, (as Strabo tells us) as Gaul abounded in corn, so did it much more in men. It is therefore altogether reasonable to imagine, that since the Gauls sent colonies into Italy, Spain, Germany, Thrace, and Asia; they did the same much rather into Britain, a country that lay so much nearer them, and as plentiful as any of them all. Now it must needs redound much to the glory of the British nation, that they drew their original from those ancient Gauls, who were so famous for their military achievements; and with whom the Romans for many years maintained a war, not for honour and empire, but purely for self-preservation. And these Gauls they were, who, to use the poet's words rather than my own,

— *per omnem*
Invecti Europam, quasi grando Aquilone vel Austro
Importata, gravi passim sonuere tumultu:
Scit Romanus adhuc, & quam Tarpeia videtis

Camden's Britannia

*Arx attollentem caput illo in monte superbum,
Pannonos Aemathii norunt, scit Delphica rupes.*
On Europe's spacious tracts, like winter's hail
Urged by the North, or furious South, they fell
With furious noise; as yet the Roman state
Feels the sad blow, and mourns her turn of fate.
Too well Tarpeian towers their force have known,
And Delphic rocks, and plains of Macedon.

And a little after,

*Intravere Asiae fines: prope littora ponti
In gentem crevere novam, quae tenditur usque
Ad juga Pamphilum, Garamantica sydera contra
Inter Cappadoces posita, & Bythinica regna.*
O'er-running Asia's bounds, their barbarous power
Fixed a new kingdom near the Pontic shore,
Between Bythia and Cappadocian lands
Far as Pamphilian cliffs and Garamantic strands.

Nor ought we here to omit the arguments brought by others to prove, that the Britons are descended from the Gauls. George Buc, a man eminent both for his extraction and learning, observes out of Mekereus, that the Germans call a Frenchman, *Wallon*. And that when the German Saxons first came over hither, and heard the Britons speak the Gaulish tongue, they called them Walli, i.e. Gauls. Buchanan saith moreover, that Walch doth not among the Germans barely signify a stranger, but most properly a Gaul. And withal he observes, that the French at this day call that country Galles which we call Wales: and that the ancient Scots divided all the British nations into *Gael* and *Gall*, that is (after his interpretation) into the *Gallaeci* and the *Galli*.

But when all is done, if our Britons are still resolved to make out their claim to a Trojan original, I will not here make it my business to oppose them: but yet if they will follow my advice, they had best ground their pretence to the Trojans, upon their descent from the Gauls. *For it is said by some*, (these are the words of Ammianus) *that after the destruction of Troy, a few that fled thence, possessed themselves of Gaul, at that time unpeopled.*

And here now, while we have these languages under our consideration, we cannot but much admire and celebrate the divine goodness towards our Britons, the posterity of Gomer; who, though they have been conquered and triumphed over successively by the Romans, Saxons, and Normans; yet hitherto they enjoy the true name of their ancestors, and have preserved entire their primitive language, although the Normans set themselves to abolish it, making express laws to that purpose. The reply of that old gentleman of Wales was not impertinent, who being asked by Henry the Second, King of England, what he thought of the strength of the Welsh, and of his royal expedition against them, made his answer in these words: *This nation may suffer much, and may be in a great measure ruined, or at least very much weakened, great Sir, by your present and other future attempts, as well as formerly it hath often been: but we assure ourselves, that it will never be wholly ruined by the anger or power of any mortal man, unless the anger of heaven concur to its destruction. Nor (whatever changes may happen as to the other parts of the world) can I believe that any other*

nation or language besides the Welsh, shall answer at the last day for the greater part of this corner of the world.

The Name of Britain.

But you will say, if *Cumero* be the primitive name of the inhabitants, whence then comes *Albion*? Whence *Britain*? A name which hath so much prevailed, that the other is almost forgotten. Give me leave, as to this point, to deliver my real thoughts, which I am satisfied are the real truth. The same things may be considered under various circumstances, and thereupon may be justly expressed by various names, as Plato tells us in his *Cratylus*. And if you will take the pains to search into particular instances, both of modern and ancient times, you must needs observe, that all nations have been by strangers, called by names quite different from what they called themselves. Thus, they who in the language of their own country, were called *Israelites*, were termed by the Greeks, *Hebrews* and *Jews*; and by the Egyptians *Huesi*, (as Manethon observes) because they had shepherds for their kings. Thus the Greeks called those *Syrians*, as Josephus writeth, who named themselves *Aramaeans*. Those who called themselves *Chusii*, were by the Greeks, from their black faces, termed *Ethiopian*s. Those who called themselves in their own language, *Celtae*, the Greeks called *Gallatae*, either from their milk-white complexion, as some will have it, or from their long hair, as I just now observed. So those, who called themselves in their own language, *Teutsch*, *Numidians*, and *Hellenae*, were by the Romans termed *Germani*, *Mauri*, and *Graeci*, [Germans, Moors, and Greeks.] So likewise at this day, (not to produce too many instances) they, who are in their own tongue, called *Mussulmen*, *Magier*, *Czechi*, *Besermannii*, are by all other Europeans called *Turks*, *Hungarians*, *Bohemians*, and *Tartars*. And even we in England, who in our own tongue call ourselves Englishmen, are by the Welsh, Irish, and Highland Scots, called *Sasson*, i.e. *Saxons*. After the same manner we may justly conceive, that our ancestors, who called themselves *Cumero*, were upon some other account, either by themselves, or by others, called Britons; from whence the Greeks framed their *Bretania*, and handed the same word to the Romans. Thus much being premised, we will now enquire into the several names of this island.

As to the name of *Albion*, I am not over-solicitous. For it was imposed on this island by the Greeks, for distinction sake; all the islands that lay round it being called by one general name, *Britannicae* and *Britanniae*, i.e. The Britons, or the British Isles. *The island of Britain*, saith Pliny, *so famous in the writings both of the Greeks and Romans, is situate to the northwest, at a great distance from, but just opposite to Germany, France, and Spain, three countries that take up much the greatest part of Europe. It is particularly called Albion, whereas all the isles, which are about it, are called in general Britanniae*. Whereupon Catullus concerning Caesar, hath this expression,

Hunc Galliae timent, timent Britanniae.

Both Gaul and Britain our great Caesar dread.

Also in the same epigram, he calls this *ultimam occidentis insulam*, i.e. the farthest island of the West. The name of *Albion* seems to have had its rise merely from a vain humour of the Greeks, and the fond inclination of that people to fables and fictitious names, which they themselves called *euresilogion*. For seeing that nation have upon a mere fiction, named Italy, *Hesperia*, from Hesperus, the son of Atlas; France, *Gallatia*, from a certain son of Polyphemus, &c. I cannot but believe that in

the same fanciful humour they invented for this isle also the name of *Albion*, from Albion, Neptune's son; as Perottus and Lilius Giralduſ have obſerved before me: unleſs one ſhould chooſe rather to derive it from *alphos*, a word, which Feſtus ſaith, ſignifies *white* in Greek, whence the Alps may have alſo have taken their name: for our iſland is on all ſides ſurrounded with white rocks, which Cicero calls *mirificas moles*, vaſt and prodigious piles. For which reaſon alſo in the coins of Antoninus Pius and Severus, Britain is figured ſitting upon rocks, in a woman's habit: and by the Britiſh poets themſelves, is ſtyled *Inis Wen*, That is, the white iſland. I might alſo allege, that Orpheus in his *Argonautics*, (if they be his) calls that iſland, the white land, which lies next to *Iernis*, or Ireland, and which can be no other but our Britain. Fracaſtorius alſo in his diſcourſe concerning that peſtilential fever, which went in England by the name of the ſweating ſickneſs, delivering it as his opinion, that it was occaſioned by the nature of the Engliſh ſoil, which lies very much upon chalk, or a white ſort of marl, ſuppoſes that from thence our iſland took the name of Albion. He had but little honeſty, and as little modeſty, that was the firſt inventor of that idle ſtory, not to be heard without indignation, how that this iſland took the name of *Albion*, from Albina, one of the thirty daughters of Diocletian, a King of Syria, who upon their wedding-night killed all their huſbands, and then coming over hither in a veſſel without ſails or oars, were the firſt that took poſſeſſion of this iſland; where a ſort of carnal ſpirits got them with child, and thence iſſued that race of giants. Nor need I much busy myſelf to enquire, wherefore in that old *parodia*, againſt Ventidius Baſſus, it is called *Insula caeruli*; conſidering that the ſea lies round it, which the poets ſtyle *caerulus* and *caerulum*.<20> So Claudian of this Britain:

—*cujus veſtigia verrit*
Caerulus.—
 —whoſe ſteps the azure ſea
 Sweeps with his tide—

I omit, that it is by Ariſtides, called the great and the fartheſt iſland. That it was alſo called *Romania*, ſeems to be inſinuated by thoſe paſſages in Gildas, where he tells us, that this iſland was ſo abſolutely brought under the Roman power, *that the name of the Roman ſlavery ſtuck to the very ſoil*. And a little after, *ſo that it might now be accounted Romania, rather than Britannia*. And within a page or two, *an iſland, bearing the Roman name, but which did not obſerve the laws or cuſtoms of the Romans*. Nay, Proſper Aquitanus expreſſly calls it, *the Roman Iſland*. Hither alſo may be referred that prediction of the aruſpices or ſooth-ſayers, when it happened that the ſtatues of Tacitus and Florianus, Emperors, were thrown down with thunder; viz. That out of their family ſhould ariſe an Emperor, who, amongſt other great actions, *ſhould ſend preſidents over Taprobana, and ſhould ſend a proconſul into the Roman iſland*; which all the learned underſtand of our Britain, though it was a province preſidial, and never proconſular, as we ſhall hereafter ſhow. That it was ever called *Samothea*, from Samothes, Japhet's ſixth ſon, I cannot help it, if ſome will ſtill believe. I know very well whence all that is borrowed, to wit, out of Annius Viterbienſis, who, like a cheat, putting ſpecious titles upon bad wares, hath impoſed upon the over-credulous, his own forgeries, under the name of Berouſus.

But now, as to the name and original of *Britain*, the various opinions concerning it, have made it a very dubious point; for which reaſon, I will apply myſelf to our Britons for leave to interpoſe my judgment among the reſt; that they would put a favourable conſtruction upon what I do; that as they deſire to know the truth, ſo they

would pardon those that search into it, and allow me the same liberty as Eliot, Leland, Llwyd, and others have taken. For if Humphrey Llwyd, a most learned Briton, was not blamed, but rather commended, for producing a new etymology of *Britain*, different from that common one of Brutus, without any prejudice to the story; I hope it will be no crime in me, who here meddle not with the history of Brutus, to make a short inquiry after another original. And where can I so properly search after it as in our British language, which as it is pure and unmixed, so extremely ancient; and on this double account, we may promise ourselves considerable assistance from it. For ancient languages are highly serviceable to the finding out the first original of things. And Plato, in his *Cratylus*, tells us, that the primitive names of things, long since worn out of use, are yet still preserved in the barbarous tongues as the most ancient. Now though those matters are so very obscure, by reason of their great antiquity, that we rather earnestly wish for the truth, than have any reasonable hopes to discover it; yet I shall do my utmost to clear it up, and shall briefly propound my own judgment, not magisterially imposing it upon any man, but still inclined to admit with the highest satisfaction any more probable opinion. For I love a truth of another's discovery altogether as well as my own, and equally embrace it, wheresoever I find it.

In the first place, I will take it for granted, with the reader's leave, that all ancient nations had their own proper names from the beginning, and that the Greeks and Latins afterwards framed names for every country, out of those of the people, with variation enough to accommodate them to their own dialect. Or to explain myself farther, that the people were known and distinguished by their names, before the regions and countries which they inhabited; and that the countries were afterwards denominated from the people. Who can deny but the names of the *Jews*, the *Medes*, the *Persians*, *Scythians*, *Almans*, *Gauls*, *Getulians*, *Saxons*, *English*, *Scots*, &c. were extant before those of Judaea, Media, Persia, Scythia, Almaine, Gaul, Getulia, Saxony, England, Scotland, &c.? Nor is anything more evident, than that these last were coined out of the former. We find that from the *Samnites*, the *Insubres*, and *Belgae*, Livy and Caesar were the first that called the countries themselves *Samnitium*, *Insubrium*, and *Belgium*. From the Franks, in the time of Constantine the Great, as appears by the coins of that Emperor, the country where they were seated first, took the name of *Francia* or *France*. And Sidonius Apollinaris was the first that framed the name of *Burgundy* from the Burgundians. Now we have all the reason in the world to believe, that just after the same manner, the inhabitants, or else the Gauls their next neighbours, first gave this island the name of Britain. For several things make it probable, that these natives were called *brit* or *brith* in the old barbarous language; especially that verse which passes under the name of Sibyl,

The *British* tribes and wealthy *Gauls* shall hear
The purple waves come rolling from afar,
While tides of blood the wond'ring pilots fear.

Next, the authority of Martial, Juvenal, and Ausonius. This island also is by Procopius called *Britia*; and the ancient inscriptions, set up by the Britons themselves, in which we read *Brito*, *Britones*, *Brittus*, COH. BRITON. ORDINIS BRITTON, and at Rome, in the church of St. Maria Rotunda, NATIONE BRITTO. This inscription also, which is to be seen at Amerbach in Germany (which I will here insert, because it mentions Triputum, some place in Britain, but not known.)

NYMPHISO
 NO BRITTON
 TRIPUTIENO
 SUB CURA
 MO VLPI
 MALCHI
 7. LEG. XXII.
 PO PO FO

The Saxons also themselves, in their own language, called the Britons *Brits*, and particularly Witichindus the Saxon, throughout his whole history, useth the word *Britae*. So that without all doubt, *Brit* is the primitive, from whence *Brito* is derived, and from whence we may rationally expect some light that may lead us farther towards the original of the name of Britain.

Now it was the general custom of all nations, to apply to themselves such names as had a respect to something wherein they either excelled, or were distinguished from the rest. Some from the dignity of their founders, as the Jonians from Javan, the Israelites from Israel, the Chananites from Chanan, the son of Cham. Others with a respect to their particular natures, inclinations, or employments, as the Iberi, according to the Hebrew derivation, because they were miners; the Heneti, because they were wanderers; the Nomades, because they busied themselves most about cattle; the Germans, because they were accounted stout and warlike men; the Franks, because free; the Pannonians, in the opinion of Dion, from *pannas*, wearing coats with long cloth sleeves; the Ethiopians from their blackness; and the Albans, as born with white hair. From whence Solinus makes a remark very worthy our observation, *That even the colour of the hair did give a name to a nation*. Now our countrymen, who passing under the general name of *Cimbri* or *Cumeri*, in common with the Gauls, had no other mark or character so proper to difference and distinguish them from the rest, as that their peculiar custom of painting their bodies. For the best writers that are, Caesar, Mela, Pliny, &c. do all agree, that the Britons used to paint themselves with *glastum*, or woad, and the word *glas*, signifies blue in Welsh to this day. What then, if I should suppose, that our *Britons* took that denomination from their *painted* bodies; for the word *brith*, in the ancient language of this island, signifies anything that is painted and coloured over. Nor can any man in reason censure this, as either an absurd, or over-strained etymology of the Britons; seeing it has the grand requisites in all such cases, i.e. the words sound alike, and the name (which is as it were the picture of the thing) expresseth the thing itself. For *brith* and *brit* are very near in sound; and that word *brith*, among the Britons, expresseth to the full what the Britons really were; that is, painted, stained, dyed, and coloured. For these epithets the poets use to give them; and Oppian terms them *Aiolonotoi*, i.e. *Having pied or various coloured backs*. Nor will it be improper here (though it may seem but of small moment) to set down an observation of my own, that in the names of almost all the ancient Britons, there appears some intimation of a colour, which without doubt arose from this custom of painting. The red colour is by the Britons called *coch* and *goch*, which word, I fancy, lies couched in these names, *Cogidunus*, *Argentocoxus*, *Segonax*. The black colour they call *du*, of which methinks there is some appearance in *Maudubratius*, *Cartimandua*, *Togodumnus*, *Bunduica*, *Cogidunus*. The white colour is called *gwyn*, the express footsteps of which word, methinks, I see remaining in *Venutius* and *Immanuentius*. *Gwellw*, in Welsh, signifies a waterish colour, and this discovers itself evidently in the names of *Vellocatus* and

Carvilius, and *Suella*. Blue is in British *glas*; and that plainly appears in the name of King *Cuniglasus*, which Gildas interprets *fulvus*, or, as it is in some other copies, *furvus lanio*, a dark coloured butcher. *Aure*, the name for a gold colour, is manifest in *Cungetorix* and *Arviragus*. A lively and brisk colour is by them called *teg*, whereof we have some hint in *Prasutagus*, and *Caractacus*. But now, if we allow that the Britons borrowed the names of mixed colours, together with the very colours themselves, from the Romans (as they did certainly their *werith* for green, from *viridis*; and *melin* for straw-colour, from *melinus*;) then I hope I may have leave to fancy at least, that I can discover some tincture of the colour called *prasinus*, or grass-green, in the name of *Prasutagus*; and of the colour called *minium*, i.e. vermilion, in that of *Adiminius*, son to King Cunobeline. Rufina also, that most learned British lady, took her name from the colour, called in Latin *Rufus*, the red or flame colour; like as *Alban*, the first martyr of Britain, from *albus*, i.e. white. If any man, well skilled in that ancient language, would in like manner examine the rest of the British names that occur in old writers (of which sort there are not above four or five extant,) it is very probable he will find in every one of them, some signification of a colour. Nor ought we to omit here, that the most common and current names at this day amongst our Britons, *gwyn*, *du*, *goch*, *lluid*, were taken from the white, black, red, and russet colour. So that it ought not to seem strange, that a nation should derive its general name from painting, where all the people painted their bodies; and where, both in old time it was, and at present it is the fashion to take their most ordinary names from colours. But to return to our business, if all this have been foreign to it.

It is most certain, that in the British histories, an inhabitant of Britain, is called in that language, *Brithon*. The note of aspiration is not to be regarded, since the Britons (whose tongue, St. Chrysostom saith, was *lingua sibila*, i.e. a hissing tongue) were always much pleased with aspirations, which the Latins as studiously avoided. Now as *brito* came from *brith*, so did Britannia also in my opinion. *Britannia* (saith Isidore) *was so called from a word of the inhabitants*. Now, whereas the most ancient Greeks (who were the first that gave this name of Britain to our island) either upon the account of trade, or of piracy, were wont to make long voyages, keeping always close to the shore (as Eratosthenes hath observed;) they might either be informed by the natives, or learn from the Gauls, who spake the same language, that the people of this island were called *brith* and *brithon*, and thereupon to the word *brith*, add *tania*, a termination, which in Greek (as the glossaries tell us) signifies a region or country. Out of which two words, they compound the name of *Britania*, corruptly written *Bretania*, i.e. the country of the Britons. Lucretius and Caesar have named it more truly Britannia; and they are the first of the Latins that make mention of it. That the matter stands thus, as to Britain, I do the more firmly believe, because we find not in all the world besides above three countries of any considerable largeness, the names whereof do terminate in *tania*. And even those three lie all in this western part of the world, to wit, *Mauretania*, *Lusitania*, and *Aquitania*; of which I question not but that the Greeks, who first discovered those countries, were the inventers, and that from them the Latins afterwards received them. For from the name of the *Mauri*, they made *Mauretania*, as much as to say, *the country of the Mauri*; which, according to Strabo, by the natives themselves was called *Numidia*. From *Lusus*, the son of Bacchus, they framed *Lusitania*, that is, the country of *Lusus*; and perhaps they called Aquitaine by that name, *ab aquis*, as Ivo Carnotensis thinks, since it is a country seated upon the water. In which sense also (as Pliny tells us) it was formerly called *Armorica*, i.e., lying upon the sea-coast. As for *Turditania* and *Bastitania*, names of smaller countries in Spain, and consequently lying in these western parts of the world, they may be very

properly reduced under the same head, and seem to signify no more than *the countries of the Turdi*, and *the Basti*. Nor is it unusual to compound a name of a foreign and a Greek word. *Words are compounded*, (saith Quintilian) *either of our own*, (i.e. Latin) *and a foreign word*, as *biclinium*; *or just contrary*, of a foreign word and a Latin tacked to it, as *epitogium* and *anticato*; *or of two foreign words*, as *epirrhodium*. And this is the most usual sort of composition, as to the names of countries. Is not the name of *Ireland* a manifest compound of the Irish *Erin* and the English word *land*? Is not *Angleterre*, a name made by the conjunction of a French with an English word? Was not the name of *Franclond*, (for so our old Saxons called France) a product both of the French and Saxon language? Came not *Poland* likewise from a Polish word that signifieth a *plain* or *level*, united with a German? Lastly, was not the name of *Denmark* compounded of a Danish word, and the German word *march*, which signifieth a bound or limit? But in a thing so evident, more words are needless.

Nor is it at all to be wondered, that the Greeks should give to our isle this addition of *tania*; whenas St. Jerome, in his *Questions upon Genesis*, proves out of the most ancient authors, that the Grecians had their colonies and plantations along all the sea-coasts in Europe, and in all the islands, even as far as our Britain. *Let us*, saith he, *look into Varro's treatise of antiquities*, and that of *Sisinius Capito*, and also the Greek writer *Phlegon*, and of several others, eminent for learning; and we shall plainly see, that almost all the islands and sea-coasts over the whole world, with the lands bordering upon the coasts, were generally possessed by the Greeks. For that people (as I have said before) possessed all the sea-coasts, from the mountains *Amanus* and *Taurus*, as far as the British ocean.

Now that the Greeks did land in this our island, and made their observations of the situation and nature of it, that will be a point past all question, if we do but first observe what Athenaeus hath written concerning Phileas Taurominites, (of whom more anon) who was in Britain in the 160th year before the coming of Caesar. Next, if we do not forget the altar with an inscription to Ulysses in Greek letters: and lastly, if we consider what Pytheas hath related before the time of the Romans, concerning the distance of Thule from Britain. For who should ever have discovered to the Greeks, either Britain, Thule, or the countries of Belgium, especially their sea-coasts; unless the ships of the Grecians had entered the British and German ocean, and given their geographers an account of them? Can anyone imagine, that Pytheas could ever have known anything of what lay six days sail beyond Britain, but that some Grecian gave him information? How else could the Greeks ever come to know that there were such places as Scandia, Bergos, and Nerigon, from whence the passage lay by sea to Thule? These very names seem to have been much better known, even to the most ancient amongst the Greeks, than either to Pliny, or to anyone of the Romans. Accordingly Mela tells us, that Thule had been much celebrated by the Grecian poets: and Pliny saith, Britain was an island famous in the writings of the Greeks and Romans. By this means it hath happened, that a considerable number of Greek words have crept into the British and French language; as also into the Belgic or Low Dutch. Hereupon Lazarus Bayfius, and Budaeus, have taken an occasion very much to value their country upon this, that the French were in old time *philhellenes*, i.e. great admirers of the Greeks, and build their principal argument for it upon a few French words, which still retain some marks of the Greek. And Hadrianus Junius seems not less overjoyed, when he can here and there light upon a Belgic word that will admit of a Greek etymology. Now if so, then our Britons may glory in their language, since it hath in it a great many words that are derived from a Greek original. But the learned

Camden's Britannia

Sir Thomas Smyth, secretary to Queen Elizabeth, attributes it rather to this accident, that when all the rest of Europe was disturbed and harrassed with war, a great number of Greeks fled hither for their own security.

Thus you have my thoughts, and perhaps my mistakes, concerning the original of the people, and the name of Britain. If they are false, may the discovery of truth show it. In this intricate and obscure search after antiquities, he even merits that errs but a little; and it often happens, that things, which at first sight, and upon slight thoughts, we think false, appear very true upon a more serious consideration. If I were to appear before truth herself as a judge, I could say no more. In the meantime, as for our countrymen, the Britons, I do with all possible earnestness entreat the learned part of them, to employ in this enquiry their utmost care, diligence, and intention of mind; that so, at the appearance of truth, all those conjectures may vanish like mists before the sun.



The Manners of the Britons.

As for the affairs of the Britons in elder times, their state and government, their laws and customs, we were promised a treatise of them, by Mr. Daniel Rogers, an excellent man and eminent for his learning, to whom I am particularly obliged; but he being snatched away by an untimely death, before he had done anything upon this subject, I will here present the reader with these few memoirs concerning their old customs, took word for word out of ancient authors.

CAESAR. *The money used by the Britons is brass, or iron rings after a certain set weight instead of it. They think it unlawful to taste hares, hens, and geese; however, they keep them for their delight and pleasure. The most civilized by far of them, are those who inhabit Kent, a country which lies all along upon the sea-coast, where they are not much different from the Gauls in customs. Many of the inland people sow no corn, but live upon milk and flesh: they are clothed with skins. All the Britons dye themselves with woad, which makes them of a sky colour, and thereupon the more terrible in battle. They wear their hair long upon their head and upper lip, but close and bare in all other parts of the body. They have ten or twelve of them wives together in common, especially brothers with one another, and parents with their children; but then, if any of the women bring forth, the child is counted his only, who first married her. In battles their way is generally to fight in chariots: First they scour up and down in them, and fling darts, and so many times disorder the enemy's ranks by the terror of their horses and the noise of their chariot wheels. When they once wind themselves in among the horse, they light from their chariots, and fight on foot. The coachmen in the meantime retire, and place themselves so, that their masters may readily find them, to mount again, in case they are overpowered by the number of the enemy. Thus they perform both the speed and quickness of the horse, and the steadiness of the foot in battle, and by daily use and practice are so expert at it, that upon the side of a steep hill, they can stop their horses at full speed, and take them up presently; can turn and run along upon the beam, rest upon the yoke, and from thence whip presently into their chariots. They often likewise give ground, and retreat on purpose; and when at a little distance from our legions, dismount from their chariots, and fight the enemy at disadvantage. The method of their cavalry was such, that it proved equally dangerous to pursue, or to be pursued by them. Moreover they never fought close and thick together, but thin, and at some considerable distance; having others posted in certain order, so that one might succour another, and the wearied might be relieved and succeeded with fresh supplies.*

STRABO. *The Britons in stature exceed the Gauls, and their hair is not so yellow, nor their bodies so well set. Let this be an argument of their tallness, that I myself have seen at Rome some young men of them, taller by half a foot than any other men. Yet their legs were but weak, and the other parts of the body showed them to be not well made nor handsome. In their nature they partly resemble the Gauls, but in some things more plain and barbarous: so that some of them have not the art to make cheese, though they have much milk; others of them know neither the art of gardening, nor any other kind of husbandry. They have many potentates among them. In battles they use chariots in great numbers, as some of the Gauls do. Woods among them are instead of cities; for having cut down trees, and enclosed a large round plat of ground with them, there they build huts to live in, and make folds for their cattle; which are not designed to endure long.*

CAESAR likewise. *It is counted a town among the Britons, when some thick wood is fenced round with a trench and rampart, where to avoid incursions they retire and take refuge.*

DIODORUS SICULUS. *The Britons live in the same manner that the ancients did; they fight in chariots, as the ancient heroes of Greece are said to have done in the Trojan wars. Their houses for the most part are made of reeds or wood. They house their corn in the ear, and thresh out no more at a time than may serve them for one day. They are plain and upright in their dealings, and far from the craft and subtlety of our countrymen. Their food is plain and natural, and has nothing of the dainties of rich men. The island is very populous.*

POMPONIUS MELA. *Britain has its nations, and its kings over them; but all in it are barbarous. And as they are at great distance from the continent, so they are the more unacquainted with the wealth and riches in other places; theirs consisting wholly in cattle and the extent of their grounds. They paint their bodies, whether for show and beauty, or some other reason, is uncertain. They make war at pleasure, and make frequent incursions upon one another, prompted chiefly by an ambition of sovereignty and enlarging their territories. They fight not only on horseback and on foot, but also in their wagons and chariots, armed after the way in Gaul, where they call them covins, with hooks and scythes at the axletrees of them.*

CORNELIUS TACITUS. *The Britons are nearest to the Gauls, and likest them; either by virtue of the same original, or because, that in countries opposite to one another a like climate gives a like make and complexion to the bodies of each people. However, if a man considers all, 'tis probable this neighbouring country was peopled by the Gauls; one finds the same religious rites, and superstitious opinions among them. Their language is not much different from one another, and they are alike bold and forward in any dangerous enterprise; and likewise upon encounter, alike cowardly in giving over and declining. Yet the Britons show more heat and fierceness than the other, as being not yet softened and rendered effeminate by much peace. For we find that the Gauls likewise were once famous for their wars, till with peace idleness came in among them, and their bravery went to wreck as well as their liberty. Which very thing is befallen those Britons who were formerly conquered; whereas the rest continue such as the Gauls were. The strength of their arms consists in their infantry; and some of their nations fight in chariots. The greatest person among them still drives, his servants defend him. Heretofore they were governed by kings, but now they are drawn under petty princes into parties and factions. Nor was there anything of more considerable advantage to the Romans, against the most powerful nations of them, than their not concerting one common interest. Seldom above one or two cities unite against a common enemy, so that whilst everyone fights singly, all are conquered.*

In another place. *'Tis common among the Britons to consult the gods by surveying the entrails of beasts, and to go to war under the conduct of women. They make no distinction of sex in point of government. And therefore some learned men think Aristotle spake of the Britons, where he takes notice of some warlike nations beyond the Celtae, subject to the government of women.*

DIO NICAEUS, out of Xiphilin's *Epitome*, concerning the Britons in the North part of the island. *They till no ground, but live upon prey and hunting, and the fruit of trees: fish, though they have in great plenty, they will not taste. They dwell in tents, naked, and without shoes. They use their wives in common, and bring up all the*

children among them. The commonalty govern for the most part. They rob at pleasure, and fight in chariots. Their horses are small and swift. They themselves run at a great rate. When they stand in an engagement, they are firm and immoveable. Their weapons, are a shield and a short spear, in the lower end whereof is a piece of brass like an apple, that by shaking it they may terrify the enemy. They have daggers also: and they endure hunger, cold, and all kinds of labour, with wonderful patience. For in the bogs they'll continue many days without food to the very head. In the woods, they live upon barks of trees and roots. They have a certain kind of meat ready upon all occasions, of which if they take but the quantity of a bean, they are neither hungry nor dry.

HERODIAN. *They know not the use of clothes; but about their necks and bellies they wear iron, thinking that an ornament and a sign of their great riches, as other barbarians do gold. They paint their bodies with sundry colours, with all kinds of animals represented in them, and therefore they put on no clothes, least they hide and cover it. The people are warlike and bloody, armed with a narrow shield only and a spear, and lastly a sword hanging by their naked bodies: they are altogether strangers to the use either of a coat of mail or helmet, supposing that would prove but burdensome to them when they march over bogs and mosses; from which so much fog and vapour is exhaled, that the air in those parts is always thick and cloudy.*

What remains (which is but little now) I will pick up here and there, and set down as briefly as I can. Pliny *Of Magic. But why should I take notice of these things in an art, which hath traversed the ocean, and reached the utmost bounds of nature? Britain at this day honours it with so much pomp and ceremony, that one would imagine the Persians had been taught it by them.*

The same author. *There grows in Gaul an herb like plantain, called glastum, wherewith the British wives and virgins dye their bodies all over, resembling blackmoors by that tincture; and so they are wont at certain sacrifices to go naked. The choicest food among them is the chenerotes, a kind of fowl less than a wild goose. The Britons wear rings upon their middle finger; they manure their ground with marl.*

Solinus tell us, *that they painted themselves with certain marks, which Tertullian calls Britonum stigmata. He says farther, the country was partly possessed by barbarians; with the shapes of several beasts, artfully cut out in the bodies of them in their youth, so that these prints in their flesh might grow and increase as their bodies did. Nor is there anything reckoned a sign of more patience among these barbarous nations, than to make such deep scars in their limbs, as may receive a great deal of this dye.*

DIO. *They worshiped Andates. That is to say, the Goddesses Victoria and Andrastes.*

CAESAR and LUCAN. *They had ships, the keel and mast whereof were made of light wood; the other parts of it was covered over with leather. SOLINUS. The sailors never eat till their voyage be finished. The drink used by them was made of barley, (and so 'tis likewise by us at this day) as Dioscorides says, who mis-names it curmi for cwrw; for so the Britons term what we call ale. Many of them had only one wife, as Eusebius says, Praepar. 6. Plutarch writes, that some of them would live an hundred and twenty years, the natural heat of the body being preserved by the coldness of the country.*

As for those ancient years of inhuman tyrants, Gildas speaks of, I know not what he means by them, unless he hints to those, who took upon them the government in these parts in opposition to the Romans, and were called at that time tyranni. For he presently adds from St. Jerome, Porphyry raging in the East like a mad dog against the church, thus proceeds after his vain and wild rate, calling Britain a province plentiful in tyrants.

I shall say nothing of their ancient religion, for it was not really a religion, but a dismal and confused heap of superstition. For after the devil had involved the truth of religion in mists and darkness, Gildas tells us, that *the spectres of Britain were purely hellish, more numerous than those of Egypt, of which some are yet remaining, strangely featured and ugly, and to be seen both within and without their forsaken walls, looking stern and grim, after their usual manner.*

As for the Britons being at the rape of Hesione with Hercules, inferred from those verses of Cornelius, (supposed by some to be the same with Nepos, while he describes the marriage of Telemon and Hesione:

— *et in aurea pecula fusi*
In vitant sese pateris mixta Britanni, &c.

With generous wine the golden vessels flowed
And well-filled bowls went round the undistinguished crowd;
BRITONS among the rest. —)

This is plainly poetical; and that the author of it was not Cornelius Nepos, as the Germans will have it, but Josephus Iscanus, or Joseph of Exeter, I can clearly demonstrate. For he makes mention of our Henry II, and of Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury.

Whether or no Ulysses came hither, (as Solinus says is manifest from an altar with an inscription of Greek letters on it,) is questioned by Brodaeus: and I should rather imagine it erected in honour of Ulysses than raised by him; though they would have this Ulysses to be Elizza, Japhet's grandson. For it appears by history, and we have already observed, that the ancient Greeks were great travellers both by sea and land; and therefore it ought not to seem strange, if we find some names and monuments of them in many places. Now they took those names not so frequently from their own ancestors, as from heroes, who were equally, if not more honoured among them, than confessors and martyrs among Christians. And therefore as those countries newly found out, take their names from St. John, St. Dominic, St. Francis, and many other saints; so likewise no one will deny, but the same was done among the Greeks. And of all their heroes, which of them has ever made voyages, either more frequently, or more long and tedious than Ulysses did? No wonder then that mariners should generally make their vows to him, and consecrate the places of their arrival with his name. Thus Ulyssipo, upon the mouth of the river Tagus, took its name; and thus in other places are those monuments of Ulysses, Laertes, and his companions, which are not to be ascribed to Ulysses, as the founder of them, but as we ought to suppose, dedicated by Grecian travellers to that hero, who himself of all others was the greatest.

JOHN TZETZES in his *Variae Historiae* writes, that our British kings made Cato the Elder (who was so professed an enemy to the vice and debauchery of the Romans) many presents, in respect and honour to his virtue; and that long before the

name of Britain was known at Rome. I leave him to make good the truth of this story; but how fabulous an author he is, the learned are sufficiently sensible.

Nor would I have the reader believe, that Alexander the Great went from the East Indies to the Straits of Gibraltar, and to Britain, upon the authority of Cedrenus against other historians: *From thence being come into Aphasis, Gades, & the British nation, and having furnished himself with a thousand hulks, &c.* That of Trithemius out of Hunnibald, is much such stuff, relating, that King Bassanus put away his wife, the King of the Orcades's daughter, in the year before Christ 284, and that thereupon he made war against Bassanus with the auxiliaries he had from the King of the Britons.

Neither would I have anyone imagine, that Hannibal carried on a war in Britain, because of that passage of Polybius, in the eclogae of the XI book. For the place is corrupted, as 'tis also in the 42 book of Dio. For in both places they treat of the *Brutii* in Italy; and yet I will not deny but that the Greeks about this time might arrive here. For Athenaeus, describing from Moschion, a very ancient author, that ship of Hiero, which was admired by everyone for greatness and workmanship, tells us, that the main-mast of it was with much difficulty at last found by a swine-herd in the mountains of Britain, and from thence conveyed into Sicily by Phileas Taurominites, a mechanic: but I fear the critics will here also read it so, and refer it to the Brutian Hills in Italy.

Yet 'tis likely, that the Britons went some of them with the Cimbrians and the Gauls in those expeditions of theirs into Greece and Italy. For, besides the name common to both of them, in the *Triades* a very ancient British book, where we find mention of three great armies raised in Britain; 'tis said, that a certain foreign captain drew a mighty army out of this kingdom, which, having destroyed great part of Europe, at last settled upon the Grecian sea; I suppose meaning Galatia. That Brennus, so famous both in Greek and Latin authors, was a Briton, some think may be easily made out. For my part, I know only thus much in this matter, that the name is not yet quite lost among the Britons, who in their language call a King *brennin*.

However, that Britomarus a warlike captain among them, mentioned by Florus and Appian, was a Briton, 'tis plain, from the word itself, which signifies a great Briton. I will not here wrest that of Strabo, saying, that Brennus was by birth a Prausian, that so I may thence make him a Briton. And whereas Otho Frisingensis writes, that the Briones, a race of the Cimbri, settled themselves towards the head of the Drave, I will not venture to alter Briones into Britones: though the critics of our age seldom stick at anything.

However, to give my own opinion once for all: as the Romans, notwithstanding they grew so great and eminent, were neither known to Herodotus nor the ancient Greeks; and the Gauls and Iberians were for a long time utterly unknown to the old historians: so I have always thought, that it was late before the name of the Britons was heard of by the Greeks and Romans. As for that tract *de Mundo*, which goes for Aristotle's, and makes mention of the Britons, of Albion, and Hierna, it is not so old as Aristotle, but of far later date, as the learned think. For certain, this part of the world was not known to Polybius that great historian, who, in company with the famous Scipio, travelled a great part of Europe about 370 years before Christ. He tell us, *that whatsoever tract lies northward between the Tanais and Narbo is unknown to this day, and that what ever is said or wrote of it, is all idle and fictitious*. Much after the rate that those at present may be thought to do, who

credulously persuade themselves, that Hamilco, being sent by the Carthaginians to make discovery of the western coasts of Europe, arrived here many years before; when there's no other ground for this voyage but a verse or two in Festus Avienus. And that it was so late ere Britain was known, might very well be, by reason of its situation, whereby 'tis disjoined from the continent; and also, because the old Britons were then barbarous (as other nations in this part of the world,) and living at home, had no great commerce with other countries. Dio is of the same opinion in this matter, saying, *that Britain was not so much as discovered by the old Greeks and Romans, and that the more modern of them questioned whether it were continent or island; that much was written on both sides by some who had no certain knowledge, as having neither seen the country, nor learned the nature of it from the inhabitants, but relying solely on those conjectures they had made, as they had time or diligence to study it.* The first Latin author that I know of, who mentions Britain, is Lucretius, in those verses of his about the difference of air.

*Nam quid Britannum coelum differre putamus,
Et quod in Egypto est, qua mundi claudicat axis.*
How different is the air o' th' British isle
From that which plays upon the wandering Nile.

Now 'tis granted on all hands, that Lucretius lived a little before Caesar: about which time, Divitiacus King of the Soissons, the most potent prince in Gaul, governed the Britons, as Caesar himself informs us. But this is to be understood of the sea-coast. For the same Caesar witnesses, that there was no other parts of Britain besides the sea-coast, and what laid over against France, known to the Gauls. Diodorus Siculus writes, *that Britain was never subject to any foreigner; neither Dionysius, nor Hercules, nor any God or hero, have attempted to conquer it. C. Caesar, for his great exploits surnamed Divus, is now the first that ever subdued the Britons, and forced them to pay tribute.*

Here then our historian (whoever he may be) should begin his history, and not higher, if he seriously considers what the most learned Varro hath heretofore said, and I have already hinted. Namely, that there are three distinct periods of time; the first from man's creation to the deluge, which (by reason we know nothing of it) is called *Adelon*.^{<23>} The second, from the deluge to the first Olympiad, in the year of the world 3189, which (because we have nothing of it but false and fabulous history) is called *Mythicon*. The third, from the first Olympiad to our own times, called *Istoricon*, because the transactions of that space are related by good historians. However, though no learned nations, except the Jews, had any true or historical relations before that age, I know very well, that the British history of Geofrey begins three hundred and thirty years before the first Olympiad, which was then such a rude and ignorant age, in these parts, that our author calls it fabulous. Hence therefore, (lest I lay a bad foundation, and the rest prove accordingly) both because 'tis requisite in this place, and may give great light to that which is to follow; I will begin the history of the Romans in Britain, collected not from fables, which would argue the author's vanity in writing, as well as his folly in believing; but from the uncorrupted monuments of antiquity, with as much brevity as I can: for 'tis not my design to rob anyone of the glory of a larger treatise upon this subject.

The Romans in Britain.



Illustration – Roman Britain

When valour and fortune had so conspired, or rather providence had decreed, that Rome should be mistress of the world; Caius Julius Caesar, having now conquered all Gaul, cast his eye towards the ocean, as if the Roman world was not of extent enough; that so having subdued all, both by sea and land, he might join those countries by conquests, which nature herself had severed. And in the 54th year before Christ, he makes an expedition into Britain, either provoked by the supplies from thence sent into Gaul, during the course of that war, or because they had received the Bellovaci, who had retired hither, or else (as Suetonius writes) excited by the hopes of British pearls, the weight and bigness whereof he was wont to poise and try in his hand; but rather for the sake of glory, as is easily credible, since he rejected the offers of the British ambassadors, who having notice of his design, came to him, promising they would give hostages, and be subject to the Roman Empire.

Take his entrance into the island, abridged out of his own words. The places, ports, and havens of Britain being not well known to Caesar, he sends C. Volusenus before with a galley, who having made what discovery he could in five days, returns to him. The Britons having intelligence of Caesar's intended expedition by the merchants, many cities among them sent ambassadors into Gaul to offer him hostages, and their obedience to the Romans. Being exhorted to continue in that resolution, he

dismisses them, together with Comius Atrebatensis, who had great authority in those parts (for the Atrebatens had before left Gaul, and seated themselves there) that he might persuade them to continue true and faithful to the Romans. But he, upon his first landing, was imprisoned by the Britons. In the meantime, Caesar having drawn together about 80 transport-ships for the two legions, and about 18 more for the horse, sets sail from the country of the Morini, at three in the morning, and about four the day following arrived in Britain, at a place inconvenient for landing; for the sea was narrow, and so pent in by mountains, that they could cast their darts from thence upon the shore beneath. Having therefore got wind and tide both at once favourable, he set sail, and went about eight miles farther, and there, in a plain and open shore, rid at anchor. The Britons, perceiving his design, dispatched their horse and chariots, to keep the Romans from landing. Here the Romans underwent much difficulty, for those great ships could not ride close enough to the shore in this shallow sea, so that the soldiers were forced to leap down in unknown places, and under heavy armor, from those high ships, and contend at the same time with the waves and enemy. On the other side, the Britons, who knew the nature of the place, were free and uncumbered, and fought either on the dry ground, or but a very little way in the water. So that the Romans were daunted, and fought not with the same heart and spirit they used to do. But Caesar commanded the transport-ships to be removed, and the galleys to be rowed just over-against the Britons, and the slings, engines, and arrows to be thence employed against them. The Britons being terrified with the form of the ships, the rowing of them, and with the strangeness of the engines, gave ground. At the same time, an ensign of the tenth legion, beseeching the gods that his design might prove successful to the legion, and exhorting his fellow-soldiers to leap down (unless they would forsake their eagle, and suffer it to be took by the enemy; for that he would do his duty to his country, and to his general) immediately jumps out, and advances with his eagle towards the enemy; all thereupon follow him (nay, Caesar himself first, if we'll believe Julian.) Now began a resolute fight on both sides; but the Romans being cumbered with arms, tossed with the waves, wanting footing, and withal confused, were strangely disordered; till Caesar made the pinnaces and shipboats ply about with recruits to succour them. As soon as the Romans got sure footing on dry ground, they charged the Britons, and quickly put them to flight; but could not pursue them, their horse being not yet arrived. The Britons, upon this defeat, presently sent ambassadors, and with them Comius Atrebatensis (whom they had imprisoned) to desire peace, laying the fault upon the rabble, and their own imprudence. Caesar, upon this, soon pardoned them, commanding hostages to be given him, which he received in part, together with their promise to deliver the rest after. This peace was concluded on the fourth day after his landing in Britain.

At the same time, those eighteen ships wherein the horse were transported, just as they were in sight of Britain, were suddenly, by stress of a storm then arising, driven to the westward, and had enough to do to recover the continent of France. The same night, the moon then at full, the galleys, which were drawn to shore, were filled by the tide, and the ships of burden, which lay at anchor, so shaken by the storm, that they were altogether unfit for service. This being known to the British princes (namely, how the Romans wanted horse, ships, and provision) they revolted, and resolved to hinder them from foraging. But Caesar, suspecting what indeed happened, took care to bring in corn daily, and to repair his fleet with the timber of those twelve which were most shattered. While affairs stood in this posture, the seventh legion, which was sent out to forage, and then busy at it, was suddenly set upon by the Britons, and encompassed with their horse and chariots. Their way of fighting in these

chariots (as I have already observed) is this: first, they drive up and down, and fling their darts, and often disorder the ranks of the enemy with the terror and hurry of their horse and chariots; and if they once get within the ranks of the horse, they light from their chariots and fight on foot. The coach-men draw off a little in the meantime, and place their chariots in such order, that in case their masters are overpowered by a numerous enemy, they may readily retire thither. So that they perform at once the speed and readiness of horse, and the stability of foot; and are so expert by daily use and exercise, that on the side of a steep hill, they can take up and turn, run along upon the beam, stand upon the yoke, and from thence whip into their chariots again. But Caesar coming luckily to their relief, the Romans took heart again, and the British stood astonished, who, in hopes of freeing themselves for ever (by reason of the small number of the Romans, and the scarcity of provisions among them) had assembled together in great numbers, and marched to the Roman camp; where Caesar engaged them, put them to flight, slew many of them, and burnt all their houses for a great way together. The very same day the British ambassadors address themselves for peace to Caesar; and he grants it them, doubling their hostages, and commanding them to be sent into Gaul. Soon after, the equinox being now at hand, he set sail from Britain, and arrived safe with his whole fleet in the continent. Whither only two cities in Britain sent their hostages, the rest neglected it. Upon Caesar's letters, and account to the senate of what he had done here, a procession of twenty days was decreed him. Though he gained nothing of consequence, either to himself or Rome, but only the glory of making the expedition.

The next year, having prepared a great fleet (for with transport-ships and private vessels, built by particular men for their own use, it consisted of above 800 sail) with five legions, and two thousand horse, he set sail from Portus Itius, and landed his army in the same part of the island where he did the foregoing summer. But not so much as an enemy to be seen now; for though the Britons had been there in great numbers, yet terrified by this navy, they had retired into the upland country. Here Caesar encamps his army as conveniently as he could, leaving ten cohorts, and three hundred horse to guard the ships. And in the night, marching himself twelve miles up into the country, finds out the Britons, who retreated as far as the river, but gave him battle there; being repulsed by the Roman cavalry, they betook themselves to the woods, which were fortified both by art and nature. But the Romans locking their shields together like a roof close over head, and others raising a mount, took the place, and drove them from the woods; however, they pursued them no farther, as having their camp to fortify that night.

The day after, Caesar sent his army in three bodies to pursue the Britons; but soon recalled them, upon the news that his fleet was the night before wrecked, torn, and cast upon the shore by storm. So returning to the ships, he drew them to land in ten days time, and entrenched them within the circuit of his camp, and then went back to the same wood from whence he came. Here the Britons had posted themselves with great reinforcements, under the conduct of Cassivellaun or Cassibelin, who, by public consent, was made their prince and general. Their horse and chariots encountered the Romans in their march, with much loss on both sides. After some pause, as the Romans were took up in fortifying their camp, the Britons fell upon those that kept guard with great fierceness, and charged back again through two cohorts, which with the best of two legions Caesar had sent to their assistance, and so made a safe retreat. The day following, the Britons began to appear very thin here and there upon the hills; but at noon, Caesar having sent out three legions, and all his horse to forage, they set

upon them; yet were repulsed at last with great slaughter. And now those aids they had got together went off and left them, so that the Britons never after encountered the Romans with their full power. From hence Caesar marched with his army to the river Thames, towards the territories of Cassivellaun, where, upon the other side of the river, he found a great army of the Britons drawn up, having fastened sharp stakes in the bottom of the river, to make the passage more difficult. However, the Romans wading it up to the neck, went over so resolutely, that the Britons left their posts and fled; but not for fear of tower-backed elephants, as Poliaenus has it.

Cassivellaun despairing now of any good success by fighting, retains with him only four thousand charioteers, and resolves to watch the motion of the Romans, sallying out upon their horse, when at any time they happened to separate and straggle in their foraging; and so kept them from ranging much in the country. In the meantime the Trinobantes surrender themselves to Caesar, desiring he would protect Mandubratius (called by Eutropius and Bede out of some lost pieces of Suetonius Androgorius, and by our Britons Androgeus) against Cassivellaun, and send him to rule over them. Caesar sends him, demanding forty hostages and provision for his army. By their example the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and the Cassii likewise yield themselves to Caesar; from whom learning that Cassivellaun's town was not far off, fortified with woods and fens; he goes and assaults it in two places. The Britons fled out at another side; yet many of them were taken and cut off.

In the meantime, at the command of Cassivellaun, four petty kings of Kent, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, fell upon the camp wherein the Romans had entrenched their shipping; yet the Romans issuing out upon them, repelled them, taking Cingetorix prisoner. Cassivellaun, upon so many defeats, but moved particularly by the revolt of those cities, sent ambassadors with Comius Atrebatensis to Caesar, to treat of a surrender. He having resolved to winter in the continent, demands hostages, and appoints a yearly tribute to be paid from Britain to the Romans, ordering Cassivellaun to do nothing prejudicial to Mandubratius, or the Trinobantes; and so transports his whole army, with a great number of captives, at two embarkments. Thus much from Caesar of his own war in Britain. Eutropius from some pieces of Suetonius now lost, adds farther:

Scaeva, one of Caesar's soldiers, and four more with him, came over before in a little ship to a rock near the island, and were there left by the tide. The Britons in great numbers fell upon these few Romans; yet the rest of his companions got back again. Still Scaeva continues undaunted, overcharged with weapons on all sides; first resisting them with his spear, and after with his sword, fighting there single against a multitude. And when he was at length both wearied, and wounded, and had had his helmet and buckler beat out of his hand, he swam off with two coats of mail to Caesar's camp; where he begged pardon for his rashness, and was made a centurion.

When Caesar first came to this island, he was so moderate, and so far from the pomp and state of our present age, that Cotas (who was the greatest officer in his camp but one) says in his Greek commentary concerning the commonwealth of Rome, that all his retinue was but three servants. *When he was in Britain, says Seneca, and could not endure his greatness should be confined within the ocean, he had the news of his daughter's death, and the public calamities like to follow thereupon; yet he soon overcame his grief, as he did everything else.* Returning conqueror from Britain he offers to Venus Genetrix, in her temple, a corslet of British pearls. Some of his British captives he appointed for the theatre, and certain tapestry hangings wherein he had

painted his British victories. These were often took away by the Britons, being the persons represented by them; and hence that of Virgil;

— *Utque*
Purpureaque intexti tollant aulaea Britanni.
And how the tap'stry where themselves are wrought,
The British slaves pull down.—

And the Britons were not only appointed to serve the theatre, but also (though this is by the by) the Emperor's sedan, as appears by an old inscription of that age, which makes mention of a *decurio* over the British sedan-men. Of this conquest of Caesar's thus an ancient poet:

Vis invicta viri reparata classe Britannos
Vicit, & hostiles Rheni compescuit undas.
Unconquered force! His fleet new rigged o'ercame
The British troops, and Rhine's rebellious stream.

To this also may be referred that of Claudian concerning the Roman valour:

Nec stetit oceano, remisque ingressa profundum,
Vincendos alio quaesivit in orbe Britannos.
Nor stopped he here, but urged the boundless flood,
And sought new British worlds to be subdued.

Moreover Cicero in a poem now lost intitled *Quadrigae*, extols Caesar for his exploits in Britain to the very skies, in a poetical chariot as it were; and this we have upon the authority of Ferrerius Pedemontanus. For thus he writes, *I will draw Britain in your colours, but with my own pencil.* However, others are of opinion, that he only frighted the Britons, by a successful battle; or as Lucan says, who was hardly just to Caesar,

Territa quaesitis ostendit terga Britannis.
Fled from the Britons whom his arms had sought.

Tacitus a grave solid author writes, *that he did not conquer Britain, but only showed it to the Romans.* Horace hints as if he only touched it, when flattering Augustus, he says the Britons were not meddled withal.

Intactus aut Britannus ut descendere
Sacra catenatus via.
Or Britons yet untouched, in chains should come,
To grace thy triumph, through the streets of Rome.
And Propertius,

Te manet invictus Romano Marte Britannus.
Britain, that scorned the yoke of our command,
Expects her fate from your victorious hand.

So far is that of the court-historian Velleius Paterculus from being true, *Caesar passed twice through Britain*; when it was hardly ever entered by him. For, many years after this expedition of Caesar, this island was subject to its own kings, and governed by its own laws.

Augustus seems out of policy to have neglected this island, for he calls it wisdom, as Tacitus says, (and perhaps it really seemed so to him) *that the Roman Empire should be bounded*, i.e. That the ocean, the Istre,<24> and the Euphrates were the limits which nature had set to it: that so it might be an adamantine empire (for so Augustus expresses it in Julian) and not, like a ship which is too big, prove unwieldy, and sink under its own weight and greatness, as it has usually happened to other great states. Or else, as Strabo thinks, he contemned it, as if its enmity was neither worth fearing, nor its benefit worth having; and yet they thought no small damage might be done them by those other countries about it. But whatever might be the cause, this is certain, that after Julius, and the civil wars of the empire broke out, Britain for a long while was not heeded by the Romans, even in peaceful times. Yet at last Augustus was on his journey from Rome to invade Britain. Whereupon, Horace at that time addresses himself to Fortune at Antium;

Serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos.
Preserve great Caesar, while his arms he bends
To seek new foes in Britain's farthest lands.

And after he had gone as far as Gaul, the Britons sent their addresses to him for peace; and some petty princes of them having obtained his favour by embassies and their good services, made oblations in the Capitol, and, saith Strabo, *made the whole island almost intimate and familiar to the Romans, so that they paid all imposts very contentedly, as they do at this day, for such commodities as were conveyed to and fro between Gaul and Britain. Now these were ivory, bridles, chains, amber and glass vessels, and such like poor common sort of ware. And therefore there needs no garrison in that island. For it would require at least one legion and some horse, if tribute was to be raised out of it, and that would hardly defray the charge of the garrison; for the imposts must necessarily be abated if a tribute was imposed, and when violent courses are once taken, danger may be looked for.* The next year likewise he intended to make a descent into Britain, for breach of treaty and covenants; but he was diverted by an insurrection of the Cantabri and others in Spain. And therefore there is no reason to believe Landinus Servius, or Philargirus, who would conclude that Augustus triumphed over the Britons, from those verses of Virgil:

Et duo rapta manu diverso ex hoste trophaea
Bisque triumphatas utroque a littore gentes.
Gained from two foes two trophies in his hands,
Two nations conquered on the neighbouring strands.

To that surrender of the Britons without question this of Horace relates:

*Caelo tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare; praesens divus habebitur
Augustus, adjectis Britannis
Imperio, gravibusque Persis.*
When thund'ring Jove we heard before,
Trembling we owned his heavenly power.
To Caesar now we'll humbly bow,
Caesar's a greater God below.
When conquered Britain sheaths her sword,
And haughty Persia calls him Lord.

Tiberius seems to have followed the counsel of Augustus, and not to have been ambitious of extending the bounds of his empire; for he produced a book written by Augustus's own hand, containing the account of the empire, how many citizens and allies were in arms, the number of fleets, kingdoms, provinces, tributes, or imposts belonging to the state; with his advice at last of keeping the empire within bounds. Which in particular, as Tacitus says, pleased him so well, that he made no attempt upon Britain, nor kept any garrison there. For where Tacitus reckons up the legions, and in what countries they were garrisoned at that time, he makes no mention of Britain. Yet the Britons seem to have continued in amity with the Romans; for Germanicus being on a voyage at that time, and some of his men being driven by stress of weather upon this island, the petty princes here sent them home again.

It is evident enough that Caius Caesar^{<25>} did design to invade this island; but his own fickle and unsteady temper, and the ill success of his great armies in Germany, prevented it. For to the end he might terrify Britain and Germany (to both which he threatened an invasion) with the same of some prodigious work, he made a bridge between the Baiae and the Piles of Puteoli, three miles and six hundred paces in length. But he did nothing more in this expedition, than receive Adminius the son of Cunobeline, a King of the Britons, who was vanquished by his father, and with a small number of men had fled and yielded himself to him. Upon that, as if the whole island had been surrendered, he wrote boasting letters to Rome, often charging the express that was sent with them, to drive up into the very forum and senate house, and not to deliver them but in Mars's temple, and in a throng senate to the consuls. Afterward marching forward to the ocean (as if he designed to make a descent into Britain) he drew up his army on the shore; and then taking ship and launching out a little, returned again, and seated in a high pulpit, gave the sign of battle to his soldiers, commanding an alarm to be sounded; and on a sudden ordered them to gather shells. With these spoils (for he wanted those of the enemy wherewith to triumph) he pleased himself, as if he had conquered the very ocean; and so having rewarded his soldiers, he brought the shells to Rome, that his booty might be seen there also. And in memory of his victory he built a very high tower, from which, as from a watchtower, there might be lights kept for the direction of sailors in the night. The ruins of it are sometimes (when the tide is out) seen on the coast of Holland, called by the people thereabouts Britenhuis. Here they often find stones with inscriptions; one of which was C.C.P.F. Interpreted by them, I know not how truly, *Caius Caligula Pharum Fecit.*^{<26>} But more of this in the British Islands.

From hence forward the inner parts of Britain, defeated by civil wars and factions, rather than by the power of the Romans, after much slaughter on both sides, fell by little and little under the subjection of that empire. For while they fought singly

one by one they were all in the end conquered; being so resolutely bent upon one another's destruction, that till they were all subdued, they were not sensible of an universal danger, by the overthrow of particular states. Nay such was the power of ambition among some of them, that it corrupted and drew them over to the enemy's side, making them faithful and solicitous for the Roman interest to the destruction of their own country. The chief of these was Bericus, who persuaded Claudius to invade Britain (which no one had attempted since J. Caesar) being then embroiled by faction and civil wars, upon pretence of their protecting some fugitives fled to them. Claudius therefore orders *Aulus Plautius, then praetor, to lead an army into Britain, who had much difficulty to get them out of France; for they took it ill, that they were to carry on a war in another world, and so drew out the time with delays and backwardness. But when Narcissus, who was sent to them by Claudius, took Plautius's tribunal, and began to speak to them, the soldiers were so offended at it, that they cried out jo Saturnalia, (for it is a custom, during the Saturnalia, for the slaves to celebrate that feast in the habit of their masters) and forthwith willingly followed Plautius. Having divided his army into three bodies, lest all arriving in one place they might be hindered from landing, they were driven back by contrary winds, and so found some difficulty in transporting. Yet taking heart again, by reason that the comet was turned from East to the West, whither they were sailing, they arrived at the island without disturbance. For the Britons, upon the news of what I have already said, imagining they would not come, had neglected to muster, and therefore without uniting, withdrew into their fens and woods, hoping to frustrate the enemy's design, and wear them out with delays, as they had served Caesar. Plautius therefore was at much trouble to find them out. After he had found them (they were not then free, but subject to several kings) he first overcame Cataratacus, and after him Togodumnus, the sons of Cynobelline who died before. These not being able to withstand him, part of the Bodunni surrendered to him, who at that time were subject to the Catuellani. Leaving a garrison there, he went on to a certain river; and the barbarians thinking it impassable by the Romans without a bridge, lay careless and negligent in their camp without heeding it. Plautius therefore sends the Germans over, being accustomed to swim through the strongest current in their arms. These falling upon the enemy by surprise, struck not at the men, but altogether at the horses in their chariots, which being once disordered, the men were not able to sit them. Next to them he made Flavius Vespasianus, who was afterwards Emperor, and his brother Sabinus, a lieutenant, march over; who passed the river, and cut off likewise many Britons at unawares. However the rest did not fly, but engaged them so resolutely next day, that it continued doubtful which way the victory inclined; till C. Sidius Geta, after he had been well nigh taken by the enemy, gave them at last such an overthrow, that the honour of a triumph was granted him at Rome for his great service, though he had never been consul. From hence the barbarians drew back towards the mouth of the Thames, where by the slowing of the tide it stagnates, and being acquainted with the nature of the places passed it easily; whereas the Romans in following them ran great hazard. However the Germans swimming, and the others getting over by a bridge above, they set upon the barbarians again, and killed great numbers; but in the heat of pursuit, they fell among bogs and mires, and so lost many of their own. Upon this indifferent success, and because the Britons were so far from being dismayed at the death of Togodumnus, that they made preparation with more rage to revenge it, Plautius went no farther, but fearing the worst, took care to secure what he had already got, and sent to Rome for Claudius; being commanded so to do, if affairs went ill and dangerous. For this expedition, among much equipage and preparation,*

elephants also were provided. Claudius upon receiving this news, commits the government of the city to Vitellius his fellow-consul (for he had put him in that office along with himself for six months:) and now he sets sail from the city to Ostia, and from thence to Marseilles; so on the rest of his journey, partly by land, and partly by sea, till he came to the ocean: then was transported into Britain; where he went directly to his forces that were expecting him at the Thames. Having at last joined Plautius, and took the command of the army, he passed the river, and upon a fair engagement with the enemy, who were posted there to receive him, obtained the victory, took Camalodunum, the royal seat of Cunobeline, and many prisoners therein, either by force or surrender. Upon this he was several times greeted Emperor; a thing contrary to the Roman practice: for it was not lawful to give that title to a general above once in one war. To conclude, Claudius having disarmed the Britons, leaves Plautius to govern them, and to subdue the rest; and returns himself to Rome, having sent Pompeius and Silanus, his sons-in-law, before him, with the news of his victory. Thus Dio. But Suetonius says that he had a part of the island surrendered to him without the hazard of a battle or the expense of blood. His stay in Britain was about sixteen days; and in that time he remitted to the British nobility the confiscation of their goods, for which favour they frequented his temple, and adored him as a God. And now after six months absence he returns to Rome.

It was esteemed so great an action to conquer but a small part of Britain, that anniversary games, triumphal arches both at Rome and at Boulogne in France, and lastly a glorious triumph, was decreed by the senate in honour of Claudius: and to see it, the governors of provinces and some outlaws were permitted to be present. Upon the top of Emperor's palace was fixed a naval crown, to imply his conquest and sovereignty of the British sea. The provinces contributed golden crowns; Gallia Comata one of nine pound weight, and the Hither Spain one of seven. His entry up into the capitol was upon his knees, supported by his sons-in-law on each side; into the Adriatic Sea, in a great house, triumphant, rather than in a great ship. The first seat was allowed to his consort Messalina, and it was farther ordained by the senate, that she should be carried in a chariot. After this he made triumphal games, taking the consulship upon him for that end. These plays were showed at once in two theatres; and many times upon his going out, they were committed to the charge of others. Horse-races were allowed, as many as could be run that day, yet they were in all but ten matches; for between every course there was bear-baitings, wrestlings, and Pyrrhic dancing by boys sent from Asia for that purpose. He also conferred triumphal honours upon Valerius Asiaticus, Julius Silanus, Sidius Geta, and others, for this victory. Licinius Crassus Frugi was allowed to ride next after him in trappings and in a robe of date-tree-work. Upon Posidius Spado he bestowed a spear without an head; to C. Gavius he gave chains, bracelets, horse-trappings, and a crown of gold, as may be seen in an ancient marble at Turin.

In the meantime Aulus Plautius carries on the war with such success, that Claudius decreed him an ovation, and went to receive him as he entered into the city, giving him the right-hand, both as he rid to the Capitol, and returned from it. And now Vespasian began to appear in the world; who being made an officer in this war in Britain by Claudius; partly under Claudius himself, and partly under the conduct of Plautius, fought the enemy thirty times, subdued two of their most potent nations, took above twenty towns, and conquered the Isle of Wight. Upon this account, he was honoured with triumphal ornaments, and twice with the priesthood in a short time: and then besides, with the consulship, which he enjoyed the two last months of the

year. Here also served as tribune under his father, with the reputation of a laborious stout soldier (for he valiantly set his father at liberty when besieged,) and no less famous for the character of a modest man; as appears by the number of his images, and the titles to them throughout Germany and Britain. What was transacted afterwards in Britain, till towards the latter end of Domitian's reign, Tacitus (who is best able) shall inform you:

Ostorius, propraetor in Britain, found affairs in disorder, by reason of the many inroads into the country of their allies; and those the more outrageously, because they did not expect that a general but newly made, and unacquainted with the army, would take the field in the winter to oppose them. But Ostorius being sensible that first events would either cast or raise his reputation, with such cohorts as were next at hand, set out against them, slew those who withstood him, and pursued the rest, who were dispersed and routed, that they might not unite again and rally. And because an odious and slight peace would be neither easy to the general nor his army, he prepares to disarm the suspicious, and to post his forces so upon the rivers Antona and Sabrina, as to check them upon all occasions. But first the Iceni could not brook this, a potent nation, and not yet diminished by wars, having before sought alliance with the Romans. By their example, the other bordering nations rise likewise, encamping in a proper place, fenced with an earthen rampart, and accessible by a narrow passage only, to prevent the entrance of the horse. The Roman general, though without his legions, drew up his auxiliary troops to attack the camp, and having posted his cohorts to the best advantage for the assault, brings up the horse likewise for the same service. Thus upon the signal given, they forced the rampart, and disordered the enemy, pent up and hindered by their own entrenchments. However, they defended themselves with great valour, being conscious of their own baseness in revolting, and sensible that their escape was impossible. M. Ostorius, the lieutenant's son, had the honour of saving a citizen in this battle.

By this defeat of the Iceni, other states that were then wavering, were composed and settled; and so he marches with his army among the Cangi, wasting the fields, and ravaging the country. Nor durst the enemy engage us; or if by ambuscade they happened to fall upon our rear, they suffered for their attempt. And now he was advanced quod hiberniam insulam aspectat. ["As far almost as the Irish sea,"] when a sedition among the Brigantes drew him back again; resolving to make no new conquests till he had secured the old. The Brigantes were soon quieted, the more factious of them being punished, and the rest pardoned. But the Silures were neither by severity nor mercy to be reclaimed from their resolutions to a continual war, and therefore a legion was encamped there to awe and restrain them. To further this, Camalodunum, a Roman colony, with a strong body of veterans, was planted in the new conquests; as a ready aid to withstand revolts, and a means to induce their allies to observe laws. Some cities were, after the old Roman manner, given to King Cogidunus, that kings themselves might be their tools to enslave others.

From hence they marched into the country of the Silures, who, besides their own natural fierceness, relied much upon the valour of Caractacus, eminent above all the commanders in Britain for his experience in affairs, either doubtful or prosperous. He knowing the country as it lay best for his advantage, and being at the head of a weaker army, politicly transfers the war among the Ordovices, drawing to his assistance such as were averse to us, and there resolves to try his last fortune, posting himself so, that the passes and all the odds was to his own side, and the disadvantages to ours. No access but by steep mountains, and where they were passable, blocked up

with stones, as with a rampart, through a river ill-bottomed and fordable; and these guarded by his best troops. Besides all this, their several commanders went up and down encouraging the soldiers, exciting them with the hopes of victory, the little reason to despair of success, and such like motives. Caractacus riding up and down, put them in mind, that this was the day, and the engagement, that would either begin their liberty, or their perpetual bondage; reciting the names of their ancestors, who had drove Caesar the dictator out of Britain; whose valour hitherto had preserved them from slavery and taxes, and their wives and children from dishonor. The soldiers inflamed with these speeches, bound themselves by vows, after their respective religions, that neither wounds nor weapons should make them yield. This resoluteness of theirs amazed the Roman general; a river to cross, a rampart on the other side, steep mountains in the way; nay, everything terrible and well guarded, quite daunted him. However, his army clamored to be led on, saying, nothing was impregnable to valour; which was too the more increased in them, by the outcry of the officers and captains to the same purpose. Ostorius observing what passes might be won, and what not; leads them on in this ardour, and passes the river with no great difficulty. Being advanced to the rampart, while the darts played on both sides, we lost more men, and had more wounded. But the Romans closing their ranks and their targets overhead, easily threw down that loose and irregular pile of stones, and engaging them hand to hand upon equal terms, forced them to the mountains, where they were pursued by the soldiers of all sorts, either heavily or lightly armed; the one galling them with darts, the other pressing up thick and close, put them into disorder, having neither head-piece nor coat of mail to defend them. If they stood to the auxiliary, they fell under the sword and javelins of the legionaries; if they faced about to them, they were cut off by the swords and pikes of the auxiliaries. This was an eminent victory; Caractacus's wife and daughter yielded themselves. He himself (as one mischief ever falls upon the neck of another) craving the protection of Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, was imprisoned by her, and delivered to the conqueror, in the ninth year after this war had begun in Britain. Upon this, his renown spread abroad in the island, and in the provinces adjoining: so that his name grew famous in Italy itself; where they desired to see who he was, that for so many years had slighted the mighty power of that empire. Nay, his name was not inglorious at Rome itself. And Caesar, by extolling his own victory, made the captive more eminent. For the people were called together as to somewhat great and wonderful. The Emperor's guards were drawn up in the plain before their camp. Then first came the King's vassals and retinue, his chains and other trophies acquired in foreign wars; next, his brother, his wife and daughter; and last of all himself. The address of others was base and mean through fear; but Caractacus, neither dejected nor craving mercy, spake to this purpose, as he stood at Caesar's tribunal.

"If the moderation of my mind in prosperity had been but answerable to my quality and fortune, I might have come a friend rather than a captive into this city; and you, without dishonor, might have confederated with me, royally descended, and then at the head of many nations. As my state at present is disgraceful, so yours is honourable and glorious: I had horses, men, arms, riches; why is it strange I should unwillingly part with them? But since your power and empire must be universal, we in course, among all others, must be subject. If I had forthwith yielded, neither my fortune nor your glory had been so eminent in the world. My grave would have buried the memory of it, as well as me. Whereas if you suffer me to live now, your clemency will live in me for ever, as an example to after ages."

Upon this speech, Caesar pardoned not only him, but his wife and brothers; and being all unbound, they made their address to Agrippina likewise (with thanks and commendations, as they had done to Caesar) she sitting in a high chair at no great distance. A thing strange and unknow to our fore-fathers, that a woman should sit commanding at the head of the Roman troops. But she carried herself as partner and an associate in the empire, gotten by her ancestors. After this, the senators being called together, made many glorious speeches concerning their prisoner Caractacus; asserting it to be no less great, than when P. Scipio showed Siphaces; when L. Paulus, Perses; or whoever else showed captive kings unto the people. To Ostorius they decreed the honour of a triumph.

These victories in Britain, are related as the most famous monuments and instances of the Roman bravery. Hence Seneca: *Claudius might first glory in conquering the Britons, for Julius Caesar no more than showed them to the Romans.* In another place also.

*Ille Britannos
Ultra noti
Littora ponti,
Et caeruleos
Scuta Brigantes
Dare Romuleis
Colla catenis
Jussit, & ipsum
Nova Romana
Jura securis
Tremere oceanum.*

'Twas he, whose all-commanding yoke,
The farthest Britons gladly took;
Him the Brigantes in blue arms adored,
When subject waves confessed his power,
Restrained with laws they scorned before,
And trembling Neptune served a Roman Lord.

And thus Seneca the tragedian concerning Claudius, in his Octavia:

*Cuique Britanni
Terga dedere, ducibus nostris
Ante ignoti, jurisque sui.
The haughty Britons he brought down,
The Britons to our arms unknown
Before, and masters of their own.*

In the same place likewise, upon his passing the Thames:

*En qui orae Tamisis primus posuit jugum.
Ignota tantis classibus textit freta
Interque gentes barbaras tutus fuit,
Et saeva Maria, conjugis scelere occidit.*

See! He whom first Thames' stubborn stream obeyed,
 Who unknown seas with spreading navies hid,
 Secure through waves, through barbarous foes is come,
 Heavens! To be murdered by his wife at home.

Thus Agesippus also of Claudius: *Of this, Britain is an instance, which lying without the world, is by the power of the Roman Empire reduced into the world. What was unknown to former ages is now discovered by the Roman victory; and they are now made slaves, who being born to enjoy themselves in perpetual freedom, knew not what servitude meant: nay they, who were the whole breadth of the sea beyond the reach of any greater power, and knew not what fear was, because they knew no one to be afraid of, are now conquered. So that to make a descent into Britain, was a greater action than to subdue it. In another place he added: Britain (lying hid in the ocean) to the Roman Empire by his conquests; which enriched Rome, gave Claudius the reputation of a politic prince, and Nero of a fortunate one. And again, which is the most remarkable: The elements themselves are fallen under the name and empire of the Romans, who are sovereigns of the whole globe; which is but the bounds and limits of their dominions: and to conclude, 'tis called by many the Roman world. For if we consider the real matter, the earth itself is not of so great extent as the Roman Empire; for the Roman valour has passed the sea, (the bounds of it) in search of another world, and has found in Britain a new seat, far beyond the limits of the earth. So that in short, when we would deprive men, not only of the privileges of Rome, but in a manner of the conversation of mankind, we pack them thither, and banish them out of the world. The sea is no more a bound; but the Roman knows all its corners.* Josephus also, in the person of Titus to the Jews: *What stronger wall and bulwark can there be than the ocean? And yet this cannot guard the Britons against the apprehensions of the Roman arms.*

Moreover, we have some verses upon this subject, writ by an excellent, but unknown poet, rescued from the dust by the famous Josephus Scaliger, in his *Catalecta*; which being not generally to be met withal, I will here insert them; for the verses are really valuable. That the epigrams are distinct, and therefore to be severed, J. Obsopaeus, a very learned young gentleman in Germany, lately informed me from some old manuscripts.

*Ausoniis nunquam tellus violata triumphis,
 Icta tuo, Caesar, fulmine procubuit.
 Oceanusque tuas ultra se respicit aras,
 Qui finis mundo est, non erit imperio.*

*Victa prius nulli, jamjam spectata triumpho,
 Illibata tuos gens jacet in titulos.
 Fabula visa diu, medioque recondita ponto
 Libera victori jam modo collo dedit.
 Euphrates Ortus, Rhenus incluserit arctos,
 Oceanus medium venit in imperium.*

*Libera non hostem, non passa Britannia Regem,
 Aeternum nostro quae procul orbe jacet.
 Foelix adversis, & sorte oppressa secunda,
 Communis nobis, & tibi, Caesar, erit.*

*Ultima cingebat Tibris tua, Romule, regna:
 Hic tibi finis erat, religiose Numa.*

*Et tua, Dive, tuum sacrata potentia coelo
Extremum citra constitit oceanum.
At nunc oceanus geminos interluit orbis.
Pars est imperii, terminus ante fuit.*

*Mars pater, & nostrae gentis tutela Quirine,
Et magno positus Caesar uterque polo.
Cernitis ignotos Latia sub lege Britannos,
Sol citra nostrum flectitur imperium.
Ultima cesserunt adoperto claustra profundo.
Et jam Romano Cingimur oceano.*

*Opponis frustra rapidum Germania Rhenum,
Euphrates prodest nil tibi, Parthe fugax.
Oceanus jam terga dedit, nec pervius ulli,
Caesaros fasces, imperiumque tulit.*

*Illa procul nostro semota, exclusaque coelo,
Alluitur nostra victa Britannis aqua,
Semota, & vasto disjuncta Britannia ponto,
Cinctaque inaccessis horrida littoribus:
Quam pater invictis nereus vallaverit undis,
Quam fallax aestu circuit oceanus.
Brumalem sortita plagam: qua frigida semper
Praefulget stellis arctos inocciduis.
Conspectuque tuo devicta Britannia, Caesar,
Subdidit insueto colla premenda jugo.
Aspice, confundit populos impervia tellus,
Conjunctum est, quod adhuc orbis, & orbis erat.*

Nations, that never feared triumphant Rome,
Struck with thy thunder, Caesar, are o'ercome.
The subject ocean does with wonder see
Beyond his limits, altars raised to thee.
And the last borders of the farthest land,
Shall ne'er contract the bounds of thy command.

A land now conquered, and untouched till now,
Crowns with new laurels thy triumphant brow.
Nations unseen, and scarce believed as yet,
To thy victorious yoke their neck submit.
Euphrates th'East, Rhine closed the North before,
The ocean now's the middle of thy power.

Unused to serve, unknowing to obey,
The farthest Britons, who, in silence lay,
Now to their better fortune overcome,
Increase the fame of Caesar, and of Rome.

Thy lands did Tiber, Romulus, enclose,
And pious Numa was content with those.
But you, great Caesar, made your heavenly power
Reach to the ocean from the farthest shore.
The ocean too, now sees new worlds beyond,
And that's the middle, which was once the end.

Camden's Britannia

Mars and Quirinus, whose peculiar care
Victorious Rome, and all her fortunes are,
And you, great Caesar's, each a glorious star;
Our laws, you see, the farthest Britons own,
Our realm's not bounded with the setting sun.
The world's great limits to our arms give way,
And the vast ocean's but the Roman sea.
In vain you Germans pass the rapid Rhine,
You Parthians trust Euphrates' streams in vain;
When th'ocean trembles at the Roman sword,
And with due reverence, owns its conquering Lord.

Britain, excluded from our warmer clime,
Is now surrounded with a Roman stream;
Whose horrid cliffs, unfathomed seas enclose,
And craggy rocks contemn invading foes.
By Neptune's watry arms, with walls supplied,
And ever wet with the insulting tide.
Where frozen fields eternal winter mourn,
And stars once risen, never can return.
By thee, great Caesar, with a look 'tis won,
And bears thy yoke, a burden yet unknown.
Thus friends in lands impassable we find,
Thus the two worlds are in one empire joined.

But now to go on in the words of Tacitus. *Thus far Ostorius went on successfully, but now his fortune began to turn; either because discipline began to slacken on our side, and the war to be carried on less vigorously, as if it was now over upon Caractacus's removal; or else because the enemy in compassion to so great a prince, were more animated with revenge. For they surrounded the campmasters, and the legionary cohorts, who were left behind to build forts in the country of the Silures; and, if they had not been timely rescued by a succour from the castles and villages adjoining, had been utterly cut off. However, the campmaster, with eight captains, and all the most forward of the common soldiers, were slain. A while after they put our foragers to flight, and also a body of horse that was sent to their assistance. Upon this Ostorius sent out some light companies, which yet could not stop their flight, if the legions had not advanced and received the enemy. By this supply the battle was pretty equal on both sides, and at length we had the better of them: the enemy got off with a small loss, for it was now towards night. After this they had several skirmishes, but generally in woods and marshes, upon the incursions of the one or other, either by accident or design and bravery; sometimes to rob and pillage, sometimes to revenge; sometimes by their officers' command, and sometimes without. But the chief provocation was the obstinacy of the Silures, who were exasperated at a saying of the Roman general's; which was, that, as the Sugambri were destroyed and transported into Gaul, so the name of the Silures should utterly be extinguished. In this heat, two companies of our auxiliaries, sent out rashly by some greedy officers to pillage, were intercepted by them; and they by distributing the spoil and prisoners, drew the other nations to a revolt. In this posture of affairs Ostorius dies, being quite spent with fatigue and trouble; the enemy rejoiced at it, as at the death of a general no ways contemptible; and the rather, because though he did not fall in a battle, yet he expired under the burden of that war.*

But Caesar having advice of the death of his lieutenant, lest the province should be destitute of a governor, sent A. Didius to succeed. His voyage thither was

quick and successful, yet he found not things answerable there; Manlius Valens with his legion having fought the enemy with great loss; and they magnified their victory, to daunt the new general: he likewise enlarged the news of it, with the same policy, that he might gain the more reputation if he quieted the present troubles; and might the easier be pardoned if he did not. The Silures took their advantage now, and made great incursions; till at last they were driven back by Didius.

About this time died Claudius; and Nero, who was not at all of a warlike temper, succeeding him, thought of drawing his forces out of Britain; and if it had not been the shame to detract from Claudius's glory that restrained him, he had certainly recalled them. Caractacus being taken prisoner, Venutius Jugantes, the most experienced soldier of the Britons, (who had been long protected by the Romans, and faithful to them during his marriage with Queen Cartismandua) now revolts from us, upon an outfall with her, which at last grew into an open war. At first the quarrel was betwixt themselves only; and Venutius's brother and relations were slyly intercepted by Cartismandua: this action incensed them, and with a spur of ignominy, that they should be thus conquered by a woman, they invaded her kingdom with a strong body of armed and choice youths. We foreseeing this, had sent some cohorts thither to assist her, who began a sharp fight, which at the first was doubtful, but at last well and prosperous on our side. A legion also commanded by Cesium Nasica came off with as good success.

For Didius, being pretty old, and much honoured for his bravery and conduct, thought it sufficient to manage the war by his officers. What had been conquered by his predecessors he took care to keep, enlarging the extent of his frontier-garrisons a little, that he might be said to have made some addition to the old conquests. Though these things were transacted under two proprætors, Ostorius and Didius in many years, yet I have given a joint account of them, lest the stories might be worse apprehended by being sorted.

Verannius proprætor to Didius, succeeded, who after some small incursions made into the country of the Silures, was by death hindered carrying on the war any farther. He had the character of a severe general in his life time, and showed himself ambitious by his last will. For after much flattery to Nero, he added, that if he had but lived two years longer, he would have conquered the whole province.

Paulinus Suetonius was the next proprætor of Britain; for his conduct and reputation among the people, (who are ever making comparisons) equal to Corbulo, and ambitious to come up to his honour in reducing Armenia, by defeating the rebels here. He prepares therefore to invade the isle of Mona, which was strongly peopled, and had been a constant harbour for all fugitives. For this end he made flat bottomed vessels, because the sea is shallow and dangerous towards the shore there. Thus the foot being passed over, the horse followed by the ford, or by swimming, if the water was high. The enemy stood armed on the shore to withstand them, very thick and numerous, with the women running up and down among them like furies, in a mourning dress, their hair loose, and firebrands in their hands; with the druids around them; holding up their hands towards heaven, with dreadful curses and imprecations: this strange sight amazed the soldiers, who stood stock still, as if they had lost the use of their limbs, helpless and exposed to the enemy. But at last, encouraged by their general, and animating one another not to fear a rout of women and frantic people, they displayed their ensigns and marched on, defeating such as encountered them, and beating them down scorched and rolling in their own fires.

After this, they garrisoned the towns of the island, and cut down their woods, which by reason of the superstitious and cruel rites and sacrifices there, were esteemed holy. For they thought it lawful to offer the blood of captives as sacrifice upon their altars; and to consult their gods by the bowels and fibres of men.

During this action, news was brought Suetonius of the provinces' revolt. Prasutagus, King of the Iceni, famous for his treasure, had made Caesar and his two daughters heirs to him; thinking by this respect and compliment, to preserve his kingdom and family from all wrong and injury. Which happened quite otherwise; so that his kingdom was made a prey by the captains, and his house pillaged by the slaves. His wife Boadicea, to begin the tragedy, was whipped, and his daughters ravished. And, as if the whole was now become lawful booty, the chief of the Iceni were deprived of their paternal estates; and those of the blood-royal treated as the meanest slaves. Upon this insult, and to prevent worse, since they were now reduced into a province, the people began to murmur at such treatments, to confer injuries with one another, and aggravate everything by the worst construction they could give it. That their patience would only signify thus much; their taking one injury would bring on another. That heretofore every state had its own King; but now they were subjected to two, the lieutenant and the procurator; the first of whom preyed upon their blood, the other upon their estates. That either the enmity or the friendship of their governors proved equally pernicious; the one plagued them with soldiers and officers, the other with extortion and affronts. That they could be safe of nothing, that either lust or covetousness would recommend to the Romans. That in war, he had the spoil, who had the most courage and bravery to take it; but that they were for the most part pillaged by cowards and weaklings. That these were the men that bereft them of their children, and pressed them at their pleasure for foreign service; as if the Britons could fight for any country but their own. How many soldiers have they transported hither, if we reckon ourselves in comparison? Germany freed itself upon this consideration, which has only a river to defend it, and not an ocean as we have. Thus they had their country, wives, and parents to fight for and inspire them; while the other had only luxury and avarice. That these would retreat as Julius did, if they would but follow the bravery of their ancestors. They ought not to be dismayed at the success of one or two battles; and that fierceness and resolution was the effects of misery and ill circumstances. That heaven now seemed to compassionate their distress, in absenting the Roman general, and keeping the legate busy in another island. That the most dangerous part of this design was to debate it, (as they were now doing;) and that it would be of worse consequence to be discovered laying such a plot, than the very attempt and execution would prove.

Being animated with these motives, they forthwith take arms, under the conduct of Boadicea, a woman of the royal family (for the Britons make no distinction of sex, in points of government) drawing the Trinobantes to revolt with them, and such others as were not yet broken with the weight of a sovereign yoke: who all had secretly conspired to free themselves, with great spite and hatred against the veterans. For they being newly planted in the colony Camalodunum, had thrust the old inhabitants from their houses, and dispossessed them of their lands, calling them slaves and captives; and were encouraged in this outrage by the young soldiers, who by the same calling were in hopes of the same licentiousness themselves. Moreover, the temple built in honour of Divus Claudius, seemed to them the foundation of a perpetual tyranny, and was an eye-sore, and the priests chosen under the pretext of religion to officiate there, run away with their whole estates. Besides, there could be

no great difficulty in overthrowing a colony which had no forts or castles to support it; and that our commanders had been so improvident, as to consult pleasure and delight in everything, rather than use and service. While things were in this ferment, the image of the goddess of victory at Camalodunum, without any visible cause, dropped down, and in the fall turned downward, as if it yielded to the enemy. Several enthusiastic women foretold our approaching destruction. Strange noises were heard in their court, a perfect howling in the theatre, and a strange apparition in the arm of the sea, plainly signified the subversion of that colony. Moreover, the sea looked bloody; and in the ebb, dead men's bodies were left upon the shore, which brought great hopes to the Britons, but despair and discouragement to the veterans; who applied themselves to their procurator Catus Decianus, because Suetonius was far off. He sent them a supply of two hundred men only, and those ill armed; whereas the soldiers that were in the colony before were but few, and relied wholly upon the protection of the temple. Some of them that were privy to the conspiracy, had blinded the colony so much in their counsels, that they had neither made trench nor ditch to defend themselves, nor so much as sent away the old men and the women, reserving the young men only; so that living supinely, as in a full peace, they were surprised by the barbarous multitude. As for other things, they were presently overthrown by violence, or consumed with fire; but the temple, where the soldiers had fled, was besieged, and on the second day taken. The Britons being thus conquerors, and meeting Petilius Cerealis, lieutenant of the ninth legion, which came to succour them, routed the legion, and put all the foot to the sword. Cerealis got off with the horse, and retreated to his camp, where he defended himself. Catus the procurator was so daunted at this overthrow, and the general odium of the province (which was thus embroiled by his avarice,) that he sailed into Gaul.

Suetonius however, with prodigious constancy and resolution, marched through the midst of the enemies' country to London, which was not honoured with the name of a colony, but famous for concourse of merchants and provisions. Being come thither, he could hardly resolve whether to make that the seat of the war or not; but considering his want of soldiers, and how much Petilius had suffered for his rashness, he determined at last to sacrifice this one town to the safety of the rest. And not relenting to the sighs and tears of them that sought his aid and protection, he gave orders to march on, receiving such as followed him into his army. Those, who by weakness of sex or age were stayed behind, or tempted by the pleasantness of the place to remain there, were destroyed by the enemy. The town of Verulam was overthrown likewise; for the barbarians omitting the forts and castles, pillaged the richest places first, and after they had carried off the spoil, went on eagerly for booty, to the more eminent places. It appeared that seventy thousand citizens and confederates were slain up and down in these places. They would not sell captives, give quarter, or practise according to the laws of war; but kill, hang, burn, crucify, by way of retaliation upon their enemies; and all that in such haste, as if they foresaw they must speedily smart for it.

Suetonius having with him the fourteenth legion, with the standard-bearers of the twentieth, and some supplies from the places thereabouts, almost to the number of ten thousand fighting men, resolved without more ado to engage them; and to this purpose encamps his army in a place accessible by a narrow lane only, being fenced in the rear by a wood; as sensible he should have no enemy but on the front, and that the plain was open, so that there would be no danger of ambuscades in it. He drew up the legion close together in the middle, with the light soldiers on both sides, and the

horse as the two wings about them. The Britons went shouting and swarming up and down in such vast numbers as never before were seen, so fierce and confident of victory, that their wives were brought along with them, and placed in carts in the outmost part of the plain, to see it. Boadicea, with her daughters by her in a chariot, went about to the several nations, (for it was not unusual among the Britons to go to war under the conduct of a woman) assuring them that she went not as one royally descended to fight for empire or riches, but as one of the common people for freedom and liberty, to revenge the stripes they had given her, and the dishonour they had done her daughters. That now the Roman lust had grown so exorbitant and unruly, that they left none, neither old nor young, unravished. That God's just revenge would ever tread upon the heels of wickedness. That the legion which had dared to fight them was already cut off; that the rest had either kept themselves in their camp, or fled for safety. That they could not endure the very huzza and clamour of so many thousands; how much less could they bear their force and onset? If they would but consider both armies, and the cause of war on both sides, they would either resolve to conquer in that battle, or to die in it. That for her part, who was but a woman, this was her resolution; but the men, if they pleased, might live and be slaves.

Suetonius also was not silent in so great danger; for though he relied upon the valour of his men, yet he excited it with exhortations, suggesting that the clamour and vain threatenings of the barbarians were contemptible; that there were more women than young men among them; that being unwarlike and ill-armed, they would no sooner feel their swords, which had so often conquered them, but they would presently fly; that in an army of many legions a few would gain the victory, and that their glory would be so much the greater, if so few of them did the work of a whole army; that his advice was, they should fight thick, and after they had discharged their darts, they should continue the slaughter with their pikes and swords, and not heed the booty; all that would be the consequence of their victory. The soldiers were so forward and courageous upon this speech, and the veterans betook themselves so readily to their darts, that Suetonius, with assurance of the event, gave the signal. And first of all the legion, not stirring, but keeping within the strait, (which was of great advantage to them) till the enemy had spent their darts, sallied out in a wedge upon them. The auxiliaries gave them the like shock; and the horse breaking at last upon the enemy, routed all in their way that could make head against them. The rest fled, but with great difficulty; for the passes were blocked up by the waggons quite round. The soldiers gave no quarter, not so much as to the women, which, with the horses that were slain, increased the heaps of carcasses along the field. This victory was very eminent, and the glory of it not inferior to those of old times: for by the report of some, there were slain not many fewer than fourscore thousand Britons; whereas we lost but four hundred, and not many more wounded. Boadicea poisoned herself. And Poenius Posthumus, camp-master of the second legion, upon the news of the success and victory of the fourteenth and twentieth legions, (having deprived his legion of a share in that glory, and contrary to discipline and order disobeyed the commands of his general) stabbed himself.

After a general muster and review of his army, Suetonius took the field again, to put an end to this war. And Caesar reinforced him with a supply of two thousand legionaries from Germany, and with eight auxiliary cohorts, and a thousand horse, by which the ninth legion was completed. These cohorts and some others were sent into new winter-quarters; and the country, that was either enemy or neutral, was wasted with fire and sword. But nothing was a sharper affliction to the Britons at this time,

than famine; for during this uproar, they had neglected to till the ground, and giving themselves wholly to prosecute the war, had depended upon our provisions. Those nations which were yet unconquered were the more averse to treaty, upon the news of a difference between Suetonius and the new procurator Julius Classicianus, sent to succeed Catus; which was very prejudicial to the public interest. He had spread a report, that a new lieutenant was to be expected, who, without the rancour of an enemy, or the haughtiness of a conqueror, would treat such as yielded themselves with favour and clemency. He writ to Rome likewise, that there was no end to be expected of that war, till Suetonius was succeeded by some one else: imputing all miscarriages to his perverse conduct; but whatsoever was prosperous and lucky, that he attributed to the good fortune of the commonwealth.

Upon this account Polycletus, one of Emperor's liberti, <27> was sent into Britain, to see the state of affairs there; Nero hoping that the difference might be composed between the lieutenant and the procurator by his authority, and the rebellious barbarians won over to a peace. Polycletus took care to show his state and grandeur to Italy and Gaul, by a great train and retinue, and likewise to appear awful to the armies here upon his arrival. This made him ridiculous to the enemy, who being then in the full enjoyment of their liberty, knew not what the power of a freedman was; and thought it strange that a general and his army, after such great exploits, could thus be subject to a slave. However, everything was related as fair as could be to the Emperor. And Suetonius, who was then employed in dispatching one business or other, having lost some few galleys on the shore, and the men in them, was commanded (as though the war continued) to deliver up his commission to Petronius Turpilianus who had just before been consul. He neither troubled the enemy, nor was troubled by them; calling this lazy and unactive course by the honourable name of a real peace: and thus having quieted the former broils without advancing the conquest, he delivered the province to Trebellius Maximus.

He [Trebellius Maximus] was of an unactive temper, and unexperienced in war-affairs; and so governed the province after as soft a manner as he could. Now the barbarous Britons began to be tainted, and to yield to the charms of vice; and the civil wars of the empire was a fair excuse for the remissness of the lieutenant: but the soldiers grew mutinous; for being formerly inured to labour and discipline, the present peace and idleness made them wanton and haughty. Trebellius grew odious and contemptible to his army by his baseness and avarice. Their indignation at him was the more enflamed by Roscius Caelius, lieutenant of the twentieth legion, who was formerly out with him; and now, by reason of the civil wars, more than ever. Trebellius charged Caelius with all the mutinies and neglect of discipline in the army; and Caelius him, with the ruin and beggery of the legions. During these quarrels and contentions, all sense of respect and deference was lost in the army. At last the disorder was so great, that Trebellius, being deserted by the wings of his army, and the cohorts who went over to Caelius, and lastly reviled and affronted by the auxiliaries, was forced to fly to Vitellius. Notwithstanding the absence and removal of the consular lieutenant, the province continued quiet and peaceable; governed by the lieutenants of the particular legions, all of equal authority; though Caelius's boldness gained him more sway than the rest.

During the civil war between Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, Vectius Bolanus was sent by Vitellius to succeed him. He made no reformation of discipline, was as little troublesome to the enemy as his predecessor, and as careless of the licentiousness of his army: only this difference there was, that Bolanus was innocent and free from

crimes which might make him odious; so that instead of awe and authority, he had gained the love of his army. And although Vitellius sent for some supplies out of Britain, yet Bolanus deferred it, upon a pretence that Britain was not so well quieted as to admit it. But soon after, the great esteem of Vespasian in this province, induced Britain to declare for him; for he had commanded the second legion here under Claudius, and was eminent for his bravery and conduct. Yet this revolt was not without opposition from the other legions; in which many captains and soldiers being advanced by Vitellius, were very loth to change a prince who was so well known among them. The soldiers of the fourteenth legion, called the conquerors of Britain, (being removed from hence to the Caspian war by Nero, and after, as they sided with Otho, defeated) were sent into Britain again by Vitellius, but recalled by Mutianus.

During this civil war, there was no mutinies in the British army. And indeed in all the civil wars of the empire, the troops there were more peaceable and quiet than in any other provinces: perhaps their distance and separation from the rest of the world by the ocean, might cause it; or possibly by the many expeditions they had made, they might the less relish the entertainment of an enemy. Yet by these public dissensions, and the frequent news of them, the Britons upon Venusius's instigation, began to think how they might shake off the yoke of that empire: for besides a fierce heady temper that was natural to him, and a hatred to the Romans, he was spurred on in this attempt by a peculiar spite at his Queen Cartismandua. Cartismandua governed the Brigantes, nobly descended, and more powerful than ever, since she had treacherously taken King Caractacus, and done Claudius Caesar a kind of triumph by presenting him to that Emperor; for that famous show of Caractacus to the people was a sort of triumph. From hence grew riches, and from them luxury; so that despising her husband Venusius, and having intercepted his relations, she made Vellocatus, her husband's armour-bearer, partner of her bed and throne: the royal family was soon shaken with this wickedness; the city adhering to the husband, and the Queen's lust and cruelty to the adulterer. Venusius therefore having drawn in all the assistance he could, and joined the Brigantes, (who themselves had revolted to him) reduced her to the last extremities. She applied herself to the Romans for relief, and after many engagements, was at last rescued out of dangerous circumstances by our forces. However the kingdom fell to Venusius, and the war to us.

Now, while Mutianus governed the city under Vespasian, Julius Agricola, who had declared for Vespasian, and was a person of great integrity and valour, was made commander of the twentieth legion in Britain, which had declined the oath for a long time; and there he heard that his predecessor had carried himself seditiously. For that legion had run ahead, and became formidable even to the consular legates. The praetorian legate was not able to rule them, but whether through his own ill dispositions, or those of the soldiers, is uncertain. Thus being appointed to succeed him, and to punish them, he took such an admirable mean, as to seem rather to have found them dutiful, than to have made them so. And though Vectius Bolanus was then lieutenant here, and governed more mildly than was fit for so fierce a province; yet Agricola laid a restraint upon himself, and smothered the heat of his own temper, that it might not increase and grow visible; knowing very well the necessity of complaisance, and of mixing his profit with his honour.

But when Vespasian, with the rest of the world had gained Britain also, he sent great captains and brave armies here; and the enemy's hopes were abated. Petilius Cerealis entered the country of the Brigantes with great terror, possessed by the most numerous people of this province; to whom he gave many, and some of them

very bloody defeats; and indeed either spoiled or conquered the greatest part of their country. Thus Cerialis seemed to have eclipsed the fame and conduct of any that could come after him; when Julius Frontinus, a great man, and as eminent as could be after such a predecessor, succeeded to the same charge with like glory. He subdued the strong and warlike nation of the Silures: where he had not only a stout enemy, but great difficulties also from the situation and nature of the country, to cope with. In this state was Britain, and in this posture was the war, when Agricola was sent over in the middle of summer. Our soldiers' minds and hopes were bent upon rest, and an end of the war for that year; and the enemy intent upon a fair opportunity to begin it. The Ordovices, a little before the arrival of Agricola, had almost entirely routed a wing of ours that was quartered in the frontiers of their country; and by this means the whole province was ready to break out, all approving the example, either as desirous of war, or to see the mind and worth of the new lieutenant.

Agricola, though the summer was almost over, and though his soldiers lay dispersed up and down the province, expecting no farther trouble for that year (all which retarded and crossed his expedition;) and though some thought it more advisable to secure such places as were suspicious: yet he resolves to forestall these dangers; and having drawn together the ensigns of the legions, and a pretty good body of auxiliaries, and finding the Ordovices durst not come down into the plains, he drew up his men, and put himself at the head of them; that by exposing himself alike in danger, he might make them equally courageous. Having almost cut off this whole nation, and knowing he must push on to gain a reputation, and that everything hereafter would fall answerable to the event of his first actions: he determines likewise without more ado to make himself master of the isle of Mona; which, as I have already said, would have been conquered by Paulinus, if a revolt of the whole province had not prevented him. But this design being not laid before, they wanted ships for the expedition; which notwithstanding were supplied by the contrivance and resolution of the general. He commanded a choice body of auxiliaries, who were well acquainted with those shallows, and, by the custom of their native country, able in swimming to govern themselves, their horses, and their arms at the same time, to throw aside their luggage, and march over suddenly. Which was so effectually done, that the enemy, who expected a fleet, and were thinking of the ships and the sea that must be first passed; were surprised and daunted, as supposing nothing could be hard or invincible to men that began a war with such resolution. Thus a peace was sought, the island surrendered, and Agricola became great and famous; as having upon his first entrance, a time usually spent in ostentation and ceremony, encountered so much toil and hazard with such success.

However, Agricola (not growing vain upon the success) would not allow this to be a victory or expedition, which was only to keep those in order who were formerly subdued: he would not so much as suffer the news of it to be adorned with laurel. But by this endeavour to conceal his glory, he really made it the more eminent; everyone thinking what strong presumptions he must have of large performances hereafter, that would diminish and lessen the greatness of this action. Now knowing the disposition and temper of his province, and being taught by the sad experience of others, that affairs would never be settled by fighting, while wrongs and injuries were permitted; he resolves in the next place to cut off the cause of war: and to begin at himself first, he made a reformation of his own family, a thing no less difficult to some, than to govern a province. He committed no public business to the management of his servants or his freemen; he would never advance his soldiers upon private and

particular ends, nor upon the recommendation and intercession of any captain; but would still raise the best, taking it for granted that such would be most faithful. He had an eye upon everything, but would not rigorously exact performance. As for small faults, he would pardon them; but would severely correct those that were heinous. However, punishment was not always inflicted by him; often the repentance of the offender was took for the offence: choosing rather not to prefer such as were like to offend, than to have them condemned for it. He made the payment of corn and tribute which was imposed, more easy and tolerable by laying it on equally; and cutting off the exactions, which were a greater grievance than the tribute itself. For the people were compelled before to wait the opening of the public granaries, and both to buy and sell their own corn after the rate set to them. The purveyors also would command them to carry it about, and into far distant places; so that the country should sometimes carry from the nearest camps to those which were far off and out of the way; till, to the particular gain of these, every place compounded for carrying where it might most conveniently. By a redress of these grievances in the first year of his lieutenancy, he brought peace into some credit, which by the neglect or connivance of his predecessors, was little less odious than war itself.

Vespasian died nowabouts; who upon these victories, and his own personal valour under Claudius, is thus addressed to by Valerius Flaccus;

—*Tuque o Pelagi qui major aperti
Fama, Caledonius postquam tua carbasa vexit
Oceanus, Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos.*
—O you, whose glorious reign
Can boast new triumphs o'er the conquered main,
Since your bold navy passed the British sea,
That scorned the Caesars, and the Roman sway.

When Titus, who was the love of the world, succeeded his father, Agricola, as soon as the summer came on, drew his army together: those who in their march behaved themselves modestly, he commended; but those who went loose and straggling were reprimanded by him. He always chose the place of encampment himself, and would still try the friths<28> and thickets first in person; and that his own territories might not be pillaged by the enemies, he would never give them quiet or leisure, by reason of his own excursions; and then, when he thought he had sufficiently alarmed them, he would give over, that they might again taste the happiness of peace. By these means, many cities, which lived upon equal terms till that time, gave hostages, and submitted themselves; receiving our garrisons, and permitting us to build castles among them; which he performed with that care and prudence, that these were the only new forts in Britain that were never attempted afterwards.

The following winter was spent in a wise project. For whereas the Britons lived after a rude straggling manner, and therefore ready to break out into open war upon every occasion; that by pleasures he might induce them to rest and quietness, he exhorted them privately and publicly assisted them to build temples, places of public resort, and fine houses; those that were forward, he commended; but those who were slow and backward, he reproved. And thus the honour of being his favorite, imposed a kind of necessity upon them. Moreover, he took care to have noble men's sons brought up in the knowledge of liberal arts; preferring the parts of the Britons before those of

the Gauls; so that they, who but lately despised the Roman language, did now affect and study the graces of it. From that time also our modes and dresses became in request among them, and the toga commonly wore. Thus by degrees they came at last to those excitements to debauchery, porticos, baths, and banquets; which went by the name of genteelness among the ignorant, when they were indeed but badges of their yoke and bondage.

In the third year of his wars here, he discovered new countries, wasting all along as he marched to the very Taus, for that is the estuary's name; which so terrified the enemy, that, though our army was sadly harrassed with ill weather, yet they durst not give us battle; besides, he had leisure to build forts and castles where he pleased. It has been observed by the skilful in these arts, that no captain whatsoever has chose out places more to advantage than he did; no castle of his raising was ever taken by force, surrendered upon terms, or quitted as incapable of defence. Their sallies were frequent, and they were always prepared with a year's provision against long sieges. Thus we wintered there without fear, each one being able to defend itself; which disappointed the enemy, and made them despair. For, as formerly they would regain in winter what they lost in summer, they were now worsted alike in both seasons. In all these actions, Agricola would never rob another of the honour due to him, but let him be captain, or whatever other officer, he would faithfully attest the bravery of the action. Some have counted him too sharp and bitter in his reproofs; and it must be granted, that as he was affable and courteous to the good, so was he morose to the bad. But then anger never continued longer than the reprehension lasted. If he passed a thing by without notice, there was no fear upon that account; for he thought it more excusable, even to commit the offence, than to hate an offender.

The fourth summer was spent in settling what he had already overrun; and if the valour of his armies, and the glory of the Roman Empire could have permitted it, they needed not have sought any other boundary in Britain. Glota and Bodotria (the two arms of opposite seas, which shoot into the country) are parted by a narrow strip of land only, which was then secured by our garrisons: so that the Romans were masters of all on this side, having pent up the enemy as it were within another island.

In the fifth year of this war, Agricola first took shipping, and sailed over to certain nations never before known of; which after many prosperous encounters he subdued; and then put garrisons into those parts of Britain which lie towards Ireland, more out of hopes than out of fear. For Ireland being situated between Spain and Britain, and lying convenient for the French sea, would with many other advantages have united those mighty members of the empire. As for its bigness, 'tis less than Britain, but larger than the islands of our sea. The soil, the temperature of the air, the nature and manners of the people, are not much different from the British. The ports and havens are better known, by reason of more trade and commerce. Agricola had formerly received a prince of that country, driven out by civil wars; and under pretence of friendship had kept him for a fair occasion. I have often heard him say, that with one legion and some few auxiliaries, Ireland might be conquered and retained; and that it would be of great import and consequence to our interest in Britain, if the Roman forces were on all hands; and liberty as it were banished out of sight.

About this time died Titus, who for these exploits of Agricola, was saluted Emperor fifteen times, as Xiphilin tells us, and as 'tis manifest from an old coin.

Under Domitian, Agricola in the sixth year of his lieutenancy, being apprehensive of a general insurrection in those large cities, and remote countries beyond Bodotria, and that his march would be made very troublesome by the enemy; sent out a fleet that summer to try the creeks and havens of the large country beyond it. Thus Agricola was the first that ever seconded his land army by a fleet; and what was very great, that brought war upon them both by land and sea. Oftentimes it happened that the troopers, the foot soldiers, and the seamen would meet and make merry together in the same camp; each one magnifying his own feats and adventures, and making their vaunts and comparisons soldier-like, the one of the woods and high mountains, the other of the dangers of the waves and tempests. The one valuing himself upon the land and the enemy, the other upon the sea itself subdued by him. The Britons (as we understood by the prisoners) were amazed and daunted at the sight of this fleet, considering that if once their sea was discovered and navigable, all retreat and refuge would be cut off. Whereupon the Caledonians, with great preparation, but (as 'tis always with things unknown) not so great as reported, broke out into open war, and assaulted our castles; that by being aggressors they might discourage us: so that some poor spirits on our side, under show of prudence, advised Agricola to retire on this side Bodotria, and rather make a voluntary retreat than a forced one. In the meantime, we had advice that the enemy's design was to divide and attack us in many places at once. Whereupon, lest he should lie under disadvantage by the number of the enemy and their knowledge of the country, he likewise divided his army into three bodies. They having intelligence of this, forthwith took another course, and in one entire body fell all upon our ninth legion, as being the weakest; and between sleep and fear in the night, cut off our sentinels, and broke in among them. Thus the battle began in the very camp, when Agricola having found out the enemy's march by his scouts, traces them, and sends in the lightest of his horse and foot upon their backs, which were seconded with the huzzas of the whole army, and the appearance of their colours, towards break of day. This danger on all sides terrified the Britons, and the Romans taking heart at it, and knowing there could be no danger, fought now for honour. They gave them a fresh onset, and after a sharp dispute at the very gates, put them to the rout; while both our armies were contending, the one to come up timely with their assistance, the other not to seem to need it. If the fens and woods had not protected the enemy in this flight, they had been utterly conquered. Upon this constancy, and the news of our victory, the whole army grew so resolute, that they thought nothing invincible to them; they clamoured to be led into Caledonia, and to fight their way through to the remotest part of Britain. Thus they, who were but just now requiring wary conduct, are forward and blustering when the event is seen. And this is always the case in war; everyone claims a share in that which is successful, but misfortunes are always imputed to one single person. However, the Britons attributing all this to good luck and the conduct of the general, and not to any valour in them, were not at all dejected, but went on to arm their young men, to convey their wives and children into safe places, and by assemblies and religious rites to establish a confederacy among them. And thus both armies left the field in great heat.

This summer, a cohort of Usipians, raised in Germany, and sent over into Britain, undertook a very strange and memorable adventure. Having killed their captain and some soldiers, that were dispersed among them to show them how to exercise, they fled and embarked themselves in three vessels, compelling the masters to carry them off; but only one of them doing his duty, the other two were slain upon suspicion: and this strange kind of voyage (the fact being not yet noised) was much admired. Afterward being tossed up and down, and falling upon some Britons that

opposed them in their own defence, often victorious and sometimes baffled, they came to that pinch for want of provision at long run, that they eat one another; first of all the weakest, and after that as the lot fell. Thus having floated round Britain, and lost their ship in conclusion for want of skill in sailing, they were taken first by the Suevians, and then by the Frisians, for pirates. Some of them being bought by the merchants, and by change of masters brought to our side of the river, grew famous upon the account they gave of this adventure.

In the beginning of the summer, a great misfortune befell Agricola in his own family; for he lost his son, who was about a year old. His carriage under this affliction was neither vainglorious, (like some great men's in those cases) nor on the other hand soft and effeminate. Among other consolations to divert him from this sorrow, he made war one. Having therefore sent his fleet before, (which by making a descent here and there might render the consternation greater and more uncertain) he prepared and followed himself with the army, to which he had added some of the stoutest Britons, such as after the test of a long peace he had found faithful, and marched to the hill Grampium, where the enemy had posted themselves. For the Britons without dismay at the loss of the last battle, intent upon nothing now but revenge and slavery, by leagues and treaties mustered up their whole power; being at last sensible that a common danger must be fenced off by confederacy and union. About thirty thousand armed men were now reckoned in the field, besides a great number of youths and lusty old men who had been formerly famous soldiers, and still retained the scars and badges of their bravery. Galgacus, both by birth and merit, the chief commander, as the multitude was eager to be engaged, is said to have made this speech to them.

"When I consider the cause of this war, and our present necessity, I have great reason to presume, that this day, with this unanimous resolution of yours, will give a happy beginning to the freedom of the whole island. We have lived thus long in the full enjoyment of our liberty: and now there's no other country beyond this, nor indeed sea to secure us; while the Roman navy can thus hover upon our coasts: so that arms and fighting, as honour will recommend them to men of valour, so will self-preservation to the worst and most cowardly of us at this time. The battles heretofore which with various success have been fought against the Romans, have always relied upon our bravery, and expected a turn from it. For we are the very flower of the Britons, and therefore seated in the most inward parts of the country, without the ken of those nations enslaved by the enemy; so that our eyes are yet unpolluted and free from the contagion of foreign tyranny. There's no country farther on this side of it, nor liberty on that; this corner, which has been hitherto unknown to fame, hath hitherto preserved us. Now the remotest part of Britain lies open to them; and people think everything great and magnificent that's strange and unknown. Beyond us there's no country, nothing but waves and rocks; the land inward is all under the Roman vassalage already. 'Tis in vain to curry favour with them by address and submission; their pride and haughtiness is not to be thus laid, who ransack the universe, and when they have plundered all lands, and want more, set sail and rummage the wide ocean to find them. Where the enemy is rich, there the prize is wealth; where poor, 'tis ambition: neither the East nor the West have sufficed them: these, and these only, covet and gape after the wealth and poverty of the whole world, with equal appetite and pleasure. Spoil, murder, pillage, passes with them under the false names of government: and where they make solitude, there they think they have made peace. Children and relations by nature are tender and dear to everyone; yet they press

them, they bereave us of them to make them slaves in foreign countries. Our wives and sisters, if they escape ravishing in a violent and hostile manner, yet under the name of guests and friendship they are certainly debauched by them. Our goods and fortunes become theirs by the name of tribute, and our corn by that of provision. Our bodies and hands are put by them to the drudgery of paving bogs and woods, with a thousand stripes and indignities to boot. Those, who are naturally born slaves, are but once sold, and then maintained at the owner's cost: but this isle of Britain daily purchases, daily feeds and maintains its own bondage at its own charge. And, as in a private family the last-comer is ever the most scouted by his fellow-servants; so in this old bondage of the world, we (who shall be the last and the vilest slaves in the universe) are now to be destroyed, if they can do it. For we have no fields to cultivate, neither mines nor havens to be employed in; and therefore to what purpose should they let us live? Besides, the courage and resolution of the conquered is never grateful to the conqueror. And this distance and privacy itself, as it makes us safe, so 'twill make us the more suspected. Thus, seeing we have nothing to rely upon, let us put on resolution; as well those who tender their own safety, as they who value honour and glory. The Trinobantes, under the conduct of a woman, extirpated one of their colonies, and forced their castles; nay, if success had not slackened their diligence, they might have entirely ridded themselves of the Roman yoke. We are as yet whole and untouched: we were born free; let us show them in the first onset the bravery of the men they'll meet with on this side Caledonia. Do you imagine the courage of the Romans in war to be every jot as great as their debauchery in peace? Their glory is all owing to our dissensions; the faults of their enemies has been made use of to raise the reputation of their army. As nothing but success could have held that medley army of theirs, picked up out of so many several nations, together, so they would soon dissolve upon a miscarriage; unless we can suppose that the Gauls and Germans, nay, to our shame be it spoken, many of our own countrymen, will lend their lives to establish a foreign power, who have yet been much longer enemies than slaves to them, and go on with a true zeal and affection for this quarrel. No, this is nothing but the effect of fear and terror, which are no great motives of endearment; these removed, their hatred will break out as their fear grows causless. We have all the motives that excite to victory on our side. The Romans have no wives to encourage them to stand to it, no parents to upbraid them if they run away; they have either no country at all many of them, or at least not here to animate them. Their number is so small, as they stand in fear, gazing at the haven, the sea, the woods, and everything strange about them; that they seem pent up here, and delivered into our hands by providence. Let us not be daunted by the show they make, by the glare and shining of their gold and silver, which will neither defend them, nor hurt us. We shall find those of our side in the very body of the enemy. The Britons know very well 'tis their own game and interest: the Gauls are still mindful of their lost liberty; and the Germans will desert them, as the Usipians but lately did. Besides this, there's nothing can put a stop to us; the castles are emptied, the colonies consist but of old men, and the cities are in discontent and faction, while they unwillingly obey those who unjustly govern them. You see the Roman general and army here before you. There's the tributes, mines, and all the plagues and punishments that attend slavery: 'tis to be tried by this day's engagement, whether we are to endure them from this moment for ever, or to be immediately revenged of them. And therefore, since we are now to dispute this with them, let us think both upon our ancestors and our posterity."

This speech was cheerfully received by the army, who, after their barbarous fashion, seconded it with songs, acclamations, and such like jargon clamour. And now

the companies began to close, and a great glister to appear from the army, whilst some of the boldest advanced, and the army was drawing up; when Agricola, though he found his men hearty, and was hardly able to withhold them, yet for their farther encouragement made a speech to them after this manner.

"This is now the eighth year, fellow-soldiers, that by the fortune and good providence attending the Roman Empire, and by your loyalty and service, we have carried on the conquest of Britain with success; and that by many expeditions and encounters, wherein, as the circumstances required it, we have showed either valour against the enemy, or labour and patience even above nature itself. In all these, I have had no reason to complain of you for my soldiers; neither have you any cause to blame the conduct of your general. We have both exceeded. I have extended this conquest more than any other lieutenant, and you have done more than any former army. We are not only said and imagined to be, but we are actually and indeed possessed of Britain, in the utmost extent thereof. Britain is now found and subdued by us. In our marches over bogs, hills, and rivers, when we have been spent and weary, how often have I heard the valiant among us, asking when this enemy would face them, when they would give them battle? We have now unkenneled them; we have them here before us. We have our wishes, and an occasion to show our valour. If we win this victory, everything will be plain and easy to us; if we lose it, everything will prove cross and froward. For, as this tedious march, those woods and estuaries we passed through, is glorious and honourable to us while we advance against the enemy; so if we run away, those things which are of the greatest advantage to us now, will then become most fatal and dangerous. For we are not so well acquainted with the nature of the country as the enemy, nor so well furnished with provision; but we have as many hands, and as good arms, and thereby may have everything. For my part, I am satisfied, that to run away can never be safe, either for a general or his army; and that to die in the bed of honour is better and more desirable, than to live scouted and in disgrace. Besides, a man's safety and honour are inseparable: and if it should so happen, 'twill be no small glory to have died in the very outmost part of the earth, and in the end of nature. If a new nation, or an unknown enemy, were now to encounter you, I would exhort you by the examples of other armies; but now I can only prompt you to reflect upon your former actions, and put the question to your own eyes. These are the very men that last year fell upon one legion of you in the night, and were routed by the mere noise and clamour of us. These are the arrantest cowards of the whole island, otherwise they had not been so long alive. For, as 'tis in woods and forests, the strongest game is not to be started but by force and ranging, whereas the timorous and fearful are scared and scour off presently upon the first noise; so the best and stoutest of the Britons we have already met with, and dispatched: what remains is nothing but a herd of cowardly renegades. We have now at last an opportunity to engage them; but that is not because they give it us, but we have overtaken them, as they stand in the height of fear and confusion, like stocks before us, ready to present us with a memorable and an easy victory. Let us put an end, therefore, to this war; let us make this the happy day wherein the fatigue and labour of the commonwealth, after fifty years continuance, was concluded; and let your country see, that their army here can neither be charged with prolonging the war, nor slipping any opportunity to complete the conquest."

Agricola was going on, when the soldiers showed great signs of their resolution and eagerness; and upon the first period gave their applause, and immediately ran to their weapons. So Agricola seeing them sufficiently animated,

drew them up in this order. The auxiliary foot, in all 8000, he placed in the middle, and winged them with 3000 horse on each side: behind them he drew up the legions before the camp, that the victory might be the more glorious by being won, if possible, without the loss of a Roman; and that in case of necessity they might be ready to assist them. The British army was drawn up upon the hill, so as to serve both for show and terror; the first battalion on even ground, the next still a degree higher, as the hill ascended. The field between rung with the noise of the horse and chariots ranging up and down there. Agricola, perceiving the enemy to be too numerous for him, and fearing lest he should be over-winged, and so stanked<29> by them, stretches out his front, though somewhat too thin; insomuch that many advised him to bring up the legions. Yet he being more inclined to good hopes than impressions of fear, alighted from his horse without altering, and put himself at the head of his foot.

The fight began at some distance; wherein the Britons showed great art and courage; for with their broad swashing swords and short bucklers, they would strike aside, or bear off the darts of their enemies; and return great volleys of their own against us. Agricola thereupon commanded three cohorts of the Batavians and Tungrians to advance, and come to handy strokes with them. They were expert and able at it; whereas the enemy by reason of their little targets and unwieldy swords, lay under great disadvantage: for the swords of the Britons being without points were unserviceable in a close fight, or at a distance. Now, as the Batavians began to lay about them, to strike at them with the pikes of their bucklers, to push them in the very faces, to make riddance of those that stood below, and to fight their way up the very mountain; the other cohorts being spurred up with emulation, fell on likewise, and beat down all before them, so fast, that many half dead, or wholly untouched, were left behind for haste upon the spot. In the meantime, as the horse began to fly, the charioteers mixed themselves to fight among the foot; though we were under some apprehensions from them in particular, yet by reason of the closeness of their ranks, and the inequality of the ground, they proved of no consequence. This was not like a horse-engagement, but close and still, over-bearing one another with the downright force and weight of the horses. Many times the chariots as they run up down at rovers, and the frightened horses that had lost their riders, and scoured about as their fear guided them, would over-run their friends that met them, or crossed their way. And now, they on the hill that had not been yet engaged, perceiving the small number of our army, began to advance, and wheel in upon the backs of us: but Agricola having foreseen that danger, easily repelled them by four wings which he had kept as a reserve upon occasion; and these made them give back presently, as fast as they came forward. So now, this project of the Britons was turned upon themselves: for the wings were immediately ordered to leave the front, and wheel about upon the backs of the enemy. Upon this the scene began to be very tragical along the plain; one pursuing, another wounding, a third taking, and killing that prisoner as soon as he could take another. Now whole regiments of the enemy, according to their several dispositions, though armed and more numerous, fairly turned their backs, whilst others of them disarmed, ran desperately upon the swords of their enemy. The whole field was nothing now but a mixed heap of swords, carcasses, mangled limbs and blood; and sometimes rage and valour in the last gasp of the conquered: as soon as the enemy drew near the woods, they began to rally, and cut off the most forward of our men, that had followed rashly, and were unacquainted with the country. So that if Agricola, who was everywhere at hand, had not sent out some of the best and lightest of his cohorts to scour the country, and commanded the horsemen to light where the woods were thick, and to range them up and down on horseback where thin, we might

have suffered considerably by this rashness. But, when they saw us united, and in orderly pursuit of them, they fled again, not in troops as before, and with an eye upon one another, but dispersed and straggling into remote and by-places. At last, night and weariness put an end to the chase. Of the enemy there fell 10000, of us 340, among whom was Aulus Atticus commander of a cohort, carried on too far by the heat of young blood, and the fierceness of his horse. The victory and the spoil made the night pleasant to the conquerors. But the Britons, wandering up and down the field in a lamentable condition, both men and women, spent the night in calling their lost friends, and carrying off the wounded, in forsaking and burning their own houses out of rage and fury, and in shifting from one hole to another. Sometimes, in consult with one another, and in taking hopes thereupon; then again, broke with compassion, and oftner madness, at the sight of their wives and children. And 'tis certain, that some of them laid violent hands upon their own wives and children, to prevent the more unhumane hands of the enemy. The day following showed the greatness of this victory more fully. Everywhere silence and desolation: no stir upon the mountains, the houses burning afar off, and not a soul to be met with by our scouts, who were sent into all parts of the country, but found that the flight was uncertain, and that the enemy were scattered and dispersed. Hereupon Agricola, the summer being far spent, so that he could not disperse the war, marched with his army into the country of the Horesti. Having received hostages from them, he commanded his admiral to sail round Britain, furnishing him with all things necessary, and sent the terror of the Romans before. He himself marched on slowly, that by this delay he might awe his new conquests; and so put his army into winter quarters. About the same time the fleet, with good success and credit, put in at Trutulensis, the haven where it set out, and coasting along the nearest side of Britain, arrived again there, and then having doubled the point of the outmost sea, they first discovered Britain to be an island: and at the same time found out the isles of Orkney, and subdued them, which had been only heard of till that time. Orosius and some others after him, falsely ascribe this to Claudius.

Agricola having sent a plain account of these transactions, without either gloss or addition, by letters to Domitian; the Emperor received it (as his manner was) with a show of great joy; though really with great trouble and concern. He was conscious to himself, that his late triumph in Germany was unjust and ridiculous, having bought certain people of that country, and dressed them up in clothes and hair like captives; whereas now a victory great and real, wherein so many thousands of the enemy slain, was applauded by everyone. It was dangerous he thought, that the honour of a private man should eclipse the glory of a prince: and that he had suppressed the study of oratory and other liberal arts to no purpose, if another could thus undo him in the art of war; that for other matters they might be bore with, but no one ought to be a general but a prince. Being tormented with these thoughts, and (what was ever a sign of mischief) very much alone in his closet, he concluded, it would be best to conceal his resentments till the noise of this victory, and the love and respect he had gained in the army was abated: for as yet Agricola was in Britain. And therefore he took care that triumphal honours, statues, and everything usual upon such a solemnity, should be decreed him, and that in very honorable terms by the Senate; and withal, made a report to be spread, that the province of Syria, then vacant by the death of Atilius Rufus, lieutenant, and reserved for some persons of quality, was designed for him. 'Twas also commonly thought that he sent a free-man, one of his cabinet-council, to Agricola, with a commission for Syria, and instructions, that if he were in Britain, it should be delivered; and that the messenger, meeting

Agricola upon the sea, spoke not one word of it, but returned with it to Domitian: yet whether this be true, or a bare surmise (as agreeable enough by the carriage of that prince) is uncertain. However, Agricola had surrendered up his province peaceable and quiet to his successor. And now, that his entry to Rome might be obscure and private, he came (as he was ordered) by night into the city; and at night was admitted into the palace: where Emperor received him with a dry kiss, and spoke not one word to him; and so drew off among the rest of the attendants.

Agricola's successor, according to some, was Cn. Trebellius, in my opinion Salustius Lucullus, who was soon put to death by Domitian, for suffering a new sort of spears to be called *lameae Luculleae*.^{<30>} At which time Arviragus flourished in this island, and not in Claudius's time, as Geoffrey of Monmouth imagines. For that of Juvenal is to be understood of Domitian:

*Omen habes, inquit, magni clarique triumphi,
Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus.—
—the mighty omen see,
He cries, of some illustrious victory.
Some captive King thee his new Lord shall own,
Or from his British chariot headlong thrown,
The proud Arviragus comes tumbling down.*

Then also flourished at Rome Claudia Rufina, a British lady, eminent for her extraordinary beauty and learning, commended by Martial in these verses,

*Claudia caeruleis cum sit rufina Britannis
Edita, cur latiae pectora plebis habet?
Quale decus formae Romanam credere matres
Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam.
Among the painted Britons, Claudia, born,
By what strange arts did you to Roman turn?
What shapes! What heavenly charms! Enough to raise
A noble strife in Italy and Greece.*

This is she that St. Paul mentions in his second epistle to Timothy, according to J. Bale, and Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury: nor is it inconsistent with chronology, though others differ from that opinion.

And thus in Domitian's time, the farther part of this island was left to the barbarians, as neither pleasant nor fruitful; but this hither part was fairly reduced to a complete province: which was not governed by consular or proconsular deputies, but was counted praesidial and appropriate to the Caesars; as being a province annexed to the empire after the division of provinces made by Augustus, and having propraeors of its own. Afterwards, when Constantine the Great had new modeled the commonwealth, this province was governed by a deputy, under the praetorian lieutenant of Gaul, together with the Count of Britain, the Count of the Saxon Shore throughout Britain, and the Duke of Britain in times of war; besides presidents, receivers, &c. But farther, out of those 29 legions, which were the constant and standing guard of the Roman Empire, three of them were garrisoned here; namely, the *Legio Secunda Augusta*, the *Legio Sexta Victrix*, and the *Vicesima Victrix*. But this is to be understood of Severus's time; for before that, we find there were other legions

here, and many more. And although Strabo writes, that one legion of soldiers was sufficient to command Britain, yet under Claudius the *Legio Secunda Augusta*, the *Legio 9* of Spain, and the 14th legion, called *Gemina Martia Victrix*, were kept here: nay, even in Vespasian's time, Josephus tells us, there were four legions garrisoned in this island. The words are, *Britain is encompassed with the sea, and is not much less than our world. The inhabitants are subject to the Romans, who keep the numerous people of that island in subjection with four legions.* And doubtless these stations and garrisons of the legions and Roman soldiers, proved very often the foundations of towns and cities; and that not only in other provinces, but in Britain too. Thus the yoke of subjection was first laid upon the Britons by troops and garrisons, which were constantly kept here to the great terror of the inhabitants; and then by tribute and imposts: upon which account they had their publicans, that is to say, cormorants and leeches, to suck the blood out of them, to confiscate their goods, and exact tribute in the name of the dead. They were not permitted so much as to enjoy the laws of their own country, but had their courts and benches filled by such magistrates as the Romans sent them, with their rods and axes. For the provinces had their propraetors, legates, presidents, praetors, and proconsuls, and each particular city its peculiar magistrates. The praetor held a kind of assize once every year, and then decided all causes of more than ordinary consequence; sitting in great state upon a high tribunal, with his lictors round him, bearing rods and axes for the awe and punishment of the people. This magistrate was every year to be appointed anew: but that was not all neither; they fomented discord and faction among the people, giving great countenance to such as they could make tools of to enslave others.

Yet, however grievous this yoke was, it proved of very good consequence to us. For together with it came in the blessed doctrine of Christ Jesus, (of which hereafter,) and upon the light of his glorious empire, barbarism soon vanished from among the Britons, as it had done in all other places upon the approach of it. For Rome, as Rutilius says,

—*legiferis mundum complexa triumphis,*
Foedere communi vivere cuncta facit.
—triumphant all the world commands,
And with new laws unites the conquered lands.

And in another place very elegantly, and very truly, to the same.

Fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam.
Profuit injustis te dominante capi.
Dumque offers victis proprii consortia juris,
Urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat.
All countries now in one vast nation join,
And happily subdued their rites resign.
Thy juster laws are everywhere obeyed,
And a great city of the world is made.

For not to mention the other provinces, the Romans (by planting their colonies here, and reducing the natives under the forms of civil government and society, by

instructing them in the liberal arts, and sending them into Gaul, to learn the laws of the Roman Empire; whence that of Juvenal:

Gallia caesidicos docuit facunda Britannos.

Gaul's eloquence taught British lawyers art.

did at last so reform and civilize them by these laws, and the example of their other customs, that for the modes of their dress and living, they were not inferior to those of any other provinces. Their buildings and other works were so very stately, that we cannot look upon the remains of them at this very day, without great admiration: and the common people will have these Roman fabrics to be the works of the giants, whom in the North parts they call *eatons*, for *heathens*, (if I mistake not.) They are without question very wonderful and stately, particularly the Picts' wall, of which in its proper place; and the highways throughout the whole country, which lie sometimes through drained fens, sometimes through low valleys raised high for them, and paved; and withal are so broad, that two carts may easily drive by one another without touching. An account of them we have thus in Galen: *Trajan repaired the ways, paving such as were wet and miry, or else raising them: such as were rough and overgrown with thorns he cleared and ridded, and where rivers were not fordable he made bridges; if a way lay too much about, he made it more direct and short; if it lay over a difficult or steep mountain, he drew it through places more easy: if a road was haunted by wild beasts, or was desolate, he had it transferred through such parts of the country as were better inhabited; and if the way was rugged, he took care to smooth and level it.* Yet these of ours are so pared away in some places, by the country people's digging sand out of them, that they are hardly to be known; though otherwise as they lie through by-grounds and pastures, they plainly appear by their height.

These were called by the Romans, *viae consulares, regiae, praetoriae, militares, publicae, cursus publici*, and *actus*, as we find by Ulpian and Julius Frontinus. Ammianus Marcellinus calls them *aggeres itinerarii* and *publici*: Sidonius Apollinaris, *aggeres*, and *tellures inaggeratae*: Bede and modern authors, *stratae*. Our historians (who are without question in an error,) will have only four ways of this nature; the first Watling Street, so called from I know not what Vitellius, to whose charge this way was committed; (and indeed the Britons called Vitellianus in their language Guetalin) named also Warlaem Street; which lay by Verulam, and in some places is also called high-dyke, high-ridge, forty-foot-way, and ridge-way, by those that live thereabouts. The second they commonly call Icknield Street, which began in the country of the Iceni: the third, The Fosse, because (as some think) it was ditched on both sides: the fourth, Ermin Street, a German word, derived from Mercury (as I am informed by the very learned J. Obsopaeus,) who was worshiped among our forefathers the Germans, by the name of Irmunsul, i.e. Mercury's pillar. And that Mercury presided over the highways, the Greek word itself *Ermes*, does sufficiently intimate; and besides, his square statues (formerly called *Hermae*) were everywhere erected in the highways. Yet some imagine that these ways were made by one Mulmutius, I know not who, many ages before the birth of Christ: but this is so far from finding credit with me, that I positively affirm, they were made from time to time by the Romans. When Agricola was lieutenant here, Tacitus tells us, *that the people were commanded to carry their corn about, and into the most distant countries, and not to the nearest camps, but to those that were far off and out of the way.* And the Britons (as the same author has it) complain that *the Romans put their*

hands and bodies to the drudgery of ridding out woods and paving fens, with a great many stripes and indignities. And we find in old records, that *in the days of Honorius and Arcadius, there were made in Britain certain highways from sea to sea.* That they were done by the Romans, Bede himself tells us: *The Romans lived within that wall (which as I have already took notice) Severus drew across the island, to the southward; as the cities, temples, bridges, and highways made there, do now plainly show us.* In laying such ways, the Romans were wont to employ their soldiers and the people, that they might not grow factious by too much ease. *Highways* (says Isidorus) *were made almost all the world over by the Romans, for the convenience of travelling, and to employ the common people.* And the condemnation of criminals, was many times to work at them, as may be inferred from Suetonius in the life of Caius. And moreover we see the *Via Salamantica*, or silver-way, in Spain, and in France certain military ways made by the Romans, not to mention the *Via Appia, Pompeia, Valeria*, and others in Italy.

Along these highways, Augustus at first had certain young men set at some small distance from one another; but after that, wagons instead of them, that thus he might have quick and speedy intelligence from all parts of the empire. And near upon these roads were the cities built, as also inns or mansions for the accommodation of travellers with all necessaries, and *mutations* (for so those places were then called,) where travellers could *change* their post-horses, draught-beasts, or wagons. And therefore, whosoever seeks for the places he finds mentioned in Antoninus's itinerary anywhere but by these ways, will certainly wander, and run into mistakes.

And perhaps it may deserve our notice, that at the end of every mile along these roads, there were erected pillars by Emperors, with figures cut in them to signify the number of miles. Hence Sidonius Apollinaris.

*Antiquus tibi nec teratur agger,
Cujus per spatium satis vetustis
Nomen Caesareum viret columnis.*
Nor let the ancient causway be defaced,
Where in old pillars Caesar's name's expressed.

By the sides of them were also the graves and monuments of famous men, to put the traveller in mind of his own mortality by that of theirs. For the repairing of them, there were standing laws, as we may see in the Theodosian code, under the title *de itinere muniendo*; to excite everyone to further this business with the utmost zeal and readiness. There were also overseers appointed for them. And in our ancient laws, there is mention made *de pace quatuor cheminorum*, that is, of the peace of the four principal roads.

During Nerva's time, we have no account left us of this island by authors. Under Trajan, the Britons seem to have revolted; and that they were subdued again, appears by Spartian. In Hadrian's reign, Julius Severus was lieutenant here, who being recalled upon an insurrection in Judaea, the Britons had certainly freed themselves from the Roman yoke, if Hadrian himself had not come in person hither, who in his third consulship (in the year of Christ 124) seems by the valour of his army to have defeated them. For in a coin of his we see a general with three soldiers, which I suppose are to represent the three legions of Britain, with this inscription, EXER. BRITANNICUS: and another with this inscription, RESTITUTOR BRITANNIAE. This prince reformed many things in the island, and drew a wall fourscore miles long

to separate the barbarians from the Romans; making it of great timber planks fixed in the ground, and joined one to another, not unlike a hedge. For which expedition the poet Florus plays thus upon him:

*Ego nolo Caesar esse,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scythicas pati pruinas.*
Caesar may reign secure for me,
I won't be Caesar, no not I;
To stalk about the British shore,
Be wet with Scythian snow all o'er.

To which Hadrian replied;

*Ego nolo Florus esse,
Ambulare per tabernas,
Latitare per popinas,
Culices pati rotundos.*
Florus may rake secure for me,
I won't be Florus, no not I;
The streets and idle shops to scour,
Or in by-taverns lewdly roar,
With potent rummers wet all o'er.

At this time Cl. Priscus Licinius was proprætor of Britain, who was with Hadrian in that expedition of his against the Jews, as appears by this old inscription in a broken marble:

M. F. CL. PRISCO.
ICINIO. ITALICO. LEGATO. AUGUSTORUM
PR. PR. PROV. CAPPADOCIAE
PR. PR. PROV. BRITANNIAE LEG. AUG.

LEG. IIII. GALLICIAE. PRAEF. COH. IIII
LINGONUM. VEXILLO. MIL. ORNATO.
A. DIVO. HADRIANO. IN EXPEDITIONE
IVDAIC.

Q. CASSIUS. DOMITIUS. PALUMBUS.

In the reign of Antoninus Pius, (who by a constitution of his, made all within the bounds of the Roman Empire citizens of Rome,) the war broke out again here; but was so well ended by Lollius Urbicus the legate, by removing the barbarians, and making another wall of earth, that upon it he was surnamed Britannicus, and had great commendation for taking some part of their country from the Brigantes, because they had made incursions into Genouinia, a neighbouring province belonging to the Romans. And at this time, as may be gathered from Jabolenus, Seius Saturnius, was *Archigubernus* of the fleet in Britain. But whether it be meant that he was admiral, or chief-pilot, or the master of a ship, let the lawyers determine.

The Britons falling from one war into another, began to revolt again in the time of Antoninus the philosopher. To quiet which commotions, Calphurnius Agricola was sent over, who seems to have succeeded very happily. *The glory of putting an end to this war, Fronto, who was inferior to none for Roman eloquence, but himself one of the greatest masters of it, attributes to Emperor Antoninus. For, though he remained at his palace here in the city, and committed the care of it to another, yet in his opinion (like the pilot sitting at the helm of the ship) he deserved the glory of the whole expedition and voyage. At that time Helvius Pertinax was a soldier in Britain, sent thither from the Parthian wars, and there detained.* <31>

In the reign of Commodus, there was nothing but wars and seditions throughout Britain. For the barbarous Britons, having got over the wall, made great waste in the country, and cut off the Roman general and his army. So that Ulpus Marcellus was sent against them, who succeeded so well in this expedition, that upon his great bravery he began to be envied, and was recalled. *This general was vigilant above all others; and to the end that they about him might be as watchful, he wrote every evening twelve tables, such as commonly are made of linden-wood, and commanded one of his attendants to carry the same to some of the soldiers, now at one hour of the night and now at another. Whereby they might think their general was ever awake, and they themselves might sleep the less.* <32> Of his temperance he adds likewise: *Though he was naturally able to abstain from sleep, yet that he might do it the better, he was very spare in his diet. For that he should not eat his bellyful of bread, he had it brought from Rome for him; that by reason of the age and staleness of it, he might eat no more than was barely necessary.* Upon his being recalled from Britain, the army grew heady and dissolute, and all manner of discipline began to be disregarded; so that they denied submission to Commodus as Emperor, though he was surnamed Britannicus by his flatterers. Moreover they sent fifteen hundred of their fellow soldiers into Italy against Perennis, who had not only a show of favour, but a real sway and interest in Emperor, accusing him of displacing senators to prefer gentlemen to their offices, and of a plot and design he had upon Emperor's life. Commodus gave credit to it, and delivered him up into their hands, who scourged him severely, beheaded him, and declared him an enemy to his country. These broils were at last quieted by Helvius Pertinax, but not without great danger, being almost himself slain (and left as such among the dead) in appeasing them.

Thus Britain was delivered in peace by Commodus to Clodius Albinus, surnamed afterwards for his great achievements in Britain, *Caesareus*: but was soon ordered to resign to Junius Severus, for a speech of his wherein he had with too much liberty inveighed against the conduct and administration of Emperors.

At this time, the clouds of superstition and ignorance began to disperse, (that is, not when M. Aurelius, and L. Verus were Emperors, as Bede writes, but in Commodus's reign, when Eleutherus was Bishop of Rome) and the light of the Christian religion by the means of King Lucius to shine in this island, who (as 'tis said in the old martyrologies, which were wont to be read in churches) admiring the integrity and holiness of the Christians, sent Eluanus and Meduanus, two Britons, to Pope Eleutherus, entreating him that he and his subjects might be instructed in the Christian religion. Upon this, immediately the Pope dispatched certain holy men hither, namely Fugatius and Donatianus with letters, which are yet extant, dated in the second consulship of L. Aurereus Commodus, which was together with Vespronius; and by these the King and others were taught the mysteries of the Christian faith. Whence that of Nennius upon this King: *King Lucius is surnamed Leuer-Maur, that is*

to say [a prince] of great glory, upon the account of religion propagated in his time. As for those who call the story of King Lucius into question (as many do at this day) as if there was no such King as he at that time in Britain, which they suppose was long before reduced into a complete province; I would have them remember, that the Romans were wont by an old custom to have kings as their tools of servitude in the provinces; that the Britons at that time denied their submission to Commodus; and that all that part of the island without the wall was freely enjoyed by the Britons. Moreover, that Antoninus Pius, some years before, having ended the war, left the kingdoms to be ruled by their own kings, and the provinces to be governed by their own counts.<31> So that nothing hinders, but that Lucius might be a King in those parts of the island which were never subject to the Romans. For certainly that passage of Tertullian (who wrote thenabouts) does refer to this conversion of the Britons to the Christian religion; and that very aptly, if we consider the time and the meaning of it. Some countries of the Britons that proved impregnable to the Romans, are yet subjected to Christ. And a little after, Britain lies surrounded by the ocean. The Mauri and the barbarous Getulians are blocked up by the Romans, for fear they extend the limits of their countries. But why should I speak of the Romans, who by the power of their armies secure their empire? Neither are they able with all their forces to extend this empire beyond these nations. Whereas the kingdom of Christ, and his name, goes much farther. He is everywhere believed in and worshipped by all those nations above mentioned, &c.

But that Britain before this, even in the very infancy of the church, received the Christian religion, our ecclesiastical writers (who have spent both time and pains in this search) do endeavour to assure us; namely, that Joseph of Arimathea, an eminent decurio, sailed from Gaul into Britain; and that Claudia Rufina, the wife of Aulus Pudens, (thought to be she whom St. Paul mentions in his latter epistle to Timothy, and Martial the poet so extraordinarily commends) was a British woman. They cite Dorotheus, who passes for the Bishop of Tyre, for farther evidence; for in his synopsis he relates that Simon Zelotes, after he had travelled Mauretania, was at last killed and buried in Britain; and also that Aristobulus (mentioned by Paul in his epistle to the Romans) was made Bishop of Britain. This Nicephorus confirms, though he speaks of *Britiana* [the Brutii in Italy] and not of Britain. Moreover, upon the authority of Symeon Metaphrastes and the Greek Calendar, they tell us that Peter was in this island, and displayed the light of the gospel here; and also from Sophronius and Theodoret, that St. Paul after his second imprisonment at Rome, came hither. Hence Venantius Fortunatus (if we may credit a poet) thus speaks either of him, or his doctrine:

*Transiit oceanum, & qua facit insula portum,
Quasque Britannus habet terras, quasque ultima Thule.
The ocean passed, and ventured bravely o'er
To British realms and Thule's farthest shore.*

However, there's nothing more considerable in this point, than that passage but now quoted from Tertullian, and what Origen says; namely, that the Britons had received the faith, and were qualified before by their druids for that purpose, who always taught them to believe there was but one God. And that of Gildas is in my opinion very weighty, who after a touch upon Boadicea's rebellion, and an account how the same was revenged, says, *In the meantime, Christ, the true sun, displaying his glorious rays upon the whole world, not like the sun from his temporal firmament,*

but from the most exalted thrones of heaven which is eternal and endless; first vouchsafed his beams, that is, his doctrine, in the time (as we know) of Tiberius Caesar, to this cold frozen island, situated as it were at a great distance from the visible sun. And by the by, thus also Chrysostom, of the Christian religion's being in this island: The British isles situate beyond our sea, and lying in the very ocean, felt the power of the word, (for churches and altars are even there erected) of that word, I say, which was naturally planted in the hearts of every man, and is now in their lips also. The same author: How often in Britain did men eat the flesh of their own kind? Now they refresh their souls with fastings. St. Jerome likewise: The Britons who live apart from our world, if they go in pilgrimage, will leave the western parts, and seek Jerusalem, known to them by fame only and by the scriptures.

But now let us pass from the church to the empire. Upon the murder of Commodus, Pertinax was made Emperor, who immediately dispatched away Albinus for Britain. But Pertinax after a reign of eight hundred and two days, being put to death likewise, Didius Junius (who also quickly had the same fate) at Rome, set up his pretensions at Rome, Pescennius Niger in Syria, Clodius Albinus in Britain, and Septimius Severus in Pannonia, all at the same juncture set up their pretence to the empire. Severus (who was nearest Italy) got first to Rome, where being made Emperor by the consent of the soldiers and the senate; that he might not leave an enemy behind him, immediately with great cunning, pretended to make Albinus Emperor, who then commanded the army both of Gaul and Britain: and thus by stamping his image upon the coins, erecting statues to him, and conferring the consulship upon him, he politicly soothes him up. After this he marches into the East against Niger, and in a set battle defeated and slew him. Then he laid siege to Byzantium, and after three years carried it; and at last reduced the Adiabeni, Arabians, and other nations. Thus raised with success, he grew impatient of a partner and rival, and so set assassins upon Albinus; but the success not answering his design, he openly declares him an enemy, and with all the dispatch he could, marches into Gaul against him: where Albinus with the choice of his British army had posted himself to receive him. Upon engaging, the Albinianites fought so stoutly, that Severus threw off his purple, and was put to the rout with his whole army. But the Britons pursuing the enemy in some disorder (as if the victory was already theirs,) Laetus, who was one of Severus's captains, and stood expecting the issue with his men fresh and untouched, now hearing that Severus was cut off, and thinking that he himself might set up for Emperor, fell upon them and put them to flight. Upon this, Severus, having rallied his men, and reassumed his purple, pursued them likewise with great eagerness, and so came off with success, having, among many others slain Albinus himself. And now Severus, sole Emperor of the whole world, first sent Heraclianus, and then Virius Lupus Propractor and Legate (called by Ulpian the lawyer, President of Britain) to take possession of Britain. This Virius Lupus (as we shall observe in its proper place) repaired many castles here. However, he was at long run forced to buy a peace of the Maeatae at a great rate (having made some of them prisoners) because the Caledonii, who had promised to check the excursions of the Maeatae, had not performed that article. And finding himself unable to curb them in their inroads, after much calamity suffered from them, he sent for Severus himself in person to his assistance. Severus embraced the occasion very joyfully, both that he might wean his sons (who grew luxurious and debauched) from the pleasures of the city, and add the name of Britannicus to his other titles; and though now above sixty years old, and withal gouty, he resolves upon this expedition together with his sons, Bassianus (whom he called Antoninus and Augustus) and Geta Caesar, with the legions. The Britons sent

ambassadors immediately to offer peace; whom, after he had designedly stayed a long time, till all things were prepared and ready for the war, he dismissed without coming to any conclusion; and having left his son Geta (whom at his first arrival in Britain he made Augustus) in the hither part of the island, which was in subjection to the Romans, that he might administer justice and government among them; he himself with Antoninus marched into the remoter parts of the country, where, without coming to any battle, he employed himself in cutting down the woods, building bridges, and draining the fens: and yet by ambuscade and sickness lost fifty thousand of his men. Thus Dio. But Herodian makes him to have had several skirmishes, with success, while the barbarians from the fens and thick woods (where they had posted themselves) sallied out upon the Romans. At last however, he forced them to a league, upon condition, that they should part with no small share of their country to him. And that which is the most glorious action in his reign, he built a wall from sea to sea quite across the island. Upon the account of these victories, he stamped his coins with this inscription VICTORIA BRITANNICA, and assumed the title of Britannicus Maximus. His son Geta had also the title of Britannicus, as appears by his coins. Yet without observing this league, the Britons began afterwards to revolt; which galled him to that degree, that in an oration to his soldiers he recommended the *utter extirpation* of them in those verses of Homer:

*Nemo manus fugiat vestras caedemque cruentam,
Non faetus gravida mater quem gestat in alvo
Horrendam effugiat caedem.*
— let none your mercy share,
Let none escape the fury of the war:
Children unborn shall die. —

Having in some sort quieted these rebels, he died at York, not so much out of any infirmity of body, as out of grief and concern at the wickedness of his son Antoninus (who with his own hands had made two several attempts upon his life) with these words in his mouth, *I received the commonwealth disordered in all parts of it, and I leave it in peace even among the Britons*. His corpse was, after their military way, carried out by the soldiers, put in the fire, and the day solemnized with races by the soldiers and his sons. Perhaps it would look like a piece of levity in me, if I should relate the prodigies that happened before his death; namely, the blackness of the sacrifices, the cypress crown offered him by a saucy buffoon in these words, *you have been everything, now be a God*. The method (since it may divert the reader) I will here subscribe.

It is a custom among the Romans to consecrate those Emperors, who die leaving either sons or successors behind them. And they who are thus honoured, are thought to be ranked among the Divi. <33> Now the city is to be all in mourning, with some allay of festival solemnity. For they bury his body as they do those of others, in great state. The image of the deceased person they draw as near as they can, and lay the same in the entry to the palace upon an ivory bed very large and high, with a cloth of gold spread over it. And this image lies pale here to resemble the deceased person. The bed is attended the greatest part of the day on both sides of it; on the left side, all the senators in mourning habits, and on the right the matrons, whether honourable by descent or marriage. Of these no one is either to wear gold, or jewels, but to be dressed in a thin white garment like mourners. This solemnity continues for seven days, physicians coming in daily to visit him, and as if the body were a real patient,

still signifying they have less and less hopes of him. At length when they find the party to be quite dead, the young men of best quality among the knights and senators, take up the said bed upon their shoulders, and carry it by the Via Sacra into the old forum, where the magistrates of Rome used to lay down their offices. Now, on both sides the forum were certain steps like stairs: upon these on the one side stood the young sons of the senators, and most eminent men in the city; on the other the principal ladies singing hymns and sonnets after a melancholy and mournful manner, in praise of the dead person. When this is done, they take up the bed again and carry it into Mars' Field: in the broadest part whereof is erected a square rostrum, even on all sides, and built of nothing but great timber like a tabernacle. The inside of it is stuffed with combustible matter; the outside of it is adorned with hangings, richly embroidered with gold, and works of ivory, and beautified with several pictures. Within this stood another much less, but of the same make and furniture, with wide gates and doors in it. Above that likewise a third, and then a fourth, and so on, still proportionably less than the lower, to the very uppermost, which is least of all. The shape and form of it may be compared to those towers, which, for the burning of fire in the night to direct mariners, are built near havens, and are commonly called phari, i.e. light-houses or watch-towers. The bed being laid in the second tabernacle, spices, all sorts of perfumes, fruit, herbs, and sweet juices, are provided and thrown upon it. For there's no country or city, no person of degree or quality, but in honour of the dead prince will contribute presents of that nature. When these spices are heaped up to a considerable quantity, and all the place filled with them, then they that are knights, ride round the pile in a certain set order, in their course and recourse, warlike and regular. The coaches likewise are drove about it by the senators, who in that are to signify and resemble the Roman generals and famous princes. When this solemnity is over, the succeeding Emperor takes a torch and puts it to the tabernacle; then everyone throws fire to it, and the pile is presently in a flame, by reason of the combustible matter and dry spices that are in it. About the same time an eagle is let fly from the uppermost and least tabernacle, as from the top of it; which is supposed to carry the prince's soul into heaven: and henceforth Emperor is worshiped among the other deities.<34> This is out of my way; but now to return.

Severus's son Antoninus Caracalla continued for some time to prosecute the remains of this war by his captains; however he soon came to a peace, and surrendered their forts and territories to them. Notwithstanding, he assumed the title of Britannicus, nay, was so vainly ambitious, as to call himself Britannicus Maximus. The name of Britannicus was likewise used by his brother Geta. For thus some coins of his are inscribed; IMP. CAES. P. SEPT. GETA PIUS. AUG. BRIT. PONTIF. TRI. P. III. COS. II. PP.

From hence forward for a long time together, writers have omitted the British history: neither was Alexander Severus slain in Sicilia, a town of Britain, (as some would have it,) but in Gaul. Thus much only appears from an old stone, that Nonius Philippus, under Gordianus junior, was propraetor here.

Gallienus growing dissolutely luxurious, the Roman Empire, either for want of care and conduct, or else because 'twas so fated, fell to pieces; and among the rest, this province revolted from the Roman Emperor. For at that time the thirty tyrants stood in competition for the empire; of whom, Lollianus, Victorinus, Posthumus, Tetrici, and Marius, all in this island, then governed it, as I suppose; for their coins are daily found here in great plenty. Under Aurelian, Bonosus, a great drunkard, and by birth a Briton, together with Proculus, endeavoured to make himself Emperor,

claiming all Britain, Spain, and that part of Gaul called Braccata, (which were governed for two months by Florianus;) but being at last defeated by Probus, after a very long and sharp engagement, he hanged himself; and so 'twas said of him, *there hung a tankard, and not a man.*

However Probus found other troubles to entertain him in Britain. For one (whom Probus himself, induced by the commendation of his familiar Victorinus Maurus, had promoted here) was raising a revolt; and therefore he, by way of expostulation, gave Victorinus a reprimand for it. Victorinus having obtained leave to go to him, went as a fugitive from Emperor, and being kindly received by the tyrant, killed him by night, and so returned to Probus, and preserved the province by this blow. Now, who this tyrant was, we are not informed by any author; he may seem to be that Cl. Corn. Laelianus, whose coins are found in this island and in no other country. Probus also transplanted the Burgundians and the Vandals (whom he had before reduced, and settled them here: and they afterwards proved very serviceable to the Romans upon every commotion. Now, whereas Vopiscus writes, that Probus permitted the Britons to have vines; a very learned man is of opinion that this passage might slip unwarily from him, as if the country were unfit for vines; whereas to the contrary it bears vines, and for certain had formerly great store. The many rival tyrants at that time in this province occasioned the exclamation of Porphyry, who lived in that age; *Britain a fruitful province in producing tyrants.*

After this, Carus Augustus gave this country to his son Carinus, with Gaul, Spain, and Illyricum. That he carried on a war here, some infer from those verses of Nemesianus. How much we may depend upon it, I cannot tell:

*Nec taceam quae nuper bella sub arcto
Foelici, Carine, manu confeceris, ipso
Pene prior genitore deo.*

Nor, great Carinus, e'er shall latest fame
Forget our noble actions in the North,
When round the pole you spread your awful name,
And matched the God your sire's immortal worth.

In Diocletian's time, Carausius, a Menapian born, of base extraction, but a man of good conduct and courage, and eminent for his brave actions at sea, was made governor of Bononia in Gaul, to secure that sea, which was then infested with Saxon and French pirates. Having from time to time took many of the barbarians prisoners, and neither given all the prizes to Emperor's exchequer, nor restored it to the right owners in his province; and after that suppressed fewer and fewer of them: it began to be suspected, that he admitted them on purpose, in hopes of intercepting them with the booty taken, whereby he might enrich himself. Upon this, he was to have been slain, by an order from Maximian Emperor. But having intelligence of it, under the state and character of Emperor, he took possession of Britain; thither he brought the fleet he had to defend Gaul: there he built more ships after the Roman manner, was joined by the Roman legion, kept out foreign troops, pressed the French merchants to his service, garrisoned Bononia, and converted the revenues of Britain and Batavia to his own use. Moreover, with hopes of booty in the provinces, he drew no small forces of the barbarians to his alliance, (particularly the Franks, whom he had trained to sea-service,) and infested all the sea-coasts about him. Maximian, with a brave army, (some of which gloriously suffered martyrdom in this expedition) marched against

him; but when he was advanced to the sea-coast; for want of seamen, and being daunted at the rage and danger of the British ocean, he made a halt, and there began a treaty; whereby it was concluded that Carausius should enjoy the government of Britain, as the properest person to defend the inhabitants against all invasions. This is the reason that in all Carausius's silver coins we find two Emperors shaking hands, with this inscription round it, CONCORDIA AUGG. Maximian now marched with his army against the Franks, who then inhabited Batavia, and had assisted Carausius; but were unexpectedly so surprised by him, that they forthwith submitted themselves. In the meantime Carausius governed Britain with great authority, and in perfect peace; *he repaired the wall between the mouth of the Clud and Carun, to keep out the barbarians* (as Nennius, Eluodugus's scholar, tells us) *and fortified the same with seven castles; and moreover built a round house of hewen stone upon the bank of the river Carun, so called from him; with a triumphal arch in memory of his victory.* However, Buchanan thinks it to have been Terminus's temple, as we shall observe in Scotland.

When Diocletian and Maximian had made Constantius Chlorus and Maximianus Galerius fellow partners of the empire with them, to the end they might better keep what they had got, and recover what they had lost; Constantius having raised an army, marches towards Bononia in Gaul, otherwise called Gessoriacum (which Carausius had strongly garrisoned) and invested the place sooner than was imagined; blocking up the haven with huge timber beams struck down in it, and by heaps of great stones; which, notwithstanding the shock and violence of the sea, continued firm for many days together. But, as soon as the town was surrendered, it was so shaken by the first tide, that the whole work was disjointed, and fell to pieces. And while his fleet was getting ready for his British expedition, he cleared Batavia of the Franks, who were then possessed of it, and transplanted many of them to cultivate some barren places of the empire.

In this juncture of affairs, Carausius was treacherously slain by Allectus, his bosom friend and prime minister; who thereupon usurped the government to himself. Upon this news, Constantius manned out several distinct fleets, so that Allectus knowing neither what course to take, nor where to expect him, grew sensible the ocean was not so much his fence and refuge, as his prison. The fleet setting out in bad weather, and when the sea ran high, had the fortune, by reason of a mist, to escape the British navy, which lay out by the Isle of Wight to observe and attend them: and therefore as soon as he had arrived and put his army ashore, he set fire to his whole fleet, that there might be no hopes of refuge but in victory. Allectus, as soon as he saw Constantius's fleet upon the coast, left the shore where he had posted himself, and in his flight was accidentally met and encountred by Asclepiodotus, captain of the life guard; but his confusion was such, that, as if he had been under an alienation of mind at that time, he run on desperately to his own ruin; for he neither drew up his army, nor put his cavalry in any order, but with his barbarous mercenaries, after he had put off his robes that they might not discover him, rushed upon the enemy, and so in a tumultuary skirmish was killed, without any note of distinction about him. For which reason they had much ado to find him among the dead bodies, which lay in heaps about the field and on the hills. The Franks and other surviving barbarians, upon this, determined to plunder London, and escape by sea with the booty: but a party of ours, that were separated from the army in foggy weather, coming luckily to London at the same time, fell upon them, and pursued them up and down the streets with a great slaughter, not only to the rescue and safety of the citizens, but also to their great

pleasure, in being eye-witnesses of the rout. By this victory the province was recovered, after it had been seven years or thereabouts governed by Carausius, and three more by Allectus. Upon this account, Eumenius writes thus to Constantius: *O, important victory, worthy of many triumphs; by this Britain is restored, by this the Franks are defeated, and other nations in that confederacy reduced to their due obedience. To conclude, the sea itself is scoured to complete our quiet. You, great Caesar, as for your part, may with justice glory in this discovery of another world; and by repairing the Roman navy, of adding a greater element to the Roman Empire.* A little lower also. *Britain is so perfectly reduced, that all the nations of that island are under an absolute subjection.*

Towards the end of Diocletian's and Maximian's reign, when the long and bloody persecution in the Eastern Church broke out in the western church also with great violence, many Christians suffered martyrdom in it. The chief among them was Albanus Verolamiensis, Julius, and Aaron a citizen of Exeter, of which in their places. *For the church survived them with great triumph and happiness, being not, even by a continued persecution for ten years together, stifled or destroyed.*

Diocletian and Maximian having abdicated the empire, Constantius Chlorus, who till that time governed the commonwealth under the title of Caesar, was made Emperor. To his share fell Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul and Britain. Italy and Africa he surrendered to Galerius, and contented himself with the rest. Being a soldier in Britain, under Aurelian, he married Helena, the daughter of Coelus or Caelius, a petty prince here, and by her had that Constantine the Great in Britain. For, in this all writers do agree with the great Baronius, (except one or two modern Greeks, who are but inconsiderable, and vary from one another, and a certain eminent person, who grounds upon a faulty passage of J. Firmicus. Chlorus was compelled by Maximian to divorce this wife, and marry his daughter Theodora. This Helena is the same, who in old inscriptions is called *Venerabilis & Piissima Augusta*,^{<35>} both for her Christian piety, her suppressing of idols at Jerusalem, erecting a church in the spot where Christ suffered; and for the good invention of the cross, so mightily celebrated by ecclesiastical writers. Yet the Jews and gentiles call her in reproach *stabularia*,^{<36>} because the manger, where Christ was laid, was sought out by this pious princess, and a church built by her in the place where the stable stood. Hence St. Ambrose: *They tell us that this lady was first an inn-keeper, &c. This good inn-keeper Helena went to Jerusalem, and there found out the place of our Lord's passion, and the manger where her Lord lay. This good inn-keeper was not ignorant of him, who cured the traveller that the robbers had wounded. This good inn-keeper did not care how base and vile she was thought, so she but gained Christ.* Constantius her husband is no less commended for his piety. *A man, who rejecting the superstition and impiety of worshipping many gods, has frankly owned the being but of one God, governor of all things.*^{<37>} Whereupon, to discover the creed of his own courtiers, he gave them free liberty, either to sacrifice to their gods and stay with him, or to refuse and be gone. But those that chose to go, rather than leave the worship of the true God, he retained with him, cashiering those who had hereupon declined the worship of the true God; imagining that such would prove treacherous and disloyal to him also. This excellent Emperor died in his last expedition in Britain against the Caledonians and others of the Picts, at York; and was (as he had appointed) succeeded by his son Constantine, who had been declared Caesar.

Some few days before the death of Constantius, his son Constantine went post from Rome to York, having fresh horses provided him at every stage for that purpose:

and that no one might follow him, he took care to lame all the horses belonging to the state for those services, save only such as were for his own use; and there he received the last gasp from his dying father. Hence an ancient orator thus to him. *You entered the sacred palace, not as ambitious of the empire, but as one ordained and appointed; and forthwith your father's family had the happiness of seeing you in right succeed him. For there was no doubt but he had the right and title, who was the first son that providence bestowed upon Emperor.* However, he seemed to be forced upon this great dignity by the soldiers, and particularly by the importunity of Erocus, King of the Almans, who went along with him to assist him. *The soldiers, with regard to the public, and not out of private affection, put the royal robes upon him; he wept at it, and spurred away his horse, that he might avoid the importunity of the army, &c. But his modesty at last yielded to the good and happiness of the commonwealth.* Hence the Panegyrist exclaims, *O fortunate Britain, and now happy above all lands, in first seeing Constantine Caesar.*

Caesar, as soon as settled in the throne, prosecuted those wars his father had carried on against the Caledonians and Picts; and fell upon the remoter parts of Britain, (that, as one says, *are the witnesses of the sun's setting*<38>) and the people of the islands thereabouts; conquered some of them by dint of force, others (for he had Rome and greater things in his eye at that time) he drew to his alliance by sums of money: nay, some that were his enemies he so reconciled, as to be his friends; and others, who were his inveterate adversaries, he drew over to be his perfect intimates. After that, he made such a glorious conquest of the Franks in Batavia, that golden coins (whereof I have seen one) were stamped with the image of a woman sitting under a trophy, resting one hand upon a cross-bow, with this subscription, *Francia;* and *Gaudium Romanorum,*<39> round it. So having defeated the other barbarians in Germany, and reconciled the Germans and the Gauls to him, he drew his soldiers out of Britain, Gaul, and Germany, amounting to the number of 90000 foot and 80000 horse, and set forward for Italy. Maxentius (who at Rome then laid claim to the empire) was likewise overcome by him; and thus having defeated the tyrant, and reduced Italy, he restored the world to the blessings of peace and liberty. And as it is in an old inscription; *INSTINCTU DIVINITATIS, MENTIS MAGNITUDINE, CUM EXERCITU SUO, TAM DE TYRANNO, QUAM DE OMNI EJUS FACTIONE, UNO TEMPORE JUSTIS REMPUBLICAM ULTUS EST ARMIS.* i.e. "By divine instinct, and the greatness of his own soul, he managed his forces so as to triumph both over the tyrant and all his adherents; and so at once, by a just war, did revenge the quarrel of the republic."

However, that he returned to Britain, is hinted to us by Eusebius in these words, *At last Constantine sailed over to Britain, surrounded by the sea: and having overcome them, he began to think of other parts of the world; that he might relieve them who were in distress, and needed it.* Likewise in another place, *After he had instilled the pious principles of humanity and modesty into his army, he invaded Britain, as a country enclosed by the sea; which, as it were, terminates the sun's setting with its coasts.*

Of Britain, those verses of Optatianus Porphyrius to Constantine, are to be understood.

*Omnis ab Arctois plaga finibus horrida Cauro
Pacis amat cana & comperta perennia jura,*

Camden's Britannia

*Et tibi fida tuis semper bene militat armis,
Resque gerit virtute tuas, populosque feroces
Propellit, ceditque lubens tibi debita rata,
Et tua victores sors accipit hinc tibi fortes,
Teque duce invictae attollant signa cohortes.*
The northern nation vexed with western storms,
To your commands and peaceful laws conforms.
Serves in your arms, and to your colours true,
Subdued herself, helps others to subdue.
Her easy tribute uncompelled she pays,
While your brave troops your conq'ring eagles raise,
And heaven rewards you with deserved success.

About this time (as is manifest from the Theodosian code) Pacatianus was vicegerent in Britain; for then there was no such thing as a propraetor and legate, but in lieu thereof a vicarius.

This Emperor was very happy in the enjoyment of much praise and commendation; and he highly deserved it. For he not only set the Roman Empire at liberty, but dispelling the clouds of superstition (which were great at that time) he introduced the pure light of the gospel, opened temples for the worship of the true God, and shut up those that were dedicated to the false. *For as soon as the storm of that persecution was over, those faithful servants of Christ, who had withdrawn in those dangerous times, and absconded in the woods, deserts, and private caves; began to appear in public. They rebuilt the churches that were thrown down, laid the foundations of temples in honour of the holy martyrs, and continued to go on and finish them; and, as if it were to manifest and display the banners of their victory, they celebrated festivals, and with pure hearts and hands performed their holy solemnities.* And therefore he is honoured with these titles,

IMPERATOR FORTISSIMUS AC BEATISSIMUS. PISSIMUS. FOELIX. URBIS
LIBERATOR. QUIETIS FUNDATOR. REIPUBLICAE INSTAURATOR. PUBLICAE
LIBERTATIS AUCTOR. RESTITUTOR URBIS ROMAE ATQUE ORBIS. MAGNUS.
MAXIMUS. INVICTUS. INVICTISSIMUS. PERPETUUS. SEMPER AUGUSTUS.
RERUM HUMANARUM OPTIMUS PRINCEPS. VIRTUTE FORTISSIMUS, ET PIETATE
CLEMENTISSIMUS. ET IN LEGIBUS, QUI VENERANDA CHRISTIANORUM FIDE
ROMANUM MUNIVIT IMPERIUM. DIVUS. DIVAE MEMORIAE. DIVINAE
MEMORIAE, &C.

That is,

An Emperor most valiant, most blessed, most pious, happy, redeemer of the city, founder of peace, establisher of the commonwealth, increaser of the public liberty, restorer of the city of Rome and the whole world, great, greatest, invincible, most invincible, perpetual, ever Augustus, best governor of human affairs, most valiant, most merciful. And in the laws, with these, who fortified the Roman Empire with venerable Christianity, sacred, of blessed memory, of divine memory, &c.

And he is the first Emperor, that I can find, who in coins and public memorials was ever styled *Dominus Noster*; yet at the same time I am not ignorant, that Diocletian was the first, after Caligula, that would allow the title of *Dominus* to be publicly given him.

However, it seems to have been a great over-sight and imprudence in this mighty Emperor, that he opened a passage to the barbarians into Britain, Germany, and Gaul. For, when he had reduced the northern nations, to that degree, that they were not able to annoy him, and had newly built the city of Constantinople, that he might suppress the mighty growth of the Persians, who then began to rival the Roman Empire; he drew the legions from the frontier garrisons partly into the East, building forts and castles to supply the want of them, and partly to remote cities; so that presently after his death, the barbarians forced the towns and castles, and broke into the Roman provinces. For this reason Zosimus gives him the character of the first and greatest subverter of that flourishing empire.

But after that Constantine had new modelled the empire, it will not be improper to observe here in short, how Britain was governed under him, and in succeeding times. He appointed certain *praefecti praetorio* over the East, Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul; and two masters of the soldiers, the one over the horse, and the other over the foot, in the West, who were called *praesentales*.

As for civil matters, they were administered in Britain by the *praefectus praetorio* of Gaul, who supplied that office by a deputy, honoured with the title of *spectabilis*. Vicegerent of Britain. Under him were two consular deputies, answerable to the number of the provinces; and three *praesides*, who were to determine all causes whether criminal or civil.

As for military matters, they were under the rule and management of the master of the foot in the East; and to him were subject the Count of the Britons, the Count of the Saxon Shore throughout Britain, and the *Dux Britanniarum*; who had each of them the title of *Spectabilis*.

The Count of Britain seems to have presided over the inner parts of the island; and had the command of seven companies of foot, and nine cornets of horse about him.

The Count of the Saxon Shore, who was to defend the coast against the Saxons, and by Marcellinus is called *Comes Tractus Maritimi*; had seven companies of foot, two troops of horse, the second legion, and a cohort, under him.

The Duke of Britain, who was to take care of the marshes, and defend them against barbarians, had the command of 38 garrisons, consisting in all of 14000 foot and 900 horse: so that at that time, if Pancirolus has cast up this account right, Britain had 19200 foot and 1700 horse, or thereabouts.

There were besides these officers, the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, who had the care of all Emperor's gifts and largesses. He had under him in Britain, a *Rationalis Summarum Britanniae*, or receiver-general; *Praepositus Thesaurorum Augustensium in Britannia*, or Lord-treasurer; and a *Procurator Gynegii in Britannia*, or an overseer of the *gynegium* in Britain, the place where the clothes of Emperor and army were woven. Also the *Comes Rerum Privatarum*, or keeper of the privy purse, had here in Britain his *Rationalis Rei Privatae*, or private auditor: not to mention the *Procurator Ludi Gladiatorii*, or overseer of the fencing-school, in Britain (mentioned by an old inscription,) with others of an inferior rank.

Upon the death of Constantine, Britain fell to his son Constantine; who being spurred on by an ambition of sovereignty to invade the rights of others, was slain by his brother Constans. Being exalted with this victory, Constans possessed himself of Britain, and the other provinces, and came hither with his brother Constantius. Hence

that address of Julius Firmicus (not the pagan astrologer, but the Christian,) to them. *In the winter, a thing which was never done hitherto, nor will hereafter, you have triumphed over the boisterous and swelling waves of the British ocean. A sea unknown to us hath trembled, and the Britons are surprised at the unexpected coming of their Emperor. What further would you achieve? The elements themselves do yield themselves conquered by your virtues.* This Constans convened the council at Sardica against the Arians, which consisted of 300 bishops; among whom were the bishops of Britain, who after they had condemned the heretics, and confirmed the Nicene creed, voted Athanasius innocent. But the young prince, without any farther application to state affairs, grew dissolute and voluptuous: this made him burdensome to the provincials, and unacceptable to his army; so that Magnentius, set upon him in a village called Helena, as he was hunting, and there slew him; fulfilling the prophecy, that he should end his life in his grandmother's lap; from whom that town was denominated. This Magnentius was born amongst the Laeti, in Gaul, but his father was a Briton: and now, upon the murder of Constans, he assumed the imperial robes in Gaul, and drew Britain to side with him; but for three years together was so warmly opposed by Constantius, that at last he laid violent hands upon himself. He was the most fortunate of princes, for favourable weather, plentiful harvests, and peace and quietness with the barbarians, things of great moment to raise the estimate of princes among the vulgar. But, for what reason this Magnentius is called, in an old inscription long since dug up at Rome, *taporus*, I leave others to enquire. For thus it is read there; speaking of the obelisk, erected in the circus.

*Interea taporo romam vastante tyranno,
Augusti jacuit donum studiumque locandi.
Under vile Taporo's tyrannick sway,
The royal present unregarded lay.*

At this time, Gratian, surnamed Funarius, was general in Britain; who was father of Valentinian the Emperor. He was called *funarius* from a rope, which in his youth he had to sell; and though five soldiers attempted to take it from him, yet they could not with all their force do it. Upon his return home, and the loss of his commission, his goods were confiscated to Emperor; for he was reported to have entertained Magnentius.

Magnentius being thus murdered, Britain submitted itself to Constantius; and forthwith *Paul*, a notary born in Spain, was sent here, who under the mask of friendship and kindness would attempt the ruin of others with great sagacity. That he might punish some soldiers who had conspired with Magnentius, when they were not able to make resistance, and he had outrageously like a torrent broke in upon them; he seized upon many of their estates. And thus he went on with great slaughter and ruin, condemning many of the freemen to irons, and some of them to bonds and fetters, by arraigning them of faults that were no ways imputable to them. Hereupon, a crime so foul was committed, as will brand the reign of Constantius with eternal infamy. There was one Martinus, that governed these provinces as vicegerent or deputy; who, out of compassion to the miseries and calamities of these innocent people, applied himself often to the said Paul, that the guiltless might be spared; and when he found his intercession was to no purpose, he threatened to leave the province, hoping that that would awe and stop the proceedings of this malicious persecutor of these harmless and quiet people. Paulus, thinking this would spoil his trade, and being a devilish fellow for a train of mischief (from which very faculty he

was called Catena<41>) took care to hook in the deputy, who defended others in the like danger. And he went very near to bring him bound prisoner, with tribunes and many others, before the Emperor's Privy Council. This imminent danger so enraged him against Paulus, that he drew his sword and made a pass at him; but being not home enough to dispatch him, he stabbed himself in the side with it. And this was the unhappy fate of that just man, that had the courage to protect others from injury and oppression. After this villany, Paulus, all in blood, returned back to the headquarters, bringing several with him, almost ready to sink under their chains, and reduced to great sorrow and misery. Of these, some were outlawed, some banished, and others put to death.<42> At last, God's vengeance fell upon him, and he himself underwent the just reward of his outrageous cruelty, being burnt alive in the reign of Julian.

Afterwards (these are the words of Ammianus Marcellinus) when by the inroads of those barbarous nations, the Scots and Picts, the peace of Britain was disturbed, the frontiers wasted, and the provinces wearied, and grew heartless with the many slaughters that had been formerly made of them; Julius, who by Constantius was declared Caesar, and his partner in the empire, being then in his winter quarters at Paris, was in such circumstances, that he durst not venture to relieve them (as Constantius before him did) lest he should leave Gaul without all rule and government: considering also that the Almans were in an uproar at that time. He took care therefore to send Lupicinus to settle matters in these parts, who was Master of the Armoury at that time; a warlike man, and an expert soldier, but proud and haughty; and like a tragedian (as they say) strutting about in his high shoes: of whom it was long doubted whether his fault was more covetousness or cruelty. He therefore, with a supply of light armed soldiers, consisting of Herulians, Batavians, and several companies of the Maesians, marched in the midst of winter to Boulogne. Having got ships, and embarked his men, he took the advantage of a fair wind, and arrived at Rhutupiae, a place just opposite, and from thence marched to London, that there he might resolve according to the state of affairs, and proceed the sooner to give them battle.

Under this Constantius, who was a great favourer of the Arians, that heresy of theirs crept into Britain; wherein from the beginning of Constantine the Great, a sweet harmony between Christ the head, and his members there, had continued; till such time as that deadly and perfidious Arianism, like a serpent spitting out her venom upon us from beyond sea, made even brothers grow inveterate to one another's ruin. And thus a passage being made, as it were, over the ocean, all other cruel savages, spouting from their mouths the deadly poison of every heresy, wound their own country (to which novelty is ever grateful, and everything that's old, nauseous and contemptible.)<43> In favour of these Arians, Constantius convened a council of four hundred western bishops at Ariminum; allowing all of them necessary provisions. But that was deemed by the Aquitaines, French, and Britons, very unbecoming; and therefore refusing that maintenance from Emperor, they chose rather to live at their own charges. Hilary in his epistle to the bishops, calls those, bishops of the provinces of Britain. Three only out of Britain, who were not able to maintain themselves, were maintained by the state; having refused a contribution from the rest, as more safe and honourable to live upon the public, than at the charge of particular persons.<44>

After this, upon the death of Constantius, Julian the Apostate (who set up for Emperor in competition with Constantius) drove Palladius, one of his great officers, out of Britain, and sent away Alipius, who was prefect in the same island, to

Jerusalem, to rebuild it; where such strange flashes of fire broke out near the foundations, as deterred them from that attempt: and many thousand Jews, who were forward in advancing that work, in opposition to the decrees of providence, were overwhelmed in the rubbish. This dissolute Emperor, and pretended philosopher, durst not (as 'tis already observed) come to the relief of the oppressed Britons; though at the same time he extorted every year great quantities of corn for the support of his German armies.

In the reign of Valentinian, when all nations were at war with one another, Britain was continually infested by the Picts, the Saxons, the Scots, and the Attacotti. Upon this, Fraomarius, King of the Almans, was sent here, and made tribune of a body of Almans (which at that time was eminent for their strength and number,) to check the barbarians in their incursions.

However, by confederacy among these barbarians, Britain was reduced to great misery; Nectaridus, Count of the Sea-Shore slain, and Bulchobaudes the general, cut off by treachery. This news was received at court with great concern, and Emperor sent Severus, at that time High Steward of his household, to punish these insolencies; if good fortune should put it in his power. But he was soon after recalled, and succeeded by Jovinus, who sent back Proventusides with all speed, to intimate the necessity there was of greater supplies, and how much the present state of affairs required it. At last, upon the great distress that island was reported to be in, Theodosius was dispatched hither, eminent for his exploits and good fortune. He having selected a strong body of men out of the legions and cohorts, began this expedition with great hopes. The Picts were at that time divided into two nations, the Dicalidonae and Tecturiones; and likewise the Attacotti, a warlike people, and the Scots, were ranging up and down the country for spoil and booty. As for Gaul, the Franks and Saxons (who border upon it) were always making inroads both by land and sea; and what by the spoil they took, the towns they burnt, and the men they killed, were very troublesome there. If fortune would have favoured, this brave captain, now bound for the remotest part of the world, was resolved to have curbed them. When he came to the coast of Boulogne (which is severed from the opposite country by a narrow sea, apt to run high at some times, and again to fall into a plain and level surface, like a champaign country, at which time 'tis navigable without danger) he set sail, and arrived at Rhutupiae, a safe harbour over against it. When the Batavians, Herulians, the Jovii, and Victores (brave bold men who followed him) were landed likewise, he set forward for London, an ancient town, called in after ages Augusta. Having divided his army into several bodies, he fell upon the enemy, dispersed up and down the country, and laden with spoil and booty. They were soon routed, and forced to leave their prey; which was nothing but cattle and prisoners, they had took from this miserable country. After he had made restitution of the booty to the respective owners, saving only some small part to refresh his army, he entered the city in great state, which (though in the utmost affliction and misery at that time) soon revived upon it, in hopes of recovery, and protection for the future. This success soon put him upon greater designs; yet to proceed warily, he considered upon the intelligence he had got from fugitives and captives, that so great a multitude as the enemy (composed of several nations, and those of a fierce heady temper) were not to be routed but by stratagem and surprise. Having published his declaration, and a pardon therein to such as would lay down their arms; he ordered all deserters and others dispersed up and down the country for forage and provision, to repair to him. This brought in many; upon which reinforcement, he thought to take the field, but

deferred it upon other considerations, till he could have Civilis sent to be his deputy; a man somewhat passionate, but very just and upright; and also Dulcitus, a gallant captain, and experienced in the arts of war. Afterwards, taking heart, he went from Augusta, formerly called Londinum, with a good army, (which with much ado he had raised) and thereby proved a great support to the sinking state of the poor Britons. He took in all such places as might favour him in cutting off the enemy by ambuscade, and imposed nothing upon the common soldiers, but what he would do himself. Thus he discharged the office of an active and hardy soldier, as well as of a brave general; and by that means defeated several nations, who had the insolence to invade the Roman Empire; laid the foundation of a lasting peace, and restored both cities and castles that were reduced to great straits, to their former happiness. In this juncture, there happened an ill accident, which might have been of dangerous consequence, if it had not been timely prevented. One Valentinus, of Valeria Pannonia, a proud man, and brother-in-law to Maximinus (that intolerable deputy, afterwards lieutenant) was banished for an heinous crime into this island; where, like some savage of a restless temper, he put all things in disorder by plots and insurrections against Theodosius, and that purely out of pride and envy, he being the only man that could cope with him. However, that he might proceed with conduct and security in these ambitious pursuits, he endeavoured to draw in all exiles and deserters to him, with the encouragement and prospect of much booty. But these designs taking air, and coming to the general's ear before they were full ripe for execution, he took care like a wise captain, to be beforehand with him, both to prevent and punish the conspirators. Valentinus himself, with some of the chief of his cabal, he committed to Dulcitus to see executed; but upon laying things together, (for he was the wisest and most experienced soldier of his time,) he would suffer no farther enquiry after the other conspirators, lest the general terror which it would strike, might again embroil the province, which was now in peace and quietness. From this he turned his thoughts upon the reformation of some things, which now grew intolerable; being freed from all dangers that might divert him, and sensible that fortune was ever favourable to his designs; and so he applied himself to the repairing of cities and garrison-towns (as we have already said) and the strengthening the frontiers and castles with watches and entrenchments. Having thus recovered the province, which was possessed by the enemy, he restored it so completely to its former state, that upon his motion, it had a lawful governor set over it, and was afterwards, by the prince's order, called Valentia. The Areans, a sort of men instituted by the ancients, were displaced by him as corrupt and treacherous; being plainly convict of giving intelligence of our affairs to the barbarians for rewards and bribery. For their business was to run to and fro with news from the neighbouring countries to our captains. After these regulations, and some others made by him with great applause, he was sent for to court, leaving the provinces in such a calm and happy condition, that he was no less honoured for his success and victories, than Furius Camillus, or Cursor Papius. And so being attended with the acclamations of all, as far as the sea, he sailed over with a gentle gale, and arrived at the prince's camp, where he was received with great joy and commendation. For these famous exploits here, a statue on horseback was erected in honour of him, as Symmachus, to his son Theodosius Emperor, informs us. The founder of your stock and family, was one that was general both in Africa and Britain, honoured by the senate with his statues on horse-back among the ancient heroes.

<42> Thus Claudian likewise, in his commendation.

*Ille Caledoniis posuit qui castra pruinis,
Qui medio libyae sub casside pertulit aestus,
Terribilis Mauro, debellatorque Britanni
Littoris, ac pariter Boreae vastator & Austri.
Quid rigor aeternus? Coeli quid sidera prosunt?
Ignotumque fretum? Maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcaes, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos fleuit glacialis Hiberne.*
Brave he, that quelled the Caledonian foe,
And pitched his frozen tents in constant snow.
That on his faithful crest undaunted bore,
The furious beams on Libya's parched shore.
How vain's eternal frost, and angry stars,
And seas untried by fearful mariners?
The wasted Orkneys Saxon gore o'erflowed,
And Thule now grew hot with reeking blood.
Cold Ireland mourned her slaughtered sons in vain,
And heaps of Scots that covered all the plain.

And in another place.

*— quem littus adustae
Horrescit Libyae, ratibusque impervia Thule,
Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos
Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone sequutus
Fregit Hyperboreas remit audacibus undas;
Et geminis fulgens utroque sub axe trophaeis,
Tethyos alternae refluas calcavit arenas.*
Scorched Libya's borders tremble at his power,
And Thule's cliffs that scorn the labouring oar.
He the light Moors in happy war o'ercame,
And Picts that vary nothing from their name.
With wandering arms the timorous Scots pursued,
And ploughed with ventrous keels the Northern flood.
Spurned the bold tide, as on the sand it rolls,
And fixed his trophies under both the poles.

Thus Pacatus Drepanus likewise of him. What need I mention the Scot confined to the bogs there, or the Saxons, who are ruined by sea? After him, Gratian succeeded in the empire, who also declared Theodosius, son of that Theodosius before mentioned, Emperor: which was took so ill by Maximus his rival (born in Spain, descended from Constantine the Great, and then commanded the army in Britain) that he set up for Emperor himself; or, as Orosius says, was against his will greeted so by his soldiers. A man just and valiant, and worthy of that honour, if he had not come to it by usurpation, and against his allegiance. *First, he routed the Picts and Scots as they made an inroad here;*<45> and then transporting the flower of the Britons, and arriving at the mouth of the Rhine, he won over all the German forces to his party, fixed his court at Triers (whence he was called Imperator Trevericus;) And thence, as Gildas says, stretching out his wings, one towards Spain, and another towards Italy, he raised taxes and tributes among the barbarous nations of Germany, by the mere terror of his name. Gratian at last took the field against him, but after skirmishes for five days together, was deserted by his army, and so put to flight. Upon that he sent St.

Ambrose his ambassador to treat for a peace; which was concluded, but with great equivocation and treachery. For Maximus dispatched away Andragathius in a close chariot; spreading a report, that Gratian's wife was arrived from Britain, and was carried in it. Upon which news, Gratian went, out of affection, to meet her; but as soon as he came out of the coach, Andragathius leapt out with the rest of his gang, and murdered him. Ambrosius was sent again to beg the corpse; but was not so much as admitted, because he had refused to communicate with those bishops that had sided with Maximus. Upon this success, Maximus had his son victor declared Caesar, punished the captains that adhered to Gratian, and settled his affairs in Gaul. He was also acknowledged Emperor at the request, or rather demand of his ambassadors, by Theodosius Augustus, who then governed in the East; and his picture was set up in Alexandria. And now he had impoverished the commonwealth, and satisfied his own covetousness by a general extortion. The pretence he had for his tyranny, was to defend the Catholic religion, and some of his sect, being at the council of Bordeaux convicted of heresy, and having appealed to the Emperor, were by him condemned to death; notwithstanding, that Martin, a holy man, and Bishop of Tours, humbly besought Emperor to abstain from the blood of those unfortunate wretches; alleging, that a sentence of excommunication would be sufficient punishment, and that it was a thing new, and unheard of, that a secular judge should give sentence in an ecclesiastical matter. These were the first, that (to the ill example of after ages) were put to death by the civil power for heresy. After this, he entered Italy with so great terror, that Valentinian fled with his mother to Theodosius, the cities of Italy opened their gates to him, and did him all the honour imaginable; particularly Bononia, where this inscription is yet extant.

DD. NN MAG. C. MAXIMO, ET FL.
 VICTORI, PIIS, FELICIBVS, SEMPER
 AVGVSTIS
 BONO REIPUB.
 B. R. NATIS.

In this juncture the Franks made inroads into Gaul, but Nannius and Quintinus, two great captains (to whom Maximus had committed the education of his son, and the government of Gaul) repelled them with great slaughter, forced them not only to give hostages, but to deliver up the authors of that war. Valentinian now addresses himself to Theodosius to relieve him in this misery, being thrust out of his throne by an usurper; but had for some time no more than this answer, *That it was no ways strange to see a seditious servant superior to that master, who had himself rejected his true lord.*<46> for Valentinian was tainted with Arianism. Yet at last, after much entreaty, he set forward with an army against Maximus, who was then without the least apprehension of it in Aquileia; for he had guarded all the passes through the mountains, and secured the haven with his fleet; and with great resolution and confidence, welcomed Theodosius with a battle at Siscia in Pannonia, and then again with another, which was fought very obstinately under the conduct of his brother Marcellus: yet both with such ill success, that he was obliged to retreat to Aquileia, and was there taken by his own soldiers, as he was distributing money among them, stripped of his royal robes, and led to Theodosius. By his order he was put to death, after he had reigned five years. Hence that of Ausonius in praise of Aquileia:

*Non erat iste locus: merito tamen aucta recenti,
 Nona inter claras Aquileia cieberis urbes
 Itala ad Illyricos objecta colonia montes,
 Moenibus & portu celeberrima: sed magis illud
 Eminent, extremo quod te sub tempore legit,
 Solverat exacto cui justa piacula lustru
 Maximus, armigeri quondam sub nomine lixae:
 Foelix qui tanti spectatrix laeta triumphi,
 Punisti Ausonio rutupinum marte latronem.*
 And thou, since new deserts have raised thy name,
 Fair Aquileia shalt be ninth in same.
 Against Illyrian hills, thy cliffs are shown,
 Thy walls and harbour gain thee vast renown:
 But this new praise shall make thee ever proud,
 That here the tyrant chose his last abode,
 And paid the vengeance he so long had owed:
 That thou vile Maximus did'st last receive,
 Raised to a monarch from a knapsack-slave.
 Blessed town! That all that noble triumph viewed,
 And saw Rhutupium's thief by Roman arms subdued!

Andragathius finding now his condition desperate, threw himself over shipboard into the sea. Victor, Maximus's son, who was in Gaul, was likewise routed, taken, and put to death. The Britons, who sided with Maximus, as some writers say, invaded Armorica, and there seated themselves. Theodosius soon after his victory, entered Rome with his son Honorius in triumph, and made an edict, *that no one should challenge or keep any honour conferred upon him by the tyrant; but should return to his former state, and pretend to no more.* Valentinian likewise: *that all edicts of Maximus, the worst of tyrants, should be repealed.* Ambrosius, at the funeral of Theodosius, had this saying; *Maximus and Eugenius are wretched instances now in hell, to show us how dangerous it is to rebel against a lawful prince.* In a word, this victory was thought so great and memorable, that the Romans from thence forward, made that day an universal festival.

Theodosius was succeeded in the West by his son Honorius, a boy of ten years old; who was committed to the care and tuition of Flavius Stilico, a very famous man, that had accompanied Theodosius in all his wars and victories; and was by him gradually raised to the greatest offices in the army, as also permitted to marry into the imperial family: yet cloyed with this success, and falling into ambitious attempts, he lost his life miserably. For some years, he attended the affairs of the empire with great diligence, and secured Britain against the Picts, Scots, and Saxons. Hence that of Claudian, making Britain say,

*Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
 Munivit Stilico, totam quum Scotus Hibernem
 Movit, & infesto spumavit remige Thetis.
 Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
 Scotica, nec Pictum tremere, ne littore toto
 Prospicerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis.*
 And I shall ever own his happy care,
 Who saved me sinking in unequal war.

When Scots came thund'ring from the Irish shores,
And th' ocean trembled, struck with hostile oars.
Secured by him, nor Scottish rage I mourn,
Nor fear again the barbarous Picts return.
No more their vessels, with the dubious tide,
To my safe ports the Saxon pirates guide.

At that time Britain seems to have been safe enough from any enemy; for in another place 'tis thus, in the same poet.

—*domito quod Saxona Thetis*
Mitior, aut fracto securo Britannia Picto.
That seas are free, secured from Saxon power,
And Picts once conquered, Britain fears no more.

And when Alaric (King of the Goths) threatened Rome, that legion garrisoned then in the frontiers against the barbarians, was drawn from hence; as Claudian in his account of the supplies sent for from all quarters seems to intimate.

Venit & extremis legio praetenta Britannis,
Quae Scoto dat froena truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exanimes Picto moriente figuras.
Here met the legion, which in Britain laid
That curbed the fiery Scot, and oft surveyed
Pale iron-burnt figures on the dying Picts.

About this time flourished Fastidius, Bishop of the Britons, who wrote some books of divinity, very learned, and worthy of so high a subject. Chrysanthus also, son of bishop Martian; who under Theodosius being a consular deputy in Italy, was made vicegerent in Britain; where he was so much praised and admired for his administration of affairs, that against his will, he was made Bishop of the Novatians at Constantinople. These people began a schism in the church, and were called Cathari, had their peculiar bishops, and were themselves a distinct sect; obstinately, but impiously denying, that one relapsed to a state of sin after baptism, could not afterwards be saved. This was that bishop, who (as we read) was wont to take no more of the church revenues for his own use and subsistence, than two loaves every Sunday.

As the Roman interest began now to decline in the West, and the barbarous nations to break into the provinces in the continent; the British army, to prevent their being involved in the like broils, and considering the necessity there was of choosing a brave Emperor for repelling the barbarians; applied themselves to think of that matter. First, they made choice of Marcus, and obeyed him as Emperor in those parts. He, not answering their expectation, was soon put to death; and then they set up Gratian, a country man of their own, and having put the royal robes and crown upon him, attended him as their prince; but falling into a dislike of him too, they dethroned him after a reign of four months, and in conclusion put him to death. Next, they chose Constantine, one of the common soldiers, upon the sole account of his name, which they took for a good omen. For, from the very name of Constantine, they entertained themselves with certain hopes, that he would rule with success and courage, and defeat the barbarians; as Constantine the Great did, who was made Emperor in Britain. Constantine setting sail from hence, arrived at Boulogne in Gaul, and easily

drew in all the Roman army as far as the Alps, to side with him. He defended Valentia with great bravery against Emperor Honorius; and fortified the Rhine with garrisons, which had for a long time been neglected. He built also forts to command the passes of the Cottian, Pennine, and Maritime Alps. In Spain, by his son Constans (who of a monk, was now made Augustus) things were likewise managed with good success: and by letters to Honorius, excusing himself, as forced to this by his soldiers, Honorius presented him with an imperial robe. This raised his mind so, that having passed the Alps, he began to think of Rome; but upon the news then brought him, that Alaric the Goth was dead (who was a great promoter of his interest) he went back to Arles; where he fixed the seat of the empire, commanding it to be called the City Constantina, and a convention of seven provinces to be held there. His son Constans was sent for out of Spain, that they might concert affairs. Constans leaving his princess and his furniture at Saragossa, and committing Spain to the care of Gerontius, went straight to his father. When they had been together for many days, and no danger was apprehended, Constantinus giving himself up wholly to luxury, advised his son to return to Spain. But having sent away his attendants before, while he stayed behind with his father, the news was brought him from Spain, that Gerontius had set up Maximus (one of his servants) Emperor, and that he was preparing to advance against him at the head of the barbarians. Upon this ill news, Constans, along with Decimus Rusticus, who, from Master of the Offices, was now preferred to be a prefect, having sent Edobeccus before to the German nations, marched towards Gaul with the Franks and Almans, and the other forces, intending speedily to return to Constantine. But Constans was intercepted at Vienne in Gaul by Gerontius, and put to death; and Constantine himself was besieged in Arles. Honorius sending one Constantius to his relief, put Gerontius in such a fright, that he run away; which so enraged his soldiers, that they invested his house, and reduced him to such a pinch, that first he beheaded his faithful friend Alanus, and then Nunnichia his wife, upon her request to die with him; and last of all, laid violent hands upon himself. Constantine, upon the severeness of this siege, and the unhappy engagement of Edobeccus, began to despair, and after he had held out four months, and reigned four years, threw off the imperial robes, and the burden that attends them; then took upon him the orders of a presbyter, surrendered Arles, was carried into Italy, and beheaded with his son Julian, (to whom he had given the title of *nobilissimus*) and likewise Sebastian. From that time, Britain returned to the subjection of Honorius, and was happy for a while under the gallant and wise conduct of Victorinus, who then governed the province, and put a stop to the inroads of the Picts and Scots. In commendation of him, there are extant in Rutilius Claudius, these verses, very worthy of that author.

*Conscius oceanus virtutum, conscia Thule
 Et quaecunque ferox arva Britannus arat.
 Qua praefectorum vicibus fraenata potestas
 Perpetuum magni foenus amoris habet.
 Extremum pars illa quidem discessit in orbem,
 Sed tanquam medio rector in orbe fuit.
 Plus palmae est illos inter voluisse placere,
 Inter quos minor est displicuisse pudor.
 Him Thule, him the vanquished ocean knows,
 And those vast fields the fiery Britain ploughs.
 T'abuse their power where yearly prefects fear
 A blessed increase of love rewards his care.*

Though that great part another world had shown,
Yet he both worlds as easy ruled as one.
'Tis nobler gentle methods there to use
Where roughest means would merit just excuse.

Alaric having took Rome, Honorius recalled Victorinus with the army; upon which the Britons betook themselves to their arms, and seeing all at stake, freed their cities, and repelled the barbarians. All the country of Armorica likewise, and the other provinces of Gaul followed their example, and rid themselves; casting out the Roman garrisons, and forming themselves into a distinct commonwealth, as they thought best convenient. This rebellion of Britain, and the Celtic nations, happened just as Constantine usurped the empire; when by his neglect of affairs, the barbarians, in motion at that time, infested the provinces without control. Yet a while after, the cities of Britain applied themselves to Honorius for aid; in answer to which address he sent them no supplies, but letters to exhort them to take care and defend themselves. The Britons animated by these letters of Honorius Emperor, took up arms accordingly to defend their own cities; but being overpowered by the barbarians (who from all quarters came in upon them) they sent their earnest petitions again to Honorius to spare some assistance. Upon this he granted them one legion; which upon their arrival, soon routed a great body of the enemy, drove the rest out of the province, and cast up an earthen wall between the firth of Edinburgh and the Clyde; which notwithstanding proved of very little use. For, as soon as the legion was recalled to defend Gaul, they returned, easily broke through this frontier, and with great outrage roved, plundered, and destroyed everything. Again, they send their ambassadors to represent their grievances, with garments rent, and sand upon their bare heads (observe the manner,) to beg assistance of the Romans. Upon this, three companies under the conduct of Gallio of Ravenna was sent them by Valentinian; these likewise routed the barbarians with great valour, and in some measure rescued the province from its distress and misery. *They made a wall also of stone (not raised at the public and private costs as the other was) with the help of the poor natives, built after the usual manner, quite across the country from one sea to the other, by those cities that were perhaps built there for fear of the enemy: they exhorted them to be courageous, and left them patterns to make their weapons by. Upon the Southern shore of Britain also, where their ships lay (because the barbarous enemy might enter there) they built turrets at some distance from one another, that looked along way to the sea; and so the Romans intending never to return more, took their last farewell.*<47>

Now was the state of affairs everywhere in a lamentable and wretched posture. The empire fell downright lame (as it were) and decrepit through the extremity of old age; and the church was grievously pestered with heretics, who spread their poisonous doctrines universally, amidst the calamities of war. One of whom was Pelagius born here, who derogating from the grace of God, taught in this island, that we might attain to a perfect righteousness, by the merit of our own works. Another was Timotheus, who blasphemously disputed against the divinity and incarnation of our saviour.

Now was the Roman Empire in Britain fully expired, it being the four hundredth seventy sixth year from Caesar's coming in; when under the government of Valentinian 3rd the Roman forces were transported by that Gallio spoke of, for the service of France; and having buried their treasures, and bereft Britain of her youth by frequent musters, left her incapable of defence, and a prey to the ravage and barbarity of the Picts and Scots. From whence Prosper Aquitanus took occasion to write truly, that, *at this time through the Roman insufficiency, the force and vigour of Britain was*

*totally exhausted. And our Malmesbury historian:<48> When the tyrants had left none but half foreigners in our fields, none but gluttons and debauchees in our cities; Britain, robbed of her vigorous youth, and altogether uncultivated by the exercise of arts, became a prey to its neighbours, who gaped after her destruction. For immediately after, many lost their lives by the incursions of the Picts and Scots, many villages were burnt, and cities demolished, and all things turned topsy turvy by fire and sword. The inhabitants of the island were much perplexed, who thought it better to trust to anything than to a decisive battle: some of 'em betook themselves by flight to the mountains, others having buried their treasures (many of which have been dug up in this age) made for Rome, to beg assistance there. But as Nicephorus truly stated the matter, Valentinian the 3rd not only could not recover Britain, Spain, and France, which were wrested from his empire; but lost Africa into the bargain. 'Twas not without reason therefore, that Gildas cried out, that Britain was robbed of her soldiers, of her military forces, of her rulers, (though barbarous as they were) and of her numerous youth. For, beside those whom Maximilian, that usurper, and the last Constantine drew off; 'tis plain, from ancient inscriptions and the *Notitia*,<49> that these forces were in the service of the Romans, scattered throughout their provinces, and still recruited from Britain:*

*Ala Britannica milliaria.
Ala iiii. Britonum in Egypto.
Cohors prima aelia Britonum.
Cohors iii Britonum.
Cohors vii. Britonum.
Cohors xxvi. Britonum in Armenia.
Britanniciani sub magistro peditum.
Invicti juniores Britanniciani inter auxilia palatina.
Exculcatores jun. Britan. Inter auxilia palatina.
Britones cum magistro equitum galliarum,
Invicti juniores Britones intra hispanos
Britones seniores in Illyrico.<50>*

No wonder that Britain was exposed to foreigners, when so many and so considerable forces were daily drawn from her; which confirms that remarkable piece of truth in Tacitus, *that there was no strength in the Roman armies, but what came from abroad.*

Whilst I thus treat of the Roman Empire in Britain (which lasted, as I said, about 476 years) I cannot but consider with myself, how many colonies of Romans must be transplanted hither in so long time; how many soldiers were continually sent from Rome for garrisons; how many were dispatched hither, to negotiate either public or their own private affairs, who intermarrying with the Britons, seated themselves here, and multiplied their families. For *wheresoever* (says Seneca) *the Romans conquered, they inhabited.* So that I have oftentimes concluded it much more probable, that the Britons should derive themselves from the Trojans by these Romans (who doubtless descended from them) than either the Arverni, who from Trojan blood style themselves brethren to the Romans; or the Mamertini, Hedui, and others, who claim kindred with the Trojans upon fabulous grounds. For Rome that common mother, (as one calls her) challenges all such for her citizens,

Quos domuit, nexuque pio longinqua revinxit.
Whom conquered she in sacred bonds hath tied.

And 'tis easy to believe that the Britons and Romans, by a mutual engrafting for so many years together, have grown up into one nation; since the Ubii in Germany, twenty eight years after their colony was planted, made this answer with respect to the Romans in it: *This is the natural country of those that were transplanted hither; as well those that have married among us, as those that have issue by us. Nor can we think you so unjust, that you would have us murder our parents, brethren, and children.*<51> If the Ubii and the Romans, in so short a space of time came to the natural relation of parents, brethren, and children; what shall we think of the Britons, and the Romans, who were so many years associate? What likewise may we say of the Burgundians, who, from a tincture of their blood (during a short abode in the Roman provinces) called themselves the offspring of the Romans? Not to repeat what I have already said, that this island was called *Romania*, and the *Roman Island*.

Thus much, rejecting all fictions, I have summarily (though by piece-meal,) observed out of the ancient monuments of antiquity; touching the Roman governments in Britain, their ambassadors, propraetors, presidents, vicegerents, and rectors. But I would have done it more fully and accurately, had Ausonius kept his word, who promises to reckon up all those, who

Aut Italum populos, Aquilonigenasque Britannos
Praefectarum titulo tenuere secundo.
In Italy or Britain's northern shore,
The prefect's honour with success have bore.

But since 'tis agreed on all hands among the learned, that ancient coins give great light, and contribute much to the understanding of old histories; I thought it not amiss, to present the reader with some such pieces, as well of the Britons (who first stooped to the Roman yoke) as of some Roman Emperors, (who more immediately relate to Britain,) out of the collection of the famous Sir Robert Cotton of Connington; who with great care has made the collection, and with his wonted generosity, freedom, and readiness, did impart them to me.



British and Roman Coins

Conjectures upon the British coins.

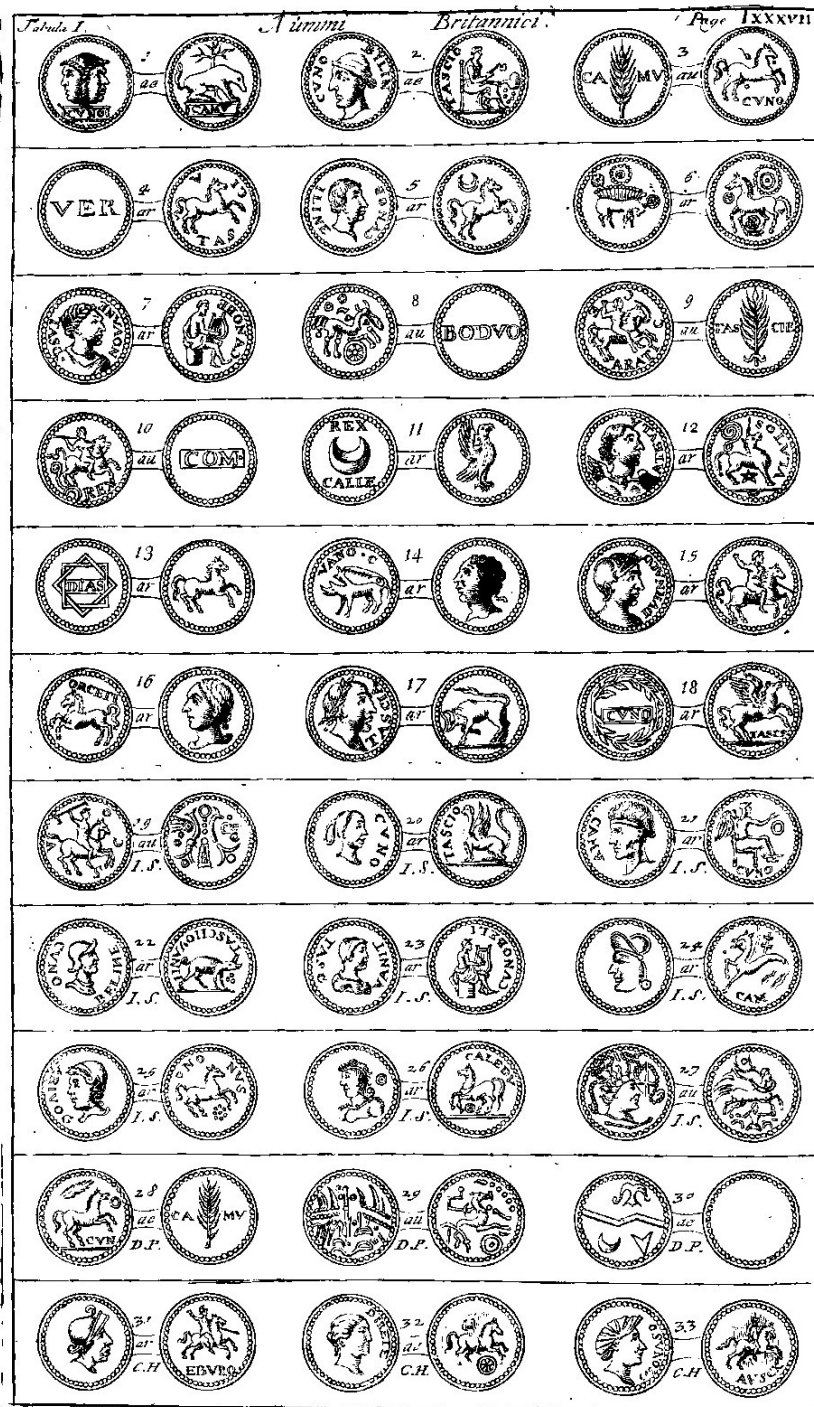


Illustration: British Coins Table I.

'TIS probable you may expect that I should make some short remarks upon the coins which I have here represented. But for my part, I freely declare myself at a loss what to say to things, so much obscured by their distance and antiquity; and you,

when you read these conjectures, will plainly perceive that I have only groped in the dark.

I have observed before from Caesar, that the ancient Britons used brass-money, rings, or plates of iron according to a certain set weight; and there are that affirm they have found some of these in urns. Besides these, there are now and then found in this island, gold, silver, and brass coins, of several shapes and weight; most of them hollow on one side; some without letters, others with letters curiously wrought. And such as these I could never hear were digged up in other places; till of late Nicholas Faber Petrascius (a noble young gentleman of Provence in France; and of great knowledge and exactness in the study of coins,) showed me some such that had been found in France. But to come to those I have here given you.

The first is Cunobeline's, who flourished under Augustus and Tiberius; upon which (if I mistake not) are engraven the heads of a two-faced Janus; possibly, because at that time Britain begun to be a little refined from its barbarity. For Janus is said to have first changed barbarity into good breeding; and for that reason, to be painted with two faces, as if he had hammered the same visage into quite another thing.

The second likewise is Cunobeline's with his face and name; and on the reverse the mint-master with the addition of the word TASCIA; which in British signifies a tribute-penny (as I am informed by D. David Powel, a man admirably skilled in that language;) perhaps from the Latin *taxatio*, for the Britons do not use the letter x. And upon the same account, we see *moneta* often upon the Roman coins.

The third is also the same Cunobeline's, with a horse and CVNO; and with an ear of corn and CAMV, which seems to stand for Camalodunum, the palace of Cunobeline.

The fourth by the VER seems to have been coined at Verulam.

The fifth likewise is Cunobeline's.

The sixth, wanting the assistance of letters, I know nothing of.

The seventh, which is Cunobeline's, with this inscription *Tasc Novanei*, with a woman's head, I dare not positively affirm to have been the tribute-money of the Trinovantes, who were under his government. Apollo with his harp, and the name of Cunobeline on the reverse, bring to my mind what I have somewhere observed of the God Belinus; namely, that the ancient Gauls worshiped Apollo under the name of Belinus. And this is confirmed by Dioscorides, who expressly says, that the herb Apollinaris (in the juice whereof the Gauls used to dip their arrows) was called in Gaulish *belimuntia*. From which I durst almost make this inference, that the name of Cunobeline, as also that of Cassibilin, came originally from the worship of Apollo; as well as Phaebitius and Delphidius. Unless one should rather imagine, that as Apollo for his yellow hair was called by the Greeks *Xanthos*, and by the Latins *Flavus*; so by the Britons and Gauls, *Belin*. For a man of a yellow complexion in British is called commonly *melin*, *belin*, *felin*; and for that reason, the ancient Belinus, Cunobeline, and Cassibelin (called also Cassivellaun) seem to import as much as yellow princes. For the Britons tell you that *Cuno* is a name of dignity; and at this day they call a thing that's principal or chief, *cynoc*. But that it was certainly a term of honour, is pretty evident from *Cungetorix*, *Cunobelinus*, *Cuneglasus*, *Cuneda*, and *Cunedagius*, among the Britons; and *Cyngetorix*, *Convictolitanus*, *Conteodunus*, among the ancient Gauls: all names of princes. And I know moreover, that Gildas renders *Cuneglasus* in

Latin *lanio fulvus* or *furvus*, i.e. A deep yellow or black butcher; called by other a sky or glass-coloured prince: that also they interpret *Cuneda*, a good prince. But that the German *koning*, and our *King* came from this *cuno*, I dare not so much as imagine. In the meantime, I am content to have sported with this variety of conjectures, that I might not expose myself to the ridicule of others.

The eighth has a chariot-horse with a wheel under it; and by the BODVO on the reverse seems to have belonged to the people of the Boduni, or to Queen Boadicea, called also Voadicia, and Bundeicua.

The ninth; wherein one on horse-back with a spear and shield; and CAERATIC in letters scattered: from which I should guess it to have been one of that warlike Caratacus, so much commended by Tacitus.

The tenth; in one side whereof is written REX under a man on horseback; and COM on the other, enclines me to believe, with some others, that it was one of Comius Atrebatensis, whom Caesar mentions.

The eleventh; which has on it a half moon with this inscription REX CALLE, would agree well enough to Callena a famous city.

The twelfth has a winged head, with the word ATEVLA; on the reverse a lion, with this inscription VLATOS. All my enquiry after the meaning of these words has been in vain. Only I have seen the goddess Victory in the very same figure upon the Roman coins; but do not yet apprehend that the Britons ever called Victory *Ateula*. That they named Victory *Andate*, I have already observed from Dio; but whether that was the same with *Andarta*, worshiped by the Vocontii in Gaul, I leave to the judgment of others.

Here also you see the 13th with the word DIAS in a pentagon, and on the reverse a horse.

The 14th with a hog, and this inscription VANOC; on the reverse the head of a goddess, possibly Venus, or Venutius, mentioned by Tacitus.

The 15th, a head with an helmet upon it, and DVRNACO, but whether he was that Dumnacus, a prince of the Andes, whom Caesar mentions, I know not.

The 16th with a horse, and ORCETI.

The 17th the image of Augustus, and TASCIA; on the reverse a bull pushing.

The 18th Cuno within a laurel garland; and on the reverse, a horse, with TASCE.

I have likewise seen another with Pegasus and CAMV; on the reverse whereof was a man's head with an helmet, a shield between ears of corn, and CVNO. Another with a horse but ill shaped, and EISV, perhaps one of Isurius; and on the reverse, an ear of corn. Another, wherein was a soldier with a spear; and on the reverse, within a wreath or chain, SOLIDV. I cannot believe, that it was that piece of money called *solidus*, which in that age was always gold; whereas this is silver. It may with greater probability be referred to the Solidurii; for so the Gauls called those who had resolved to live and die together. The terms were these, that they should enjoy all the advantages of life in common, with the persons they had settled such a league withal: that if any violence should be offered them, they should either join in the same fortune, or kill themselves. Nor was there ever any of these that refused to die after the party was slain, to whose friendship he had devoted himself. Whether these

soldiers, who as stipendiaries were devoted to some prince or state, and called in several nations of Europe almost by the same name, *soldiers, soldats, soldados, &c.* Whether these (I say) had their name from the Soldurii, is a point I had rather recommend to the consideration of others, than determine myself. Though I am rather inclined to another opinion, that they were only called *solidarii* in after ages, to distinguish them from such as by reason of their fees, served without the *solidi* or pay.

Whether this sort of money went commonly current in the way of trade and exchange, or was at first coined for some particular use, is a question amongst the learned. Now my opinion of the matter (if I may be allowed to interpose it) is this. After Caesar had appointed how much tribute should be paid yearly by the Britons, and (under Augustus) they were oppressed with the payment of portage, both for exporting and importing commodities; they had by degrees other taxes laid upon them, namely for corn-grounds, plantations, groves, pasturage of greater and lesser cattle; as being subdued to obey as subjects not as slaves. I have thought that these coins were first stamped for this use; for greater cattle, with a horse; for lesser, with a hog; for woods, with a tree; for corn ground, with an ear of corn; as in that of Verulam or St. Albans, inscribed VERV. But those with a man's head, seem to have been coined for poll-money, which was personal or laid upon the head of every single person; upon women at twelve, and men at fourteen years of age. Which Bunduica or Boadicea, a Queen of the Britons, complains of to her subjects in these words: ye both graze and plough for the Romans; nay, you pay an annual tribute for your very bodies. I have all along thought, that there was a certain sort of money coined on purpose for this use; seeing in scripture it is called expressly the tribute-money, and Hesychius interprets it, *Census, a certain money paid for every head.* And I am the more confirmed in this opinion, because in some of them there is the mint-master stamping the money, with TASCIA, which among the Britons signifies a tribute-penny. Not but I grant that afterwards these came into common use. Nor can I reconcile myself to the judgment of those who would have a hog, a horse, an ear, a Janus, &c. be the arms of particular people, or prince; since we find even in those that one and the same prince and people used several of these arms, as Cunobilin stamped upon his coins a hog, a horse, an ear, and other things.

But whether this tribute-money was coined by the Romans, or their provincials, or their kings, when the whole world was taxed by Augustus, I cannot easily tell. One may guess them to have been stamped by the British kings, since Britain, from the times of Julius Caesar to those of Claudius, lived under its own laws, and was left to its own kings; and since they have on them the effigies and titles of British princes. For 'twas a received custom among the Romans, to have kings as instruments of slavery; who, as they were in some measure the allies of the Romans, by degrees (as is usual for the conquered) were inured to their customs, and seem to have begun to coin their money by the Roman methods, and weights; as also to write their own name upon it. But a contrary instance we find in Judaea, gathered from our saviour's answer; that they had Caesar's image and superscription, and were probably coined by the Romans. Which Cardinal C. Baronius, a most admirable ecclesiastical historian, tells us in these words: *It was a custom among the Romans, that money should be coined by Emperors according to the tribute or tax, and should not always keep the same standard; but, by a proportion to the increase or decrease of tributes, it herein differed from common money, that this had always the same value, but the tax or tribute-money was altered according to the different quality of the tribute. Though some learned men do not close with Baronius in this point.*

Additions to Mr. Camden, concerning British coins.

By Mr. Walker.

Table I.

Before we come to the particulars, I desire to premise in general,

I. That we find very little mention of the Britons, or their affairs, till Julius Caesar; who left a brief but material description of the country and people, their manners and customs, particularly concerning their traffic, and the great instrument of it, money: which, he saith, was not coin, but rings and pieces of brass and iron, delivered out by weight; as it was also in the beginning at Rome. So that they had no mark upon their metals of exchange; which seems somewhat odd, seeing that the invention is so easy, ready, and useful for human conversation. But especially, since in Abraham's time coined or stamped money was current amongst merchants, and called by a particular name, *shekel*, taken (it may be) from the weight of it. And Jacob is said to have given or paid to Hemor, father of Sichem, for a part of a field, *centum agnos*; which is interpreted, not lambs, but *pretio argenti*; commonly explained, *centum probatos nummos*.^{<52>} This ignorance, I say, is strange; except we affirm the transmigration of the predecessors of the Britons, to have been before Abraham's time, from the northern parts of Asia, not so well civilized as the eastern; where coin seems to have been anciently, even before Abraham, the current instrument of traffic. Long before Caesar's time, Polybius tells us, that these islands were frequented both by Greeks and Phoenicians, trading for tin and other commodities. But it seems those crafty people were careful to conceal from these generally accounted heavy northern nations, the value and usefulness of money.

II. The coins I have seen of the Britons, for the most part are neither gold nor good silver, but of mixed metals; and those compositions very different, and not as yet by any, that I know, endeavoured to be discovered: perhaps, since the quantities of them are so small, and their value taken from the fairness of their impression. Nor can we give any certain account of their weight, because we have very few of one stamp, or perfect; and some of them also may be probably thought counterfeited.

III. The coins of the Britons are not unlike those of the ancient Gauls; as those of our Saxons, to those of the first race of the kings of the Franks, who settled in France near the time that the Saxons invaded Britain: concerning which a farther account shall be given by and by. But in this we find the Saxons (as the English after them,) to differ both from the Gauls and Franks; that they did not so often change the weight or value of their coins, much less raised and decried the same piece, according to the pleasure or necessities of the prince. An action, lawful indeed; but, without very great caution, detrimental and prejudicial to the subject. But in this, themselves confess the English to understand their interest better than the French.

IV. I can hardly satisfy myself, why we have so many coins of Cunobeline, and so few of other princes more famous, at least in Roman story; (for of British historians, we have none certainly ancients than Gildas; and he only speaks of those near or of his own time.) But we have nothing of Caratacus, Arviragus, &c. but conjectural. Some of those of Cunobeline, I know, are modern; perhaps also *cuno*, signifying (as Camden observes) a prince, may be applied (especially since many coins have no more than *Cuno*,) to divers princes, and is added to the end of the

names of several, mentioned in Gildas: perhaps also he reigned a long time. But the best reason seems to be, either because he lived some while at Rome; or that London was then a famous city for trade; and therefore had both more money, and better preserved.

Remarks upon Mr. Camden's conjectures.

These eighteen first described, are in Mr. Camden; those which follow, are partly out of Speed's history, partly from other friends.

1. I am not satisfied in the first of Mr. Camden. If it be a Janus, I had rather apply it to the shutting of Janus's temple by Augustus; in whose time Cunobeline lived at Rome; and both himself and the Britons were benefited by that general peace. But I fear, that is not the head of Janus; for the faces upon his temple and coins were divers, one old, the other young; but this seems made for two young women's faces, whether Cunobeline's wives, sisters, or children, I know not.

3. To the third; I conceive the horse was so frequently stamped upon their coins, because of their extraordinary goodness in this country. The like is upon divers cities and provinces in Gallia. Or to show, that they were, in their own opinion, excellent horsemen. The boar also, and bull, were emblems of strength, courage, and fierceness: and I find that anciently the Romans used for their ensigns, horses, wolves, boars, &c. till Caius Marius's third consulship, who then first ordained the eagle only to be the standing ensign of the legions: as Trajan, after the Dacian war, set up dragons for ensigns of the cohorts.

6. In the sixth, the horse seems fastened by one fore and the opposite hinder-foot, to some weight; as if it signified the invention of one of their princes, to teach them some pace or motion. The wheel under him, amongst the Romans, intimated the making of an highway for carts. So many of which being in the Roman time made in this country, well deserved such a memorial.

7. The seventh, *Novanei*, seems to be the same with the two and twentieth, wherein is TASCII NOVANIT, some unknown city in the dominion of Cunobeline. Reverse, a hog and wolf concorporated.

9. The ninth Speed thinks probably to be Caractacus, the valiant and renowned King of the Silures. The Britons called him Caradauc, and gave him the epithets *uric fras, forti brachia*.^{<53>} But others read it *epatica*;^{<54>} which may keep its native signification, since we find parsley, the palm, vine, myrtle, cynoglossum, laserpitium, and other plants, sometimes figured, sometimes only named upon coins; as you may find in Spanhemius.^{<55>}

10. COM in the tenth, I cannot conceive to have been Comius, made by Caesar King of the Atrebates, (Arras;) because he seems not to have had any power in Britain, where the greatest part of his stay was in prison; and at his return into his own country he headed a rebellion against the Romans. Besides, in other coins it is COMM. Which either signifies some city, or other community, to have coined it; or to have been stamped in the time of Commodus Emperor. For I cannot think it signified COMMORVS, by Greg. Turon. or Venant. Fortunatus named Duke of Britannia Armorica. A.D. 550.

13. The thirteenth, an octagon, seems to have been of a Christian prince; for by it the Christians anciently figured the font for baptism. In Gruter's inscriptions, are verses of St. Ambrose, upon the font of St. Tecla.

*Octogonus fons est munere dignus eo.
Hoc numero decuit sacri baptismatis aulam
Surgere, quo populo vera salus rediit.*

"The font is an octogon, a figure (or number) worthy of that function. It behoved the place (or court) of holy baptism to be raised in this number; by which true salvation is restored to the people."

And it is a common observation, that as six was the number of Antichrist, so eight, of true Christianity.

14. The fourteenth seems to be a wolf and boar, 2 fierce beasts joined together, and the head of a town or city, VANO CIVIT. Mr. Speed applies it to Venutius, a valiant King of the Brigantes, married to Cartismandua, who betrayed the noble and gallant Caractacus.

15. In the fifteenth, one letter seems to be misplaced. Durnacum was the city Tournai; and the head is as they usually decipher cities.

16. The sixteenth, with a woman's head, ORCETI, if truly spelt, is the name also of some city unknown to us.

Conjectures upon the coins added.

19. The nineteenth is in Mr. Speed, but the letters ill wrought and placed: he reads it *Casibelan*, the first general of the Britons against the Romans. His country seems to have been North of the Thames, and to have comprehended part of Hertford and Buckingham shires. Yet he conquered the chief city of Imanuentius, whom he slew, and whose son Mandubratius fled to Caesar in France, and brought him hither. See more of him in tab. II, 4.

20. The twentieth is of Cunobeline, son of Theomantius, nephew to Casibelan; by the British writers called Kymboline. The head seems to be of a woman. On the reverse, a sphinx, a figure so acceptable to Augustus, that he engraved it upon his seal. Wherefore it may be, it was placed upon this coin, to please Emperor, a more than ordinary friend to Cunobeline, who was declared a friend to the Romans; and is said to have lived many years in Rome.

23. In the twenty-third seems to be the head of a city; inscription VANIT. Seems to be the same with VANOC. Co. 8.

24. The twenty-fourth seems not the head of a person, but of a place, probably Camalodunum, when Christian.

25. The twenty-fifth, Arivogius, is, both by Speed and Archbishop Usher, thought to be Arviragus; of whom more co. 27. Ononus I understand not.

26. The twenty-sixth is probably of Cartismandua, Q. of the Brigantes, whereof Caledonia was one part. A woman infamous for betraying the warlike Caractacus into the hands of the Romans; and for abusing her valiant husband Venutius.

27. The twenty-seventh, a crowned head, with many strings of pearls about it, is thought to be Arviragus. I wish there were more than bare conjectures for it. For I do not find that Arviragus was a Christian, as this coin declares, there being a cross and a string of pearls about it; an ordinary ornament of the cross in the first peaceable times of the church. Harding, I think, is the only author who affirms him a Christian: but 'Tis generally said, *erga religionem Christianam bene affectus*, <56> and that he gave to the first preachers of Glastonbury so many hides<78> of land, as helped much to maintain them. And Gildas saith, that it was well known that the Christian religion was brought into Britain in the latter end of Tiberius's time. He lived in great reputation in Domitian's time, whose flatterers, upon some prodigies appearing, foretold him of some great good fortune to him, as that Arviragus should be thrown down from his chariot.

29. The twenty-ninth Dr. Plot, who hath published these three, thinks to be Prasutagus and Boadicea; but I see no resemblance of one or more faces. I rather imagine it to be some fortification.

31. The one and thirtieth was put into my hands, as belonging to York; in Antoninus and ancient authors, written Eburacum. But I take it to be a Gallic coin, and to signify either the Ebuovices, or rather Eburones, which were inhabitants of the country of Liege. The head seems to be of a city, rather than, as Bouterove thinks, of Ambiorix, Cotivulcus, or some other of their princes.

33. The three and thirtieth is also to design some city or country, it may be of the Auscii, (now Auch in Gascony) or some other unknown. It is to be noted, that after the example of the Romans, (who stamped the armed head of a young woman, probably Rome, a notable virago, who gave name to the city, with the word Roma, on one side of their coin,) other cities and countries placed also the head; yet not always helmeted, but commonly in the dress of the place where coined.

British Coins Table II.

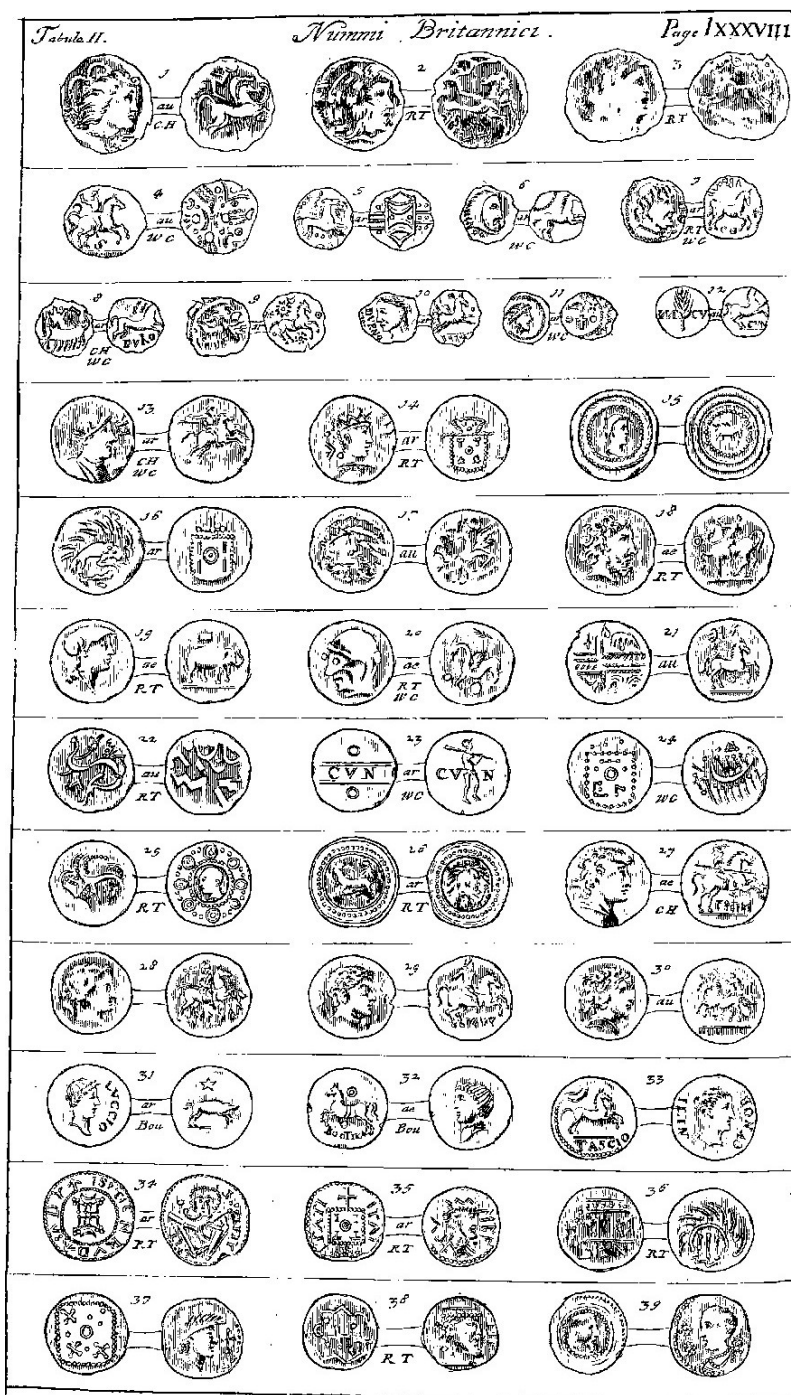


Illustration: British Coins Table II.

1. That the first was of some British prince in esteem for an holy man, I collect from the pearls about his head, set in the ancient form of a glory: as also by the hand under the horse for the reverse. Many of these British coins are adorned with pearls. I conceive the reason to be, the plenty of them in this country; so great, that Julius Caesar is said to have undertaken his expedition for obtaining them, and that at his return he dedicated a shield covered with British pearl, in the temple of Venus. In some coins of Constantine the Great, of Arcadius, Eudoxia, and others, is an hand

signifying some favourable action of providence towards them: as reaching to take Constantine into heaven: crowning Arcadius, &c. In this it may intimate the sustaining of his cavalry. This is only conjecture; since we know not the person.

2, 3. The second and third by their rugged and unhandsome looks seem to have been some of the ancient British princes; but the letters being worn out, forbid us to guess who they were.

4. The fourth is Cassivellaun, others name him Cassibelinus or Velanus, as if he were a prince of the Cassii, a people not far from the Trinobantes, part of the dominion of his brother Immanuentius, whom he slew; and deposed his son Mandubratius, who thereupon fled to Caesar, and was restored by him to his just dominion. But this action caused Mandubratius to be looked upon as an enemy and traitor to his country, and so hated, that he accompanied Caesar in all his wars; and left the kingdom to his son, or nephew, Cunobeline. His son lived in Rome with the favour of Augustus and the senate, who declared him a friend of the Romans, as is plainly intimated in that speech of the generous prince Caractacus. From these transactions we may observe, 1. That the Romans by this submission and request of Manubratius had a just cause of war against Cassivellaun, and consequently against all the Britons, who chose him their general. 2. That this conquest was exceedingly beneficial to the nation and country, which, by the Romans, acquired civility, if not humanity also, and prudent government; good husbandry too, and improvement of wealth and trade both by sea and land; and thereby prepared them for receiving the gospel. 3. That the Britons quickly apprehended these benefits and advantages; and therefore more readily embraced, and more cheerfully, than most other nations, submitted to the laws and customs of the Romans; as appears by Tacitus in the life of Agricola. And though it may be, that the doctrine of the druids, despising the heathen gods, acknowledging only one God, and rewards and punishments after death, might contribute to their embracing the gospel; yet I think that the very great courage, high generosity, and excellent parts of the people did more; being once convinced that the Roman laws and government was better than their own.

5. Of the fifth the letters are too imperfect: if the reverse be not a pavilion, or seat of state, I know not what it is.

6. The sixth seems to be a visor, the letters now not visible: or it might be ill-made in imitation of Commodus, usually set forth with his head wrapped in a lion's skin, feigning himself to be Hercules.

7. The seventh is a British, rough, uncombed head; the letters are vanished. Those above the horse on the reverse seem to be set the avers way, from the right to the left hand.

8. The eighth, as likewise the twenty fourth and thirty sixth, seem to be a ship or galley with oars. Vid. Mons. Bouterove in Clothaire, A.D. 511. The figure is better there expressed than in ours. It was coined by a Christian prince or city; because all of them are adorned with crosses, either upon the stern or yards. St. Augustine, *de diversis* Ser. 22, saith: *It is necessary for us to be in the ship, and to be carried in the wood that can pass through the sea of this world.* This wood is the cross of our Lord. St. Paulinus seems to refer it to the yards; *et rate amata titulo salutis.*<57> St. Chrysostom rather to the stern, *Crux navigantium gubernaculum.*<58> The same doth Ephr. Syrus. Upon divers coins of the Roman Emperors is a stern joined to a globe; as if they steered the whole world. On the reverse is *duro*, which I question not was

Durobernia or Canterbury, now the chief seat of the great Archbishop and primate of the nation.

9. The ninth is an horse, under the sun and moon: whether it signified (according to their opinion) that beast to be chiefly subject to those planets; or, that next the sun and moon, the chiefest benefit they reaped was from the horse, or any other imagination, I am ignorant.

10. The tenth is an head, and I think, foreign, and not British; most of those being without ornament, but this hath a crown or garland. And what if Dubno should be mistaken for Dumnorix, or some other prince unknown to us.

11. The eleventh hath an head with a diadem of two rows of pearls; perhaps for some of the oriental Emperors and not unlikely of Constantine the Great, both for the goodness of the face, and his being one of the first who carried that sort of diadem. He may well be placed here, as being born of a British lady. The reverse is a dove hovering over a cross, an emblem not unusual in the first times of Christianity; intimating, that the cross is made beneficial unto us by the Holy Spirit. Masseius and os||Orius testify, that the Christians at their first coming to Meliapor (the city of St. Thomas) found such a one there engraved in stone in his own time, as was verily believed. The like is reported by Bosius in the vault of St. John Lateran; and by Chiffletius upon an altarstone in Besançon.

12. The twelfth of Cunobeline: the letters upon the reverse begin the name of some place, but what I know not.

13. The thirteenth, by the letters BR, seems to be the head of Britannia, as there were many the like of Rome and other places: the reverse is also, according to many Roman coins, a man on horseback, as in that exercise they called *decursio*.

14. The fourteenth seems a woman's head with a crown; the letters worn out. On the reverse, compared with the sixteenth, twenty-fourth, and thirty-fifth, seems to be inscribed some sacred vessel or utensil.

15, 16, 18. The fifteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth, having no inscriptions, are to us unintelligible. The sixteenth seems an ill-shapen galley with the keel upwards.

19. The nineteenth seems to be the head of some town or country: some say, that Julius Caesar, but 'Tis more certain, that Claudius brought one or more elephants into Britain against their enemies.

20. The twentieth hath an head covered with an antique sort of helmet. The reverse seems an ill-fashioned gryphon. It is somewhat strange that those fond kind of imaginations should have lasted so long, and in these remote parts of the world.

21. Concerning the twenty-first, vid. Table. 1. Coin. 29. What it, or the twenty-second signifies, I cannot imagine.

23. The twenty-third seems the figure of an ordinary British foot-soldier, armed with a head-piece and armour down to his thighs; and a club upon his shoulder.

24, 25. The twenty-fourth hath a galley with a cross upon the stern, yet not at the handle of the stern, being upon the wrong side of it. Vid. Coin 8. The letters I understand not, as neither the reverse. The twenty-fifth also is utterly unknown.

26. The twenty-sixth seems to be the head of some of the Gothic kings of Spain; the like being found in Ant. Augustinus, and Monsieur Le Blanc. On the reverse is a kind of dragon, seen also upon the Greek and Gallic coins, as well as British. Such a one as this is by Monsieur Le Blanc described for Childebert's.

27. The twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth, having runic inscriptions, might probably be made for some of the kings of Cumberland, in which county are still extant some runic monuments.

30. The thirtieth hath an head, which I would gladly believe to be of Arviragus; because on the reverse is an *essedarius* or *covinarius*, a fighter upon a chariot, with his dart or like weapon, in one hand, and his quiver of arrows at his back. A kind of fight, which was strange to Julius Caesar, and forced him to turn his back.

Territa quaesitis ostendit terga Britannis.
Great Caesar flies, the Britons he had sought.

So terrible was it to the Romans, that his flatterers upon some imagined prodigy, took it to be an omen of the overthrow of Arviragus, a very courageous and warlike prince. *de temone Britanno excidet Arviragus.*<59>

31. The thirty first is, in the learned Monsieur Bouterove's judgment (from whom it is copied) supposed to be King Lucius, the first Christian King of Britain. The truth of whose story is largely discoursed by Archbishop Usher in his *Primord. Eccles. Britan.* where he seems to say, that it is confirmed by all historians, that King Lucius, King in Britain, was the first Christian King in the world. Which also seems strongly confirmed by what he saith, that the Scots beyond the wall, under Victor I, immediate successor to Evaristus (under whom Lucius was converted) received also the Christian faith. But that there is some difference about the time when King Lucius lived, but greater about what part of Britain he reigned in. As likewise concerning his resigning the kingdom, and going to preach the gospel in Bavaria, and being martyred near Coire, in the Grisons country, then called Rhaetia.

32. The thirty-second also is out of Monsieur Bouterove, who rationally thinks it to be the head of Boadicea, wife to Prasutagus King of Norfolk and Suffolk, &c., woman of prodigious wit and courage. Gildas calls her Leonam Dolosam, the crafty or deceitful lionness. She slew 80000 of the Romans, destroyed their chief city and colony, Cumalodunum; Verulamium also, and some say London. She slew the ninth legion; but being overcome by Paulinus, she either died for grief, as some say; or by poison, as others.

33. The thirty-third is easily intelligible.

34. The thirty-fourth is explained in the description of Westmorland. "It was, saith Mr. Thoresby, part of the Cabinet of the old Lord Fairfax (the General;) of whose executors it was purchased, with the rest of his Medals, by Mr. John Thoresby of Leeds, in whose Museum it now remains, and is the principal glory of it. For tho' there be some runic inscriptions yet remaining upon rocks, and some very antique monuments, this is the only piece of money (whether ever designed to be current, or preferred as an amulet, I pretend not to determine) with an intelligible runic inscription, in any collection in Europe."

35. The reverse of the thirty-fifth seems to be a tabernacle, or some such holy vessel, standing upon a foot, and having a cross upon the top. I understand it not; nor

any of the rest, being all ancient runic characters: nor doth it appear whether they belong to this country, or to Spain. The runic characters anciently were the writing of the Visi, or Western Goths, who lived in Denmark, Norway, Jutland, &c. For the Ostro, or Eastern Goths of Sweden, and those countries, swarmed and conquered eastward in and towards Asia: who, though they seem to have had the same language with the Visigoths, yet had a different character; framed as it seems from the Greek, some say by Ulphilas their bishop, near or upon the Black-Sea; and it is still preserved in the copy of the gospels translated into that language by him: and is for the most part still extant in that they call the Codex Argenteus, being wholly written in silver letters, reserved with great and deserved veneration in Sweden: but transcribed and printed by the very worthy and learned person Mr. Franc. Junius, the younger. But the Visigoths seem to be those who came westward; who conquered part of Italy, and of France; all Spain, and part of Africa; where they reigned in great splendor many years, till the invasion of the Moors. They also acquired the northern parts of Britain, keeping (as it seemeth) their ancient runic characters. And though most of the ancient runic coins I have seen either in Ant. Augustinus, Paruta, or Lastannoza's book *de Las Monedas Desconocidas*; yet I have only set down those which are new to me, and which being sent by that very courteous, intelligent, and diligent antiquary, Mr. Ralph Thoresby of Leeds in Yorkshire, I conceive rather belong to those of Northumberland, Cumberland, &c.

Notes upon the Roman coins.

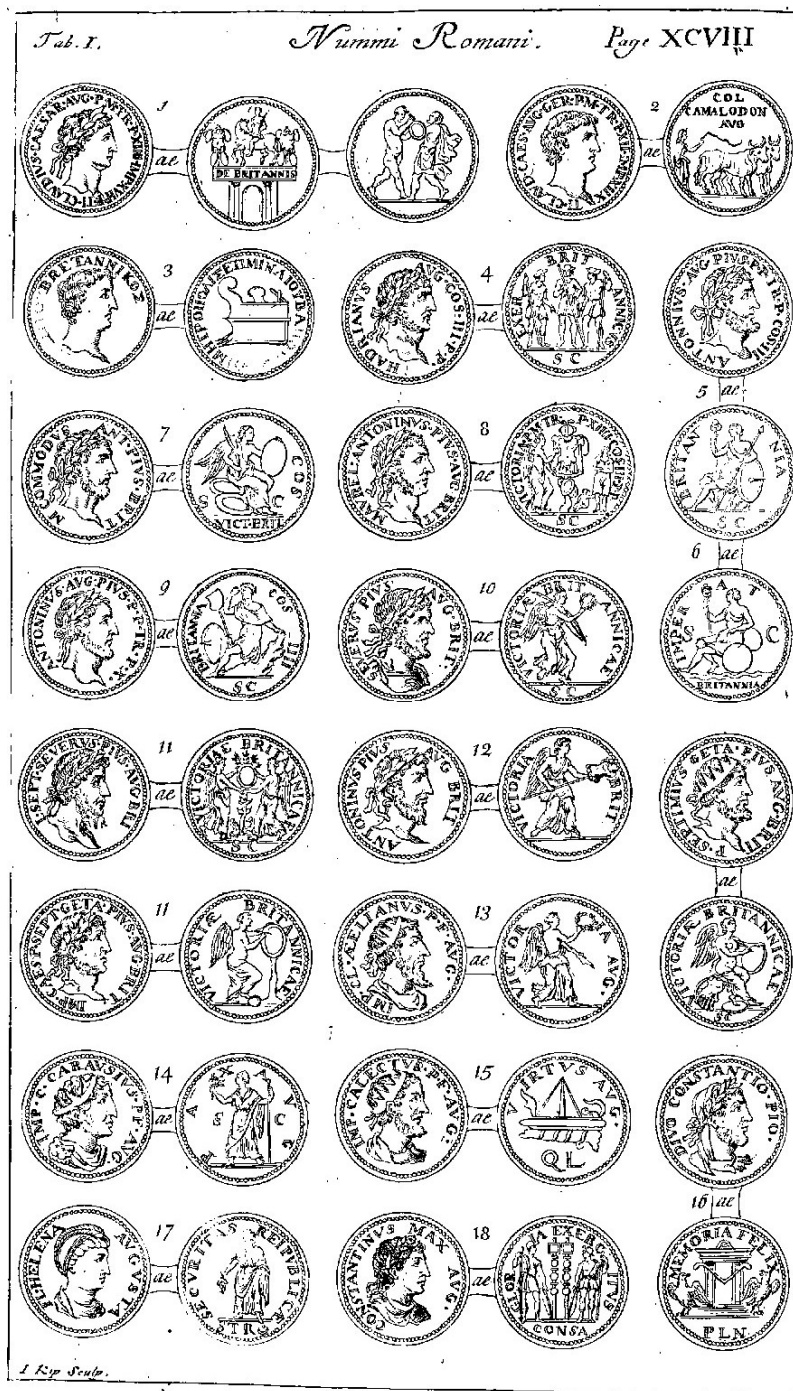


Illustration: Roman Coins Table I.

1. The first of the Romans after Julius Caesar, that resolved to subdue Britain in earnest, was Claudius; who shipping over his army, reduced the South part into the form of a province. And about that time, this first piece of money, with an abbreviated inscription, seems to have been coined: TI. CLAVD. CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. P. VIII. IMP. XVI. i.e. *Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia Potestate 9. Imperator 16.* To explain these titles once for all. After Julius Caesar, who laid the foundation of the Roman monarchy, all his successors in honour

of him assumed the titles of Caesar or Augustus; as if they were above the pitch of human nature, (for things that are sacred we call *august*;) that also of *Pontifices Maximi* or high-priests, because they were consecrated in all the kinds of priesthood, and had the oversight of all religious ceremonies: they usurped likewise the tribunitian power (but would not by any means be called tribunes,) that they might be inviolable. For, by virtue of this authority, if anyone gave them ill language, or offered them any violence, he was to be put to death without a hearing, as a sacrilegious person. They renewed this tribunitian power every year, and by it computed the years of their reign. At last they were called Emperors, because their empire was most large and ample, and under that name was couched both the power of kings and dictators, and they were styled Emperors, as often as they did anything very honourable either in person, or by their generals. But, since in the reverse of this coin there is a triumphal arch, with a man on horseback between two trophies, and the title DE BRITAN; I should imagine, that in the 9th year of Claudius (for so I reckon from the tribunitian power) there were two victories [over the Britons.]

2. In the second coin (which is also one of Claudius Augustus) by this inscription, TI. CLAVD. CAES. AVG. GER. TR. P. XII. IMP. XIIX. we learn that in the twelfth year of his reign, after he had been successful in Britain, he was saluted Emperor the eighteenth time; and the ploughman with a cow and a bull inform us that at the same time a colony was placed in Camalodunum. *The Romans* (says Servius) *clad after the Gabine fashion, (i.e. with part of their gown covering their head, and the other part tucked up,) when they had a design to build a city, yoked on the right hand a bull, with a cow on the inner side, and in that habit held the crooked plough-tail so as to make all the earth fall inwards. By thus drawing a furrow, they marked out the track of the walls, lifting up the plough where the place of the gates was to be.*

3. The son of Claudius (whose coin is with Greek characters) was by a decree of the senate honoured with the surname of BRITANNICVS to use as peculiar to himself; upon the account of his father's success. He it was for whom Seneca prayed, *that he might quiet Germany, make an inroad into Britain, and maintain his father's triumphs with new ones of his own.* But what then must be the meaning of that half ship with an inscription to this sense, *the metropolis of King Etiminius?* Well, truly who this Etiminius should be, does not appear to me; unless one should imagine him to be that Adiminius, Cunobeline's son, who (as Suetonius says) took protection under C. Caligula.

4. The fourth coin, which is Hadrian's, with this inscription, HADRIANVS AVG. CONSVL III. PATER PATRIAE; and on the reverse EXERCITVS BRITANNICVS (or the British army) represented by three soldiers; I should imagine to point out the three legions that served in Britain in the year of Christ 120 (for then he was third consul,) namely, the *Secunda Augusta*, the *Sexta Victrix*, and the *Vicesima Victrix*.

5, 6, 9. The fifth and sixth (both of Antoninus Pius) with this inscription, ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS. P. P. TR. P. COS. III. and on the reverse of the one, Britain sitting on the rocks, with a military ensign, a spear, and a shield; but on that of the other, the same Britain sitting upon a globe. These seem to have been stamped by the British province, in honour of Antoninus Pius, at his coming to the empire, in the year of Christ 140. The military habit of the province of Britain, assures us, that at that time it flourished in military discipline. So the money coined by Italy in honour of him, upon this occasion, has such a figure sitting upon a globe, with a cornucopia, to

signify plenty of all things: that by Sicily, has the figure, with ears of corn, to denote fruitfulness and that by Mauretania, a person holding two spears with an horse, to imply the peculiar glory of that province in cavalry. And hither also is to be referred the ninth, which is the same Antoninus's, but not put in its proper place.

The 7th (which is Commodus's) only teaches us, that upon the account of a victory over the Britons, he took the name of Britannicus. For on the reverse, we see victory with a branch of a palm-tree holding a shield, and leaning upon the shields of the conquered Britons, with this inscription, VICTORIA BRITANNICA.

8. The 8th (which is Caracalla's, but is not put in its proper place) plainly shows by the numerals that he conquered the enemy in Britain in the year of our Lord 214. As also by the trophy, which Virgil in these verses has described more lively than the best engraver can possibly do.

*Ingentem quercum decisis undique ramis
Constituit tumulo, fulgentiaque induit arma
Mezenti ducis exuvias, tibi magne tropheum
Bellipotens: aptat roranteis sanguine cristas,
Telaque trunca viri.*

And first he lopped an oak's great branches round,
The trunk he fastened in a rising ground.
And here he fixed the shining armor on,
The mighty spoil from proud Mezentius won.
The crest was placed above that dropped with blood,
A grateful trophy to the warlike God;
And shattered spears stuck round.

12. The same inference is to be made from the 12th, which is the same Caracalla's.

10, 11. In those of Severus and Geta, there is no difficulty.

13. Who this Aelian was, does not yet appear. Some reckon him to be A. Pomponius Aelianus among the 30 tyrants. Others make him Cl. Aelianus among the six tyrants under Diocletian. And some there are who think that this was the very tyrant in Britain, under Probus Emperor, whom Zosimus mentions without telling us his name, and of whom we have spoken before. But at what time soever it was, I am altogether of opinion that he was called Augustus in Britain, because his coins are found only in our island, with this inscription, IMPERATOR CL. AELIANVS PIVS FOELIX AVGVSTVS. On the reverse, VICTORIA AVGVSTI, which hints that he subdued some barbarians or other.

14. The coin of Carausius, with this inscription, IMPERATOR CAIVS CARAVSIVS PIVS FOELIX AVGVSTVS, and on the reverse, PAX AVGVSTI, seems to have been stamped after he had scoured the British sea of the pirates.

15. When Allectus (who made away Carausius) had usurped the government, and behaved himself stoutly against the barbarians, he stamped this coin, with the inscription, VIRTVS AVGVSTI. By the letters Q.L. some would have meant Quartarius coined at London; others, a quaestor or treasurer of London.

16. After Constantius Chlorus had ended his days at York, and was solemnly deified, this money was coined in honour and memory of him, as appears by the

inscription, and the temple between two eagles. The letters underneath, P. LON. show that the money was stamped at London.

17. His wife, Flavia Helena, a lady of British birth (as our histories tell us, and that excellent historian Baronius confirms) after her son Constantine the Great had routed the tyrant Maxentius, and having secured the commonwealth, received the titles, *Fundator Quietis*, founder of peace; and *Liberator Orbis*, deliverer of the world: she also had this money coined, in honour of her, at Triers, as appears by the letters S. TR. i.e. *Signata Treviris*, stamped at Triers.

18. Fl. Constantinus Maximus Augustus, that great ornament of Britain, coined this at Constantinople, (as appears by the letters underneath, CONS.) with the inscription of GLORIA EXERCITVS; to ingratiate himself with the army, who in that age had the disposal of the empire, and not the Emperor.

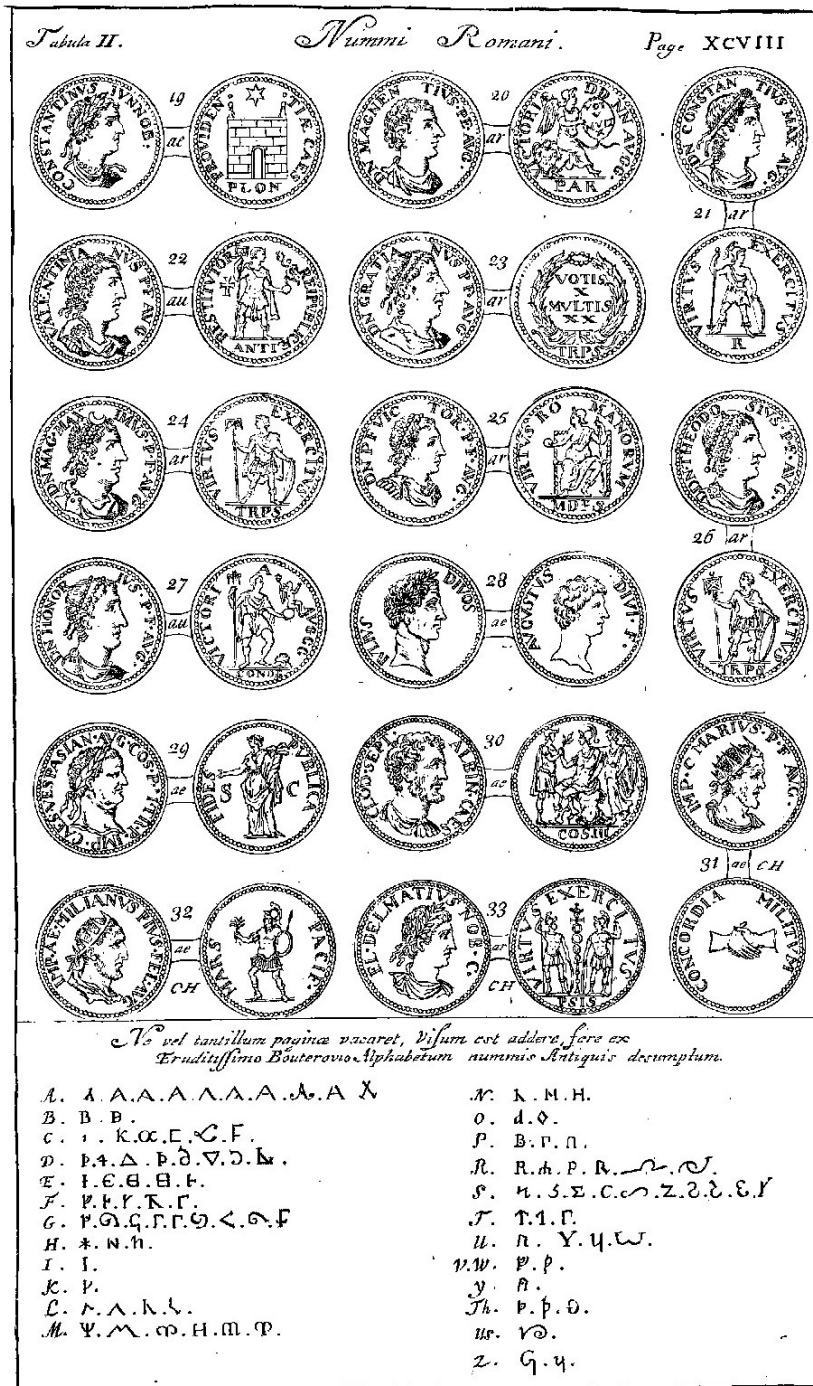


Illustration: Roman Coins Table II. <60>

19. Constantinus Junior, son of Constantine the Great, (to whose share Britain fell among other countries) stamped this coin while his father was living. For he is only styled Nobilis Caesar, a name that was wont to be given to the heirs apparent of the empire. We may gather, from the building, and PROVIDENTIAE CAES. that he and his brother built some public work; and from P. LON. that it was coined at London.

20. This coin, inscribed DOMINUS NOSTER MAGNENTIUS PIUS FOELIX AUGUSTUS, seems to have been stamped by Magnentius (whose father was a Briton) and designed to ingratiate himself with Constantius, after he had conquered some public enemy. For the characters DD. NN. AVGG. i.e. *Domini nostri Augusti*, intimate that there were then two *augusti*, or Emperors. The words VOTIS V. MVLTIS X. witness that the people then solemnly prayed, that Emperor might flourish five years, and multiplying that number, with lucky acclamations unanimously wished him many ten years. And this is farther made out by that passage in Nazari the Panegyrist, *The quinquennial feasts of the blessed and happy Caesars possess all hearts with abundance of joy; but in the appointed revolutions of ten years, our eager vows and swift hopes are at a stand.* The letters P. AR. show this denarius to have been stamped at Arles.

21. Constantius, after he had defeated Magnentius, and recovered Britain, had this coined in honour of the army. The R. in the basis possibly shows that it came out of the mint at Rome.

22. This coin (stamped at Antioch, as appears by these small letters underneath) was made in honour of Valentinian, after he had reduced Britain from its decaying condition, and called that part he had recovered, from his own name Valentia.

23. To this coin of Gratian's I have nothing to say, but what I just now observed upon that of Magnentius.

24, 25, 26. When Magnus Maximus was created Emperor by the army in Britain, as also his son Flavius Victor; this money was coined in compliment and honour to the soldiers: and Theodosius, after he had dispatched them, stamped that with the inscription, VIRTUTE EXERCITVS, upon the very same account.

27. In that golden coin of Honorius, there is nothing observable, but that from AVGGG. we infer that there were then three Augusti, or Emperors; which was after the year 420, when Honorius was Emperor in the West, Theodosius Junior in the East, and along with them Constantius (who had conquered that Constantine, elected upon account of his name,) made Emperor by Honorius. As for that CONOB, it shows it to be pure gold, stamped at Constantinople. For, as far as my observation has carried me, I never met with CONOB. in any coins but golden ones.

I could add a great many more Roman coins, (for there are prodigious quantities every day found through this kingdom, in the ruins of old demolished cities, in the treasure coffers or vaults hidden in that age, and in the funeral urns.) But I was very much surprised how such great abundance should remain to this day, till I had read that melting down of ancient money was prohibited by the imperial constitutions.

Having now represented those ancient coins (British and Roman) in their proper forms; I cannot but think it the reader's interest to insert here a chorographical table of Britain, (when a Roman province) with the ancient names. Not that I promise to make it complete; for who can pretend to that? But such a one, as, if you learn nothing else from it, will at least teach you this, that there are continual changes in this world, new foundations of cities laid, new names of nations trumped up, and old ones rejected. So that (as the poet says.)

*Non indignemur mortalia corpora solvi,
Cernimus exemplis oppida posse mori.*

Vain mortals, ne'er repine at heaven's decree,
When sad examples show that towns themselves can die.

Additions to Mr. Camden, concerning Roman coins.

By Mr. Walker.

1. Imperator, at first was an appellation of honour given by the soldiers to their commander, that had obtained a great victory over the enemies; but afterwards it was a title given to the chief general of their armies, as all Emperors were.

The tribunes also of the people were accounted sacred persons, and therefore might safely accuse any man to the people. They were always of plebeian families; but Emperors being Pontifices Maximi were patrician. And therefore that their power might be uncontrollable, not being capable of the tribuneship, they obtained to have *tribunitiam potestatem*, i.e. all the power of a tribune; which was also conferred upon them every year, or as often as they desired it. Sometimes they refused it, and sometimes they conferred it on one of their confidants; and sometimes for five years. So that it is not true, which most of the medal writers, and Camden amongst them, say, that the number of the *tribunitia potestas* was the number of their reigns. See the book of coins and medals in Augustus.

2. I have added the second, a Briton naked, fighting with a man, armed with sword and buckler; out of the judgment of divers learned men, though I have not seen any with such inscription.

3. In the third is expressed the manner how the Romans settled the countries they conquered: which was by planting strong colonies of Romans in places convenient; whereby they both kept the conquered in peace, and entered into conversation and business with them by introducing frugality, husbandry, trading, &c.

7. To the seventh, Commodus was by his flatterers called Britannicus; whereas the Britons either endeavoured or actually chose another Emperor.

9, 10. The ninth, tenth, &c. are added; because, though those contain nothing upon them expressly concerning Britain, yet Julius Caesar was the first that discovered, and made some small progress in reducing the nation. No mention of this is on his coins, because then he was not supreme, but acted as a general commissioned by the senate; and the power of putting his image upon coins was not given him till afterwards, and till he had obtained the supreme power. The reverse of this is Augustus; because under him the Britons lived in peace and liberty; probably secured by Cunobelinus, who (as we said before) lived at Rome in his time.

11. The eleventh is of Vespasian, who contributed more than any other to the conquest of Britain; and by his valour and success there, obtained that glory, which brought with it the empire.

12. The twelfth is of Decimus Clodius Albinus, a great gourmand, but a good justicer, a valiant and expert soldier. He was a noble Roman, but born at Adrumetum. Commodus would have made him Caesar, I suppose because he was accounted of a gladiatorian humor also; but he refused it, yet accepted it from Severus. When Severus went against Pescennius Niger, to keep him quiet in Britain, where he commanded the legions, he named him Caesar, and Sophinius; and a little after, partaker or companion in the empire. But Pescennius being overcome, he went

straight against Albinus; who hearing of it, met him with his British legions in arms; where divers sore battles were fought with various success. Till at Lyons, Albinus was, by the treachery of some of his officers, vanquished, sorely wounded, and basely and unworthily used by Severus; who cut off his head, sending it to Rome, where it was set upon the public gallows, and his body left in the Praetorium till it stunk, and was torn by dogs. It appears by divers of his coins, that he was also Augustus, but not long before his death.

13. The thirteenth is of M. Aurelius Marius, placed here, because some say that he was born in Britain: at first a smith, but being afterwards a soldier, got by his prodigious strength and valour, after Posthumus's death, to be chosen Emperor. Some say, that he reigned but three days; but by his many coins, it appears that he reigned longer, both in Britain and Gaul. The soldier that killed him, upbraided him, that it was with a sword which himself had made.

14. The fourteenth. I had here placed Bonosus, a Briton, son of a rhetorician, a very valiant warlike man, and the greatest drinker of his age. He commanded Rhaetia, (the Grisons country) and the confines of the Roman Empire towards the Germans: and having lost the fleet upon the Rhine left in his charge, for fear of punishment he rebelled, and declared himself Augustus. Probus, after a great battle, took and hanged the usurper. In his stead therefore I have taken the coin of Aemilianus, being very rare, because I could find neither in metal or writing anyone of Bonosus.

15. The fifteenth, being a rare coin of Delmatius, I have described, though not so nearly related to Britain, being son to the brother of Constantine the Great, chiefly to fill up a void place.

16. To the sixteenth, I find one Aelianus chosen Emperor by the army of Lollianus, after they had slain him at Mainz.

17. To the seventeenth, C. Carausius was a man of very mean birth; but by his parts, courage and industry, together with the money he had got from the pirates, (never restoring what he took, either to Emperor, or the persons robbed) advanced to that high degree. He was of Menapia, but (as it seems) not that in Gallia, but in Ireland.

As also, because Roman coins are so well known, and very few more than what are here described, concerning Britain; for the better understanding of coins, as of the Franks, British, and Saxon; I thought it not amiss to insert an alphabet of such letters as are usually found upon them. Some I have omitted, because I did not know them. The first alphabet is of the runic, which also hath some part in most of the rest.

The Destruction of Britain.

The Romans having now withdrawn their forces, and abandoned Britain, the whole frame of affairs fell into disorder and misery; barbarians invading it on one hand, and the inhabitants breaking out into factions on the other; whilst each one was for usurping the government to himself. *They lived* (says Nennius) *about forty years together in consternation. For Vortigern, who then reigned, was apprehensive of the Picts and Scots, and of some attacks from those Romans who remained here. He was also fearful of Ambrosius Aurelius or Aurelianus, who still survived that hot engagement, wherein his parents, then governors, were cut off. Upon this, Vortigern sends for the Saxons out of Germany to his assistance; Who instead of auxiliaries, turned most cruel enemies, and after the several events of many battles, dispossessed the poor Britons of the most fruitful parts of the country, their ancient inheritance.*

But this woful destruction of Britain, shall be represented (or rather deplored) to you in the melancholy words of Gildas the Briton, all in tears at the thoughts of it. *The Romans being drawn home, there descend in great crowds, from the little narrow bores of their carroghes or carts, wherein they were brought over the Scythic Vale, <61> about the middle of summer, in a scorching hot season, a duskish swarm of vermin, or hideous crew of Scots and Picts, somewhat different in manners, but all alike thirsting after blood; who finding that their old confederates [the Romans] were marched home, and refused to return any more, put on greater boldness than ever, and possessed themselves of all the North, and the remote parts of the kingdom to the very wall; as if they were the right native proprietors. To withstand this invasion, the towers [along the wall] are defended by a lazy garrison, undisciplined, and too cowardly to engage an enemy; being enfeebled with continual sloth and idleness. In the meanwhile the naked enemy advance with their hooked weapons, by which the miserable Britons, pulled down from the tops of the walls, are dashed against the ground. Yet those who were destroyed after this manner, had this advantage in an untimely death, that they escaped those miserable sufferings which immediately befell their brothers and children. To be short, having quitted their cities and the high wall, they betook themselves to flight, disbanding into a more desperate and hopeless dispersion than ever. Still the enemy gave them chase; still more cruel punishments are prepared; as lambs by the bloody butcher, so were these poor creatures hewed to pieces by their enemies. So that they may justly by their stay there, be compared to herds of wild beasts. For these miserable people did not stick at robbing one another for supplies of victuals; so that inbred dissensions enhanced the misery of their foreign sufferings, and brought things to that pass, by this spoil and robbery, that meat (the support of life) was wanting in the country, and no comfort of that kind to be had, but by recourse to hunting. Again, therefore, the remaining Britons send their lamentable petitions to Aetius (a man of authority in the Roman state) after this manner:*

To Aetius, thrice consul,

The groans of the Britons.

The barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea again to the barbarians; thus bandied between two deaths, we either perish by sword or by water.

Notwithstanding, they obtain no remedy for these evils. While in the meantime famine grows more sharp and pinching to the faint and strolling Britons, who reduced to such straits by these intolerable sufferings, surrender themselves to the enemy, that they may have food to recruit their spirits. However, others would not comply, but chose rather to infest them from their mountains, caves, and braky places with continual sallies. From that time forth for many years, they made great slaughter of the enemies as they went out to forage, not relying on their own strength, but trusting in God, according to that of Philo: The help of God is certainly at hand, when man's help faileth. The boldness of our enemies gave over for some time, but the wickedness of our Britons was without end. The enemies left us, but we would not leave our vices. For it has ever been the custom of this nation (as it is now at this day,) to be feeble in repelling an enemy, but valiant in civil wars, and in carrying on a course of sin, &c. Well, these impudent Irish robbers return home, with a design to come again shortly. The Picts in the remotest part of the island, began from henceforth to be quiet, yet now and then making some spoil and ravage. In these cessations of arms, the scars of this famine began to wear out among the desolate Britons, but another more keen and virulent was sprouting up to succeed it. For during the forbearance of former ravages, the kingdom enjoyed such excessive plenty, as was never remembered in any age before; which is ever accompanied with debauchery. For it then grew to so high a pitch, that it might be truly said at that time; Here is such fornication as was never among the Gentiles. Nor was this the only prevailing sin of that age, but all other vices that can be imagined incident to human nature, especially (which also now at this day overthrow all goodness among us) a spite to truth, and the teachers of it, a fondness for lies and those that forge them, embracing evil for good, and a veneration for lewdness instead of virtue, a desire of darkness rather than light, and entertaining Satan before an angel of light. Kings were anointed not by God, but were such as were known to be more cruel than the rest; and were soon after put to death by their own anointers, without due examination of the truth, and others more fierce and cruel elected. Now if anyone of these kings seemed more mild than other, or a little more exact in his proceedings; all their malice and designs were without respect darted at him, as the subverter of Britain; and they weighed everything that offended them in the same scale; if there was odds given, it was to condemn good actions, which were most displeasing; so that the prophesy denounced of old against Israel, may fitly be applied to them, A lawless generation, ye have forsaken the Lord, and provoked to wrath the holy one of Israel; why should ye be smitten any more, still multiplying iniquity? Every head is sick, and every heart is heavy. From the sole of the foot to the crown of the head, there is no soundness in it.<62> Thus they acted quite contrary to their own safety, as if no retrieve and cure could be bestowed upon the world, by the mighty physician of us all, nor was this the demeanor only of the laity, but the clergy and pastors too, whose examples should be a guide to all others. Yet many of them were notorious for their drunkenness, having debauched themselves with wine to a perfect sottishness: or else for being swollen with pride and wilfulness, full of contention, full of gall and envy, and incompetent judges of good and evil. So that (as at this day) princes were plainly contemned and slighted, and the people seduced by their own follies into boundless errors; and so misguided. In the meantime, God intending to purge his family, and reform it from such great corruptions by the bare apprehensions of imminent sufferings; a former report is again broached, and presently flies abroad with fair notice, that now our old enemies approaching with design to destroy us, and inhabit the land, as they did formerly, from the one end to the other. Notwithstanding all this, they became not penitent, but like mad horses,

refusing (as we say) the reins of reason, run on upon the broad way of wickedness, leaving the narrow paths which lead to happiness. Wherefore (as Solomon says) when the obstinate servant is not reformed with chiding, he is whipped for a fool, and continues insensible. For a contagious plague fell so outrageously among these foolish people, and without the sword swept off such numbers of them, that the living could scarce bury the dead. But they were not yet mended by this correction; that the saying of the prophet esay might be also fulfilled in them, And God called them to sorrow and mourning, to baldness and sackcloth; but behold they fell to killing of calves, to slaying of rams: lo, they fell to eating and drinking; and said withal, let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die.<63> For the time drew near, wherein the measure of their sins, like that of the Amorites heretofore, was filled up. They took counsel together what was the most effectual and convenient course to withstand those barbarous and frequent inroads of the aforesaid nations, and how the booties which they took should be divided. Then the whole council, together with the proud tyrant, being blindly infatuated, devise this security, or rather destruction for their country; that the fierce Saxons of ever execrable memory, and detested by God and man, should be admitted into the island, like so many wolves into the sheep-fold, to defend them from the northern nations. A thing more destructive and pernicious than ever was done to this kingdom. O the mist and grossness of this sense and apprehension! O the dull and blockishness of these souls! Those, whom at a distance, they dreaded more than death, now these foolish princes of Egypt (as I may say) voluntarily invite into their own houses, giving (as 'Tis said) such mad counsel to Pharaoh.

Then that kennel of whelps issued out upon us from the den of the barbarous lioness, in three vessels, called in their language cyules, but in ours, long galleys; which with full sail, lucky omens and auguries, portended that they should hold the land whither they were then bound, for three hundred years, and that one hundred and fifty years, or one half of the said time, would be spent in frequent ravages. Having first landed in the East part of the island, by the appointment of this unfortunate tyrant, they stuck fast there, pretending to defend the country, but rather oppressed it. The foresaid lioness, being advised that her first brood had succeeded, pours in a larger herd of these devouring brutes, which arriving here, join themselves to the former spurious issue. From henceforth, the seeds of iniquity, the root of bitterness, those plagues justly due to our impieties, shoot out and grow among us with great increase. These barbarians being received into the island, obtain an allowance of provisions, pretending themselves falsely to be soldiers, and willing to undergo any hardships for the sake of the kind Britons that entertained them. These favours granted, stopped (as we may say) the cur's mouth for some time. Then they complain that their monthly pay was too little, industriously seeking any colourable cause to quarrel; declaring they would break their league, and ravage the whole island unless a more liberal maintenance was allowed them. Without more ado, they presently show they were in earnest by their following actions (for those causes which had pulled down vengeance on our former wickedness were still greater;) so that from sea to sea the country is set on fire by this profane eastern crew, who ceased not to consume all the cities and country thereabouts, till the whole surface of the island, as far as the western ocean, was burnt by these terrible flames. In this devastation, comparable to that of the Assyrians heretofore against Judah, was also fulfilled in us (according to the history) that which the prophet, by way of lamentation, says, They have burnt with fire thy sanctuary, they have polluted the tabernacle of thy name in the land.<64> And again, O God, the Gentiles are come into thy heritage, they have

defiled thy holy temple, &c.<65> *So that all the colonies were overturned with engines, and the inhabitants, together with the bishops, priests, and all the people, cut off by fire and sword together. In which miserable prospect, a man might likewise see in the streets, the ruins of towers pulled down, with their stately gates; the fragments of high walls; the sacred altars, and limbs of dead bodies, with clots and stains of blood huddled together in one mixed ruin, like a wine-press: for there was no other graves for the dead bodies, than what the fall of houses, or the bowels of beasts and fowls gave them.*

In reading these things, we ought not to be angry at honest Gildas for inveighing so keenly against the vices of his countrymen the Britons, the barbarous outrages of the Picts and Scots, and the insatiable cruelty of our Saxon ancestors. But rather being now, by engrafting or mixture for so many ages, become all of us one people, and civilized by religion and liberal arts, let us reflect upon what they were, and we ought to be; lest God likewise, for our sins transplant other nations hither, that may root us quite out, or at least enslave us to them.

Britons of Armorica.

GILDAS: *In these miserable, and most woful times, some remains of the poor Britons being found in the mountains, were there butchered in great numbers; others, pinched with famine, surrendered themselves to the enemy as their slaves for ever, provided they might not presently be put to death, which was to be taken for a very great favor. Some retired beyond sea, singing under their spread sails after a howling manner, instead of a parting song, to this purpose: Thou hast given us O Lord, as sheep to be devoured, and scattered us among the heathen. Yet others remained in their native country, though with great fear, trusting their lives to vast mountains, dreadful precipices, intrenched places, to woody forests, and rocks in the sea.* Some of those who passed beyond sea, were they without question, who to secure themselves, went in great numbers to Armorica in France, where they were received very kindly by the Armoricans. Which (not to mention a community of language, that of Armorica being almost the same with our British or Welsh, nor other authors who agree in this point) is proved by an author in the next age to it, and born in Armorica, who has writ the life of St. Wingularf the Confessor. *A race of Britons* (says he) *embarked in little vessels, were transported over the British sea to this land, a barbarous nation of the Saxons, terrible and warlike, and all of like manners, having possessed themselves of their native country. Then that dear race shut themselves within this corner, where being wore out with fatigue, they are settled in a quiet country.* Yet our historians tell us, that the Britons were long before this seated on that coast. Malmesbury says, *that Constantine the Great was saluted Emperor by his army, and ordered an expedition for the higher parts, brought away with him many British soldiers; by whose means, having obtained the empire with successful victories, he planted such of them, as had run through the full course of soldiery, in a certain part of Gaul towards the West upon the shore; where to this day their posterity are prodigiously increased, and somewhat altered in modes and language from our Britons. This was certainly an order of Constantine Emperor: let the old soldiers enter upon the vacant lands, and hold them freely for ever.* Likewise Nennius: *Maximus Emperor, who slew Gratian, would not send home the soldiers that had followed him out of Britain, but gave them many countries, from the pool above Mons Jovis, to the city called Cantguic, and to the western heap, or Cruc-Occhidient.* He that writes notes upon Nennius, adds falsely, *that the Armorican bishops beyond sea, went from hence in an expedition with Maximus the tyrant, and when they could not return, lay the western parts of France level with the ground; and taking their wives and daughters to marriage, cut out all their tongues, lest the children should speak their language. And upon this account, we call them in our language lhet vydion, i.e. half silent, because they speak confusedly.* I cannot gainsay the authority of these men; but yet am of opinion, that the children of these veterans willingly received the Britons that fled out of their own country. However, the name of Britons does not appear by the writers of that age to have been in these parts, before the Saxons came into Britain; unless those be they, whom Pliny seems to place in Picardy, and who are called Brinani in some copies. For whoever imagines with Volaterranus, from the fourth book of Strabo, that Britannia was a city of France; let him but look upon the Greek text, and he may easily learn that Strabo speaks there of *the island Britain*, and not of a city. As for that verse of Dionysius Afer, which I have already cited, some are inclined rather to understand it (as Stephanus does) of our Britons, then (as Eustathius

does) of them in Armorica, especially seeing Festus Avienus, an ancient writer, has thus rendered it:

—*cauris nimium vicina Britannis.*
Flavaque Caesariem Germania porrigit ora.
Cold Britain, placed too near the northern winds,
And yellow haired Germany her coast extends.

Nor let any man think that the Britannici mentioned in the *Notitia*, came originally from hence; who were really those troops of soldiers that were raised in our Britain.

Before the arrival of our Britons, this country was called Armorica, i.e. situated by the sea side; after that, to the same sense, in our British tongue, *llydaw*, that is, *upon the shore*; and by our Latin writers of the middle age, Letavia. And therefore I suppose them to be the Laeti which Zosimus talks of in Gaul, when he takes notice that Magnentius the tyrant was born among the Laeti there, and that his father was a Briton. These Armorici (during the reign of Constantine, who was chosen for the sake of his name; and the time the barbarians quite over-ran France, turned out the Roman garrisons) made themselves a distinct commonwealth. But Valentinian the younger, by the assistance of Aetius, and the mediation of St. Germain, reduced them. At that time Exuperantius seems to have reigned over them. Of whom, Claudius Rutilius, thus:

Cujus Aremoricis pater Exuperantius ora
Nunc post liminium pacis amore docet:
Leges restituit, libertatemque reducit,
Et servos famulis non sinit esse suis.
Where great Exuperantius gently sways,
And makes the natives love return in peace;
Restores their laws, and grateful freedom gives,
Nor basely lets them be his servant's slaves.

From these verses, I cannot tell but Aegidius Maserius might conclude that the Britons were servants to the Armorici, and regained their freedom in spite of them. The first mention of the Britons in Armorica that I know of, was in the year 461, about thirty years after the Saxons were called into Britain; for then Mansuetus a British bishop (among others of that dignity in France and Armorica) first subscribed in the council of Tours. In the ninth year after, these new inhabitants of France, seeing the Visigoths possess themselves of the fertile countries of Anjou and Poitou, set upon them, and were the only men that stopped them from seizing all France into their own hands. For they sided with Anthemius, the Roman Emperor, against the Goths; so that Arvandus was condemned of high treason, for writing letters to the King of the Goths, advising him to conquer the Britons who lived upon the Loire, and to divide France between the Goths and Burgundians. These Britons were a cunning sort of people, warlike, seditious, and stubborn upon the account of their valour, numbers, and allies, says Sidonius appollinaris in his complaint of them to his friend Riothimus, as he himself calls him (but Jornandes styles him King of the Britons,) who being afterwards sent for by Anthemius, went with a supply of 12000 men to the Romans; but before he could join them, was defeated in a fair engagement by the Goths, and so fled to the Burgundians, who were then confederates with the Romans. From that

time, the Armorici being subdued by little and little, the name of Britons grew so great in this new country, that the whole body of inhabitants began to fall under it, and the tract itself to be called Britannia Armorica, and to be styled by the French Britannia Cismarina. Hence J. Scaliger;

*Vicit Aremoricæ animosa Britannia gentes,
Et dedit imposito nomina prisca jugo.*
Armorica stout Britain overcame,
And with her yoke imposed her ancient name.

For that they fell upon their friends who had entertained them, is manifest (among others) from the words of Regalis Bishop of Vannes, concerning himself and friends. *We are enslaved to the Britons, and undergo a hard yoke.* In after times, they courageously defended their lives and liberties against the French; at first under the conduct of petty kings, and afterwards under counts and dukes; though (as Glaber Rodolphus has it,) their whole wealth consisted in being freed from tribute, and in having plenty of milk. And hence William of Malmesbury, who wrote five hundred years ago, says thus of them; they are a generation of men very needy at home; and therefore earn foreign pay in other places by very toilsome methods. If they be but well paid, they stick not (either upon the score of right or kindred) at engaging in civil wars, but are mercenary, and for the side that bids most.

The Britons of Wales and Cornwall.

The rest of the Britons (who were miserably forced to seek a country in their own native one) underwent such a weight of calamity as cannot to the full height of it be expressed: being not only harrassed by a cruel war carried on far and near against them by the Saxons, Picts, and Scots; but everywhere oppressed by the intolerable insolence of wicked tyrants. Who, and what these were, about the year 500, you shall hear in short from Gildas, who lived at that time, and was himself an eye-witness. *Constantinus, among the Damnonii, though he had bound himself by an express oath before God and the saints, that he would do the duty of a good prince, yet slew two children of the blood royal, and their two tutors (both valiant men) in two churches, under the amphibalus (a sacred vestment hairy on both sides) which the Abbot wore, having many years before that put away his lawful wife, and defiled himself with repeated adulteries.*

Aurelius Conanus, wallowing in parricides and adulteries, and hating the peace of his country, was left alone like a tree withering in the open field. His father and brothers were carried away with their own wild whimses, and surprised by an untimely death.

Vortiporius, a tyrant of the Dimetae, the unworthy son of a good father, in his manners like a panther, being as much spotted with his sins: sitting in the throne in his grey hairs, full of craft and subtlety, and defiled with parricides and adulteries, turned off his wife, committed a rape upon her daughter, and then killed her.

Cuneglasus, in Latin Lanio Fulvus, a bear riding upon many, and the coachman that drives the chariot which holds the bear, a despiser of God, and oppressor of the clergy, fighting against God with sins, and men with arms; turned off his wife, industriously sought out holy men to injure them, was proud of his own wisdom, and confided in the uncertain strength of his riches.

Maglocunus, an island dragon, (who had deprived many tyrants of their kingdoms and lives) would be ever first in at a mischief; his strength and malice was generally above that of others; he gave largely, sinned profusely, fought stoutly, and excelled all the commanders of Britain both in extent of dominions, and in the stature and gracefulness of his person. In his youth he fell upon his uncle, then a King, and his courageous soldiers, and destroyed them with fire and sword. Afterwards, when the fantastic thoughts of reigning in an arbitrary manner were extinguished, he fell into such a remorse of conscience, that he professed himself a monk; yet he soon returned to his vomit, and breaking his former vows to a monastic life, despised his first marriage, and fell in love with the wife of his own brother's son then living, killing the said brother's son and his own wife, after he had lived some time with her; and then he married his brother's son's wife, on whom he had settled his affections. But the relation of these things belongs to historians, who have hitherto falsely made them to succeed one another, when at the very same time (as appears from Gildas who speaks to them all severally) they usurped a tyranny in distinct parts of the island.

These few remains of the Britons withdrew themselves into the western parts of the island, namely, those we call Wales and Cornwall; which are fortified by nature with hills and estuaries. The first of those countries was called by the Saxons *Britweales*, and the other *Cornweales*, as those in France *Galweales*. For anything that was exotic and foreign, was named by them *Walsh*; and for the same reason the

Walloons in Holland, and the Vallachi upon the Danube, were originally so called. These *Britwales* [or Welshmen] were a warlike people, and for many ages maintained their liberty under their petty kings. Although they were shut out from the English by a trench of wonderful make, cast by King Offa, yet they were ever now and then breaking in, and wasting their cities with fire and sword; and likewise were repayed by the Saxons with most grievous outrages. At last in the reign of Edw. the first, (as he writes it of himself) *The divine providence, which disposeth all things rightly, among other dispensations of his mercy, by which he has vouchsafed to adorn us and our kingdom of England, hath now by his mercy subjected the kingdom of Wales, with the inhabitants thereof, (who held formerly of us) wholly and fully without any let or hindrance to our property and dominion; having annexed and united the same to the crown of our said realm as one member of the self-same body.* Notwithstanding in the next age, nothing in the world could induce them to endure this servitude, no accommodation could be made between them; and this spite, and hatred upon it between the two nations, could never be extinguished, till Henry the Seventh (descended from the Welsh) was favourable and easy to them, and Hen. VIII admitted them to the same laws and liberties that the English have. Since that, and some time before, the kings of England have found them to be of untainted loyalty and obedience. However the Cornwalli were soon reduced under the dominion of the Saxons, in spite of all the opposition they resolutely made to defend their country; being overmatched in number, and their territories not so well guarded by nature, as to protect them.

But what we have said already, may suffice for the Britons and the Romans. However, since I here treat of the inhabitants, I must not pass on without heeding what Zosimus relates, (though I took notice of it before;) that Probus Emperor transplanted the Vandals and Burgundians he had conquered, into Britain, who being settled here proved very serviceable to the Romans whenever a sedition was hatching. But where they could be seated, unless it were in Cambridgeshire, I cannot tell. For Gervasius Tilburiensis takes notice of an old *vallum* in this county, which he calls Vandelsburg, and says it was done by the Vandals.

I would not have anyone imagine, that in the time of Constantius, the Carthaginians were seated here; grounding their opinion upon that passage of Eumenius the Rhetorician, *nisi forte non gravior britarmiam ruina depresserat, quam si perfusa tegeretur oceano, quae profundissimo poenorum gurgite liberata, ad conspectum romanae lucis emersit*, i.e. "Unless the grievance wherewith Britain was oppressed, were not greater than if it had been quite overwhelmed with the ocean: but now freed from a deep gulf of the [*Poeni*] lifts up its head at the sight of the Roman light." For there is an old copy which belonged to Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, and after that to the right honourable Baron Burghley Lord High Treasurer of England, wherein it is read *poenarum gurgitibus*.^{<66>} And he seems to treat of those grievances and punishments with which they were galled under Carausius.

From that of Agathias likewise, in the second book of his history, *the Britons are a nation of the Huns*; I would not have anyone scandalize the Britons, or conclude them to be Huns. For in one Greek copy it is read *Bitnores* and not *Britones*, as I have been assured long since by the most learned Francis Pithaeus; and as J. Lewenclaius, a most deserving person for his knowledge in history, has now published it.

The Picts.

Now for the other inhabitants of Britain; and first of the Picts; who in the order of antiquity are allowed by historians to come next the Britons. Hector Boetius derives these people from the Agathyrsi; Pomponius Lactus, Aventinus, and others from the Germans. Some will have them from the Pictones in France, and Bede from the Scythians. *It happened (says he) that the Picts sailed from Scythia (as the report goes) in some few galleys into Ireland, and that having desired a seat of the Scots there without success, they went over to Britain by their advice, and settled upon the North part of it, about the year 78 (as many would have it.)*

In such variety of opinions, I don't know which to adhere to; however to show as well as I can, how the truth of this matter stands, I will venture to deliver my own thoughts of it. And unless the authority of venerable Bede was a sufficient counterpoise to any conjecture, I should be apt to think that the Picts were not transplanted from other countries; but originally Britons, and the offspring of them. I mean those very Britons, who before the Romans came here, inhabited the North part of the island; and those who being a nation averse to slavery, and then refusing to be hampered by the Romans, afterwards joined them. For just as those Britons did, who in the Saxon invasion being loath to part with their liberty, withdrew and retreated to the West parts of the island, Wales and Cornwall, full of craggy hills: so doubtless the Britons in the Roman war, rather than be brought under slavery (the very worst of evils) shifted to these northern parts, frozen by excess of cold, horrible in its rough and craggy places, bogs, and inlets of the sea; where they were defended not so much by their weapons, as by the sharpness of the air and weather, and grew up with the natives of the country into a populous nation. For Tacitus tells us, that the enemies of the Romans were driven into these parts (as into another island) by Agricola his father-in-law; and no man questions but they were Britons that peopled these remote parts of the island. For can anyone fancy, that all those Britons at war with the Romans (that amounted to an army of 30000 fighting men, led out at once against Agricola; and who gave Severus such great defeats, that in one expedition, seventy thousand of his Roman and confederate troops were cut off) were every soul of them destroyed, without one remaining to propagate posterity; so that we must needs fill the place with foreigners from Scythia or Thrace? I am so far from believing it (though Bede hath said it upon the credit of others) that I had rather affirm them to have been so fruitful and multiplying, that their own country was unable to allow them either room or food; and that therefore they were constrained to overflow, and in a manner overwhelm the Roman province; as afterwards they certainly did when the Scots settled there among them. But because Bede writ this according to the report of others in those times, I am very apt to believe that some from Scandia (which was heretofore, together with all that northern tract, called Scythia) might arrive among these northern Britons, by way of that continued set of islands, lying almost close to one another.

However, lest anyone imagine that I here impose upon myself by a specious lie, I think I can show from the manners, name, and language of the Picts (wherein they will appear to be very agreeable with our Britons,) that they were indeed the very Britons themselves.

And therefore without taking notice that neither the Picts (according to Bede,) nor the Britons (according to Tacitus) made any distinction of sex in point of

government, or excluded the females from the crown: that fashion of painting and daubing themselves with colours, was common to both nations. Thus much we have already observed among the Britons; and Claudian will show us the same among the Picts.

— *nec falso nomine pictos*
Edomuit—
 —in happy war o'ercame
 The Picts that differ nothing from their name.

Again,

— *ferroque notates*
Perlegit exanimis Picto moriente figuras.
 —and oft surveyed
 Pale iron-burnt figures on the dying Pict.

Isidorus is no less clear in this matter. *The Picts' name exactly answers their body; because they squeeze out the juice of herbs, and imprint it in their bodies by pricking their skins with a needle, so that the spotted nobility bear these scars in their painted limbs, as a badge and indication of their honour.* Now, shall we imagine that these Picts were Germans, who never had any such mode of painting among them? Or that they were the Agathyrsi of Thrace, a people so very far off? And not rather that they were the Britons themselves, seeing they were in the same island, and had the very same custom of painting?

Nor are these barbarians (who so long infested the Romans by their sallies from the Caledonian wood) expressed by any other name in old authors, such as Dio, Herodian, Vopiscus, &c. than that of Britons. Likewise Tacitus (who gives a full account of that war, that his father-in-law Agricola carried on in this outward part of Britain) calls the inhabitants by no other name than this of *Britanni* and *e Caledonia Britanni*; whereas these new-comers the Picts had been here ten years before, according to the report of our modern writers, which I would have notice taken of, because Tacitus knew nothing at all of them in his time. Nor would those Roman Emperors, who carried on the war with success against them, namely Commodus, Severus, with Bassianus and Geta his sons, have assumed the title of *Britannici* upon the conquest of them, in case they had not been Britons. Without doubt, if the Romans (to whom everything unknown was magnificent) had conquered any other nation different from the Britons, and, which they knew not of before; whether they had been called Picts or Scots, would have had those titles of Picts or Scots in their coins and inscriptions. Tacitus conjectures from their red hair and the bigness of their limbs, that they came originally from Germany; but immediately after, he more truly ascribes it to the climate, which models the bodies in it. Whereupon also Vitruvius: those parts towards the North Pole produce men of huge bulk, tawnish colour, and lank red hair. Moreover, that the Caledonians, (who were without dispute Britons) were the very same with the Picts, we have another hint in that of the Panegyrist, *Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum sylvas,*<67> &c. as if the Caledonians were no other than the Picts. And that these Caledonians were a British nation, Martial intimates in this verse of his,

Quinte caledonios Ovidi visure Britannos.
Friend Ovid, who your voyage now design
To Caledonian Britons, &c.—

Ausonius also; who at the same time shows us they were painted, when he thus compares their colour to green moss mixed with gravel;

— *viridem distinguit glarea muscum*
Tota caledoniis talis pictura Britannis.
Green moss with yellow sand distinguished grows,
Just so the Caledonian Britain shows.

But as these went current for a long time by no other name than that of Britons, and that too drawn from their painted bodies; so afterwards about the time of Maximinian and Diocletian (before which the word Picts is not to be met with in any writer,) when Britain had been so long a province that the inhabitants began to understand the provincial Latin; these then seem first to have been called Picts to distinguish them from those who were confederate with the Romans and called Britons. And what could give occasion for calling them Picts, but that they painted themselves? But if anyone does not believe that ever our Britons made use of the provincial Latin, he has not observed, what care was taken by the Romans to induce the provinces to speak that language, nor what multitudes of Latin words have crept into the British tongue. So that I need not urge this point any farther with the authority of Tacitus; who writes, that in Domitian's time, the Britons affected the eloquence of the Roman language. But as for this name of the Picts, the authority of Flavius Vegetius will clear all doubts concerning it. He in some measure demonstrates, that the Britons used the word *pictae* to express a thing coloured, in the very same sense that the Romans did. For he says that the Britons called their scout pinnaces *pictae*, the sails and cables thereof being dyed blue, and the mariners and soldiers clad in habits of the same colour. Certainly, if the Britons would call ships from their sails of blue-dye, *pictae*, there is no reason in the world, why they should not give the name *Picti* to a people that painted their bodies with several colours, and especially with blue (for that is the dye that woad gives.)

This farther makes for our purpose, that the northern Picts, converted to Christianity by the preaching and example of St. Columbanus, are called in the old Saxon annals *Brittas Pechtās*, as if one should say, British Picts.

The reason why I have not many arguments drawn from the language of the Picts, is, because hardly a syllable of it is to be found in any author: however it seems to have been the same with the British. Bede tells us, that a vallum began at a place, called in the Pictish tongue *Penuahel*; now *pengual* in British plainly signifies a head, or the beginning of the vallum. Moreover in all that part of the island, which was longest possessed by the Picts, (and that was the East part of Scotland,) many names of places seem to imply a British original: for example, *morria*, *marnia*, from the British word *mor*, because those countries bordered upon the sea: *Aberdeen*, *Aberlothnet*, *Aberdore*, *Aberneith*; that is to say, the mouth of the *Den*, of the *Lothnet*, of the *Dore*, and of the *Neith*; from the British word *aber*, which signifies the mouth of a river. So *Strathbogie*, *Strathdee*, *Strathearn*, that is, the vale of *Bolgy*, of the *Dee*, and of the *Earne*; from the word *strath*, which means a vally in British. Nay, the very metropolis of the Picts owns its name to be the offspring of no other language but the

British; I mean Edinburgh, (which Ptolemy calls *castrum alatum*, <68>) for *aden* signifies a wing in British. Nor will I wrest it to an argument, that some of the petty kings of the Picts were called *Bridii*, that is to say in British, painted, as I have often observed, already. From what has been said, it pretty clearly follows, that the language of the Picts was not different from that of the Britons; and therefore that the nations were not several and distinct, although Bede speaks of the language of the Picts and Britons as quite different; in which place perhaps he may seem to have meant only dialects, by the term of language.

Nor is it strange that the Picts should, by their incursions, give great slaughter to their countrymen the Britons, seeing at this day, in Ireland, those that are there subject to the English, have no such malicious and spiteful enemies, as their own fellow-natives the wild Irish. For, as Paulus Diaconus has it, just as the Goths, Hyppogoths, Gepidians and Vandals, changing their name only, and speaking the self-same language, encountered one another often with great sharpness; so also did the Picts and Britons, especially when the last became confederates with the Romans. These (such as they are) were the motives that induced, and in a manner forced me to think the Picts a remainder of the Britons. But perhaps the authority of Bede may countervail all this; and if it please the reader, let the tradition of so great a man, though built upon the mere report of others, prevail against and cast these conjectures.

Ammianus Marcellinus divides the Picts into Dicalidonii and Vecturiones; I should rather read it Deucalidonii, and do suppose them to have inhabited the West coast of Scotland, where the Deucalidonian ocean comes up. Although I formerly imagined them to be thus called, as if one should say *Nigri Caledonii* (for *Dee* signifies *black* in British,) just as the Irish at this day call the Scotch of that country *Duf Allibawn*, that is to say, black Scots; and as the Welsh called those pirates that infested them from that coast, *Yllu Du*, the black army; yet a man may conjecture that they took that name from their situation. For *Deheu Caledonii* implies the Caledonians living on the right hand, that is, to the westward: as those other Picts dwelling towards the left, or the East, (which Nennius calls the left-hand-part,) were termed Vecturiones, perhaps deduced from the word *chwithic*, which signifies so in British; and are fancied by some to be corruptly named in Ptolemy *Vernicones*. An old Saxon fragment seems to express them by the word *pegweorn*, for so it names an enemy-nation to the Britons; whereas the ancient Saxons called the Picts, *Pehits*, and *Peohtas*. Hence in Whitkindus, *Pehiti* is everywhere read instead of *Picti*.

The manners of those ancient and barbarous Britons, that afterwards went by the name of Picti, we have already described from Dio and Herodian. It remains now that I add what followed. Upon the decline of the empire, when the Romans unwarily raised those troops of barbarians; some of these Picts, drawn over by Honorius (when the state of the whole empire was calm, into the standing army of the empire) were called Honoriaci. These, in the reign of that tyrant Constantine, (who was elected upon the account of his name) laid open the passes of the Pyrenees, and let the barbarians into Spain. And at length (having first by themselves, and after with the Scots their allies, infested this province of the Romans) they began to civilize: those of the South being converted to Christianity by Ninia or Ninianus the Briton, a very holy man, about the year 430. But those of the North, who were separated from the others by a craggy ridge of high mountains, by Columbanus, a Scot of Ireland, and a monk also of singular holiness, in the year 565. He taught them (wherever he learned it) to celebrate the feast of Easter, between the 14th day of March and the 20th, and always upon Sunday; and also to use another kind of tonsure than the Romans did,

namely, that like the imperfect form of a crown. These points were sharply contested for a long time in this island, till Naitan, King of the Picts, with much ado, brought them to a conformity with the Roman church. In this age many of the Picts, according to the manner of those times, went in pilgrimage to Rome; and among others one of them is recorded in the antiquities of St. Peter's cathedral there, in these words, *Asterius, count of the Picts, and Syra with his men, have performed their vows*. At last, they were so confounded by the Scots, rushing in upon them from Ireland, that being defeated in a bloody engagement, about the year 740, they were either quite extinguished, or else by little and little fell into the name and nation of the other. Which very thing befell the mighty kingdom of the Gauls, who being conquered by the Franks, sunk by degrees into their name.

When the Panegyrist intimates, that before Caesar's time Britain was haunted by its half naked enemies the Picts and Scots, he seems to speak according to the custom of that age; for certainly they were not then in Britain under that name.

Moreover, seeing Sidonius Apollinaris says thus in his panegyric to his father-in-law,

—*victricia Caesar*
Signa Caledonios transvexit ad usque Britannos,
Fuderit & quantum Scotum, & cum Saxone Pictum.
—though Caesar's conquering arms as far
As Caledonian Britons urged the war,
Though Scots and Picts with Saxons he subdued.

I cannot but exclaim in the words of another poet.

— *sit nulla fides audentibus omnia musis.*
No credit justly should the muses find,
That soar so high, they leave the truth behind.

Caesar, ever large enough in things that show his own glory, would never have concealed exploits, if he had done them. But these writers seem not unlike some good learned authors of this age, who in writing the history of Caesar, tell us that he conquered the French in Gaul, and the English in Britain; whereas at that time there was then no such names in being, as either that of the English here, or that of the French there; for those people, many ages after, came into these countries.

That the Pictones of Gaul were the same nation with our Picts, I dare not, with John Picardus, believe; seeing the name Pictones was famous in Gaul, even in Caesar's time; and these of ours are no where expressed by that name: unless it be in one passage of the Panegyrist, where I know that Pictonum, by a slip in the transcriber, is put for Pictorum.

Scots.

The place among the British nations next in order to the Picts, is in justice due to the Scots; but before I treat of them, lest some spiteful and ill-natured men should misconstrue those things for calumny, which with all sincerity and plain-dealing I have here collected out of ancient writers concerning the Scots; I must caution the reader, that every word here is to be referred to the old, true, and genuine Scots only; whose posterity are those that speak Irish, who possess for a long way together that now called the West part of Scotland, and the islands thereabouts; and are commonly termed Highlandmen. For those more civilized, who inhabit the East part of the country, though they are adopted into that name, yet are not really Scots, but of the same German original with us English. This they cannot but confess, nor we but acknowledge; being called, as well as we, by the aforesaid highlandmen, *Sassones*. Besides, they speak the same language that we do, namely the Saxon, with some variation in dialect only; which is an infallible proof of the same original. In which regard, I am so far in this from casting any reflection upon them, that I have rather loved them the more, as men of the same blood and extraction, and have ever respected them, even when the kingdoms were distinct, and now much more, since by the favour of God we are united into one body, under one sovereign head of England and Scotland; which may the almighty sanctify to the good, happy, prosperous, and peaceful state of both nations.

The beginning and etymology of the Scotch nation, as well as its neighbours, is so wrapped up in mists and darkness, that even the sagacious Buchanan either did not discover it, or only discovered it to himself: for he has not answered the expectation of the world concerning him in this point. Upon this account, I have long forbore entering the lists, and playing the fool with others, in admiring fables. For, a man may as colourably refer the original of Scotland to the gods, as to *Scota*, that sham-daughter of Pharaoh, King of Egypt, who was married to *Gaithelus*, son of *Cecrops*, the founder of Athens. But, as this opinion is rejected by those that are ingenuous among the Scots themselves, as sprung from a gross ignorance of antiquity; so this other of a later date, absurdly taken from a Greek original, that the Scots are so called quasi *skoteoi*, that is to say, *obscure*, ought likewise to be hissed out, and exposed, as spitefully contrived in dishonour to a most famous and warlike nation. Nor is that opinion of our *Florilegus*, namely, that the Scots are so called, as arising from a confused medley of nations, universally current. Yet I cannot but admire, upon what grounds *Isidorus* could say, that *the Scots in their own tongue have their name from their painted bodies, because they are marked by iron needles with ink, and the print of various figures*. Which is also cited in the same words by *Rabanus Maurus*, in his geography to Emperor *Lodovicus Pius*, now extant in Trinity College library at Oxford.

But seeing Scotland has nursed up those that can trace her original from the highest steps of antiquity, and do it both to their own honour, and that of their country, if they will but employ their whole care and thoughts for a while upon it; I will only give some short touches upon those things, which may afford them some light into the truth of it, and offer some others, which I would have them weigh a little diligently: for I will not pretend to determine anything in this controversy. First therefore of their original, and then of the place from whence they were transplanted into Ireland. For 'Tis plain, that out of Ireland, (an isle peopled formerly by the Britons, as shall be said

in its proper place,) they were transported into Britain; and that they were seated in Ireland when first known to any writers by that name. So Claudian, speaking of their inroads into Britain;

—*totam cum Scotus Hibernem*
Movit, & infesto spumavit remige Thetis.
 When Scots came thundering from the Irish shores,
 And th'ocean trembled struck with hostile oars.

In another place also,

Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Hiberne.
 And frozen Ireland moaned the crowding heaps
 Of murdered Scots.—

Orosius likewise writes, that *Ireland is peopled by nations of the Scots*. Agreeable is also that of Isidore. *Scotland and Ireland are the same: but it is called Scotland, because it is peopled by nations of the Scots*. Gildas calls them *Hibernos grassatores*, Irish robbers. Bede also, *the Scots who inhabit Ireland, an island next to Britain*. And so in other places. Eginhardus, who lived in the age of Charles the Great, expressly calls Ireland, *the island of the Scots*. Thus also Giraldus Cambrensis, *that the Scotch nation is the offspring of Ireland, the resemblance of their language and dress, as well as of their weapons and customs, continued to this day, do sufficiently prove*. But now for that I had to offer to be considered by the Scots.

Since they who are the true genuine Scots, own not the name of Scots, but call themselves *Gaoithel, Gael, and Albin*; and many people are called by their neighbours after another name than what they give themselves, by which the first rise of a nation is often traced; as for instance, the people of the lower Pannonia, who call themselves *Magyar*, are called by the Dutch *Hungari*, because they were originally Huns; those bordering upon the forest Hercynia, go by the name of *Czechi* among themselves, whereas they are called by others *Bohaemi*, because they are the offspring of the *Boii* in Gaul; the inhabitants of Africa, who have also a name among themselves, are nevertheless called by the Spaniards *Alarbes*, because they are Arabians; the Irish, who call themselves *Erenach*, are by our Britons called *Gwidhill*; and both the Irish and Britons give us English no other name than *Sasson*, because we are descended from the Saxons. Since these things are thus, I would desire it might be examined by the Scots, whether they were so called by their neighbours, *quasi Scythae*. For as the low Dutch call both the Scythians and Scots by this one word, *Scutten*; so it is observed from the British writers, that our Britons likewise called both of them *Y-Scot*. Nennius also expressly calls the British inhabitants of Ireland *Scythae*, and Gildas names that sea, over which they passed out of Ireland into Britain, *Vallis Scythica*.^{<61>} For so it is in the Paris edition of him, whereas others absurdly read it *Styticha Vallis*. Again King Alfred (who 7 hundred years ago turned Orosius's history into Saxon) translates Scots by the word *Scyttan*; and our own borderers to Scotland do not call them Scots, but *Scyttes* and *Scetts*. For as the same people are called (so Walsingham has it) *Getae, Getici, Gothi, Gothici*; so from one and the same original come *Scythae, Scitici, Scoti, Scotici*.

But then, whether this name was given this nation by the neighbours, upon account of its Scythian manners, or because they came from Scythia, I would have

them next to consider. For Diodorus Siculus and Strabo expressly compare the old people of Ireland, (which is the true and native country of the Scots) with the Scythians, in barbarity. Besides, they drink the blood out of the wounds of the slain, they ratify their leagues with a draught of blood on both sides, and the wild Irish (as also those that are true Scots) think their honour less or greater, in proportion to the numbers they have slain; as the Scythians heretofore did. Farther, 'Tis observable, that the main weapons among the Scots, as well as among the Scythians, were bows and arrows. For Orpheus calls the Scythians *Toxophoros*, as Aelian and Julius Pollux, *Sagittarii*, that is to say, *archers*; whereupon the learned are of opinion that both nations took their name from their skill in arching. Nor is it strange, that several nations should take the same name from the same manners; since those that have travelled the West Indies tell us, that all stout men, who with their bows and arrows infest the whole India, and the islands about it, are called by this one name of *Caribes*, though they are of several nations.

But that they came from Scythia, the Irish historians themselves relate; for they reckon Nemethus the Scythian, and long after that Dela, (descended from the posterity of Nemethus, that is to say, of Scythian extraction) among the first inhabitants of Ireland. Nennius also, Eluodugus's scholar, expressly writes thus: *In the fourth age of the world* (he means that space between the building of the temple and the Babylonish captivity) *the Scythians possessed themselves of Ireland*. Agreeable with this is the authority of modern writers; of Cisnerus in his preface to Crantzius; and Reinerus Reineccius, who says, *there remains descended from the Scythians a nation of Scots in Britain, &c.* Yet I very much question, notwithstanding the Getes were a Scythic nation, whether Propertius means our Irish in this of his,

Hibernique Getae, pictoque Britannia curru.
And Irish Getes, and British foes that rode
In painted chariots—

But the honour of the Scots (forsooth) is not to be saved in this point, unless they be transplanted from Spain into Ireland. For this, both they and their historians as zealously stickle for, as if their lives and liberties were at stake; and indeed not without reason. And therefore all this is but lost labour, if there are no Scythians to be found in Spain. That the Scythians then were there, (not to mention that promontory among the Cantabri, called Scythicum, next to Ireland; nor to heed what Strabo writes, that the Cantabri were like the Scythians in manners and barbarity,) is clearly shown us by Silius Italicus, who was born in Spain. For that the Concani, a nation of Cantabria, were the offspring of the Massagetæ, that is, the Scythians, appears by this verse of his;

Et quae Massagetem monstrans feritate parentem
Cornipedis fusa satiaris Concane vena.
Concans, that show themselves of Scythian strain,
And horse's blood drink from the reeking vein.

Some few lines after, he informs us that the sarmatae (who are granted by all to be Scythians) built Susana, a city of Spain, in this verse,

— *Sarmaticos attollens Susana muros.*
Susan, that rears her proud Sarmatian walls.

From these Sarmatae, or Scythians, the Luceni, which Orosius places in Ireland, seem to be descended, seeing Susana is reckoned by the Spaniards themselves among the Lucensii, as likewise the Gangani of Ireland from these Concani. For the Lucensii and Concani among the Cantabri were neighbours; as the Luceni and Gangani were in that coast of Ireland which lies towards Spain. If anyone starts the question, who these Scythians were that came into Spain? I can say nothing to it, unless you'll allow them to have been Germans. I wish the Scots themselves would consider a little farther of it. That the Germans formerly entered into Spain, (not to urge Pliny who calls the Oretani of Spain, Germans) Seneca, who was himself a Spaniard, will show us. *The Pyrenees* (he says) *did not stop the passage of the Germans; the freakishness of human nature drew itself into these impassable and unknown ways.* And that the Germans were called Scythians, may not only be gathered from Ephorus and Strabo, who call all those nations towards the North Scythians; but also from Pliny, *the name of the Scythians* (says he) *is everywhere used among the Sarmatae and Germans.* Aventinus is a witness, that the Germans were named Scythae and Scythulae by the Hungarians. Now to derive their original from the Scythians can no ways be dishonourable, since they are not only a most ancient people, but have conquered many other nations; and have ever been invincible themselves, and free from the yoke of any other empire. I must not omit, that the Cauci and Menapii, (who were reckoned among the most famous nations in Germany) are placed by the same names, and at the same distance by Ptolemy in Ireland; which makes it probable, that they took both their name and original from the said Germans.

If the Scots are not descended from these; I would have them consider, whether they are not the offspring of those barbarians, who were driven out of Gallaecia in Spain by Constantine the Great; according to King Alphonsus's chronicle. For it is from those parts that they would have themselves to have been transplanted into Ireland. If they examine what these barbarians were, I do not doubt, but they'll agree with me, that they were Germans; for in the reign of Gallienus, Orosius says that the remoter Germans possessed themselves of Spain then wasted; and who could these remoter Germans be but the Scythians? But that edition of Aurelius Victor, published by Andreas Schottus, calls those Germans, Franks. Yet seeing these Franks and the remoter Germans sailing out of Germany, were carried a long way by stress of weather into the ocean; and, as Nazarius says to Constantine, infested the Spanish coasts all along our seas; who can ever believe that they left Ireland (a most fruitful island, and rarely well situated for cruising upon Spain) for the dry barren soil of Biscay? Nay rather, as the Norwegians from Scandia in the time of Charlemagne, and afterwards, often invaded Ireland and got possession there; so we may imagine, and that very probably, that formerly the Franks did the same, and that they were transported from thence to Spain; and being driven out there by Constantine the Great, returned to Ireland. 'Tis also likely, that more of them afterwards went thither, as well when the Vandals and the Goths made those tragical outrages in Spain, and the barbarians fell to war among themselves, and so killed and plundered one another; as when the invasion of the Saracens galled the Spaniards, and drove many of them into Galicia and Cantabria. But let others examine these matters; it may suffice for me, that I was at least willing to remove this cloud.

The next query I would offer to be considered by them, is, how it comes to pass that the Irish, who are the ancestors of the Scots, and the Scots themselves, glory

in the name *Gael* and *Gaiothel*; and in their languages are called *Gaiothlac*; and why they named that part of Britain where they first settled, *argathel*: from what original can they derive these names? From the *Gallaeci* in Spain, many of whom doubtless shifted into Ireland; and whose first original is to be fetched from the *Gallati* or Gauls? Or from the Goths, as some moderns are of opinion, who would deduce the word *Gaiothel*, (as *Cathalonia* in Spain) from the Goths? Here they may seek proofs from the resemblance between the Gothic language and the Irish; which yet has no congruity with any other language of Europe that I can find, but only the British and the German. How true that of Huntington may be; *the Scots came from Spain to Ireland in the fourth age of the world; a part of them still remaining speaks the same language, and are called Navarri*; I say how true this passage is, let others judge. I here take no notice of David Chambers, a Scotchman, who has been informed by the Jesuits, that the Scotch language is spoke in the East Indies. I am afraid the distance of that country might prompt the credulous man to take the liberty of telling a lie, which he never made.

If arguments may be drawn from the habits; we shall soon find the same dress and apparel among the Highlanders of Scotland, that was formerly used by the Goths; as appears by Sidonius, who in his description of a Goth, has given you the fair draft of a Scotch Highlander. *They shine (says he) with yellow; they cover their feet as high as the ankle with hairy untanned leather; their knees, legs, and calves are all bare. Their garment is high, close, and of sundry colours, hardly reaching down to their hams. Their sleeves only cover the upper part of their arms. Their inner coat is green, and edged with red fringe. Their belts hang down from the shoulder. The lappets of their ears are covered with locks of hair hanging over them (for so the manifold and distinct twists that there are in the hair of the Scotch and Irish, are properly called.) Their arms are hooked spears (which Gildas terms *uncinata tela*) and hatchets to fling. They wore also strait-bodied coats (as Porphyrio says) without girdles.* If this is not the very habit of the Irish-Scots, I appeal to their own judgments. I would also have them think upon this passage of Giraldus Cambrensis in his first book *de Institutione Principis: When Maximus was transported from Britain into Gaul (with the whole strength of men, arms and ammunition, that the island could raise) to possess himself of the empire, Gratian and Valentinian brothers and partners in the empire, shipped over the Goths (a nation hardy and valiant, being at that time either their allies, or subject and obliged to them by some imperial favours) from the borders of Scythia, into the North parts of Britain, in order to annoy them, and make them call back the usurper with their youth. But they being too strong, both by reason of the natural valour of the Goths, and also because they found the island destitute of men and strength, possessed themselves of no small territories in the northern parts of the island.* But now, who these Goths were, others must find out, unless they may be allowed to be Scots; and perhaps they may have some light into that search from Procopius, where Belisarius answers the Goths, expostulating why they had granted Sicily to the Romans, in these words: *We permit the Goths likewise to have Britain, which is much more excellent than Sicily; being heretofore conquered by the Romans. For 'tis reason that they who bestow favours, should receive either equal thanks, or an equal return of kindness.* To this also may seem to be referred what the Scots write of Fergusius the Scot's being a companion of Alaric the Goth at the sacking of Rome. What Irenicus tells us of Gensericus King of the Vandals going over to Scotland and Britain; and what Cambrensis (I know not upon how good authority) relates of the *Gaideli* or Scots, taking not only their name, but their original from the Vandals; who (as P. Diaconus informs us) were the same with the Goths. Nor is it to be thought a

diminution of the glory of the Scots, if they own themselves the progeny of the Goths, when the most potent kings of Spain value themselves upon that extraction; and the greatest of the nobility among the Italians either derive their pedigree from the Goths, or at least pretend to do it. And Emperor Charles the Fifth was wont to say in good earnest, that all the nobility of Europe were derived from Scandia and the Goths. However, all this is not so weighty, as that I dare persuade myself, that the Scots are the real offspring of the Goths.

In short, I would have the learned part of the Scotchmen consider, whether they are not descended from the old British inhabitants of Ireland, (for it is certain that the British formerly inhabited Ireland,) and whether they were called Scythae or Scoti, because they were like the Scythians in manners; or because they were the real Scythians that came out of Scandia or Scythia, (to whom the Gallaeci, Franks, or Germans driven out of Spain, and also the Goths or Vandals, joined themselves, when Spain was embroiled with a bloody war) or else that medley of people that flocked into Ireland, and thereupon got that name among the nations thereabouts. *The language* (says Giraldus) *of the Irish is called Gaidelach, being as it were a compound of all other languages.* And Florilegus, whencesoever he takes it; *The Scots have their original from the Picts and Irish, as being made up out of several nations. For that is called scot, which is amassed together out of several things.* Thus the Almans (according to Asinius Quadratus) went by that name, because they arose from a medley of different men. Neither can it seem strange to anyone, that so many nations should formerly crowd into Ireland, seeing that island lies in the center between Britain and Spain, and very advantageous for the French Sea; and that in these eight hundred years last past, it is most certain from history, that the Norwegians, and the Ostmans from Germany; and that the English, the Welsh, and the Scots out of Britain, have planted and settled themselves there. This is the sum of what I would desire to be considered by the Scots in this matter. In the meantime let them remember, I have asserted nothing, but only hinted some things, which may seem pertinent to this enquiry. If all this gives no light into the original of the Scots, they must apply themselves for it elsewhere, for I am perfectly in the dark in this point; and have followed the truth, (which has still fled from me) with much labour to no purpose; yet I hope nothing is said in this search that can reasonably disgust anyone.

Concerning the time when the name of Scots was first broached in the world, there is some dispute; and upon this very point Humphrey Lhuid (the best of antiquaries by the best of poets) is quarrelled by Buchanan; for Lhuid having said that the name of *Scoti* was not to be found in authors before Constantine the Great, Buchanan flies upon him, catches him fast, and with two petty arguments thinks to dispatch him; the one drawn from the Panegyrist, and the other from his own conjecture. Because the old Panegyrist says, that Britain in Caesar's time was infested by the Irish enemies; by consequence (forsooth,) the Scots at that time were planted in Britain; whereas no one before ever said so much, as that those Irish had then any settlement, much less that they were Scots. The Panegyrist without question, after the common way of writers, had his eye upon his own times in it, and not upon those of Caesar. As for the conjecture, it is not his own, but that of the most learned Joseph Scaliger. For in his notes to Propertius, while by the by he restores that verse of Seneca's to the true reading,

*Ille Britannos
Ultra noti
Littora ponti,
Et caeruleos
Scuta Brigantes
Dare Romuleis
Colla cathenis
Jussit, &.<69>*

He puts it *Scotobrigantes*; and forthwith cries out, that the Scots are indebted to him for the discovery of their original; for my part, I am sorry I cannot second this opinion, having ever honoured him upon many accounts, and much admired his learning. For this conjecture is not the product of copies, but of his own ingenuity and parts, and the sense will bear either reading, *caeruleos scuta Brigantes* as all the books have it, or *caeruleos cute Brigantes*,<70> as the most learned Hadr. Junius reads it. Yet Buchanan, (choosing rather to play the fool with his own wit and that of another, than to close with the common and true reading) cries up this conjecture to the skies. First because authors do not inform us, that the Britons painted their shields. Secondly, that he said *Scoto-Brigantes*, for difference sake, that he might distinguish them from the *Brigantes* of Spain and Ireland. Lastly, that in this verse he might distinguish between the Britons and the *Brigantes*, as different nations. But if one may dispute this point, what should hinder them from painting their shields, who painted themselves and their chariots? To what end should he coin the new word *Scoto-Brigantes* for distinction sake? When he calls them *caeruleos*, and says they were subdued by Claudius, does not this sufficiently distinguish them from the other *Brigantes*? That observation of the Britons and *Brigantes*, as being different nations, does not look like a poet, who could never be ignorant of the poetical way of expressing the whole by a part. Wherefore, seeing these pleas will not carry it, I will reinforce Buchanan with a supply from Egesippus, who is commonly thought very ancient. For where he treats of the greatness of the Romans, he says; *Scotland which owes nothing to other countries, dreads them, and so does Saxony, inaccessible by reason of its bogs*. But hold, this argument will not come up to the point; for he lived since Constantine, as appears by his own writings; nor does this make any more for the Scots living in Britain, than that verse of Sidonius but now cited. Yet a more weighty reason than all this, is that which the most famous and learned J. Cragius has started after a nice enquiry out of Josephus Ben-Gorion concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, that the Scots in a Hebrew copy are expressly so named, where Munster in his Latin translation falsely puts the Britons for the Scots. But I have not sufficiently discovered in what age this Ben-Gorion lived. 'Tis plain he lived since Flavius Josephus, seeing he has made mention of the Franks.

Yet if I may engage against so many great men in this controversy: as far as I have observed, the first mention of the Scotch nation we meet with in authors, is in the reign of Aurelian. For Porphyry, who then writ against the Christians, takes notice of them in these words, as St. Hierom tells us. *Nor has Britain, a fruitful province in the hands of tyrants, nor the Scotch nations, nor any of those barbarous nations all round to the very ocean, heard of Moses and the prophets*. At which time also, or a little before, antiquaries observe that the names of those mighty nations the Franks and Almans, were first heard of in the reign of Gallienus. That of some authors therefore is not grounded upon sure authority; that the name and kingdom of the Scots flourished in Britain many ages before the birth of Christ. Rather take the time of it from Giraldus. *When Nellus the great reigned in Ireland, the six sons of Muredus*

King of Ulster possessed the North parts of Britain. So from these a nation was propagated, and called by a peculiar name Scotland, which inhabits that corner even to this day. But that this happened about the time when the Roman Empire began to decay, is thus inferred. In the reign of Lagerius, son of this Nellus, in Ireland, Patrick, the Irish apostle, came thither; it being then much about the year 430 after Christ's nativity. So that this seems to have fallen about the time of Honorius Augustus. For, whereas before they lived after a rambling manner, without any fixed abode, as Ammianus says, and had long infested Britain and the marches thereof; then they seem to have settled in Britain. But they would have it that they then first returned from Ireland, whither they had withdrawn themselves, when they were routed by the Romans and the Britons; and they take this passage of Gildas to be meant of that time. *The Irish robbers return home, with design to come back again shortly.* About this time Reuda mentioned by Bede, is thought by some to have settled himself in this island, upon a winding of the river Clyde northward, either by force or love. *From this captain (says he) the Dalreudini are so called to this day: for in their tongue dal signifies a part; and from this Reuda it is (as others think) that we call them redshanks.* 'Tis thought also that Simon Brech (whom the Scots affirm to have been the founder of their nation) flourished in these times. The true name of him was Sinbrech, that is to say, freckled *sin*, as we read it in Fordon; perhaps the very same Brichus, who about the age of St. Patrick with Thuibaius, Macleius and Auspacus, Scotchmen, infested Britain; as we find it in the life of St. Carantocus.

But since the Scots, who live in Britain, call the country which they inhabit *Alban* and *Albin*, and the Irish themselves *Allabany*; it will be no disingenuous inquiry, whether this *Allabany* may not have some remains of the old name Albion; or whether it may not come from *albedo*, whiteness, (for that they call *ban*) so that *Ellanban* may be as much in Scotch as a white island; or whether it might not come out of Ireland, which is called by their poets *banno*, and so *allabany* be as much either as another Ireland, or a second Ireland. For historians call Ireland Scotia Major, and the kingdom of the Scots in Britain Scotia Minor. Moreover, seeing the Scots call themselves in their own language *Alvin*, *Albin* and *Alvinus*. (whence Blondus has named them *Scoti Albienses*, or *Albinenses*, and Buchanan *Albini*) let the critics consider, whether that in St. Jerome, where he inveighs against a certain Pelagian, a Scotchman, should not be read *albinum* for *alpinum*; when he calls him, *an alpine dog, huge and corpulent, who can do more mischief with his heels than with his teeth, for he's the offspring of the Scotch nation bordering upon Britain*: and he says in another place, he was overgrown with Scotch *browis*.<71> I do not remember that ever I read of Alpine dogs in any author, but that the Scotch dogs were then famous at Rome, as appears from Symmachus. *Seven Scotch dogs (says he) were so admired at Rome the day before the plays, that they thought them brought over in iron cages.*

But when the Scots came into Britain to the Picts, though they provoked the Britons with continual skirmishes and ravages, yet the Scotch state came not immediately to a full growth, but continued a long time in that corner where they first arrived: nor did they (as Bede says) for the space of one hundred and twenty seven years, take the field against the petty kings of Northumberland, till at one and the same time they had almost quite routed the Picts, and the kingdom of Northumberland was utterly destroyed by civil wars, and the invasions of the Danes. For then all the North part of Britain fell under the name of Scotland, together with that inner country on this side the Clyde and Edinburgh Firth. For that this was a part of the kingdom of Northumberland, and in the possession of the Saxons, is universally agreed upon. By

which means it comes to pass, that all the inhabitants of the East part of Scotland (called Lowlandmen, as living low) are originally Saxons, and speak English. But that such as live towards the West (called Highlandmen from their high situation) are real Scots and speak Irish, as we observed before; being mortal enemies to those Lowlanders that speak English.

That the Attacotti, a warlike nation, did infest Britain along with the Scots, we have the authority of Ammianus Marcellinus: and that these were a part of the Scotch nation, is the opinion of H. Lhuid; but how true I know not. St. Jerome expressly calls them a British people: who tells us, that when he was young, (probably in Emperor Julian's time) *he saw in France the Attacotti a British people, feeding upon man's flesh; and when they found in the woods, droves of hogs, herds of beasts or sheep, that they used to cut off the buttocks of the herdsmen, and the paps of the women, and look upon these as the richest dainties.* For here we are to read Attacotti upon the authority of manuscripts, and not Scoti with Erasmus, who at the same time owns the place to be faulty. Though I must confess in one manuscript it is *Attigotti*, in another *Catacotti*, and in a third *Cattiti*. But of the Scots it cannot, as 'tis commonly, be understood; for Jerome in that place speaking of the customs of several nations, begins the sentence immediately following, thus: *The Scotch nation has no wives peculiar to single men, &c.* And in another place, where Jerome mentions the *Attacotti*, Erasmus puts in the room of it *Azoti*. These (as we learn from the Notitia) were stipendiaries in the decline of the Roman Empire. For they are reckoned amongst the Palatine Aids in Gaul, *Attecotti Juniores Gallicani*, and *Attecotti Honoriani Seniores*; and in Italy, *Attecotti Honoriani Juniores*. By this addition of *honoriani*, they seem to have been some of those barbarians that Honorius Emperor received into league, and listed them in his army, not without great damage to the empire.

Among the nations that made incursions into Britain, the Ambrones are reckoned up by John Caius, (one who has employed his time upon the best studies, and to whom the commonwealth of learning is extremely indebted) upon reading these words in that part of Gildas, where he treats of the Picts and Scots. *Those former enemies, like so many ravenous wolves, enraged with extremity of hunger and thirst, leaping over the sheep-folds, and the shepherd not appearing; carried with the wings of oars, the arms of rowers, and sails driven forward by the winds, break through, and butcher all they come near.* Here the good old man remembered, that he had read in Festus, how the Ambrones poured into Italy along with the Cimbrians; but then he had forgot that *ambro* (as Isidore observes) signifies a devourer. And neither Gildas nor Geoffrey of Monmouth (who calls the Saxons Ambrones) use the word in any other sense. Nor have I ever found in any ancient author that there were other Ambrones that invaded Britain.

The English-Saxons.



Illustration: Saxon Britain

When the Roman Empire, under Valentinian the younger, was declining; and Britain both robbed of her ablest men by frequent levies, and abandoned by the Roman garrisons, was not in a condition to withstand the incursions of the Picts and Scots; Vortigern, (who either was constituted general by the Britons, or, as some think, usurped that title) in order to confirm his own government, and to recover the sinking state, sends for the Saxons out of Germany to his relief. *He was,* (says Nennius) *apprehensive of danger from the Picts and Scots, from the Roman power, and from Aurelius Ambrosius.* The Saxons immediately, under the command of Hengist and Horsa, arrived in Britain with their *ciules*, (for so they called their flat-bottomed boats or pinnaces) and by their success against the Scots and Picts in two several engagements, raised their reputation considerably. And because the Britons did absolutely depend upon their conduct, they sent for fresh supplies out of Germany, partly to man the frontier garrisons, and partly to divert the enemy upon the seacoast. *Guortigern,* (says Nennius) *at the instance of Hengist, sent for Oetha and Ebissa to come and aid him; and they, with forty of their ciules, sailing round the Picts' coasts, wasted the Orcades, and possessed themselves of a great many islands and countries beyond the firth, even as far as the borders of the Picts.* At length, being mightily satisfied with the lands, customs, and plenty of Britain, and building upon the cowardice of the natives; under the pretence of ill pay and short diet, they enter into a league with the Picts, raise a most bloody war against their entertainers, the Britons, in all parts put the poor frightened inhabitants to the sword, waste their lands, raze their cities; and after many turns and changes in their several battles with Aurelius Ambrosius, (who had took upon him the government, in the administration whereof

his parents had lost their lives) and the warlike Arthur: at length dispossess the Britons of the best part of the island, and their hereditary estates. At which time (in a word) the miserable natives suffered whatever a conqueror may be imagined to inflict, or the conquered fear. For auxiliary troops flocking daily out of Germany, still engaged a fresh the harrassed Britons: such were the Saxons, the Jutes, (for that is their right name, not Vites,) and the Angles. They were indeed distinguished by these names, but promiscuously called Angles and Saxons. But of each of them let us treat severally and briefly, that, so far as is possible, we may discover the originals of our own nation.

Only, I must beg leave first to insert what Witichindus, a Saxon born, and an ancient writer, has left us concerning the coming over of the Saxons. *Britain, being by Vespasian Emperor reduced into the form of a province, and flourishing a long time under the protection of the Romans; was at last invaded by the neighbouring nations, as seeming to be abandoned by the Roman aids. For the Romans, after Martian Emperor was murdered by his own soldiers, were heavily annoyed with foreign wars, and so were not able to furnish their allies with aids, as they had formerly done. However, before they quitted this nation, they built a large wall for its defence, going along the borders from sea to sea, where they imagined the enemy would make the most vigorous assaults. But after a soft and lazy people were left to encounter a resolute and well-disciplined enemy, it was found no hard matter to demolish that work. In the meantime, the Saxons grew famous for their success in arms, and to them they dispatch a humble embassy to desire their assistance. The ambassadors being admitted to audience, made their addresses as follows:*

"Most noble Saxons, the miserable Britons, shattered and quite worn out by the frequent incursions of their enemies, upon the news of your many signal victories, have sent us to you, humbly requesting that you would assist them at this juncture. A land large and spacious, abounding with all manner of necessaries, they give up entirely to your disposal. Hitherto, we have lived happily under the government and protection of the Romans; next to the Romans, we know none of greater valour than yourselves, and therefore in your courage do now seek refuge. Let but that courage and those arms make us conquerors, and we refuse no service you shall please to impose."

' The Saxon nobles returned them this short answer. "Assure yourselves, the Saxons will be true friends to the Britons; and as such, shall be always ready both to relieve their necessities, and to advance their interest."

The ambassadors pleased with the answer, return home, and comfort their countrymen with the welcome news. Accordingly, the succours they had promised being dispatched for Britain, are received gratefully by their allies; and in a very little time clear the kingdom of invaders, and restore the country to the inhabitants. And indeed, there was no great difficulty in doing that, since the fame of the Saxon courage had so far terrified them, that their very presence was enough to drive them back. The people who infested the Britons, were the Scots and Picts; and the Saxons were supplied by the Britons with all necessaries to carry on the war against them. Upon which, they stayed in the country for some time, and lived in very good friendship with the Britons; till the commanders (observing that the land was large and fruitful, that the natives were no way inclined to war; and considering that themselves, and the greatest part of the Saxons, had no fixed home) send over for more forces, and striking up a peace with the Scots and Picts, make one body against

the Britons, force them out of the nation, and divide the country among their own people. Thus much Witichindus.

The origin and etymology of the Saxons, like as of other nations, has been confounded with fabulous conjectures, not only by monks, who understood nothing of antiquity, but even by some modern men, who pretend to an accuracy of judgment. One will have them derived from Saxo, son of Negnon, and brother of Vandalus; another from their stony temper; a third from the remains of the Macedonian army; a fourth from certain knives; which gave occasion to that rhyme in Engelhusius,

*Quippe brevis gladius apud illos saxa vocatur,
Unde sibi Saxo nomen traxisse putatur.*
The Saxon people did, as most believe,
Their name from *Saxa*, a short sword, receive.

Crantzius fetches them from the German Catti, and the learned Capnio from the Phrygians. Of these every man is at liberty to take his choice; nor shall I make it my business to confute such fabulous opinions. Only, I think the conjecture of those learned Germans, who imagine that the Saxons are descended from the Sacae, the most powerful people of Asia; that they are so called, as if one should say Sacasones, that is, the sons of the Sacae; and that out of Scythia or Sarmatia Asiatica, they poured by little and little into Europe, along with the Getes, the Swevi, and the Daci; this in my judgement deserves credit the best of any other. And indeed, the opinions of those men, who fetch the Saxons out of Asia, where mankind had its rise and growth, does not want some colour of reason. For besides that, Strabo affirms, that the Sacae (as before the Cimerii had done) did invade remote countries, and called a part of Armenia Sacacena, after their own name; Ptolemy likewise places the Sassones, Suevi, Massagetes, and Dahi, in that part of Scythia: and Cisner has observed, that those nations, after they came into Europe, retained the same vicinity they had formerly in Asia.

Nor is it less probable that our Saxons came from either the Sacae or Sassones of Asia, than it is that the Germans are descended from the Germani of Persia, mentioned by Herodotus; which they almost positively conclude from the affinity of those languages. For that admirable scholar, Joseph Scaliger, has told us, that *fader, muder, brader, tutchter, band*, and such like, are still used in the Persian language, in the same sense as we say, *father, mother, brother, daughter, bond*. But when the Saxons first began to have any name in the world, they lived in Cimbrica Chersonesus; which we now call Denmark; where they are placed by Ptolemy, who is the first that makes any mention of them. And in that place of Lucan,

Longisque leves Axones in armis.
—light Axons in long arms.

We are not to read Saxones (as some copies have it) but the truer reading is Axones. While they lived in this Cimbrica Chersonesus, in the time of Diocletian, they came along with their neighbours the Franks, and mightily infested our coasts; so that the Romans appointed Carausius to repel them. afterwards, passing the river Albis, part of them broke in by degrees upon the Suevian territories (which at this day is the dukedom of Saxony) and part took possession of Frisia and Batavia, which the Franks had quitted. For the Franks, who had formerly inhabited the inmost of those

fens in Friesland (some whereof are now washed into that sea, which at this day we call the Zuider-Zee) and afterwards had possessed themselves of Holland, being received into protection by Constantius Chlorus, Constantine the Great, and his sons, and sent to cultivate the more desert parts of Gaul: these (I say) either forcing a passage with the sword into more plentiful countries, or else, (as Zosimus tells us) driven out by the Saxons, left Holland. From which time, all the inhabitants of that sea-coast in Germany, who lived by piracy, have gone under the name of Saxons, as before they were called Franks. Those (I mean) who lived in Jutland, Schleswig, Holstein, Ditmarschen, the Bishopric of Bremen; the county of Oldenburg, East and West Friesland, and Holland. For the Saxon nation (as is observed by Fabius Quaestor Ethelwerd, who was of the royal line of the Saxons) *included all the sea-coast, between the river Rhine, and the city Donia, which now is commonly called Dane-Marc.* This author (not to conceal a person, who has been so serviceable to me) was first discovered by the eminent Mr. Thomas Allen of Oxford (a person of great learning) and amongst many others, communicated to me.

From this coast it was, that the Saxons, encouraged by the many slaughters of the Romans, frequently broke into the Roman provinces, and for a long time annoyed this island, till at last Hengist himself came. That this Hengist set sail for England out of Batavia or Holland, and built the castle of Leyden, is confirmed not only by the annals of Holland, but also by the noble Janus Dousa, a man of admirable parts and learning, who of that burg or tower, writes thus.

*Quem circinato moenium ut ambitu,
Sic arcuatis fornicibus novum
Putatur Hengistus Britanno
Orbe redux posuisse victor.*
The mighty Hengist, if we credit fame,
On circling arches raised this stately pile,
O'er British seas when he in triumph came,
And brought new laurels from the conquered isle.

The Jutes, so called (as many think) from the Gutes, Getes, or Goths, (for a manuscript copy reads Geatun) did no doubt inhabit the upper part of Cimbrica Chersonesus, which the Danes to this day call Jutland. 'Tis possible they may have descended from the Gutti, whom Ptolemy places in Scandia, and whose present seat is Gothland. But here I must caution you against assenting to the opinion of Jornandes, that this was the country of those Goths, who conquered and over-run Europe; since the most ancient, and best approved writers have told us, that they lived beyond the Ister, near the Euxine sea, and were formerly called Getes.

In what place the Angles lived, is a thing debated, and the opinions concerning it are several. Most authors place them in Westphalia, where Engern now stands, and where the Suevi-Angli, mentioned by Tacitus and Ptolemy, had their abode. With whom I agree, if they mean only of Tacitus's age; but I fancy they came down afterwards to the sea-coasts. Others seek for them in Pomerania, where there is a very considerable town called Angloen [Anklam]. But seeing these reach into the more inland parts of Germany, at so great a distance from the sea, we must seek out some other place where to seat our Angles; and Bede has directed us to seek them between the Saxons and the Jutes. *The Angles* (says he) *came out of that country, which is called Angulus, and is said from that time to lie waste, between the countries of the Jutes and Saxons.* But since between Jutland and Holsatia (the ancient seat of the

Saxons) there is a small province in the kingdom of Denmark and under the city of Flemsberg, called at this day Angel, which Lindebergius, in his epistles, terms Little-England; I am pretty well assured that I have found the ancient seat of our fore-fathers; and that from this very place the Angles came into our island. And what makes me more confident in my assertion, is the authority of that ancient author Ethelwerd, who writes thus; old Anglia is situated between the Saxons and Giots, the capital town whereof is called in Saxon Sleswick, but by the Danes Haithby. In the very same place Ptolemy seems to seat the Saxons; so that the middle-age poet is probably in the right.

—*Saxonia protulit anglos,
Hoc patet in lingua, niveoque colore.*—
Their rise to Saxony the Angles owe,
Their language, this, and native whiteness show.

Part of these Angles marching into the inner quarters of Germany, and mixing themselves with the Longobards and Suevians, broke into Italy, and are generally supposed to have left behind them some relics of their name; such are Engelheim, the native country of Charles the Great, Ingolstad, Engleburg, Englerute in Germany, and Angleria in Italy. What the etymology of the name is, I dare not positively say: however, I utterly reject that Angulus, son of Humblus, and Queen Angela, whom some silly people would have to be the founders of our nation. Nor can I believe that it had its name from angulus, a corner (as if it were a corner of the world) which is intimated in those common verses.

*Anglia terra ferax, & fertilis angulus orbis,
Insula praedives quae toto vix eget orbe.*
With richest wares, that take their happy birth,
Or from the face, or bowels of the earth,
Our fruitful corner of the world is blessed,
Not joined, and scarce beholden to the rest.

And as for Goropius's conjecture, that the Angli are derived from an *angle*, i.e., a fishing-rod, or fishing-hook, because (as he adds) they hook all to them, and are, as we commonly say, good anglers; this does not deserve so much to be credited, as laughed at. But whoever finds out the etymology of Engelbert, Engelhard, and such like German names, does in all probability at the same time discover the original of the Angli. That the Frisians came along with them into Britain, seems pretty plain from Procopius. And because that book is not extant, it may not be amiss to give you the place entire, as I had it transcribed from a copy in the King's library at Paris, by that singular good man, and complete antiquary, Franciscus Pithaeus (in my rude translation;) *The island Britain is inhabited by three most populous nations, each whereof has their several kings. The names of the people are the Angles, the Frisones, and those of the same name with the island, the Britons. As to the inhabitants, they seem to be so numerous, that every year they flock over in great companies, with their wives and children, to the Franks, who assign them that part of their island which is least cultivated. Upon this, they pretend a claim to the whole island of [Britain,] and 'tis not long, since the King of the Franks, dispatching some of his own subjects on an embassy to Constantinople to Justinian, sent along with them some of the Angles, out of pure ostentation, as if the island were under his dominions.*

These are the several people of Germany, who seated themselves in Britain. That they were but one nation, and called by one general name, sometimes Saxons, sometimes Angles, or (to distinguish them from those left behind in Germany) Anglo-Saxons; is pretty plain from Gildas, Boniface, Bede, Paulus Diaconus, and others. But in Latin they are most frequently termed *Gens Anglorum* (i.e. the nation of the Angles) and in their own language, to the same sense, Engla-theod.

The exact time when the Saxons were invited into Britain by Vortigern, is a dispute amongst writers: but to waive the rest, Bede and his followers do thus settle the chronology of those dark times.

In the 23rd year of Theodosius the younger, and that of Christ 430, the Britons over-powered by the Picts and Scots, desire aid of Aetius, then in his third consulship; but without success.

Under Valentinian the third, St. Germain came over into Britain two several times, to oppose Pelagianism; and leading up the Britons, the Picts, and Saxons, by virtue of his intercession to God, gained them the victory.

In the first year of Martian, and that of Christ 449, the nation of the English Saxons came over into Britain.

But since 'tis evident from the calendar of the consuls, that the third consulship of Aetius fell in the xxxixth year of that Theodosius, and of Christ 446, and since it appears by the most authentic writers, that St. Germain died in the year of Christ 435, there is some ground to suspect that the numerals in Bede have been corrupted, and that the Saxons came over hither before the year of Christ 449. For otherwise, how is it possible that St. Germain, who died in 435, should lead up the Britons against the Saxons, who by that computation were not then come over? Besides, Nennius affirms, that St. Germain returned out of Britain into his own country after the death of Vortigern, who was the person that invited the Saxons into Britain: so that their coming over must necessarily be before the year 435, the last of St. Germain's life. Farther yet, the second year after Leo the Great was made Pope (which falls in with that of Christ 443) Prosper Tiro, who lived at the same time, tells us, that Britain, after several engagements, was at last subdued to the Saxons. Which puts it beyond all dispute, that they came over before the year, I mean 449. But to remove all scruples about that matter, let me add this one chronological note, which is at the end of some copies of Nennius, and satisfies me beyond all the rest.

From the consulship of the two Gemini, Rufus and Rubellius, to that of Stilico, 373 years.

From Stilico to Valentinian, son of Placidia, and to the reign of Vortigern, 28 years.

From the reign of Vortigern, to the difference between Gaitolinus and Ambrosius, are 12 years: which is Guoloppum, i.e. Cathguoloph.

Vortigern reigned in Britain when Theodosius and Valentinian were consuls; and in the fourth year of his reign the Saxons came over, and were received by Vortigern, when Felix and Taurus were consuls.

From the year that the Saxons came into Britain, and were received by Vortigern; to Decius Valerianus, are 69 years.

Now by this computation, the English-Saxons must have come into Britain in the 21st year of Theodosius the younger, which is nearest to Bede's account of it, that is, the year of Christ 428. For then Felix and Taurus were consuls; and other circumstances, both of person and time, agree to it.

I think fit to advertise the reader of one thing more (not in the meantime to assume the character of a critic) that in many copies of Gildas, from whence Bede took that passage about Aetius, 'tis read *Agitio III. Consuli*: in others, the numerals are omitted, and 'tis writ *Aegitio*; and in one *Aequitio Cos*. But I could never find in the *Fasti*, any consul of that name, unless we can imagine that he was some extraordinary one.

Well, what time soever they came over, 'tis certain they showed a wonderful courage, which was yet tempered with great prudence. For in a very short time, they became so considerable, both for numbers, good customs, and large estates, that they were in a most prosperous and powerful condition, and their victory in a manner entire and absolute. All the conquered, setting aside some few, who took refuge in the uncultivated western parts, yielded themselves, and embraced their laws, name, and language. For besides England, the English-Saxons possessed themselves of the greatest part of Scotland (and the Highlanders, who are the true Scots, call them *Sassons* to this day:) where they use the same tongue with us, only varying a little in the dialect. And this language we and they have kept in a manner incorrupt, along with the kingdom, for 1150 years. By which it appears how trivial and false that is (amongst others of the same nature) which the Saxon prophets foretold, when they set sail for this island, *that they should stay here only 300 years, and that 150 of these should be mostly taken up in wasting the country*.

The subject matter and place seem next to require that something be added concerning the customs of our fore-fathers the Saxons; and therefore I shall set down what I have observed upon that head.

The Saxons were in general a warlike nation; *and* (as Zosimus has told us) *were looked upon to be the most valiant of all the Germans, both for a greatness of soul, strength of body, and a hardy temper. Marcellinus observes, that the Romans dreaded them above all others, because their motions were always sudden. And Orosius says, for their courage and activity they were terrible. Saxony is a place inaccessible by reason of the marshes, and the frontiers of it are unpassable. But though this may seem to secure them in a great measure against invasions, and though the captive Saxons frequently made up a part in the Roman triumphs; yet are they accounted a most stout sort of men, excelling all others in piracies: wherein they rely more upon their fly-boats than their own courage, and make it their business, not so much to fight, as to run. Thus far Egesippus; who is followed by Isidorus: the Saxons [says he] situate upon the seashore, and among fens unpassable, are very stout and very active. From whence they took their names, as being a hardy resolute sort of men, and in piracy outdoing all others. They were eminent for tallness, symmetry of parts, and exactness of features, which gave Witichindus the monk occasion to leave us this description of them. The Franks were amazed to see men of such vast bodies, and so great souls. They wondered at their strange habit and armour, at their hair dangling down upon their shoulders, and above all at their courage and resolution. Their clothes were close-coats; their arms, long spears: when they stood, they leaned upon little shields; and they wore a sort of large knives hanging before. But formerly they used to shave their heads to the very skin, except a*

little about the crown; and wore a plate round their heads: as Sidonius Apollinaris plainly intimates in those verses.

*Istic Saxona caerulum videmus
Adsuetum ante salo solum timere,
Cujus verticis extimas per oras
Non contenta suos tenere morsus
Altat lamina marginem comarum,
Et sic crinibus ad cutem rescissis,
Decrescit caput, additurque vultus.*

Here 'twas we saw the purple Saxon stand,
Used to rough seas, yet shaking on the land.
The frozen plate that on their crown they wear,
In one great turf drives up their bushy hair:
The rest they keep close shaved; and thus their face
Appears still bigger, as their head grows less.

What their habits were, may be learnt from Paulus Diaconus's observation upon the Longobards: *their clothes were loose, and generally linen, such as the English Saxons use; the trimming, broad, made up of several colours.*

They were admirably skilled in marine affairs; and by their constant piracies for so long, had inured themselves so to the sea, that (as the same author observes) they dreaded the land. They disturbed the sea-coasts of Britain and France, even as far as Spain, to that degree, that 'twas found necessary to guard the shores of both kingdoms with officers and soldiers, against any attempts they might make upon them. And those for that reason were called the counts of the Saxon Shore, along Britain and France. But for all that, by the help of their nimble fly-boats, they made a shift very frequently to prey upon our coasts. To which allude those verses of Sidonius Apollinaris;

*Quin & Aremoricus piratam Saxona tractus
Sperabat, cui pelle salum sulcare Britannum
Ludus, & assuto glaucum mare findere lembo.*
ARMORICA the Saxon pirates feared,
That on the British coasts in shoals appeared,
And through the narrow sea in boats of leather steered.

But in France, near little Britain, they got possession of all that part about Bayeux, and kept it too for a long time; as is evident from Gregorius Turonensis, who calls them Saxones Baiocassini, as the vulgar term them *Sesnes Bessins*.

With what barbarity they preyed upon our coasts, Sidonius himself will tell you. *The messenger (says he) whom we discoursed pretty largely about your affairs, assured us you had lately charged the enemy at sea, that you were wholly taken up between rowing and fighting, and that you were upon the winding sea-coasts, giving chase to the fly-boats of the Saxons, and in these assure yourself of as many head-pirates as there are rowers: they are all at the same time both masters and servants, all teach and learn in this their trade of robbing. So that a caution to have a special care of yourself, is highly necessary at this time. He's ths worst enemy you can engage. He takes you unawares, is gone in a moment, despises all opposition, and certainly worsts you, if you are not very well provided. If he pursue, he undoubtedly*

catches you; if he flies, he always escapes. Shipwrecks are so far from frightening him, that they harden him. These people do not only understand all the dangers of the seas, but are intimately acquainted with them. In a tempest, if they are pursued, it gives them an opportunity of escaping; if they are pursuing, it secures them against being discovered at any considerable distance. They'll willingly venture their lives among waves and rocks, if there's any hopes of surprising the enemy. Always before they disanchor and set sail homewards, their custom is, to take every tenth captive and put them to death by equal and exquisite tortures; which is the more melancholy, because it proceeds from superstition: and after those who are to die, are got together, they pretend to temper the injustice of their death, by a seeming equity of lots.

*Such are their vows, and with such victims do they discharge them; thus being rather polluted with sacrilege, than purified by sacrifices, those bloody murderers look upon it as a greater piece of religion to rack a poor captive, than to let him be ransomed. To this purpose is that fragment of an ancient history we find in Isidore. The Saxon nation relies more upon their fly-boats than their courage; and are always provided rather to run than fight. And that of Salvian, who lived in those times, concerning the barbarous nations. The Alani are immodest, but not treacherous; the Franks are treacherous, but very courteous; the Saxons are very cruel, but exceeding chaste. Of so much constancy and resolution were they (if a man may so call it,) that they would rather choose to murder themselves, and throw away their lives, than be exposed to the contempt of others. So that when Symmachus had provided a number of them against the public shows, that very day they were to be brought into the theatre, they strangled themselves, and so baulked the people of that piece of diversion. Of these, Symmachus himself writes thus: *the number of the Saxons is lessened by death; for the private guards not watching narrowly enough the wicked hands of that desperate nation, the first day of the sword-play-show discovered nine and twenty of them strangled, without a halter.**

This Saxon nation was likewise strangely superstitious; for which reason, whenever they had any weighty matters under debate, besides their sooth-saying they were principally directed by the neighing of horses, which they looked upon as foreboding, and this may possibly be the reason why the Dukes of Saxony bore in their arms a horse. But why our Hengist and Horsa were called so from an horse, (for both these names in Saxon signify an horse) is a mystery to me; unless perhaps designed to portend their warlike courage; according to that of Virgil,

Bello armantur equi, bella haec armenta minantur.

Horses are armed for war, approaching war

Such beasts presage.—

They also very much used casting of lots; and cutting a branch off some fruit-tree, divided it into little slips: each of these they distinguished by several marks, and so cast them promiscuously upon a white cloth. Next, if the consultation was upon public affairs, the priest; but if upon private, the master of the family, after intercessions to the gods, looking up to heaven, took each of them up three several times, and then gave an interpretation according to the mark set upon them. To foresee the events of wars, they used to take a captive of that nation they had a design upon, and oblige him to fight a duel with some one of their own country: each was to fight with the arms of his country; and by the issue of this, they concluded which side would be conqueror. The God they most worshipped was Mercury, whom they called

Woden; his sacrifices were men, and the day consecrated to him, the fourth of the week, which we therefore at this day call Wednesday. The sixth, they consecrated to Venus, whom they called Frea, and Frico, from whence we call that day Friday: As Tuesday is derived from Tuisco, the founder of the German nation. They had a goddess they called Eoster, to whom they sacrificed in the month April; upon which, says Bede, they called April *Eoster-Monath*; and we at this day call that season the feast of Easter. *The Angles* (saith Tacitus) *as do the other neighbouring nations, worshiped Herthus, i.e. their mother earth; imagining that she interested herself in the affairs of men and nations.* In our language, that word still signifies *earth*, but not in the German; for they use *arden* to signify *earth*. The same Ethelwerd before mentioned has left us this account of their superstitions, as to what relates to his own times. *The northern infidels have been seduced to such a degree, that to this day the Danes, Normans, and Suevians, worship Woden as their Lord.* And in another place: *The barbarous nations honoured Woden as a God; and those pagans offered sacrifice to him, to make them victorious and valiant.*

But Adam Bremensis gives a more full account of those matters. *In a temple (called in their vulgar tongue Ubsola, the furniture whereof is all of gold) the people worship the statues of three gods. Thor, the most powerful of them, has a room by himself in the middle; on each side of him are Woden and Fricco. The emblems of them are these: Thor they take to be the ruler of the air, and to send, as he sees convenient, thunder and lightning, winds and showers, fair weather and fruit. Wodan, the second, is more valiant; 'tis he that manages wars, and inspires people with courage against their enemies. Fricco, the third, presents men with peace and pleasure; and his statue is cut with a large privy-member. They engrave Woden armed, as Mars is with us. Thor seems to be represented with the sceptre of Jupiter.* But these errors have at length given way to the truth of Christianity.

After they had fixed themselves in Britain, they divided it into seven kingdoms, and made of it a heptarchy. But even in that, he who was most powerful, was (as Bede has observed) styled King of the English nation; so that in the very heptarchy, there seems always to have been a sort of monarchy. Afterwards Austin, who is commonly called the English apostle, was dispatched hither by Gregory the Great; and banishing those monsters of heathenish profaneness, did with wonderful success plant Christ in their hearts, and convert them to the Christian faith. How it came to pass that Gregory should have so peculiar a concern for the conversion of the English nation, we may learn from venerable Bede, who has left us what himself had by tradition. *The report goes, that on a certain day, when the merchants were newly come ashore, and great variety of wares was exposed to sale, many chapmen flocked together, and amongst the rest Gregory himself. He took notice, amongst other things, of some boys that were to be sold: their bodies were white, their looks sweet, and their hair lovely. After he had viewed them, he enquired (as the story goes) from what country or nation they came? They told him from the isle of Britain, the inhabitants whereof were all of that beautiful complexion. Next, he asked them, whether the people of that island were Christians, or were yet involved in the errors of paganism? The answer was, that they were pagans. At which, fetching a deep sigh, alas! (says he) that the father of darkness should be master of such bright faces, and that such comely looks should carry along with them a mind void of internal grace. Another question he put to them, was about the name of that country. They told him the people were called Angles. And (says he) not amiss: for as they have angelical looks, so it is fit that such should be fellow-heirs with the angels in heaven. But what was the name*

of that peculiar province from whence these were brought? 'Twas answered, the inhabitants of it were called Deiri. Yes (says he) Deiri, as much as de ira eruti, i.e. delivered from wrath, and invited to the mercy of Christ. What is the King's name of that province? They told him, Aello, and alluding to the name, 'tis fitting (says he) that Alleluia should be sung in those parts to the praise of God our creator. Upon this, going to the Pope, (for it happened before he was made Pope himself) he begged of him to send the English nation some ministers of the gospel into Britain, by whose preaching they might be converted to Christ; adding, that himself was ready, by the assistance of God, to finish this great work, if it should please his holiness to have it carried on.

Concerning the same conversion, Gregory the great writes thus: *Behold how it has pierced into the hearts of all nations! How the very bounds of East and West are joined in one common faith! Even the British tongue, which used to mutter nothing but barbarity, has a good while since begun to echo forth the Hebrew Halleluia in divine anthems. And in a letter to Austin himself: Who can express the general satisfaction among all faithful people, since the English nation (by the operating grace of almighty God, and the endeavours of you our brother) has quitted those black errors, and is enlightned with the beams of our holy faith; since with a most pious zeal they now tread under foot those idols, before which they formerly kneeled with a blind sort of veneration. In an ancient fragment of that age, we read thus: Upon one single Christmas Day, (to the eternal honour of the English nation) Austin baptized above ten thousand men, besides an infinite number of women and children. But pray, how should priests, or any others in holy orders, be got to baptize such a prodigious number? The Archbishop, after he had consecrated the river Swale, ordered by the criers and principal men, that they should with faith go in two by two, and in the name of the Holy Trinity baptize each other. Thus were they all regenerate, by as great a miracle, as once the people of Israel passed over the divided sea, and Jordan, when 'twas turned back. For in the same manner here, so great a variety, both of sex and age, passed such a deep channel, and yet (which is almost incredible) not one received any harm. A strange miracle this was: but what is yet a greater, the river cures all diseases and infirmities. Whoever steps in faint and disordered, comes out sound and whole. What a joyful sight was this for angels and men! So many thousands of a proselyte nation, coming out of the Channel of the same river, as if it had been out of the womb of one mother! One single pool preparing so many inhabitants for the heavenly mansions! Hereupon his holiness Pope Gregory (with all the companies of the saints above) broke forth into joy; and could not rest till he had writ to Eulogius, the holy patriarch of Alexandria, to join with him in that his transport, for so vast a number being baptized on one Christmas day.*

No sooner was the name of Christ preached in the English nation, but with a most fervent zeal they consecrated themselves to it, and laid out their utmost endeavours to promote it, by discharging all the duties of Christian piety, by erecting churches, and endowing them: so that no part of the Christian world could show either more or richer monasteries. Nay, even some kings preferred a religious life before their very crowns. So many holy men did it produce, who for their firm profession of the Christian religion, their resolute perseverance in it, and their unfeigned piety, were sainted; that in this point 'tis equal to any country in the whole Christian world. And as that profane Porphyry styled Britain *a province fruitful in tyrants*, so England might justly be called an *island fruitful in saints*.

Afterwards, they begun to promote human learning, and by the help of Winifrid, Willebrod, and others, conveyed that and the gospel together into Germany; as a German poet has told us in these verses:

*Haec tamen Arctois laus est aeterna Britannis,
Quod post Pannonicis vastatum incuribus orbem,
Illa bonas artes, & graiae munera linguae,
Stellarumque vias, & magni sydera coeli
Observans, iterum turbatis intulit oris.
Quin se religio, multum debere Britannis
Servata, & late circum dispersa fatetur:
Quis nomen, Winfride, tuum, quis munera nescit?
Te duce, Germanis pietas se vera, fidesque
Insinuans, coepit ritus abolere prophanos.
Quid non Alcuino facunda Lutetia debes?
Instaurare bonas ibi qui foeliciter artes,
Barbariemque procul solus depellere coepit.
Quid? Tibi divinumque Bedam, doctissimus olim
Tam varias unus bene qui cognoverat artes
Debemus.—*

Let this to Britain's lasting fame be said,
When barbarous troops the civil world o'erspread,
And persecuted science into exile fled:
'Twas happy she did all those arts restore,
That Greece or Rome had boasted of before:
Taught the rude world to climb the untrod spheres,
And trace th'eternal courses of the stars.
Nor learning only, but religion too,
Her rise and growth to British soil doth owe.
'Twas thou, blessed Winifred, whose virtue's light
From our dull climate chased the fogs of night:
Profanest rites thy pious charms obeyed,
And trembling superstition owned thy power and fled.
Nor smaller tokens of esteem from France
Alcuinus claims, who durst himself advance
Single against whole troops of ignorance.
'Twas he transported Britain's richest ware,
Language and arts, and kindly taught them here.
With him his master Bede shall ever live,
And all the learning he engrossed, survive.

And Peter Ramus farther adds, that Britain was twice school-mistress to France; meaning, first by the Druids, and then by Alcuinus, who was the main instrument made use of by Charles the Great, towards erecting an university at Paris.

And as they furnished Germany with learning and religion, so also with military discipline. Nay, what is more, those Saxons who live in the dukedom of Saxony are descended from them, if we may depend upon Eginhardus's words. *The Saxon nation (as antiquities tell us) leaving those Angles which inhabit Britain, out of a desire, or rather necessity of settling in some new home, marched over sea, towards the German coasts, and came ashore at a place named Haduloha, 'twas about that time, Theoderic King of the Franks made war upon Hirminfrid, Duke of the Thuringi, his son-in-law, and barbarously wasted their land with fire and sword. After two set*

battles, the victory was still depending, though there had been considerable losses on both sides. Upon which, Theoderic disappointed of his hopes of conquest, sent ambassadors to the Saxons. Their Duke at that time was one Hadugato; who, as soon as he heard their business, and their proposals of living together in case of victory, marched with an army to their assistance. By the help of these, (who fought it out stoutly, like men that dispute for liberty and property) he conquered the enemy, spoiled the inhabitants, put most of them to the sword, and according to promise yielded the land to the auxiliaries. They divided it by lot; and because the war had reduced them to so small a number that they could not people the whole, part of it, especially all that which lies eastward, they let out to the boors; each of which, according to his quantity, was to pay a certain rent. The rest they cultivated themselves. On the South side of them lived the Franks, and a party of the Thuringi, who had not been engaged in the late war; from whom they were divided by the river Unstrote. On the North side, the Normans, a most resolute nation: on the East, the Obotriti; and on the West, the Frisians. Against these they were always maintaining their ground, either by truces, or continual skirmishes. But now let us return to our English Saxons.

The Saxons for a long time lived under their heptarchy in a flourishing condition; till at last, all the other kingdoms, shattered with civil wars, were subdued to that of the West Saxons. For Egbert, King of the West Saxons, after he had conquered four of these kingdoms, and had a fair prospect of the other two; to unite them in name, as he had already done in government, and to keep up the memory of his own nation, published an edict, wherein 'twas ordered that the whole heptarchy, which the Saxons had possessed themselves of, should be called *Englelond*, i.e. The land of the Angles. From hence came the Latin *Anglia*, taking that name from the Angles, who of the three nations [that came over] were most numerous and most valiant. The kingdoms of Northumberland and Mercia, two of the largest, with that of the East Angles, were theirs; whereas the Jutes had no more than Kent, and the Isle of Wight; and the Saxons, East, West, and South Saxony; very narrow bounds, if compared with those large territories of the Angles. From these, now time out of mind, they have been called by one general name, Angles, and in their own language, *Englatheod*, *Anglcynne*, *Englcynne*, *Englisomon*; though at the same time every particular kingdom had a distinct name of its own. And this, as it is evident from other writers, so especially from Bede, who entitles his history, the history of the English nation. So even in the Heptarchy, the kings that were more powerful than the rest, were styled the kings of the English nation. Then it was that the name of Britain fell into disuse in this island; and was only to be found in books, being never heard in common talk. So that Boniface, Bishop of Mainz, an English-man born, terms our nation *Transmarine Saxony*. But King Eadred, as appears from some charters, about the year 948, styled himself King of Great Britain; and Edgar, about 970, used the title of Monarch of All Albion.

When 'twas called England, then were the Angles in the height of their glory; and as such (according to the common revolution of things) were ready for a fall. For the Danes, after they had preyed upon our coasts for many years together, began at last to make miserable havoc of the nation itself.



The names of the English Saxons.

I had designed here to insert a catalogue of the order and succession of the Saxon kings as well in the heptarchy as monarchy; but because this may not be a proper place for 'em, and 'tis possible a heap of bare names may hardly be so acceptable; perhaps I shall oblige the reader more by drawing up a short scheme of the observations I have made (especially out of Aelfric the grammarian) concerning the force, original, and signification of the names themselves. Not that I pretend to explain every name, for that would be too much labour; besides, that such barbarous names, wherein there is a great emphasis, a concise brevity, and something of ambiguity, are very hardly translated into another language. But because most of them are compounds, the simples whereof are very few; I shall explain the latter, that so the signification of the former (which always implied something of good luck) may be the more easily discovered; and to show that the derivation of names, mentioned by Plato, is to be found in all nations.

AEL, EAL and **AL**, in compound names (as *pan* in the Greek compounds) signifies *all* or *altogether*. So *Aelwin*, is a complete conqueror: *Albert*, all illustrious: *Aldred*, altogether reverend: *Alfred*, altogether peaceful. To these, *Pammachias*, *Pancratius*, *Pamphilus*, &c. do in some measure answer.

AELF (which according to various dialects, is pronounced *ulf*, *wolph*, *hulph*, *hilp*, *helfe*, and at this day *helpe*) implies *assistance*. So *Aelfwin*, is victorious aid: *Aelfwold*, an auxiliary governor: *Aelfgifa*, a lender of assistance. With which, *Boetius*, *Symmachus*, *Epicurus*, &c. bear some analogy.

ARD signifies *natural disposition*. As *Godard*, is a divine temper: *Reinard*, a sincere temper: *Giffard*, a bountiful and liberal disposition: *Bernard*, a filial affection.

ATHEL, ADEL and **AETHEL** is *noble*. So *Ethelred*, is noble for counsel: *Ethelard*, a noble genius: *Ethelbert*, eminently noble: *Ethelward*, a noble protector.

BERT is the same with our *bright*; in the Latin *illustris* and *clarus*. So *Ecbert*, eternally famous or bright: *Sigbert*, famous conqueror: and she that was termed by the Germans *Bertha*, was by the Greeks called *Eudoxia*, as is observed by Luitprandus. Of the same sort were these, *Phaedrus*, *Epiphanius*, *Photius*, *Lampridius*, *Fulgentius*, *Illustrius*.

BALD, as we learn from Jornandes, was used by the northern nations to signify the same as the Latin *audax*, *bold*; and is still in use. So *Baldwin* (and by inversion *Winbald*) is bold conqueror: *Ethelbald*, nobly bold: *Eadbald*, happily bold; which have the same import as *Thruseas*, *Thrasymachus*, *Thrasylulus*, &c.

KEN, and **KIN**, denote *kinsfolk*. So *Kinulph*, is help to kindred: *Kinehelm*, a protector of his kindred: *Kinburg*, the defence of her kindred: *Kinric*, powerful in kindred.

CUTH signifies knowledge, or skill. So *Cuthwin*, is a knowing conqueror: *Cuthred*, a knowing counsellor: *Cuthbert*, famous for skill. Much of the same nature are *Sophocles*, *Sophianus*, &c.

EAD in the compounds, and **EADIG**, in the simple names, denotes *happiness*, or *blessedness*. Thus *Eadward* is a happy preserver: *Eadulph*, happy assistance:

Edgar, happy power: *Eadwin*, happy conqueror. Which *Macarius*, *Eupolemus*, *Faustus*, *Fortunatus*, *Felicianus*, &c. do in some measure resemble.

FRED is the same with *peace*; upon which our fore-fathers called their sanctuaries *fred-stole*, i.e. the seat of peace. So *Frederic*, is powerful or wealthy in peace: *Winfred*, victorious peace: *Reinfred*, sincere peace.

GISLE, among the English-Saxons signifies a *pledge*. Thus *Fredgisle*, is a pledge of peace: *Gislebert* an illustrious pledge: like the Greek *Homerus*.

HOLD, in the old glossaries is taken in the same sense with *wold*, i.e. A governor or chief officer; but in some other places for love, as *Holdlic*, lovely.

HELM denotes *defence*; as *Eadhelm*, happy defence: *Sighelm*, victorious defence: *Berthelm*, eminent defence: like *Amyntas*, and *Boetius* in the Greek.

HARE, and **HERE**, as they are differently pronounced, signify both *an army* and *a Lord*. So *Harold*, is a general of an army: *Hareman*, a chief man in the army: *Herebert*, famous in the army: *Herwin*, a victorious army. Which are much like *Stratocles*, *Polemarchus*, *Hegesistratus*, &c.

HILD in Aelfric's grammar is interpreted a *Lord*, or *Lady*. So *Hildebert*, is a noble Lord: *Mahtild*, an heroic lady: and in the same sense is *Wiga* found.

LEOD signifies *the people*. Thus *Leodgar*, is one of great interest with the people.

LEOF denotes *love*. So *Leofwin*, is a winner of love: *Leafstan*, the best beloved. Like these, *Agapetus*, *Erasmus*, *Erastus*, *Philo*, *Amandus*.

MUND is *peace*; from whence our lawyers call a breach of the peace, *mundbrech*. So *Eadmund*, is happy peace: *Ethelmund*, noble peace. *Aelmund*, all peace: equivalent to which, are *Irenaeus*, *Hesychius*, *Pacatus*, *Sedatus*, *Tranquillus*, &c.

RAD, **RED** and **ROD**, differing only in dialect, signify *counsel*; as *Conrad*, powerful or skilful in counsel. *Ethelred*, a noble counsellor: *Rodbert*, eminent for counsel. *Eubulus*, and *Thrasybulus*, have almost the same sense.

RIC denotes a *powerful, wealthy, or valiant man*; as *Fortunatus* in those verses seems to hint.

Hilperice potens, si interpres barbarus adsit
Adiutor fortis hoc quoque nomen habet.
Hilperic barbarians a stout helper term.

So *Aelfric*, is altogether strong: *Ethelric*, noble, strong, or powerful. To the same purpose, are *Polycrates*, *Crato*, *Plutarchus*, *Opimius*.

SIG they used for *victory*; as *Sigebert*, famous for victory: *Sigward*, victorious preserver: *Sigard*, conquering temper. And almost in the same sense, are *Nicocles*, *Nicomachus*, *Nicander*, *Victor*, *Victorinus*, *Vincentius*, &c.

STAN amongst our forefathers was the termination of the superlative degree. So *Athelstan*, most noble: *Betstan*, the best: *Leofstan*, the dearest: *Wistan*, the wisest: *Dunstan*, the highest.

WI, *Holy*. Thus *Wimund*, holy peace: *Wibert*, eminent for sanctity: *Alwi*, altogether holy. Like to which is *Hierocles*, *Hieronymus*, *Hosius*, &c.

WILLI and **VILI**, among the English-Saxons (as *billi* at this day among the Germans) signified *several things*. So *Willielmus*, is the defender of many: *Wildred*, worthy of respect from many: *Wilfred*, peace to many. Which are answered in sense and signification by *Polymachus*, *Polycrates*, *Polyphilus*, &c.

WOLD and **WALD** with them signified a *ruler*, or *governor*. From whence *Bertwold*, is a famous governor; *Ethelwold*, a noble governor: *Herwald*, and by inversion *Waldher*, a general of an army.

But here let us stop, since others as well as myself, will think I have said too much upon a trifling subject.

It may perhaps be more considerable (supposing that these papers have the good fortune to live) if I tell posterity what I myself am an eye-witness of: that as Egbert commanded this nearer part of Britain, then in his own dominion, to be called England; so now after about 800 years, just whilst I am revising this work, King James, being by the favour of heaven, and his own hereditary title, invested in the monarchy of this island, to the general satisfaction of all good men, (that as the island is but one, encompassed with one sea, under his own single person, one crown, the same language, religion, laws, and judicial process; so to settle it in a lasting happiness, and to remove all old quarrels, it should be called by one name:) King James (I say) in the second year of his reign, by a public edict assumed the title of King of Great Britain in all cases whatsoever, setting aside the instruments in law.

Notes on the Saxon coins.

By Mr. Walker.

I. The Saxons and Franks bordered upon one another in their ancient seats between the Elbe and the Rhine, and changed their countries much about the same time; a little before the year of Christ 450. For a King of the Franks dying, left two sons (who contended for the kingdom) the elder (whose name we know not) took part with Attila, and brought an army to him; as the younger did to Aetius: this seems, by good authors, to have been Meroveus, a very valiant prince, and great friend to the Romans. To him, after that great battle, Aetius gave part of of Gallia, then very much depopulated by those destructive wars; which he going to possess, took with him the whole remainder of his nation; into whose country the Saxons succeeded. But a few years after, a considerable part of them also relinquished it, accepting that invitation into Britain. Both nations seem to have spoken the same language, retained the same customs, and to have imitated one another, as in many other things, so in their coins; both as to figure, weight, and manner of stamping. On the one side placing the King's face (and sometimes his name only,) on the other the name of the mint-master, and sometimes of the governor of the place where coined. So that there is little or no erudition to be gained by them: (though their predecessors, the Britons, were careful after their embracing Christianity, to express some of its customs and ceremonies) but in this they differed, that the Franks used more variety, and frequent changes, both of alloy, weight, and value in their coins; and their princes made more use of their seignourage, or sovereign power of coining, to the no small disadvantage and trouble of their subjects; insomuch that they petitioned King Charles VII to quit this his prerogative; and they would consent, that he should impose upon them *tailles* (taxes) and aides. To which the King consented; reserving to himself only such a proportion of the seignourage, as might pay the officers of the mint, and the charges of fabrication. Whereas this nation hath very seldom practised it either then or since. And though the French writers very much applaud us for it; yet the reason may be, that we have not such great occasions and necessities to force us to it. Therefore neither have we such variety of laws, records, or regulations of moneys as in France are in the *court des monnaies*, established for those orderings and pleas concerning their money. And I conceive the reason to be, because very much more money was requisite to be coined in that rich and spacious dominion, exceedingly also, because of its situation, frequented by merchants; than in this small corner: as, I think, appears from this, that all our money is readily fabricated in one place, whereas in France more than 20 are hardly sufficient. And though in the Saxon times the like licence was granted to several cities and large towns; yet it seems, by what remains of them we find, that no great quantity was here coined; nor can I imagine whence they should obtain any great quantity of bullion.

II. Though there be not much erudition in these coins (as indeed neither was there in the times of the later Emperors of Rome, who after Aurelian, did more regard the profit of the money, than the honour of their actions) yet something now and then occurs. But I think there is no man who would not be glad to see the countenances and other relicts of their victorious ancestors. For notwithstanding what some have written, it seems very difficult to show such a succession of worthy princes in any nation, as were those of the Saxons; especially the progeny and successors of Cerdic in the West. For, even when pagans, they were very active, valiant, warlike, and

governed their people in great justice and peaceableness. Amongst so many of them 'tis wonderful to see how few were slothful or vicious.

III. Concerning their coins in general, it is observable, that we have much fewer of brass than either gold or silver; most of them also are small (pennies) equal to about 3 of our pence. They are also thin to hinder falsifying. The kings, even when the kingdom was reduced to one monarchy, had several minting-houses. Divers bishops also, and some noblemen, had privileges to coin. King Ethelstan had at London 8; at Winchester 6; at Lewis, Hastings, Hampton, Wareham, in each two; at Chichester one; at Rochester 3, (the King two, the bishop one); at Canterbury 7, (the King 4, the Archbishop 2, the Abbot one) &c. The reverse upon their coins was commonly quarterly divided: for at first they made no other money, and when they would have a half-penny or farthing, they broke them into two or four parts; and these are called broken money to this day. Hoveden saith, that Henry I was the first that coined half-pence and farthings. *Quoniam ante sua tempora, cum obolum vel quadrantem vellent, denarium in binas vel quatuor partes diruperunt.*<72> Harding also saith, that Edward IV was the first, who coined greats or great pennies; which I think is false, for those peices were stamped in Edward the Third's time. The Danes also, whilst they governed here, used the Saxon-like penny; though they reckoned by *ores*, but having never seen any of them, I conceive it was not the name of any coin, but used only in accounting, as with us, a mark, a noble, &c.

IV. Ingulfus observes, that the Saxon alphabet was changed by King Alfred, who being very learned and curious, introduced the French manner of writing. Their former hand seems to have borrowed much from the runic, as you may see in the table added to the last plate of the Roman coins. That which he introduced was according to the best Roman at that time used, though he took it from the French. For, by those characters we can make good judgment of the writings of those times, and the antiquity of the manuscripts. Their *W* (the form whereof may be seen in the Saxon alphabet) was peculiar to them: it seems to have been in pronunciation the same with the *V* consonant; which seems anciently not to have partaked of the *B*. For that sound Emperor Claudius invented the *digamma aeolicum*; but after his death, it was disused. *Vir* the Saxons pronounced *were*; *vallum*, *wall*; *vidua*, *widwe* a widow, and the like. The Greeks expressed *Vespasianus* by *Oiespasianos*: The Latins called *vinum*, the Saxons *wine*. More may be observed concerning their alphabet, which perhaps may be considered in another place.

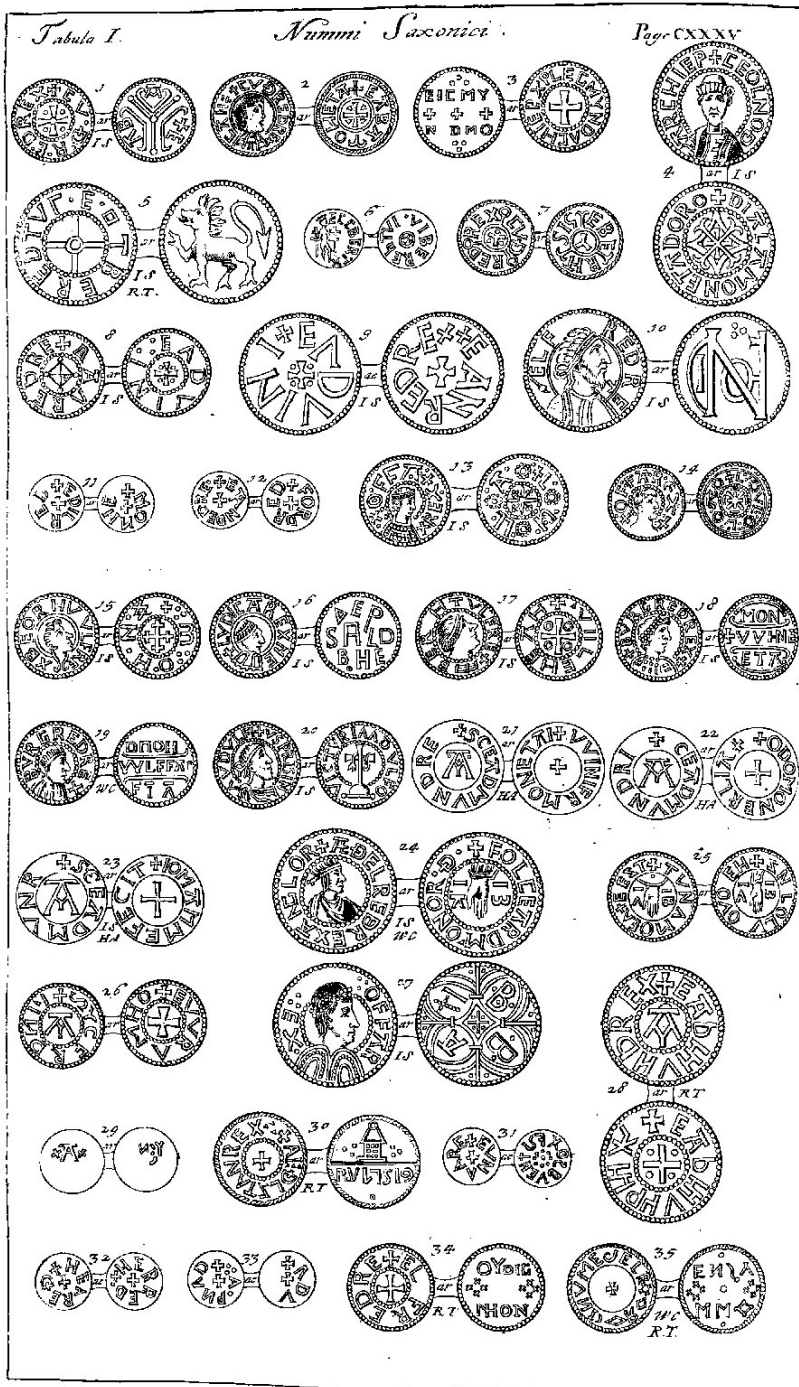


Illustration: Saxon Coins Table I

1, 2. The first and second are of the same Cuthred King of Kent, (there seem very few coins of these princes extant). There were also two of the same name West Saxons, and Christians. This Cuthred was by Coenulf King of Mercia made King instead of Eadbertus Pren. He reigned, though obscurely, as being set up by an enemy, 8 years, and died *anno* 805.

3. The third is of Plegmund, *anno* 890, chosen by God and all his saints (saith Chr. Sax.) to be Archbishop of Canterbury. He was a person of excellent worth for learning, prudence, and devotion; at first an hermit living near Chester, whence he was brought by King Alfred, both to instruct him when young, and advise him when he came to his kingdom; by whom also he was thus advanced. He was in great veneration in the whole church, as appears by the Archbishop of Rheims' letters: he deceased *anno* 923.

4. The fourth, Ceolnoth consecrated Archbishop, Sept. 1, 830, and *anno* 831 received the pallium, he died 870. He was commonly called, the good bishop.

5. The fifth, Eadberht was the name of two kings of Kent, and one of Northumberland. Which of these coined this money is uncertain. His name (as too many of those of our ancient kings) is diversely written, as Edbert, Eadbert, &c. The reverse (a dragon) if yet it be a dragon (v. Tab. 1. Sect. 3.) was an ensign used by divers of the northern princes; this seems copied from one of Antiochus Epiphanes. The Romans from Trajan's conquering of the Dacians used it also; but theirs was in the form of a great serpent, and not of an imagination as this is.

6. The 6th, Ecgbert was the name also of divers Saxon kings; one of Kent, one of Northumberland, one of Mercia; besides him of the West Saxons, who reduced all the kingdoms into one monarchy. For whom this coin was made, is to me unknown: he seems placed between two crosses in imitation of some of the eastern Emperors. The reverse seems only the name of the mint-master. Uiborhtus is a name still in reputation in the North; it may be this Ecberht was the Northumbrian.

7. The seventh, Cuthred, whether the same with the former, is not known. I rather think him to be the West Saxon, brother of Ethelwerd, about *anno* 740, a valiant and victorious prince. Sigebert seems to have been the noble person, commander of the place where this was coined.

8. The eighth, Alred, is Alhred King of Northumberland *anno* 765; he reigned 8 years, and at York was expelled his kingdom *anno* 774. On the reverse, Edwin, seems to have been a nobleman.

9. The ninth, Eanred, may either be Eanfrid or Eandred, both kings of Northumberland. Eanfrid, eldest son of Ethelfrith, was expelled his country by Edwin; who had slain his father, and usurped the kingdom *anno* 617, but being slain by Ceadwalla and Penda, Eanfrid returned to the crown *anno* 634, was baptized, and built St. Peter's church at York, (whereof St. Edwin had laid the foundation) making Paulinus bishop. Eadwin on the reverse seems to have succeeded Eanfrid after some years.

10. The tenth, Alfred seems by the cypher or monogram on the reverse to have been the King of Northumberland (the face not corresponding to that of Alfred the West Saxon). He murdered his true and lawful prince *anno* 765; himself was expelled also. He is said to have been very learned: to show which, it may be that he stamped that monogram on the reverse: after the example of divers Constantinopolitan Emperors; but not after those of the Franks; which was begun by Charles the Great, probably because he could not write so much as his name, as Eginhart saith; and that even in his old age he vainly endeavoured to learn.

11. The eleventh Edilred, seems to have been Ethelred King of the Northumbers, son of Mollo. After he had reigned four years, he was driven out, and Readuulf crowned; who being slain by the Danes at Alvethlic, Ethelred again

succeeded. But carrying himself tyrannically, particularly murdering Oelf, (Alfus) and Oelfwin, (Alfwin) sons of Alfwold, was again expelled and died in banishment. There was also another Ethelred, son of Eandred, a tributary King of the Northumbers; forced from his kingdom in the fourth year of his reign: being again restored, he was slain four years after.

12. The twelfth Eandred, son of Eardulf, King of the Northumbers, reigned thirty years after Alfwold the usurper: afterwards submitted to Egbert.

13, 14. The thirteenth and fourteenth belong to Offa, the Mercian King; the reverse being the same in both; who seems to have been a nobleman, and not a mintmaster. Three of that name, *an.* 803 subscribed the synod at Clovesho, and another succeeded St. Boniface in the Archbishopric of Mainz. Offa having slain Beornred, *an.* 557, reigned over the Mercians: a prince of great courage and success in arms; but not just nor virtuous: for he basely murdered Ethelbriht King of the East Angles, (enticing him to his palace that he might marry his daughter) and seized upon his kingdom. He had much intercourse, and at length friendship also with Charles the Great. He drew a trench of wondrous length from sea to sea, separating the Mercians from the Welsh, part whereof remains visible to this day. He was the first who granted a perpetual tax to the Pope out of every house in his kingdom, at his being at Rome; and gave very bountifully, after his return, to the clergy, in penance for his sins: he died *an.* 794.

15. The fifteenth Beornuulf, a valiant man, usurped the kingdom of Mercia from Ceoluulf; in his third year was overthrown by King Egbert at Ellendon, *an.* 823. He retired thence to the East Angles, as part of his dominion by the seizure of King Offa, with the remainder of his army, and was there rencountred and slain: whereupon the East Angles surrendered themselves to Egbert. The reverse I take to be *moneta*.

16. The sixteenth, Ludican, succeeded Beornuulf in Mercia, *an.* 824. He reigned only two years: then, preparing to revenge the death of Beornuulf, his kinsman, upon the East Angles, was by them, with his five consuls surprised and slain. The reverse I understand not.

17. The seventeenth Berhtulf, *an.* 838, reigned in Mercia, but as feudatory to the West Saxons: being much molested with the invasions of the Danes, he quitted his kingdom, and retired to a private life. The reverse Uulfhean; who he was, unknown.

18. The 18th, Burgred, was by King Etheluulf made King of the Mercians, and married his daughter Ethelswith. To avoid the oppression of the Danes he resigned his kingdom, and retired to Rome; where he lived in great reputation of sanctity till his death. His Queen also entered into a monastery at Pavia, and there died. The reverse is VVHNE, only the mint-master. There are divers other of his coins, but differing only in the names of the mint-masters seem not worthy to be inserted.

19. The nineteenth seems, however the faces unlike in their coins, to have been of the same person. The reverse seems to be *moneta* Uulf-fard, not known.

20. The twentieth, is of Adulf or Aldulf, King of the East Angles, son of Ethelwald's brother; a very worthy and pious prince, as appears by the reverse; a great friend to venerable Bede: what *Prisin* means I know not. The reverse is remarkable, because his name is otherwise spelled than upon the coins.

21. The one and twentieth is St. Edmond, King of the East Angles, crowned at fourteen years old, at Buers, against his will: a very pious, valiant, and hopeful prince.

In the year 871 his kingdom was invaded by the Danes; against whom most valiantly fighting at Theotford, his army was routed, himself taken, and shot to death with arrows. Neither this, nor the two following seem to have been coined by him; but, as I conceive by some of the West Saxon Edmunds, who were all very much devoted to this holy martyr; though they may also denote King Alfred. The reverse seems to be of the mint-master.

22. The reverse of the two and twentieth, Oda *moneta*; the place I understand not.

23. Of the three and twentieth, *Jomam me fecit*, signifies that Jomam was the mint-master. *Me fecit* is common upon the coins of the Franks in Gallia.

24. The twenty-fourth, Ethelred *rex anglorum*, seems not to have been one of the West Saxons; the first of whom is commonly written Aethered; the second is neither in countenance nor habit like this. There are mentioned in our histories an Ethelred, successor to his brother Wulfred in Mercia: another the son of Mollo; another of Eandred, of whom we have already spoken. He is said to have married Leofrun, mother to Ethelbert, murdered by Offa; and to have reigned fifty years: little besides is known of him. The reverse seems to be a devout acknowledgment of his being sustained by the hand of almighty God, who is *Alpha* and *Omega*. Who Holizard was, not known. This seems coined at Norwich.

25. The twenty-fifth is like unto this reverse on both sides, but of what prince unknown; it is read *Tuna moneta Eaxceaster*, as I conceive. I cannot make sense of the reverse.

26. The twenty-sixth seems to be Sigfrid *moneta*, a King of the East Saxons, called also Suuefred, and denominated Sigfrid the good. He makes no great figure in our annals. It is not usual to add *moneta* to the King's name. Concerning Euura I can find nothing.

27. The twenty-seventh seems to have been King of the East Saxons, son of Siger; a very comely and virtuous person, and exceedingly beloved of his people. Yet devotion prevailing, after a short reign, he, with Kenred King of Mercia, went to Rome in the time of Pope Constantine, and there retired into a monastery. Ibba on the reverse, seems some noble man.

28. The twenty-eighth, Edmund *rex*, seems to have been one of the West Saxon Edmunds. The reverse may be Edmund martyr.

29. The twenty-ninth I do not understand.

30. The thirtieth, for which of the Athelstans I know not, as neither the reverse.

31. The thirty-first Eunaa *rex*. I cannot find any such name in all our histories. The reverse seems to mention Oxford.

32. The thirty-second: I cannot find any mention of Heareth and Herred.

33. The thirty-third is imperfect.

34. The thirty-fourth seems not to be Alfred the West Saxon, because the name is spelled otherwise; Ounig is also unknown.

35. The thirty-fifth is to me unknown.

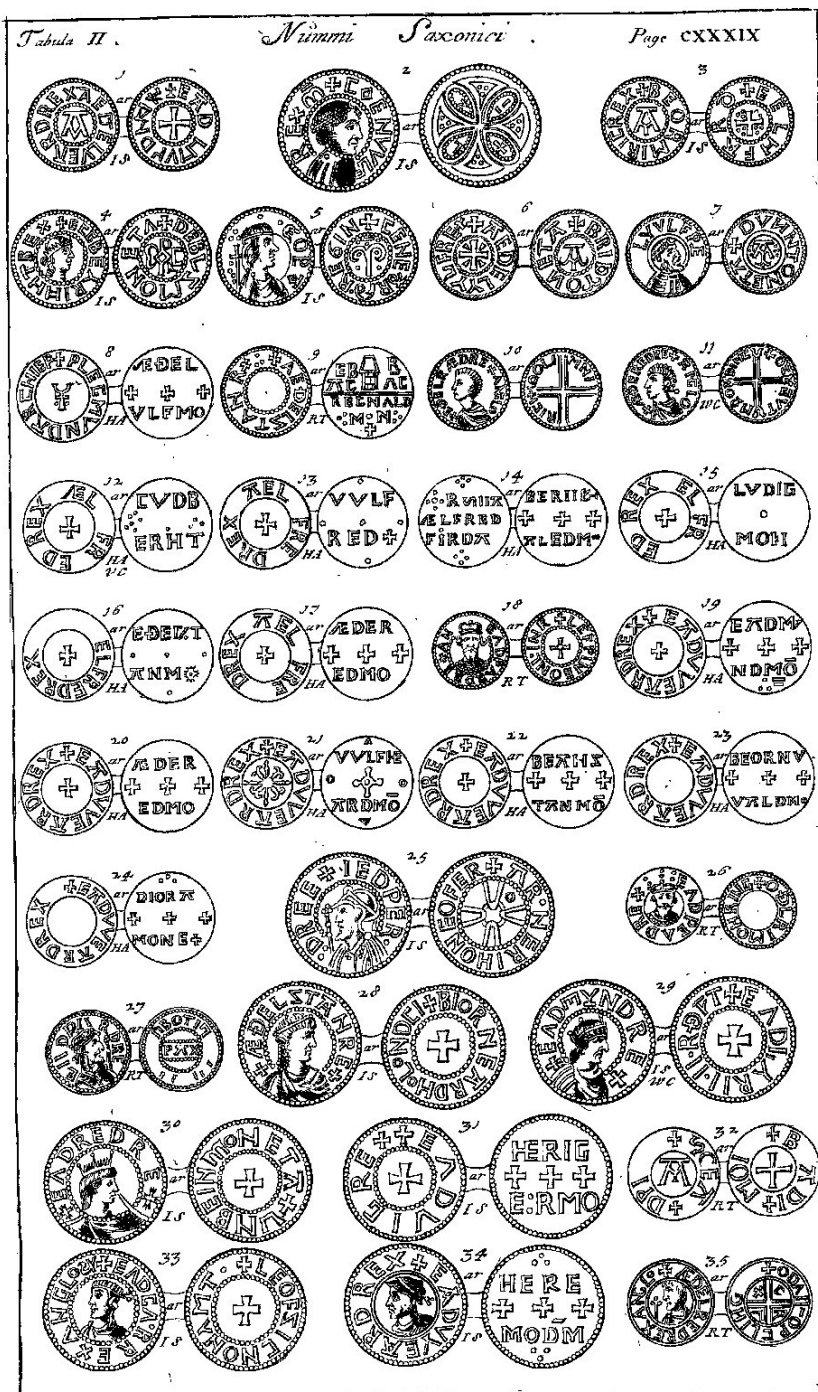


Illustration: Saxon Coins Table II

1. To the first, there were two Ethelwards, one of the South, the other of the West Saxons; this seems to be of the latter. In some writers he is called Ethelheardus. Little is remembered of him, besides that when King Ina went to Rome, *anno* 728, he assumed the government of the kingdom; and fought a battle with Prince Oswald: with what success not mentioned. He is said to have governed fourteen years. On the reverse is Edmund, with a ligature of several letters, which cannot stand for St. Edmund the Martyr, which happened not till *anno* 870. After which time there was

none, except Ethelbert, the son of Ethelulf; but he also before the martyrdom of St. Edmund. I rather think that cipher to signify some mark of the *monetarius*.<74>

2. The second Coenuulf, called commonly Kenulph, Kinulf, Ceoluulf. One of that name was adopted to be King of the Northumbers by Osric: little more known of him, than that he left his kingdom, and became a religious at Lindisfarne. Another was King of the West Saxons, who reigned in great splendor and renown thirty-one years. He was once worsted by the great Offa at Bensington (now Benson) in Oxfordshire. He was slain at Mereton in Surrey (by Kinheard, a seditious nobleman, banished by him) as he was with a lady there, too much affected by him about *anno* 786; but this Coenuulf seems to have been a King of Mercia, a very worthy prince: this coin is of him; he was a very powerful and victorious, as well as pious prince; accounted one of the great Saxon monarchs. He dispossessed Ethelbertus Pren, King of Kent, and took him prisoner, but afterwards released him without ransom or other condition.

3. The third Beormerick (by Speed called Brithric, for of that other name we find no mention in histories) was King of the West Saxons, and succeeded Coenuulf. In the third year of his reign was the first appearance of the pirates upon these coasts. Pirates, I call them, because they were not owned by any sovereign prince till long after: but were a confluence of all sorts of thieves, who by spoil and robbery, arrived to much wealth, and the confidence to erect a kind of community or republic at a strong town, now called Wollin in Pomerania; whence they went out to rob, and laid up their prey there. Brihtrick banished Ecgberht, fearing both the goodness of his title, and his great abilities; yet dying childless, he left the kingdom to him, *an.* 800. He was poisoned by his wife, the wicked Eadburga, by chance tasting of a cup she had prepared for one of his favorites. Upon his death, she fled, with all her treasures, into France; when coming to Charles the Great, he asked her whom she desired to marry, himself or his son, there present? She foolishly answered, that if it were in her choice, she would marry his son, because he was the younger. Whereupon Emperor told her, that if she had chosen himself, she should have married his son; but now, that she should retire to such a monastery. Whence also for her incontinency, she was shortly turned out, and died begging.

4. The fourth, Ecgberht, partly by conquest, partly by the submission of other kingdoms, united all into one dominion, calling it England; because, as it is said, himself, the King of the West Saxons, was an Angle. It seems that almighty God saw it necessary, for resisting the violence of the heathenish pirates, to unite the intire force of all the nation, yet little enough to defend themselves. He was a prince (though but of small stature) extraordinary both for wisdom and valour; for being banished by Brithric, he applied himself to Charles the Great, who bestowed upon him a considerable post in his army. And he was signally blessed with a numerous succession of most worthy princes of his family and blood; which indeed was necessary for the preservation of the nation, its peace, and unity.

5. The fifth, Cenedryd *Regina*, some suppose to have been wife to the great Offa, the Mercian, and to have reigned after his death; and that Eopa was one of her chief ministers. But she rather seems to have been the eldest daughter of Kenuulf the Mercian; to whom also, he left the care of Kenelm his son; whom out of ambition, she caused to be murdered by his educator. After his death, she reigned some time; and perhaps might be married to some of the West Saxon princes: as Eopa (a name frequent amongst the Saxons) was the son of Ingilidus or Ingilsus, brother of Ina; and therefore probably might be in some great, perhaps the chief employment under her,

or else married to her: and therefore placed upon her coin, not as a King, nor a bishop, though he hath a cross in his hand. That she was a Mercian, appears by the letter M upon the reverse.

6, 7. The sixth and seventh are of King Ethelwolf, son and heir of Egbert, a peaceable and devout, yet very valiant prince. He first gave the title of his own estate, and afterwards of the whole kingdom, with the consent of the nobility, to the maintenance of the clergy. He obtained a very great, and glorious victory over the Danes at Aclea (now conceived to be either Ockham, or very near it) in Surrey. He subdued also part of North Wales, upon the entreaty of Burhred, King of Mercia, and out of great bounty and moderation, resigned it to him. After settling the kingdom, he had so much leisure, as to go to Rome; (a journey mentioned with honour by Anastasius Biblioth.,) where he sojourned in very great esteem twelve months. In his return, he married Juditha, the beautiful daughter of Carolus Calvus; after Ethelulf's death, re-married to Baldwin Ferreumlatus, Forester, and afterwards Count of Flanders. At his return, his undutiful, if not also rebellious son Ethelbald, endeavored to exclude him the kingdom. Yet, notwithstanding the nobility freely offered their assistance against Ethelbald; rather than engage in a war with his own people, he, in wonderful moderation, consented to divide the kingdom, and contented himself with the worse half.

8. The eighth, Plegmund, is out of its place; yet not to be omitted, because on the reverse is the *pallium*, or archiepiscopal ornament received from the chief pastor of the church, who thereby acknowledgeth and authorizeth such a one to the dignity of an Archbishop; and from this also seems derived that which is now since, even till this time, the arms of that Archbishopric, though otherwise fashioned. This of Plegmund is not unlike the *pedum* of the oriental bishops.<75>

9. 'Tis uncertain for which Ethelstan this was made, for there were divers; one was King of Kent, a very valiant and victorious prince against the Danes; whether he was the son of Egbert or Ethelulf, is not easily discovered from our authors; I rather think him the second son of Egbert. Another was a Danish King, called Godrun, overcome by King Alfred at Eddington, afterwards christened, and called at his baptism Ethelstan; of whom hereafter. But this seems most probably to have been the son and successor of Edward senior. Regnald on the reverse seems to have been the son of Guthferth, the son of Sihtric, a Danish King in Northumberland. *An.* 923, he took York; which he seems to have kept till recovered by Ethelstan; yea, though *an.* 924, it be said, that the Scots, Regnald, and the son of Ladulf, and all the inhabitants of Northumberland had chosen Edward sen. to be their lord and father: that being only for fear of his arms, they rebelled again presently after his death. I cannot but lament the misery of this nation in those times. When (v.g.) in Northumberland, the Danish invaders had one King, the Saxons another, and who had not their limits distinguished, but lived promiscuously one amongst another; so that here was always certain war, or uncertain peace. In the time of King Edmund, *an.* 945, Regnald was baptized; but (as it seems) relapsing, he was by King Edmund driven out of his kingdom. The building upon the reverse may perhaps signify some repairing of the Minster; and AC may also stand for *Archiepiscopus*. It is reported by divers of our historians, that Ethelstan, in his march towards the North, seeing a great number of people going upon the way, demanded whither they went? And being answered that they went to visit the shrine of St. John of Beverley (who wrought many miracles) he resolved to go thither also, and after having paid his devotions, vowed, that if St. John would pray to God for victory against his enemies, he would redeem his knife (which

he there presented and left) with somewhat of value; which he did at his return with victory. And I have been informed, that about 1660, the people going to repair something in that Church of Beverley, lit accidentally upon the coffin of St. John, which opening, they found the dried body of the saint, and an old fashioned knife and sheath.

10. The tenth and eleventh are of the valiant, devout, and bountiful third son of King Ethelulf. He fought many and sore battles against the Danes, most-what successfully. At Ashdown (near Lambourn in Berkshire) was a most terrible fight against the whole body of the Danish forces, divided into two wings; one under two of their kings, the other led by their earls. King Aethered divided his army likewise into two bodies, the one commanded by his brother Alfred, the other by himself. Alfred was ordered to sustain their charge, whilst King Aethered heard public prayers; and though word was brought him that the battle was begun, and his brother fiercely charged, yet would he not rise from his prayers till all was ended; and then, after a most terrible battle, he obtained an entire and glorious victory, wherein were slain one of their kings, and most part of their earls and chief commanders. In another battle, this most worthy, valiant, and benign prince, was mortally wounded, and died at Wimborne in Dorsetshire.

11. In the eleventh, his name is Aethered, as it is also in the testament of King Alfred: the letters of the former reverse I cannot interpret; in the latter, Osgut *moneta*. The other letters I understand not.

12, 13. From the twelfth to the nineteenth, are of the great Alfred. The reverse of all, or most of them, seem to be noblemen and governors. The reverse of the twelfth, seems to be in honour of St. Cuthbert, one of the first, greatest, and most famous of our English saints. His life is written both in prose and verse by venerable Bede, who was born some time before Cuthbert died, so that his story was then fresh in memory. When King Alfred was in his lowest estate, absconding in Athelney, St. Cuthbert appeared to him, and to his wife's mother, declaring to them, that almighty God was reconciled to him, and pardoned his offences (the chiefest whereof were the neglect of his duty, and too much addiction to hunting in his youth, as St. Neot warned him) and would suddenly give him a signal victory over his enemies, (which happened at Edington in Wiltshire,) and would restore him to his kingdom. The King in gratitude gave to the service of God, in St. Cuthbert's church, the province called now the bishopric of Durham, and put his name upon his coin: as he did likewise that of uulfred, count or chief governor of Hampshire, upon the thirteenth.

14. Of the fourteenth I understand neither side. The reverse seems to be Bernwaled, unknown to me who he was.

15, 16. So is also that of the fifteenth, only it was an eminent name amongst them; as was also Ethelstan on the sixteenth.

17. That upon the seventeenth is likely to be of that valiant and noble viceroy of Mercia, married to the King's daughter Ethelfleda, a woman of admirable wisdom, courage and zeal; in sum, a daughter worthy of such a father.

18. The eighteenth is of Edward senior, that victorious and glorious son and successor of King Alfred; equal to his father in valour and military skill, but inferior to him in learning and knowledge. His actions are sufficient for a volume. On his head is a close (or imperial) crown, borne by few, if any other, besides the kings of England. The reverse is Leofwine, or Lincoln.

23, 24. The twenty third, Beornwald. I rather read it Deorwald, i.e. *Deirorum sylva*, York woods; the chief town whereof was Beverley. And the rather, because of the twenty-fourth, *Diora moneta*, which seems to be the money of the *Deiri*, or Yorkshiremen.

The rest of the coins of this prince are easily understood. The names upon the reverses seem to have been noblemen or governors.

25. The twenty-fifth is remarkable for the spelling, Jedword; the reverse is Arnerin, on Eoferwic, i.e. York.

26. The twenty-sixth hath the reverse *Othlric on Ring*; which might be Ringhornan [Runcorn] in Lancashire, a large town, one of the eight, built by his sister Ethelflede.

27. Of the twenty-seventh, I do not understand the reverse.

28 The twenty-eighth is of that most famous and worthy King Ethelstan, the true progeny of such a father and grandfather. In his youth, his grandfather King Alfred saw such a spirit and indoles^{<76>} in him, that he foretold, if it should please God that he came to the crown, he would perform very great actions for the good of his country; and he made him also (I think the first that we read to have received that honour in this nation) a knight, and gave him ornaments accordingly; the more likely, because Alfred also ordered the robes and ceremonies of the coronation. This prince extended his victories northward, even into Scotland: which countries, till his time, were never peaceably settled; because the two nations, Saxons and Danes, mingled together in their habitations; and yet having several kings and laws, could never be long in quiet. Upon the borders of Scotland, he fought one of the most terrible battles that ever was in England, against Anlaf King of Ireland, Constantine King of Scotland, and a very mighty and numerous army. Wherein were said to be slain five kings, seven earls or chief commanders, besides vast numbers of inferior officers and soldiers. Authors say, that King Ethelstan's valiant chancellor and general Turketill, with wonderful courage and strength, broke through the enemy's ranks, till he met with King Constantine, and slew him with his own hand. Others say that Constantine was not slain, but his son. Turketill, after all his wars and greatness, resigning his estates and wealth, repaired to the monastery of Croyland, and lived in it himself till his death. The reverse is Biorneard *moneta Londonensis civitas*.

29. The twenty-ninth is King Edmund, brother, and not inferior either in valour or counsel, to Ethelstan. He pursued the design of reducing all his subjects to perfect unity and peace, by extirpating those rebellious irreconcilable enemies, the Danes. In the beginning of his reign, he cleared Mercia of them. For King Edward, seeing the kingdom so much depopulated by those destructive wars, ever since the entrance of the Danes; upon promise and oath of fealty and obedience, (as his father also had done amongst the East Angles) permitted these Danes to live amongst his natural subjects; and chiefly in the great towns: thinking, because of their profession of arms and soldiery, they would better defend them than the Saxons, more industrious and skilful in labour and husbandry. The Danes also having been themselves beaten and conquered by him, were very ready to engage to obedience, peace, and loyalty. But the Saxons by their labours growing rich, and the Danes retaining their former tyrannical and lazy dispositions, began to oppress and domineer over the natives. Edmund therefore, after Mercia, began to reduce Northumberland, where remained the greatest number of them, (for Edward himself had suppressed

those in East Anglia;) and to reduce those northern counties into the form of provinces: and committed Cumberland (as a feud) to Malcolm King of Scotland. His zeal for justice cost this heroical prince his life. For celebrating the festival of St. Austin, and giving thanks for the conversion of the nation; he spied amongst the guests one Leof, a notable thief, whom he had before banished. The King's spirit was so moved against him, that rising from the table, he seized upon him, threw him to the ground, and was about to do some violence unto him. The thief fearing what he had deserved, with a short dagger, which he concealed, wounded the King mortally, who died in a short time, to the very great grief and affliction of his people. The reverse is very imperfect; but it may perhaps be Edward *moneta* Theodford, or rather Eadmund martyr, to whose church he gave the town called St. Edmund's-bury.

30. The thirtieth is Eadred, who degenerated not in the least from his father King Edward, or his brethren the precedent kings. He completed the reduction and settlement of the North; making Osulf the first Earl of it. The Scots voluntarily submitted, and swore allegiance to him *an.* 955. In the fifth year of his reign, and flower of his youth, he sickened, died, and was exceedingly lamented of his subjects.

31. The thirty-first is Eadwig, son of K. Edmund, who being come to age, received the kingdom: so lovely a person, that he was named the Fair. His actions are variously reported by historians; generally they accuse him of voluptuousness, and neglect of his affairs: insomuch that a great part of the North applied themselves to his brother Edgar, and set him up against Edwy, who (as is thought) with sorrow sickned, and died, *an.* 958. Heriger on the reverse, seems to have been mint-master.

32. The thirty-second, St. Edwy, is here placed next to his namesake: but it is a mistake; for it should be S. Edwynus. There were two St. Edwins, both Northumbers; the first a monk, the second a King. He laid the foundation of the cathedral of York; and was slain by Penda and Cadwallin the Briton, (to whom Penda, being taken prisoner, had sworn submission;) with Offred his son, and the whole army dispersed. His head was brought to York Minster; and that whole kingdom came into very great divisions and calamities. But this coin was not coined by him, nor do we know by whom: neither is Badi, the mint-master, known to what King he belonged; only that letter A is upon divers coins of the West Saxons, and therefore probably this also belonged to some of those kings.

33. The thirty-third, Edgar, son of King Edmund, peaceably enjoyed the fruits of the labours and dangers of his predecessors. A man admired by all, both foreigners and natives, for his great piety, justice, prudence, and industry in governing the kingdom. *Sine praelio omnia gubernavit prout ipse voluit.* ["He governed everything as he wished, without battle."] The reverse is, Leofsig *moneta* Hamptonensis.

34. The thirty-fourth is of Eadward, son of King Edgar, by Ethelfleda the Fair, (called also Eneada) daughter of Duke Ordmeare. He is much commended for a virtuous, well-disposed, and hopeful prince; and such the small remainders of his history do truly represent him. But, by order of his stepmother Alfritha, to whom he was too obedient, he was murdered, to empty the throne for her son Ethelred. Edward was accounted a saint and martyr, because of the many miracles said to be done at his tomb; which occasioned the removal of his body from Wareham to a more honourable place, (Shaftesbury:) and the murderess, repenting of that wicked action, spent the rest of her days in grief and severe penances. Who that Heremod on the reverse was, we know not.

35. The thirty-fifth is of Ethelred, son of Edgar by Alfritha, the only weak and slothful prince of all the line of King Egbert; endeavouring to govern his kingdom, not by true justice and valour, as his predecessors had done, but by tricks, and (as they call it) policy. First he gave an opportunity to the Danes to renew their invasions; and then, negligently or unfortunately, opposing them, he brought the kingdom into great poverty and calamity, and afterwards into subjection unto those ancient enemies and robbers of the country; by his laziness losing all that his forefathers by their industry had acquired; as historians say St. Dunstan foretold of him at his baptism. Egbert began the advancement of the kingdom, by reducing it into one monarchy; his successors valiantly defended, and settled and augmented it, by subduing the Danes and all other enemies. Edgar enjoyed it in full peace, prosperity, and glory; and his son, this Ethelred, suffered it to run down again into a worse condition than ever it was. And indeed it would be strange to imagine so great a change in one man's time; did it not appear that there was no cause of ruin left unpractised in his long reign; his own negligence, cowardice, want of intelligence, unskilfulness in war; the great factions, enmities, and treasons of the nobility; the particulars whereof have filled the tedious relations of our historians.

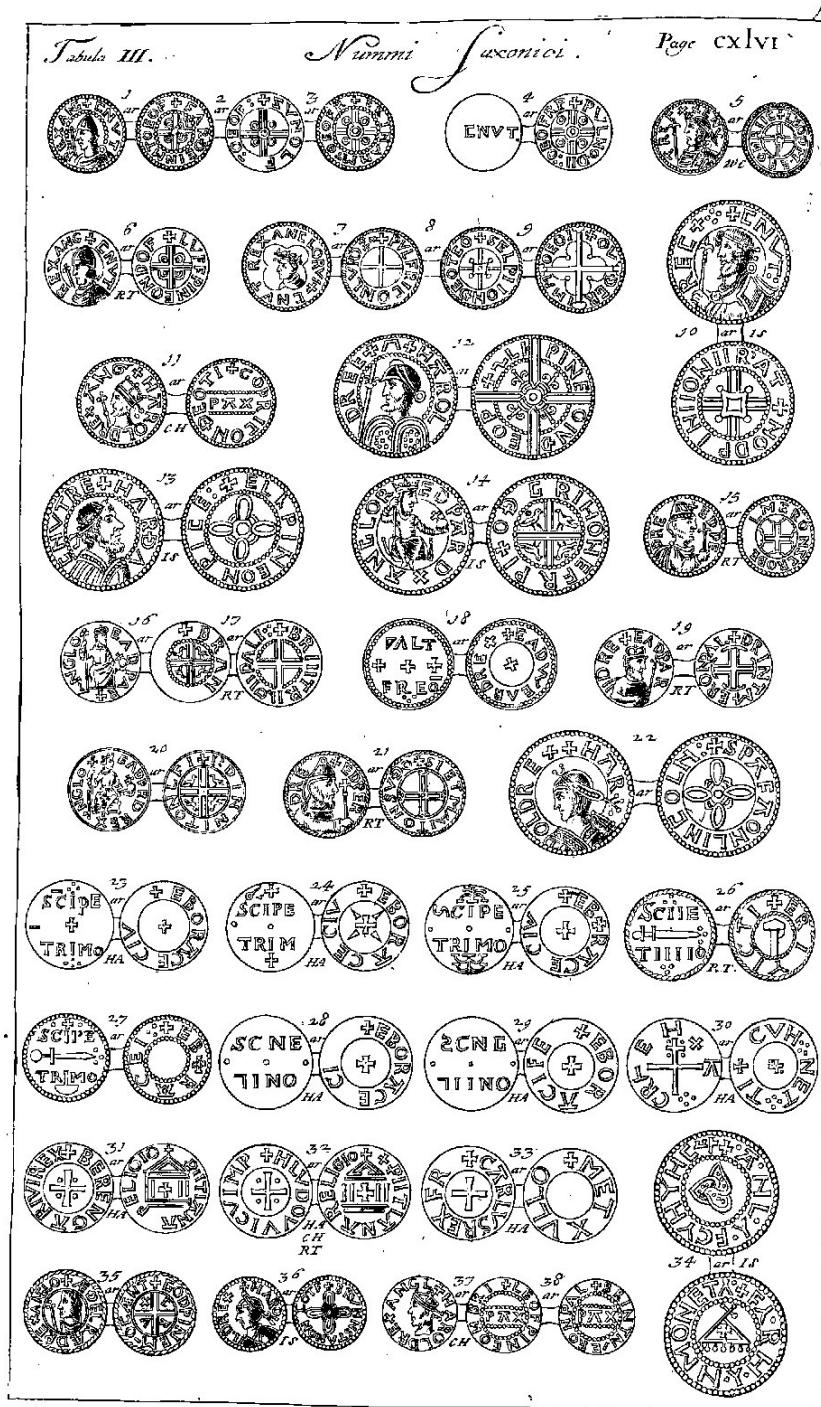


Illustration: Saxon Coins Table III

All the first ten are of Cnut, (called the Great) the first Danish King of England. There are very many of his coins extant: I have only described those wherein is some notable variety. Though Sven his father made divers conquests, and several countries as well as persons (preferring his activeness before Ethelred's sloth) not regarding the justice of the cause, submitted to him, and paid largely for his protection; yet was he never King, nor assumed (he or his son) the title; till Edmund Ironside consented, by the persuasion of a traitor, to divide the kingdom with him. The vile but potent Edric thought that more was to be got by shoring up a new active

usurper, than adhering to the just cause of his true and royal sovereign. Nor was Cnut unmindful of him; but, according to his promise, advanced him above all the other lords of the kingdom, by cutting off his head, and exposing it upon a high pole. Amongst all these figures of Cnut, only one (the seventh) is with a crown; and that an open one, (contrary to that of the English kings before him) and adorned with lilies; which would make me suspect that coin to be counterfeit, were it not that our historians say that when he was young he wore his crown at the great assemblies of the nobility, so many times in the year; as was the custom, both here, in France, Germany, and I think with all European princes in those times. But one time, being mightily flattered by his courtiers, he chanced to be upon the sea-banks, whither he commanded his chair to be brought; where sitting down upon the beach in great majesty, he told the sea, that that was his land, and the water his water; wherefore he commanded the sea to be content with its own Channel, and not cover any part of the land. Which he had no sooner said, but the water dashed upon him: whereupon he told his flatterers, that they should henceforward forbear all boasting of his power and greatness. After this, it is reported he would never wear a crown. Others say, that he never wore a crown after his coronation; and that then also, at his coronation, presently after the crown was set upon his head, he took it off, and fixed it upon the head of our saviour crucified. The ordinary covering of his head was sometimes a mitre, (as fig. 6.) Other times a cap, (as fig. 5.) sometimes a triangular covering, used after him by Andronicus the eastern Emperor, and by St. Edward the Confessor. The reverse of the first is Farthein *monet* Eoforwic, i.e. York.

2, 3, 4. Of the second, Sunolf. Of the third, Crinam. The fourth is Wolnoth. All coined at York.

5. The fifth is Leodmer, and seems coined at Raculfminster, now Reculver.

6. The sixth hath Luffwine, at Dover.

7. The seventh hath Wulfric on London.

8. The eighth is Selwi, at Theoford.

9. The ninth is Outhgrim, at York.

10. The tenth is Cnut aged, with a diadem about his head. The reverse is Nodwin *moneta*: the name of the place I cannot read. In his younger years he spared no labour, nor any art, just or unjust, oppression or murder; to acquire and settle the kingdom to himself and posterity. Which being, as well as he could, performed, he endeavoured to act more justly and plausibly, that he might retain the obedience of the people, which he had so unjustly gotten. Yet not long before his death, he dispossessed Olavus King of Norway of his dominion, about *an.* 1029.

11. The eleventh is of Harold, Cnut's second son, called for his swiftness Harefoot. Cnut to his eldest son Sven, suspected to be none of his own, gave the kingdom of Norway: to Harold, his second son, (by foreign writers also called a bastard) the kingdom of England: to Hardacnut, his son by Emma, he gave Denmark. Harold's reign was short, about four years, and employed more in endeavouring to settle his title, than perform any worthy action. The reverse is Godric at Theoford.

12. The twelfth is of the same, with a diadem about his helmet. The reverse is Sliwine on Theoford.

13. The thirteenth is of Harthacnut. He reigned about two years, and died suddenly at a great feast in Lambeth. Little of note mentioned of him, besides that he

was very affectionate to his mother's children; and that he loved good eating, making four meals a day. The reverse is Elnwine on Wice.—perhaps Worcester.

14. The fourteenth is of St. Edward the Confessor; of whom there are very many coins still extant. I have presented only those of most variety. This represents him as a young man sitting with a staff or sceptre; (which amongst the Romans was the *hasta pura* and *sceptrum*, sometimes made of ivory, and many times an eagle upon the top of it; instead of which our kings used commonly a cross, though not always of the same fashion: sometimes also a lily) in his left hand a globe, with a cross fastened in it. This was used only by Christian Emperors and kings, as witnessing them to have that power through the virtue of the cross, or passion of our Saviour. The pagan Roman Emperors used rather a stern or oar fastened to a globe, showing that they steered the world, not expressing whence they received that power. Whereas Suidas saith of Justinian, that in his left hand he carried a globe with a cross upon it; signifying that by faith in the cross of Christ he was advanced to be Lord of the world, i.e. that he obtained that dominion by Christ crucified, but who was now made Lord of Lords, and Prince over the kings of the earth. This prince was son to King Ethelred; so that in him, to the great joy of the English, (the Danish government being extinguished) the noble ancient Saxon line was restored. He was a prince of very great justice, devotion, mildness, bounty, and many other excellent virtues. And indeed several things reported to his prejudice seem capable of a rational apology; as the hard usage of his mother Emma, and his wife Edith. Neither wanted he courage or diligence: but the factions of the great nobility, and ambition of Earl Godwin, required a more severe, if not austerer government. The reverse Othgrim on Efrwic, I conceive to be York.

15. The fifteenth is of the same Edward, but with an unusual ornament upon his head; in his hand a sceptre ending in a lily. The reverse perhaps is Ailmer on Scrobe. Coined at Shrewsbury.

16, 17. The sixteenth is of the same, with an imperial or close crown: his sceptre hath three pearls cross-wise. On the reverse is a cross between four martlets, I suppose; which was the original or first of those arms they call of the West Saxons (though arms and scutcheons, &c. are of a later invention) and are now of the City of London, and divers other places: but they are in several particulars altered from what they were in his time; perhaps for the greater beauty. The reverse of the sixteenth is imperfect. That of the seventeenth I cannot read: perhaps it is the same with that of the nineteenth.

18. Of the eighteenth the reverse is Walter on Eoferwick.

19. The nineteenth is Edward with a crown imperial and sceptre; on it a cross like that of an Archbishop. The reverse is Drintmer on Wal.—Perhaps Wallingford.

20. The twentieth is Edward with a crown pearled: the reverse may be Dinnit on Leicester.

21. The twenty-first hath another unusual ornament on his head: the reverse is Sietmait on Sutho—perhaps some place in Suffolk.

22. The twenty-second is of Harold, a younger son of Earl Godwin. How he gained the kingdom, whilst the rightful heir Edgar was alive, except by force and power, I know not. Some say King Edward bequeathed it to him, conceiving Edgar not so able to govern; others that he was chosen by the consent of the nobility; but this is not probable. But his father as long as he lived had used all means, just and unjust,

to get the great offices of command into his hands, of which, coming after his death to Harold, the best and worthiest of his children, he made use accordingly. Before his reign he had showed himself very valiant, diligent, and loyal also; at least more than his brethren: and as soon as crowned he endeavoured by all prudent and fitting means to obtain the favour of the people. But his reign lasted not long, and was taken up with wars and troubles: at last, fighting rashly and indiscreetly with William Duke of Normandy, he was slain with two of his brethren; the third being killed before in a battle near York. And so ended the great power and ambition of Earl Godwin and his family: as also of the kingdom of the Saxons.

23. From the twenty-third to the twenty-eighth is *Sancti Petri Moneta*,^{<77>} most of them coined at York, yet with several stamps. I am in great doubt whether these were coined for Peter-pence (or Romescot) which was an annual tax of a penny each household, given for the West Saxon kingdom by King Ina about *anno* 720, for Mercia by King Offa, and paid at the festival of *St. Petri ad vincula*. At first, some say, for the education of Saxon scholars at Rome; but afterwards, as all grant, for the use of the Pope himself, not then so well provided as afterwards. (The like tax of three half pence and a sieve of oats for each family, was about the same time given also by the Polonians upon the same reasons.) Or whether it was the ordinary money coined by the Archbishop, whose famous cathedral was of St. Peter. For amongst the great number of such coins I have seen very few (one is that of the 20th in this table) stamped elsewhere. Besides there is such great variety in the stamps, that very many (more than methinks necessary for that payment) must needs have been coined: nor is the sword a proper symbol for St. Peter.

26. The twenty-sixth. What the word in the reverse signifies, whether the name of a person or place, I know not.

28, 29, 30. The twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth, St. Neglino, I do not understand, as neither the thirtieth. These coins of St. Peter, with the three following, and divers others scattered in the other plates, were found at Harkirk in the Parish of Sefton in Lancashire, as they were digging for a burying-place; and were all afterwards engraved and printed in one large sheet: but having seen many of the same, it was not fitting to omit them.

31. The thirty-first is of Berengarius King of Italy in Charles the Great's time. The reverse shows the building of some church; what, we know not: the words *Christiana religio* show also so much.

32. The thirty-second is Ludovicus Pius; the reverse much the same.

33. The thirty-third is of Carlus Magnus; and informs us of his true name, which was not Carolus from *charus* or *carus*; but *carlus* in the northern languages signifying a man, *vir*, or a strong man. Metullo was one of the coining places in France in his time.

34. The thirty-fourth is Anlaf Cyning; a name very troublesome about the times of Ethelstan, and after. There seem to have been two of them; one, King of Ireland; another, of some part of Northumberland. V. Tab. II. C. 28. What that not-unelegant figure in the midst implies, as also that in the reverse, except it be the front of some church, I cannot conceive; as neither who that Farhin or Farning was. I much doubted how Anlaf a pagan should stamp a church with crosses upon his coin: till Mr. Charleton showed me on a coin of Sihtric (Anlaf's father) a Christian, the very same figures; the mint-master for haste or some other reason making use of the same stamp.

35. The thirty-fifth is of the unfortunate Ethelred, mentioned here, because coined by Earl Godwin in Kent whence appears what I hinted before, that the nobility and governors put their names upon the coins; and not only the mint-masters, as was more frequent in France.

36. The thirty-sixth is of Harold the son of Godwin; the reverse is *Brunstan on Lot fecit*. Brunstan seems to have been only a mint-master; where Lot is I know not.

37. The thirty-seventh is of Harold son of Cnut. The reverse is *Leofwine on Brightstoll*.

38. The thirty-eighth hath the reverse Brintanmere on Wallingford, as I conceive. These 3 by misfortune were misplaced, yet fit to be known because of the places of their stamping.

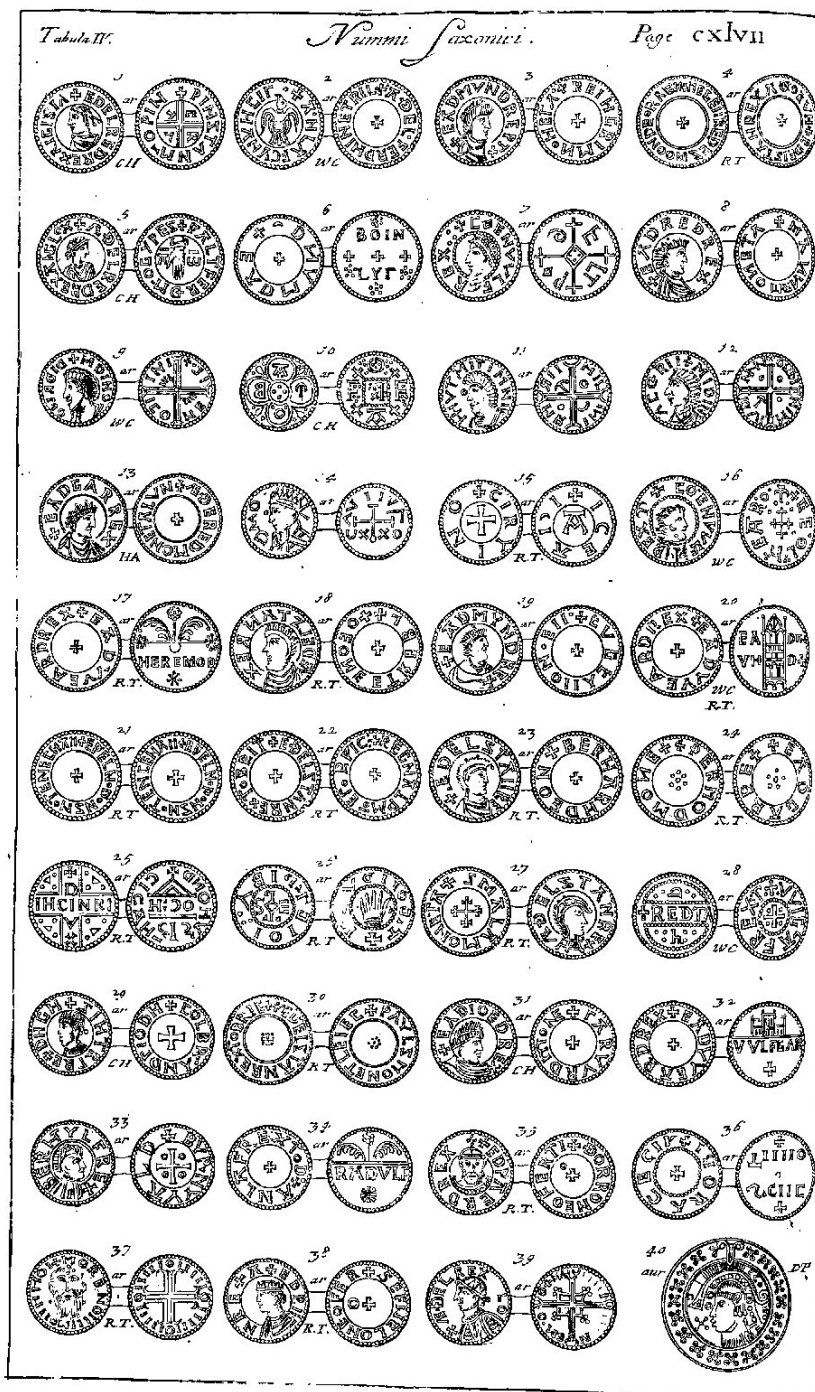


Illustration: Saxon Coins Table IV

In this plate are collected divers unknown coins, yet such as I conceive to have belonged to these nations: some also of former kings repeated; but for the most part the faces, and in all, the reverses are diverse; in hopes that it may not be ungrateful to them who have the curiosity to collect these rarities, to have the more assistances for the understanding of them.

1. The first is of the unfortunate King Ethelred, the face unlike the ordinary one; the reverse crux. Between the 4 branches of the cross, Winstan *moneta* on Winchester.
2. The second, a spread eagle, Anlaf Cyning. The reverse Ethelred *minetric*, which seems to be mint-master.
3. The third is Eadmund *rex*. Reverse, Reingrim *moneta*. Which Edmund this was is uncertain. Besides the son of Edward Sen. (of whom we have spoken before, tab. II. C. 29.), there is none famous in our histories besides Edmund surnamed Ironside, the valiant son of King Ethelred, and St. Edmund King of the East Angles. Edmund Ironside reigned so short a time, that there are very few, if any, coins extant of him; those which may probably be thought his are in this table. He was a very bold indefatigable soldier, but unfortunate, being in most of his enterprises betrayed or defeated by the traitor Edric. Who, being a man of a mean family, by his insinuations got into power; of a crafty wit, fair spoken tongue; he exceeded all men living of those times in malice and treachery, in pride and cruelty. His brother Agelmer was the father of Wulnoth, the father of Earl Godwin.
4. The fourth is Ethelstan *rex anglorum*. Reverse, Hegenredes *moneta* on Deorabi. Coined at Derby.
5. The fifth is another face of King Ethelred. Reverse, Watlfreth *moneta* Gippeswic. Ipswich the place of coining it.
6. The sixth is Eadmund. Reverse, Boinlyg. Who it was I know not.
7. The seventh seems to be of Coenuulf King of the West Saxons. Of whom see tab. II. C. 2. of the Northumbers. I know not where to begin to read the letters on the reverse; nor do I understand them.
8. The eighth is Eadred *rex*. The reverse, Manna *moneta*. This face resembles not that in tab. II. C. 30.
- 9, 11, 12, 37. The ninth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirty-seventh, seem to be of the ancient Irish kings, the only ones that I ever saw. The letters are very unusual, and therefore difficult to be read or understood. The ninth I conjecture to be *Dida Medino*. The reverse, two hands in the opposite angles of a cross. The word seems to be Iniconic, a name (as I am informed) still extant in Ireland.
10. The tenth, if it be not Offa, I know not who it is.
11. The eleventh is of an Irish prince (I conceive) by the words *midino* on the ninth coin, *midini* upon this and the twelfth, which seems to refer or belong to *Midia*, now called Meath, one of the divisions and countries in Ireland.
13. The thirteenth is Eadear *rex*. Reverse, Aethered *moneta* Lundoniae. It was probably one of the Edwards, but the effigies being like none of the other, I know not of whom it is.
14. The fourteenth, *dmo*, unless it be one of the Edmonds, I cannot guess at it; but the countenance, clothes, &c. are not like any of the other. The reverse also is equally unknown.
15. The fifteenth I do not understand.
16. The sixteenth is Coenuulf a Mercian; but not like any of those already described. The reverse Ceolheard I understand not.

17. The seventeenth is set down because of the beauty and unusualness of the reverse.

18. The eighteenth. There were divers Ethelstans, one was the son either of Egbert or Ethelulf, and was King of Kent; another was the son of Edward sen. of whom before: the third was a Danish King called Gormund, who being overcome by Alfred at the battle of Eddington, submitted himself and his army, either to embrace the Christian religion or depart the whole country. Himself with of his chiefest commanders were baptized, with a great part of the army, the rest quitted the realm. King Alfred was his godfather, called him Ethelstan, and gave him the kingdom of the East Angles then very much dispeopled by the cruel wars. I take this coin to be of him; and the rather, because the reverse seems to be Danish language, and not understood by me.

19. The nineteenth is of Edmund; I should attribute it to the valiant Ironside, if I could find other of his coins; but his reign was short and troublesome.

20. The twentieth is of St. Edward the Confessor; published here, because by the reverse it should seem, what I have read also, that he either founded or reedified the great church of St. Edmond at Bury.

21. The twenty-first is Ethelnoth on Snotenegham (Nottingham) who is meant by it I know not; but it is worth nothing, since both sides are the same.

22. The twenty-second seems to be of the great Ethelstan, what *to brit* means I know not. The reverse is Regnald *moneta* Eoferwic.

23. The twenty-third I believe was of Ethelstan King of Kent, a very valiant prince, and fortunate against the Danes: he died young. The reverse is Berharhedon, no place named.

24. The twenty-fourth is of King Edgar, of whom we have spoken before. The reverse is Wermod *moneta*.

25. The twenty-fifth *Sci Canuti*. This rare coin was lent us by that ingenious and worthy gentleman Mr. Ralph Thoresby; which he saith was sent him out of Swedeland; and found in a vault in Gothland upon St. Canute's coffin; at the time when his church in Ottensea was repaired, *anno* 1582. The reverse is a cross IHC (Jesus) INRI (*Jesus nazareus rex judaeorum*). A and D are conjectured to be Anglia and Dania: that King (as Saxo Grammaticus, Hist. lib. lxii. noteth) looking upon his pretensions to the crown of England as just as any of his predecessors, was resolved to attempt the regaining of it.

26. The twenty-sixth I cannot interpret.

27. The twenty-seventh is also of Ethelstan, probably King of Kent; because of his helmet made after an antique fashion, but useful; covering the nape of the neck; and a bar descending as low as his nose; he hath also a gorget: the reverse *Smala*, I take to be the name of the mintmaster.

28. The twenty-eighth is Wiglaf. After that Beornulf was slain by the East Angles, and Ludican by Egbert; this Wiglaf obtained (but I know not how) the Mercian kingdom. But he being also overcome by Egbert, resigned, and Egbert restored it to him under such a tribute; and so he reigned 13 years. Little recorded of him. Redward was mintmaster.

29. The twenty-ninth is Sihtric *rex* DHGH. What these letters signify, is unknown to me, he was a Danish King in Northumberland, for his pride and tyranny very much hated of his neighbours. To strengthen himself, he desired to marry Edith the sister of the great Ethelstan; who would not consent till he promised to become Christian, as he did, and was baptized, but died not long after. His two sons, because they would not turn Christians, fled their country; Gudferth went into Scotland, and Anlaf into Ireland; where they wrought all the mischief they could against the English; till Ethelstan utterly vanquished them both. V. Tab. II. C. 9. The reverse is Colbrand. Why may not this be that Colbrand, in the romance of Guy of Warwick, mentioned (by Knighton and others) to have combated, and been vanquished by that famous Earl? Whose valour deserved better than to have been discredited by those fabulous, if not ridiculous, exaggerations. However it appears by this coin, that those persons were contemporaries in the time of King Ethelstan, and of a Danish King (whom the fable miscalls) enemy for a long time to Ethelstan. The two combatants also seem to have been very eminent for their valour and employments. Upon these true considerations, (according to the custom of the times about the holy war) some ill-employed persons raised up the sorry childish fabric of a silly fable.

30. The thirtieth is of Ethelstan; *to brie* I understand not: the reverse Paul's *moneta* Leiec. Seems to be coined at Leicester.

31. The thirty-first I read Eadred *rex*, the reverse, Garuurd *moneta*.

32. The thirty-second Eadward *rex*; the reverse, Uulfgar under the front of a church, probably Westminster Abbey.

33. The thirty-third is Berthulf *rex*, of the Mercians; of whom we have mentioned before: the reverse is Byrnuuald.

34. The thirty-fourth is Anlaf *rex to do*, the meaning unknown; the reverse is Radulf, under such a plant as is also in a coin of St. Ed-ard's.

35. The thirty fifth is a very old face, if of any I suppose it must be of St. Edward; the reverse is Thorr on Eoferwic.

36. The thirty-sixth St. Neglin. I have already declared that I knew not who he was.

37. The thirty-seventh seems to be of an Irish prince, to me unlegible.

38. The thirty-eighth is Edwin *rex*. This seems to have been the glorious King of the Northumbers; who being forced out of his country by a cruel and tyrannical usurper, betook himself to Redwald King of the East Angles; who also after many promises and threats, agreed to deliver him up to his enemy. At which time the worthy Edwin was comforted by a message from God, promising him safety, his kingdom, &c. And laying his right hand upon Edwin's head, had him remember that sign; which when it came to pass, he should receive the gospel. This Edwin faithfully promised, and afterwards faithfully performed, as may be read in venerable Bede in his second book of the *Eccl. History*, which in greatest part is concerning this valiant, victorious, religious prince. His conversion fell out in the year of Christ 627; the reverse is Sefwel on Eoferwic.

39. The thirty-ninth hath a coronet upon his helmet. Ethel. *rex* may either be Ethelred, Ethelwolf, or Ethelstan; though the face represents none of them; the reverse is not legible.

40. The fortieth is taken out of Dr. Plot's history of Oxfordshire; it was found in digging the works at Oxon, and is in the possession of Sir John Holman. 'Tis supposed to be the gold given by St. Edward the Confessor at his curing the scrophulae, or the King's-evil. It is worth noting that it hath upon it the figure of a woman veiled, as it seems in the habit of a nun; whether of the Blessed Virgin, or some other holy woman, I cannot determine. But it seems much more proper for that function, than that now used of an angel; which was taken from the French.

It remains that we declare whence we received these coins.

HA were such as were found in making a burial-place at Harkirk in the Parish of Sefton in Lancashire.

JS, is John Speed in his chronicle; which he copied out of Sir John Cotton's store in his famous library.

WC, are those which were with great care, judgment, and expense, collected by that most worthy and ingenious treasurer of ancient learning Mr. William Charleton; whose kindness deserves a greater testimony than this place permits.

RT, is Mr. Ralph Thoresby, of Leeds in Yorkshire; who by his great industry hath augmented his father's considerable stock of this sort of knowledge.

CH, is Mr. Charles Hills, very well known by his eminent skill in all natural and also antique learning.

DP, is Dr. Plot, well known everywhere; DT Dr. Trumball; WK is Will. Kingsley Esq. of Canterbury. Divers also of them are in our own possession.

Danes.

What the original of the Danes was, they themselves are in a great measure at a loss to know. That Danus the giant, son of Humblus, is long since hissed out of the school of antiquity, along with Goropius's derivation from *a Hen*. Andreas Velleius, a Dane and a learned man, fetches it from the Dahi a people of Scythia, and Marc, which does not signify bounds, but a country. Our countryman Ethelwerd was of opinion that the name came from the city Donia. For my part, I always thought that they were the posterity of the Danciones, placed by Ptolemy in Scandia (who by the change of a letter, are in some copies called Dauciones) and that from thence they flocked into Cimbrica Chersonesus, which the Angles had left: until the learned and most judicious antiquary Jonas Jacobus Venusinus, made a very curious discovery of some plain relics of the Danish name in the *Sinus Codanus*, and *Codanonia*, which Pomponius Mela mentions in those parts. These names the northern people pronounced grossly *Cdan* and *Cdanonum*, but Mela to reduce them to the genius of the Latin, made them *Codanus* and *Codanonia*; as after-ages mollified *Gdanum* into *Dansk*, *Clodovaeus* into *Lodouic*, *Knutus* into *Canute*. No mention is made of them before the time of Justinian Emperor, about the year of our Lord 570. For about that time, they had made inroads into France; and the Latin-writers of the history of England call them *Wiccingi*, from their trade of piracies, *wiccinga* (as we are assured by Aelfric) signifying in Saxon a pirate. They likewise term them *Pagani* (the pagans) because at that time they were not converted to the Christian religion. But the English themselves in their own language call them *Deniscan*, and very commonly *heathen men*. Give me leave to set down here what Dudo of St. Quintin, an author of considerable antiquity, has said concerning these Danes; as I had it out of the library of that indefatigable antiquary John Stowe, a Londoner, to which I had always free access. *The Danes, like bees of a hive, for confusion, and after a barbarous manner with their swords drawn, swarmed out of Scanza (i.e. Scandia) after that their lecherous heat had improved them to such an infinite number. For when they were grown up, their way was to quarrel with their fathers or grandfathers, and sometimes amongst themselves, about estates; the land they then had not being large enough for them. Upon which, according to an ancient custom, a number of their young men were mustered up by lot, and driven into foreign parts, to cut out their fortunes with the sword. When they were ready to be dispatched away, their custom was to sacrifice to Thor, the God whom they anciently worshiped; not with sheep, or oxen, but the blood of men. This they looked upon as the most precious of all sacrifices: and after the priest had determined by lot who should die, they were barbarously knocked on the head with yokes of oxen, and killed at one stroke. Each of them who were to die by lot, having their brains dashed out at a single blow, were afterwards stretched upon the ground, and search was made for the fibre on the left side, that is, the vein of the heart. Of this they used to take the blood, and throw it upon the heads of such as were designed for the march: and imagining that this had won the favour of the gods, they immediately set to sea, and fell to their oars.* There was another way the Danes had of appealing their gods, or rather of running into most detestable superstition; which Ditmarus, a bishop, and an author of somewhat greater antiquity than Dudo, thus describes. *But because I have heard strange things of the ancient sacrifices of the Normans and Danes, I would not willingly pass them over. There is a place in those parts, the capital city of that kingdom called Lederun, in the province of Selon. There they meet once every nine years, in January, a little after our twelfth Day, and offer to*

their gods 99 men, and as many horses; with dogs and cocks for hawks; being fully persuaded (as I observed before) that these things were most acceptable to them.

About the time of King Egbert, in the 800 year of Christ, they first disturbed our coasts; afterwards making havoc of everything, and plundering over all England, they destroyed cities, burnt churches, wasted the lands, and with a most barbarous cruelty drove all before them; ransacking and over-turning everything. They murdered the kings of the Mercians and East Angles, and then took possession of their kingdoms, with a great part of that of Northumberland. To put a stop to these outrages, a heavy tax was imposed upon the miserable inhabitants, called *danegeld*; The nature whereof this passage taken out of our old laws does fully discover. *The pirates gave first occasion to the paying danegeld. For they made such havoc of this nation, that they seemed to aim at nothing but its utter ruin. And to suppress their insolence, it was enacted, that danegeld should yearly be paid (which was twelve pence for every hide of land in the whole nation) to maintain so many forces as might withstand the incursions of the pirates. All churches were exempt from this danegeld; nor did any land in the immediate possession of the church, contribute anything; because they put more confidence in the prayers of the church, than the defence of arms.*

But when they came to dispute the cause with Alfred, King of the West Saxons, he, what by retreats, and what by attacks, did not only by force of arms drive them out of his own territories, but likewise slew the deputy-governor of the Mercians, and in a manner cleared all Mercia of them. And his son, Edward the Elder, prosecuting his father's conquests, recovered the country of the East Angles from the Danes; as Athelstan his spurious son, to crown their victories, (after a great slaughter of them,) subdued the kingdom of Northumberland, and by his vigorous pursuit put the Danes into such a fright, that part of them quitted the kingdom, and the rest surrendered themselves. By the courage of those princes was England delivered out of that gulf of miseries, and had a respite of 50 years from that bloody war. But after Ethelred, a man of a cowardly spirit, came to the crown, the Danes raising fresh hopes out of his dullness, renewed the war, and made havoc of the nation, till the English were forced to purchase a peace with annual contributions. And so insolently did they behave themselves, that the English formed a plot, and in one night slew all the Danes through the whole nation, to a man: imagining that so much blood would quench the flaming fury of that people; and yet as it happened, it did but add more fuel to it. For Sweyn, King of the Danes, incensed by that general massacre, invaded England with a powerful army, and pushed forwards by an enraged spirit, put Ethelred to flight, conquered the whole nation, and left it to his son Canute. He, after a long war with Ethelred, who was then returned, and his son Edmond, surnamed Ironside, but without any decisive battle, was succeeded by his two sons, Harald his spurious one, and Canute the Bold. After the death of these, the Danish yoke was shaken off, and the government returned to the English. For Edward (whose sanctity gained him the name of Confessor, the son of Ethelred by a second wife,) recovered the regal dignity. England now began to revive; but presently (as the poet says)

Mores rebus cessere secundis.

The loads of fortune sunk them into vice.

The clergy were idle, drowsy, and ignorant; the laity gave themselves over to luxury, and a loose way of living; all discipline was laid aside; the state, like a

distempered body, was consumed with all sorts of vice: but pride, that forerunner of destruction, had of all others, made the greatest progress. And as Gervasius Dorobernensis observes of those times, *they ran so headlong upon wickedness, that 'twas looked upon as a crime, to be ignorant of crimes.* All these things plainly tended to ruin. *The English at that time (says William of Malmesbury) used clothes that did not reach beyond the middle of the knee; their heads were shorn, their beards shaven, only the upper lip was always let grow to its full length. Their arms were even loaded with golden bracelets; and their skin all set with painted marks. The clergy were content with a superficial sort of learning, and had much ado to hammer out the words of the sacraments.*

The Normans.

As in former ages, the Franks first, and afterwards the Saxons, coming out of that East coast of Germany (as it lies from us) I mean the more northerly parts of it; plagued France and Britain with their piracies, and at last became masters; the Franks of France, and the Saxons of Britain: so in succeeding times, the Danes first, and then the Normans, followed the same method, came from the same coast, and had the same success. As if providence had so ordered it, that those parts should constantly produce and send out a set of men, to make havoc of France and Britain, and establish new kingdoms in them.

They had their name from the northern parts, from whence they came, (for *Nordmanni* signifies no more than *Northern Men*) in which sense they are likewise termed *Nordleudi*, i.e. Northern people, as being the flower of the Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes. In the time of Charles the Great, they carried on their trade of piracies in such a barbarous manner, both in Friesland, England, Holland, Ireland, and France; that that prince when he saw their vessels in the Mediterranean, cried out with a deep sigh, and tears in his eyes; *How am I troubled, that they should venture upon this coast, even while I am living. I plainly foresee what a plague they are like to prove to my successors.* And in the public prayers and litanies of the church, there was afterwards inserted, *From the fury of the Danes, good Lord deliver us.* They brought the French to such extremities, that Carolus Calvus was forced to buy a truce of Hasting, the commander of the Norman pirates, with the Earldom of Chartres: and Carolus Crassus gave Godfrid the Norman part of Neustria with his daughter. At last, by force of arms, they fixed near the mouth of the Seine, in those parts, which formerly by a corruption had been called Neustria, as being part of Westrasia, (for so the Middle Age writers term it:) the Germans styled it *Westenreich*, i.e. The western kingdom: it contains all between the Loire and the Seine to the sea-ward. They afterwards called it *Normannia*, i.e. The country of the Northern men, so soon as Carolus Simplex had made a grant of it in fee to their prince Rollo (whose godfather he was) and had given him his daughter to wife. When Rollo (as we are informed by an old manuscript belonging to the monastery of Angiers) *had Normandy made over to him by Carolus Stultus, with his daughter Gisla; he would not submit to kiss Charles's foot. And when his friends urged him by all means to kiss the King's foot in gratitude for so great a favour, he made answer in the English tongue, NE SE BY GOD, that is, no by God. Upon which the King and his courtiers deriding him, and corruptly repeating his answer, called him Bigod; from whence the Normans are to this day termed Bigodi.* For the same reason 'tis possible the French call hypocrites, and your superstitious sort of men, Bigods.

This Rollo, who at his baptism was named Robert, is by some thought to have turned Christian out of design only: but by others, not without deliberation, and piety. These latter add, that he was moved to it by God in a dream; which (though dreams are a thing I do not give much heed to) I hope I may relate without the imputation of vanity, as I find it attested by the writers of that age. The story goes, that as he was asleep in the ship, he saw himself deeply infected with the leprosy *Ffitzoaserne*; but washing in a clear spring at the bottom of a high hill, he recovered, and afterwards went up to the hill's top. This he told a Christian captive in the same ship, who gave him the following interpretation of it. That the leprosy was the abominable worship of idols, with which he was defiled; the spring was the holy laver of regeneration;

wherewith being once cleansed, he might climb the mountain, that is, attain to great honour, and heaven itself.

This Rollo had a son called William, but surnamed *Longa Spata*, from a long sword he used to wear. William's son was Richard the First of that name, who was succeeded by his son and grand-child, both Richards. But Richard the Third dying without issue, his brother Robert came to the dukedom, and had a son by his concubine, named William, who is commonly called the Conqueror, and bastard. All these were princes very eminent for their achievements, both at home and abroad. Whilst William, come to man's estate, was Duke of Normandy; Edward the holy, surnamed Confessor, King of England, and last of the Saxon line, to the great grief of his subjects, departed this life. He was son of Emma, a cousin of William's, (as being daughter to Richard the First, Duke of Normandy) and whilst he lived under banishment in Normandy, had made William a promise of the next reversion of the crown of England. But Harold, the son of Godwin, and steward of the household [under Edward] got possession of the crown: upon which his brother Tosto on one hand, and the Normans on the other, lay out their utmost endeavours to dethrone him. After he had slain his brother Tosto and Harald, King of Norway, (whom Tosto had drawn in to his assistance) in a set-battle near Stamford Bridge in Yorkshire, 1066 and so (though not without great damage) had gained the victory; within less than nine days, William surnamed Bastard, Duke of Normandy, (building upon the promises of Edward lately deceased, as also upon his adoption, and relation to Edward) raised a powerful army, and landed in England in Sussex. Harold presently advanced towards him; though his soldiers were harrassed, and his army very much weakened by the late fight. Not far from Hastings they engaged; where Harold putting himself forward into the heat of the battle, and showing great courage, lost his life. Abundance of the English were slain, though it would be almost impossible to find out the exact number. William, after he had won the day, marched through Wallingford, with a barbarous army towards London, where he was received and inaugurated. *The kingdom (as himself expresses it) being by divine providence designed for him, and granted by the favour of his Lord and cousin the glorious King Edward. And a little after he adds, that the bounteous King Edward had by adoption made him heir to the crown of England.* Though, if the history of St. Stephen of Caen may be credited, these were the last words he spoke upon his death-bed. *The regal diadem, which none of my predecessors wore, I gained, not by any hereditary title, but by the favour of almighty God. And a little after; I name no heir to the crown of England, but commend it wholly to the eternal creator, whose I am, and in whose hands are all things. 'Twas not an hereditary right that put me in possession of this honour, but by a desperate engagement and much blood-shed, I wrested it from that perjured King Harold, and having slain or put to flight all his abettors, made myself master of it.*

But why am I thus short upon so considerable a revolution of the British state? If you can but have the patience to read it, take what I drew up ('tis possible with little accuracy or thought, but however, with the exactness of an history) when raw and young, very unfit for such an undertaking, I had a design to write the history of our nation in Latin.

Edward the Confessor's dying without issue, put the nobility and commonalty into a great distraction about naming the new King. Edgar, commonly called Etheling, Edmund Ironside's great-great-grandchild by his son, was the only person left of the Saxon line; and as such had an hereditary title to the crown. But his tender years were thought altogether incapable of government; and besides, his temper had

in it a mixture of foreign humours, (as being born in Hungary, the son of Agatha daughter to Emperor Henry the Third, who was at too great a distance to bear out the young boy either with assistance or advice.) Upon these accounts he was not much respected by the English, who valued themselves upon nothing more, than to have a King chosen as it were out of their own body. The general inclination was towards Harold Godwin's son, much famed for his admirable conduct both in peace and war. For though the nobleness of his birth lay but on one side, (his father having by treason and plunder rendered himself eternally infamous,) yet what by his courteous language, and easy humour; his liberal temper, and warlike courage, he strangely insinuated himself into the affections of the people. As no one threw himself into danger with more cheerfulness, so in the greatest extremities no man was so ready with advice. He had so signalized his courage and success in the Welsh wars, (which he had some time before happily brought to an end) that he was looked upon as a most accomplished general, and seemed to be born on purpose to settle the English government. Moreover, 'twas hoped the Danes (who were at that time the only dread of this nation) would be more favourable to him, as being the son of Githa, sister to Sweyn King of Denmark. From what other parts soever, attempts whether foreign or domestic, might be made upon him, he seemed sufficiently secured against them by the affections of the commonalty, and his relation to the nobility. He married the sister of Morcar and Edwin, who at that time bore by much the greatest sway: and Edric, (surnamed the wild) a man of an high spirit, and great authority, was his near kinsman. It fell out too very luckily, that at the same time Sweyn the Dane should be engaged in the Swedish wars: and there was an ill understanding between William the Norman and Philip King of France. For Edward the Confessor, while he lived under banishment in Normandy, had made this William an express promise of the crown, in case himself died without issue. And Harold (who was then kept prisoner in Normandy) was bound under a strict oath to see it performed, and made this one part of the condition, that he might marry the Duke's daughter. For these reasons, a great many thought it most advisable, to make a present of the crown to the Duke of Normandy, that by discharging the promise, they might prevent both the war that then threatened them, and destruction, the certain punishment of perjury; as also, that by the accession of Normandy to England, the government might be established in the hands of so great a prince, and the interest of the nation very much advanced. But Harold quickly cut off all debates that looked that way; for finding that delays would be dangerous, the very day Edward was buried, contrary to all men's expectation he possessed himself of the government; and with the applause of those about him who proclaimed him King, without all ceremony of inauguration, put on the diadem with his own hands. This action of his very much disgusted the clergy, who looked upon it as a breach of religion. But, as he was sensible how difficult it was for a young prince to establish his government without the reputation of piety and virtue; to cancel that crime, and to settle himself on the throne, he bent all his thoughts towards promoting the interest of the church, and the dignity of monasteries. He showed Edgar Etheling Earl of Oxford, and the rest of the nobility, all the favour imaginable; he eased the people of a great part of their taxes; he bestowed vast sums of money upon the poor; and in short, what by the smoothness of his discourse, patience in hearing others, and equity in all causes, he gained himself a wonderful love and authority.

So soon as William, Duke of Normandy, had certain intelligence of those matters, he pretended to be infinitely afflicted for the death of Edward; when all the while the thing that lay upon his stomach, was his being disappointed of England, which he had so long promised himself. Without more ado, by advice of his council,

he sends over ambassadors to remind Harold of his promise and engagement; and to demand the crown. Harold, after mature deliberation, returned him this answer, that as to Edward's promise, the crown of England could not be disposed of by promise; nor was he obliged to take notice of it, since he governed by right of election, and not any hereditary claim. And for what concerned his engagement, that was plainly extorted by force, treachery, and the fear of perpetual imprisonment; did likewise tend to the manifest damage of the nation, and infringe the privileges of the nobility; and therefore he looked upon it as null in itself. That if he could make good his promise, he ought not; or if he would, that it was not in his power, being made without the knowledge of the King or concurrence of the people. That the demand seemed highly unreasonable, for him to surrender the government to a Norman prince, who was altogether a stranger; when he had been invested with it by the unanimous consent of all orders. The Norman Duke did not very well relish this answer, but plainly perceived that Harold was seeking out ways to avoid the perjury. Upon which, he sent over another embassy on the same errand, to put him in mind of the strictness of his oath; and that damnation from God, and disgrace among men, are the certain rewards of perjury. But because William's daughter (who as betrothed to Harold, was a tie upon him for the discharge of his promise) was now dead; they were entertained with so much the more coldness, and returned with the same answer as the first. In all appearance there was nothing like to ensue but open war. Harold prepares a fleet, levies soldiers, places garrisons upon the sea-coasts as he sees convenient; in short, omits nothing which may any way contribute towards repelling the Normans.

In the meantime, what was never before so much as thought of, the first storm of the war comes from Tosto, Harold's own brother. He was a man of a high spirit and cruel temper; and had for some time presided over the kingdom of Northumberland with great insolence; till at last for his barbarous dealings with inferiors, impudent carriage towards his prince, and a mortal hatred to his own brethren, he was cashiered by Edward the Confessor, and went over into France. And at this juncture, pushed forward in all probability by Baldwin Earl of Flanders, drawn in by William Duke of Normandy, (for Tosto and William had married two of Earl Baldwin's daughters) he declares open war against his brother, whom he had for a long time mortally hated. He set out from Flanders with 60 sail of pirate-vessels, wasted the Isle of Wight, and very much infested the Kentish coast: but being frightened at the approach of the Royal Navy, he set sail, and steered his course towards the more remote parts of England, landed in Lincolnshire, and plundered that county. There he was engaged by Edgar and Morcar, and defeated: then made for Scotland, with a design to renew the war. Now were all thoughts in suspense with the expectation of a double assault, one from Scotland, another from Normandy; and their jealousies were heightened by the dreadful appearance of a comet at Easter, for about seven days together. This (as it commonly does in troublesome times) set the distracted brains of the people a-working, to presage what miseries would follow upon it. But Harold after he had curiously viewed every part of the kingdom, fortified the South coasts with garrisons. He was not apprehensive of much danger from Scotland and Tosto, because Malcom King of Scots was diverted with civil wars.

In the meantime, William was continually thinking of a descent into England. He now and then advised with his officers, and found them cheerful and full of hopes, but all the difficulty was how to procure money to carry on so important a war. For upon a proposal made at a public meeting of the states of Normandy about raising a subsidy, it was urged, that the nation was so exhausted by their former wars with

France, that if they should engage in a new war, they should have much ado even to act defensively: that their business was rather to secure their own, than to invade another's dominions; that how just soever the war might be, there was no great necessity for it, and that in all probability it would prove of dangerous consequence: and lastly, that the Normans were not bound by their allegiance to serve in foreign wars. No considerations could bring them to raise a supply of money, though William FitzOsbern, a man generally beloved both by Duke and people, promoted it with the utmost zeal; and to encourage others, engaged to build 40 ships at his own charge for the service of the war. The Duke finding himself disappointed in a public meeting, tries other methods; and sending for the wealthiest of them one by one, speaks them fair, and desires that each would contribute something towards the war. This drove them to a sort of emulation, who should be most assisting to his prince, and made them promise largely; and an account being taken of all the contributions, a sum beyond what could reasonably be expected, was raised almost in an instant. After matters were thus far dispatched, he solicites his neighbouring princes for aids, the Earl of Anjou, Poictou, Maine, and Boulogne, with this encouragement, that they should have their share of lands in England. Next, he applies himself to Philip King of France, and promises, that in case he contributes his assistance, he will take an oath of fealty, and hold England under him. But considering that it was not by any means the interest of France, that the neighbouring Norman, who already did not seem much to value them, should be strengthened by the addition of England, (as princes are always jealous of the growing power of their neighbours) Philip was so far from encouraging the design, that he used all means to divert him from invading of England. But nothing could draw him off his resolution; wherein he was now confirmed and justified by the authority of Pope Alexander. (This Pope about that time began to usurp a jurisdiction over princes: and he approved the cause, sent him a consecrated banner as a token of his victory and empire, and excommunicated all that should oppose him.) Upon this he raised what forces he could, and got together a vast fleet to St. Valeric's (a town at the mouth of the River Somme) where he lay windbound for some time; and in order to have a fair wind, he spared neither prayers, nor offerings to St. Valeric, the saint of that place. Harold, after he had a long time watched his coming, had resolved to disband his army, lay up his ships, and leave the sea-coasts; partly because provisions began to fail him, and partly because the Earl of Flanders had assured him that William had no design upon England that year. Which he the rather believed, because at that time of year, putting to sea would be very dangerous, when the equinox was just at hand. While he was settling these matters, all on a sudden an unexpected invasion puts him under a necessity of getting his army together. For Harold surnamed Durus, and Harfager, King of Norway (who had for a long time preyed upon the northern parts of Britain, and possessed himself of the Isles of Orkney) was drawn over by Tosto, out of a prospect of the kingdom of England, and entered the river Tyne with about 500 rovers, where he was joined by Tosto. After they had for some time been making havoc of those parts, they weighed anchor, and sailing along the coasts of Yorkshire, came into Humber; where they plundered all round them, with the utmost cruelty of an enemy. But to stop their progress, Edwin and Morcar, two earls, attacked them with a confused, undisciplined army; which being overpowered by the Norwegians, ran away. A good many, amongst whom were the two earls, made a shift to get off, but the greatest number was drowned in their passage over the river Ouse. The Norwegians, without more ado, resolve to lay siege to York; but upon hostages given on both sides, the place was surrendered. Not long after, Harold having got his whole army in a body, marches

towards York; and from thence, towards the Norwegians; who had encamped in a very advantageous place. Behind, they were secured by the sea; on the left, by the river Humber, where their fleet rid at anchor; on the right and front, by the River Derwent. Notwithstanding all this, Harold attacked them very vigorously, and the first skirmish was at a bridge over the River Derwent, where 'tis said one single Norwegian bore up for some time against the whole English army, till at last he was shot dead. Next the battle was removed to the camp, where the advantages on both sides were equal for a while. At last on the Norwegians side the ranks were broken; and Harold King of Norway, with Tosto, and the greatest part of their army was slain. The booty which Harold got by this victory was very considerable; gold and silver in great plenty, and every ship of that large fleet, except twenty small vessels, which he gave Paul Earl of the Orcades, and Olavus, (son of Harold who was slain) to carry off their wounded; first taking an oath of them that they should never again disturb England. Harold was exceedingly heartened with the victory, and begun to hope that he should be a terror to the Normans; though his own subjects began to hate him for not distributing the spoil amongst the soldiers. All his thoughts were spent in the settlement of the nation, which especially in those parts was in a miserable condition.

In the meantime, William the Norman got a favourable wind: he set sail about the end of September, and having a gentle gale, landed with his whole fleet at Pevensey in Sussex. He found the coast clear; and to cut off all encouragement for running away, fired the ships. After he had built a castle there for retreat, he went forwards to Hastings, where he built another, and put in it a garrison. Next, he published the reasons of invasion; to revenge the death of his kinsman Alfred, whom among a great many other Normans, Godwin, Harold's father, had slain; to take satisfaction for the injuries Harold had done, in banishing Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, and accepting the crown of England, contrary to his own express oath. He gave out a strict order among his men, that none should plunder the English in a hostile manner.

News of his whole proceeding were quickly brought to Harold, who judging it most advisable to engage the Norman as soon as possible, dispatches messengers to all parts, desires his subjects to stand true to him, gets his whole army together, and marches with all speed to London. William sent an ambassador to him there, who with a great deal of importunity demanding the crown, did so incense him, that he very hardly restrained himself from violence. His late victory had wrought him into so much insolence and assurance, that it was a difficult thing to bring him down. Forthwith he sends ambassadors to William, with very severe threatenings of what he was to expect, unless he returned immediately to Normandy. William dismissed them with a gentle answer, and a great deal of civility. Harold in the meantime makes a general muster at London, and finds his forces considerably lessened by the late battle with the Norwegians; but however makes up a strong body out of the nobility and others, whose concern for the public good had invited them to take up arms. Presently he marches into Sussex, though altogether contrary to the advice of his mother; and with a firm resolution encamps scarce seven miles from the Norman. William with his army advanced towards him. Spies were sent out by both sides. Those of the English, either out of ignorance or design, gave a prodigious account of the number, preparations, and discipline of the Normans. Upon this, Gythus, Harold's younger brother, a very noted soldier, did not think it advisable to run the hazard of a decisive battle. He told the King, the issue of all engagements was dubious; that the victory depended more upon fortune than courage; that mature deliberation was the

greatest part of military discipline. He advised him, in case he had made any such promise to William of the reversion of the kingdom, at least not to fight in person; because no forces could guard him against his own conscience, and God would certainly punish every breach of promise: that nothing could cast a greater damp upon the Normans, than to see a new army raised to engage them afresh. He farther promised, that if he would but trust him with the management of the fight, he would discharge the duty of a faithful brother, and a stout general: that as he had the support of a good conscience, he might the more easily defeat the enemy, or at least die more happily in the service of his country. The King did not like such language, as thinking that it plainly tended to the dishonour of his person. For as he could be very well content to run the hazard of a battle, so the imputation of cowardice was a thing he could not bear. As for the character of the Normans, he made light of it; and could not think it consisted with his dignity or former behaviour, now he was come to the last hazard, like a coward to run away, and so to bring upon himself an eternal scandal. Thus, whom God has marked out for destruction, he always infatuates.

While these things were going forward, William, out of a pious care for the interest of Christendom, and to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, sent out a monk as a mediator between both. He proposed these terms to Harold; either wholly to resign up the government; or own it a tenure in fee from the Norman; or decide the matter in a single combat with William; or at least stand to the Pope's determination. But he, like a man that had no government over himself, rejected all propositions, and referred his cause entirely to the tribunal of God. Next day (which was the 14th of October) he promised to give them battle; foolishly flattering himself with success, because 'twas his birthday. That night the English spent in revels, feasting, and shouting; but the Normans, in prayers for the safety of their army, and for a victory. Next morning by break of day they drew up both armies. In Harold's, the Kentish men with their halberds were in the van (for by an old custom they claimed the front of the battle;) in the rear was Harold and his brother, the Midland English and the Londoners. The van of the Norman army was led up by Roger of Montgomery and William FitzOsbern; and consisted of the horse of Anjou, Perch, Maine, and Little Britain; most whereof had served under Fergentas the Briton. The main battle, made up of Poitevins and Germans, was commanded by Geffrey Martel, and a German stipendiary. In the rear was the Duke himself with a strong body of Normans, and the flower of the nobility. The archers were mixed through the whole army.

The Normans, after a regular shout, sounded an alarm, and advanced forwards. They first charged them with a volley of arrows from all parts; and that being a sort of attack to which the English were altogether strangers, did very much affright them; for they fell so thick, that they thought the enemy was got into the midst of their army. Next, they vigorously charged the front of the English, who resolving rather to die upon the spot, than retreat, kept their ranks, and repulsed them with great loss. The Normans attacked them a second time; so they bore up stoutly one against the other. Thus foot to foot, and man to man, they were for some time very warmly engaged; but the English keeping close in one body, maintained their ground with so much bravery, that the Normans after they had been miserably harrassed, were for retreating, had not William acted the part as well of a common soldier as a general, and by his authority prevented them. By this means was the battle continued, and the Norman horse sent with all speed to reinforce them, whilst the English were in a manner over-whelmed with the arrows: yet for all this they kept their ranks. For Harold behaving himself in every respect like a brave general, was always ready with

succours; and William on the other side was nothing inferior. He had two horses killed under him; and after he saw that nothing could be done by bare force, he begun to act by stratagem. He ordered his men to sound a retreat, and to give ground, but still to keep their ranks. The English taking this for flight, thought the day was certainly their own: whereupon they broke their ranks, and never so much as doubting of the victory, pursued the enemy in great disorder. But the Normans, rallying their troops on a sudden, renewed the battle, and falling upon the disordered English, killed great numbers of them, whilst they stood doubtful whether they should run or fight. But the greatest part posting themselves on the higher grounds, got into a body, encouraged one another, and opposed the enemy with great resolution, as if they had made choice of that place for an honourable death. At last, Harold was shot through the head with an arrow, and there with his two brothers, Githus and Leofwine, lost his life. Upon this, Edwin and Morcar, with some few who had saved their lives, made their escape by flight (giving way to the hand of providence, and the present necessity) after they had fought without intermission from seven o'clock in the morning to the dusk of the evening. The Normans lost in this battle about 6000 men, and the English a far greater number. William overjoyed with his victory, ordered a solemn thanksgiving to almighty God, and fixed his tent in the middle of the slain; where he stayed that night. Next day, after he had buried his men, and granted leave to the English to do the like; he returned to Hastings to consider of proper methods how to prosecute his victory, and to refresh his soldiers. So soon as the news of this victory reached London, and other cities of England, the whole nation was in a surprise, and in a manner struck dead. Githa, the King's mother, was so overcome with grief, that no way could be found to comfort her. She humbly desired of the Conqueror to grant her the bodies of her sons; which she buried in Waltham Abbey. Edwin sent away Queen Algitha his sister, into the more remote parts of the kingdom. The nobility desired the people not to despair, and begun to consider of methods how to settle the nation. The Archbishop of York, with the city of London, and sea-soldiers, (commonly called botescarles) were for making Edgar King, and renewing the war with William. Edwin and Morcar were secretly contriving how to get the government into their their own hands. But the bishops, prelates, and others upon whom the Pope's anathema made a deeper impression, thought it most advisable to surrender, and not to incense the Conqueror with a second battle, the issue whereof was but at best doubtful; nor resist God, who for the crying sins of the nation, seemed to have delivered up England into the hands of the Normans. William, leaving a strong garrison in Hastings, resolved to march in a hostile manner directly towards London; but to diffuse a greater terror through the nation, and to make all sure behind him, he divided his forces, and marched through part of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, and Berkshire. Where he came, he burnt villages and towns, plundering them; passed the Thames at Wallingford, and filled all places with horror.

The nobility all this while were at a stand what to do, nor could they be persuaded to lay aside private animosities, and consult the public interest of the nation. The clergy, to avoid the curses of the church, and censures of the Pope (by which he did at that time sway both the minds of men and whole kingdoms) and considering that the affairs of the nation were not only decayed but quite ruined; stood so firm to their resolution of surrendering, that many, to save themselves, withdrew privately out of the city. But Alfred, Archbishop of York, Wolstan, Bishop of Worcester, along with some other bishops, and Edgar Etheling, Edwin, and Morcar, met the Norman Conqueror at Berkhamsted. He made them most glorious promises; upon which, hostages were given; and they submitted themselves to his protection.

Forthwith he went to London, where he was received with great joy and acclamations, and saluted under the title of King. Next he prepares all necessaries for the inauguration, which he had appointed to be on Christmas Day; and in the meantime employed all his care and thoughts upon the settlement of the nation.

This was the period of the Saxon's government in Britain, which lasted six hundred and seven years. The revolution that happened in the kingdom, some imputed to the avarice of magistrates, others to the superstitious laziness of the clergy; a third sort, to the comet which then appeared, and the influence of the stars; a fourth attributed it to God, who for hidden, but always just reasons, disposes of kingdoms. But others, who looked nearer into the immediate causes, threw it upon the imprudence of King Edward, who under the specious colour of religious chastity, neglected to secure a succession, and so exposed the kingdom as a prey to ambition.

What an insolent and bloody victory this was, the monks, who writ about it, do fully inform us. Nor can we question but in this, as in all others, villany had the upper hand. William, as a token of his conquest, laid aside the greatest part of the English laws, brought in Norman customs, and ordered that all causes should be pleaded in French. The English were dispossessed of their hereditary estates, and the lands and farms divided among his soldiers; but with this reserve, that he should still remain the direct proprietor, and oblige them to do homage to him and his successors: that is, that they should hold them in fee, but the King alone be chief Lord, and they feudatory lords, and in actual possession. He made a seal, on the one side whereof was engraven,

Hoc Normannorum Gulielmum nosce patronum.
By this the Norman owns great William, Duke.

On the other side,

Hoc Anglis signo regem fatearis eundem.
By this too, England owns the same, their King.

Further (as William of Malmesbury tells us) in imitation of Caesar's policy, who would not have those Germans (that skulked in the forest of Ardena, and by their frequent excursions very much disturbed his army) suppressed by the Romans, but the Gauls; that whilst foreigners destroyed one another, himself might triumph without blood-shed: William took the same methods with the English. For there were some, who after the first battle of that unfortunate Harold, had fled over into Denmark and Ireland; where they got together a strong body of men, and returned three years after. To oppose them, he dispatched away an English army and general, and let the Normans live at their ease. For which side soever got the best, he found his interest would go forward. And so it proved: for after the English skirmished for some time one with another, the victory was presented the King without any trouble. And in another place: after the power of the laity was destroyed, he made a positive declaration, that no monk or clergy-man of the English nation, should pretend to any place of dignity: wherein he quite receded from the easiness of King Canute, who maintained the conquered party in full possession of their honours. By which means it was, that after his death, the natives found so little difficulty in driving out the foreigners, and recovering their ancient freedom.

After he had settled those matters, his principal care was to avoid the storm of the Danish war, which he saw hanging over him; and even to purchase a peace. On this occasion, he made Adalbert, Archbishop of Hamburg, his instrument. For Adam Bremensis says, *there was a perpetual quarrel between Sweyn and the bastard; but our Archbishop being bribed to it by William, made it his business to strike up a peace between the two kings.* And indeed 'tis very probable there was one concluded; for from that time, England was never apprehensive of the Danes. William, however, made it his whole business to maintain the dignity of his government, and to settle the kingdom by wholesome laws. For Gervasius Tilburiensis tells us, *that after the famous conqueror of England (King William) had subdued the furthest parts of the island, and brought down the rebels' hearts by dreadful examples; lest they might be in a condition of making outrages for the future, he resolved to bring his subjects under the obedience of written laws. Whereupon laying before him the laws of England, according to their threefold division, that is Merchanlage, Denelage, and West-Sexenlage, some of them he laid aside, but approved others, and added to them such of the foreign Norman laws, as he found most conducive to the peace of the kingdom. Next (as we are assured by Ingulphus, who lived at that time) he made all the inhabitants of England do him homage, and swear fealty to him against all others. He took a survey of the whole nation, so that there was not a single hide of land through all England, but he knew both the value of it, and its owner. Not a lake, or any other place whatsoever, but it was registered in the King's rolls, with its revenue, rent, tenure, and owner; according to the relation of certain taxers, who were picked out of each county to describe the places belonging to it. This roll was called the roll of Winchester, and by the English Domesday, as being an universal and exact account of every tenement in the whole nation.* I rather make mention of this book, because I shall have occasion to quote it hereafter, under the name of *William's Tax-Book, the Notice of England, the Cessing-Book of England, the Public Acts, and the Survey of England.*

But as to Polydore Virgil's assertion, that William the Conqueror first brought in the jury of twelve, there is nothing can be more false. For 'tis plain from Ethelred's laws, that it was used many years before that. Nor can I see any reason, why he should call it a terrible jury. Twelve men, who are freeholders, and qualified according to law, are picked out of the neighbourhood; these are bound by oath to give in their real opinion as to matter of fact; they hear the counsel on both sides plead at the bar, and the evidence produced; then they take along with them the depositions of both parties, are close confined, denied meat, drink, and fire till they can agree upon their verdict (unless want of these may endanger some of their lives.) As soon as they have delivered it in, he gives sentence according to law. And this method was looked upon by our wise forefathers to be the best for discovering truth, hindering bribes, and cutting off all partiality.

How great the Norman courage was, I refer you to other writers; I shall only observe, that being seated in the midst of warlike nations, they never made submission their refuge, but always arms. By force of these they possessed themselves of the noble kingdoms of England and Sicily. For Tancred, nephew to Richard the Second, Duke of Normandy, and his successors, did many glorious exploits in Italy, drove out the Saracens, and set up there a kingdom of their own. So that a Sicilian historian ingenuously confesses, that the Sicilians enjoying their native soil, their freedom, and Christianity, is entirely owing to the Normans. Their behaviour also in the wars of the holy land, got them great honour. Which gave Roger Hoveden occasion to say, *that*

bold France, after she had experienced the Norman valour, drew back; fierce England submitted; rich Apulia was restored to her flourishing condition; famous Jerusalem, and renowned Antioch were both subdued. Since that time, England has been equal for warlike exploits, and genteel education, to the most flourishing nations of the Christian world. So that the English have been peculiarly made choice of for Emperor of Constantinople's guards. For (as our country man Malmesbury has told us) he very much admired their fidelity, and recommended them to his son, as men deserving of respect; and they were formerly for many years together Emperor's guards. Nicetas Choniata calls them *Inglini Bipenniferi*, and Curopalata, *Barangi*. These attended the Emperor wherever he went, with halberds upon their shoulders, as often as he stired abroad out of his closet; and prayed for his long life, clashing their halberds one against another, to make a noise. As to the blot which Chalcondilas has cast upon our nation, of having wives in common, truth itself wipes it off, and confronts the extravagant vanity of the Grecian. For, (as my most learned and excellent friend Ortelius has observed upon this very subject) *Things related by any persons concerning others, are not always true.*

These are the people which have inhabited Britain; whereof there remain unto this day the Britons, the Saxons or Angles, with a mixture of Normans; and towards the North, the Scots. Whereupon the two kingdoms of this island, England and Scotland, which were long divided, are now in the most potent prince, King James, happily united under one imperial diadem.

It is not material here to take notice of the Flemings, who about four hundred years ago, came over hither, in the county and got leave of the King to settle in Wales; since we shall mention them in another place. Let us then conclude this part with that of Seneca; *From hence it is manifest, that nothing has continued in its primitive state. There's a continual floating in the affairs of mankind. In this vast orb there are daily revolutions: new foundations of cities laid, new names given to nations, either by the utter ruin of the former, or by its change into that of a more powerful party.* And considering that all these nations which invaded Britain were Northern, as were also others, who, about that time, overran Europe, and after it, Asia: Nicephorus' observation, founded upon the authority of scripture, is very true. *As God very often sends terrors upon men from heaven, such are thunder, fire, and storms; and from earth, as opening of the ground, and earthquakes; as also out of the air, such as whirlwinds, and immoderate rains: so those northern terrors are as it were reserved by God, to be sent out for a punishment, when, and upon whom the divine providence shall think fit.*

The Division of Britain.

Let us now prepare ourselves for the division of Britain. Countries are divided by geographers, either naturally, according to the state of the rivers and mountains; or nationally, with respect to the people who inhabit them; or differently, and under a political consideration, according to the pleasure and jurisdiction of princes. Now seeing the first and second of these divisions are here and there treated of through the whole work; the third (i.e. the political) seems proper to this place: which yet is so much obscured by the injury of time, that in this matter, 'tis easier to convince one of errors, than to discover the truth.

Our historians affirm, that the most ancient division of Britain, is into Loegria, Cambria, and Albania; that is (to speak more intelligibly) into England, Wales, and Scotland. But I look upon this to be of later date; both because 'tis threefold, arising from those three people, the Angles, the Cambrians, and the Scots, who afterwards shared this island amongst them; and also because there is no such division mentioned by classic authors; no, nor before our countryman Geoffrey of Monmouth. For (as the critics of our age imagine) his romance had not been all of a piece, unless he had made Brutus have three sons, Loctrinus, Camber, and Albanactus, to answer the three nations that were here in his time: in the same manner that he had before made his Brutus, because this island was then called Britain. And they no way doubt, but if there had been more distinct nations about that time here in Britain, he would have found more of Brutus' children.

In the opinion of many learned men, the most ancient division of Britain, is that of Ptolemy, in his second book of mathematical construction, where treating of parallels, he divides it into great and little Britain. But with due submission to so great persons, I conceive they would be of opinion, that in this place our island is called *Britannia Magna*, and Ireland *Parva*, Great and Little Britain, if they would please to consider the distances there from the equator a little more accurately, and compare it with his geographical works. However, some modern writers have called the hither part of this island, Southwards, great, and the farther towards the North, little; the inhabitants whereof were formerly distinguished into *Maiatae* and *Caledonii*, that is, into the inhabitants of the plains, and the mountaineers; as now the Scots are into highlandmen, and lowlandmen. But the Romans neglecting the farther tract, because (as Appian says) it could be of no importance or advantage to them, and fixing their bounds not far from Edinburgh, divided the hither part, now reduced to the form of a province, into two, the lower, and the upper; as may be gathered from Dio. The hither part, along with Wales, was their upper; the farther lying northward, the lower. And this is confirmed by Dio's account of the seats of the legions. The second legion, termed *Augusta*, at Caerleon in Wales; and the twentieth, called *Victrix*, at Chester or Deva, are both placed by him in upper Britain. But he tells us, that the sixth legion, called *Victrix*, whose residence was at York, served in lower Britain. I should think this division to have been made by Severus Emperor, since Herodian assures us, that after he had conquered Albinus (the then general of the Britons,) had possessed himself of the government, and settled the affairs of Britain, he divided the whole province into two parts, and assigned to each its lieutenant.

Afterwards the Romans divided the province of Britain into three parts (as we may learn from a manuscript of Sextus Rufus) viz. *Maxima Caesariensis*, *Britannia Prima*, and *Britannia Secunda*; which I fancy I have found out by the ancient bishops

and their dioceses. Pope Lucius, in Gratian, intimates, that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Christians, was modelled according to the jurisdiction of the Roman magistrates; and that the Archbishops had their sees in such cities as had formerly been the residence of the Roman governors. *The cities (says he) and the places where primates are to preside, are not of a late model, but were fixed many years before the coming of Christ; to the governors of which cities, the gentiles also made their appeals in the more weighty matters. In which very cities, after the coming of Christ, the apostles and their successors settled patriarchs or primates, ho have power to judge of the affairs of bishops, and in all causes of consequence.* Now since Britain had formerly three Archbishops, London, York, and Caerleon, I fancy that the province we now call Canterbury (for thither the see of London was translated) made up the Britannia prima; that Wales, which was subject to the Bishop of Caerleon, was the Secunda; and that the province of York, which then reached as far as the bound, was the Maxima Caesariensis.

The next age after, when the constitution of the Roman government was every day changed (either through ambition, that more might be preferred to places of honour; or the policy of Emperors, to curb the growing power of their presidents) they divided Britain into five parts; Britannia Prima, Secunda, Maxima Caesariensis, Valentia, and Flavia Caesariensis. Valentia seems to have been the northern part of the Maxima Caesariensis, which Theodosius, general under Emperor Valens, recovered from the Picts and Scots; and out of complement to his master, called it Valentia, as Marcellinus fully testifies in those words. *The province which had fell into the enemy's hands he recovered, and reduced to its former state; so that by his means, it both enjoyed a lawful governor, and was also, by appointment of the prince, afterwards called Valentia.* 'Tis reasonable to imagine, that the son of this Theodosius (who being made Emperor, was called Flavius Theodosius, and made several alterations in the empire) might add the Flavia; because we never meet with Britannia Flavia before the time of this Flavius. To be short then, Britannia Prima was all that Southern tract, bounded on one hand with the British ocean, and on the other with the Thames and the Severn Sea: Britannia Secunda, the same with the present Wales: Flavia Caesariensis reached from the Thames to Humber: Maxima Caesariensis, from Humber to the River Tyne, or Severus's Wall: Valentia, from the Tyne to the wall near Edinburgh, called by the Scots Gramesdike, which was the farthest limit of the Roman Empire.

And here I cannot but observe, that some very learned men have betrayed a want of judgment, by bringing Scotland into this number; which some of them urge to have been the Maxima Caesariensis, others, the Britannia Secunda. As if the Romans had not altogether neglected those parts, possessed (as it were) by the bitterness of the air; and within this number only included such provinces as were governed by consular lieutenants and presidents. For the Maxima Caesariensis and Valentia were ruled by persons of consular dignity, and the other three, Britannia Prima, Secunda, and Flavia, by presidents.

If one ask me, what grounds I have for this division, and accuse me of setting undue bounds, he shall hear in few words, what it was drew me into this opinion. After I had observed that the Romans called those provinces *Primae*, which were nearest Rome (as Germania Prima, Belgica Prima, Lugdunensis Prima, Aquitania Prima, Pannonia Prima, all which lie nearer Rome than such as are called *Secundae*) and that the more nice writers called these *primae*, the upper, and the *secundae*, the lower: I presently concluded the South part of our island, as nearer Rome, to be the

Britannia Prima. For the same reason, since the *secundae provinciae* (as they call them) were most remote from Rome, I thought Wales must be the Britannia Secunda. Further, observing that in the decline of the Roman Empire, those provinces only had consular governors, which were the frontiers, (as is evident from the *Notitia*, <49> not only in Gaul, but also in Africa;) and that Valentia with us, as also Maxima Caesariensis, are called consular provinces; I took it for granted that they were nearest and most exposed to the Scots and Picts, in the places above mentioned. And as for Flavia Caesariensis, I cannot but fancy that it was in the middle of the rest, and the heart of England; wherein I am the more positive, because I have that ancient writer Giraldus Cambrensis on my side. These were the divisions of Britain under the Romans.

Afterwards, the barbarous nations breaking in on every hand, and civil wars prevailing more and more among the Britons, it lay for some time, as it were, without either blood or spirits, without the least face of government. But at last, that part which lies northward, branched into two kingdoms of the Scots and Picts, and the pentarchy of the Romans in this hither part, was made the heptarchy of the Saxons. For they divided this whole Roman province (except Wales, which the remains of the Britons possessed themselves of) into seven kingdoms, viz. Kent, South Sex, East Anglia, West-Sex, Northumberland, East-Sex, and Mercia.

But what this heptarchy of the Saxons was, and what the names of the places in that age, you will more easily apprehend by this chorographical table.

Considering that such tracts or counties as these kingdoms contained, could not so conveniently be represented in a small chorographical table, because of its narrowness; I chose rather to explain it by this other scheme (which at once gives the reader an entire view) than by a heap of words

The Saxon heptarchy.	1. The kingdom of Kent contained	The county of	Kent.
	2. The kingdom of the South Saxons contained	The counties of	Sussex. Surrey.
	3. The kingdom of the East Angles contained	The counties of	Norfolk. Suffolk. Cambridge, with the Isle of Ely.
	4. The kingdom of the West Saxons contained	The counties of	Cornwall. Devonshire. Dorsetshire. Somersetshire. Wiltshire. Hampshire. Berkshire.
	5. The kingdom of Northumberland contained	The counties of	Lancaster. York. Durham.

Camden's Britannia

			Cumberland. Westmorland. Northumberland, and Scotland to the Forth of Edinburgh.
	6. The kingdom of the East Saxons contained	The counties of	Essex. Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire.
	7. The kingdom of Mercia contained	The counties of	Gloucester. Hereford. Worcester. Warwick. Leicester. Rutland. Northampton. Lincoln. Huntingdon. Bedford. Buckingham. Oxford. Stafford. Derby. Shropshire. Nottingham. Chester, and the other part of Hertfordshire.

But yet while the heptarchy continued, England was not divided into what we call counties, but into several small partitions, with their number of hides;<78> a catalogue whereof out of an old fragment was communicated to me by Francis Tate, a person very much conversant in our law-antiquities. But this only contains that part which lies on this side the Humber.

Myrena contains 3000 Hides.

Woken-setna 7000 hides.

Westerna 7000 hides.

Pec-setna 1200 hides.

Elmed-setna 600 hides.

Lindes-farona 7000 hides.

Suth-Gyrwa 600 hides.

North Gyrwa 600 hides.

East-Wixna 300 hides.

West-Wixna 600 hides.

Spalda 600 hides.

Wigesta 900 hides.

Herefinna 1200 hides.

Sweordora 300 hides.

Eyfla 300 hides.

Wicca 300 hides.

Wight-gora 600 hides.
Nox-gaga 5000 hides.
Oht-gaga 2000 hides.
Hwynca 7000 hides.
Cittern-setna 4000 hides.
Hendrica 3000 hides.
Unecung-ga 1200 hides.
Aroseatna, 600 hides.
Fearfinga, 300 hides.
Belmiga, 600 hides.
Witherigga, 600 hides.
East-Willa, 600 hides.
West-Willa, 600 hides.
East-Engle, 30000 hides.
East-Sexena, 7000 hides.
Cant-Warena, 15000 hides.
SUSSEXENA, 7000 hides.
West-Sexena, 100000 hides.<78>

Though some of those names are easily understood at the first sight, others will hardly be hammered out by a long and curious search; for my part, I freely confess, they require a quicker apprehension than I am master of.

Afterwards, when King Alfred had the whole government in his own hands; as our forefathers the Germans (which we learn from Tacitus) administered justice according to the several lordships and villages, taking an hundred of the common people as assistants to manage that business; *so he (to use the words of Ingulphus of Crowland) first divided England into counties; because the natives themselves committed robberies, after the example and under colour of the Danes. Moreover, he made the counties to be divided into so many centuries or hundreds, and tithings; ordering that every man in the kingdom should be ranked under some one or other hundred and tithing. The governors of provinces were before that called Vicedomini, "Lieutenants;" but this office he divided into two, judges, (now called justices) and sheriffs, which still retain the same name. By the care and industry of those, the whole kingdom in a short time enjoyed so great peace, that if a traveller had let fall a sum of money never so large, in the evening, either in the fields, or public highways; if he came next morning, or even a month after, he should find it whole and untouched.* This is more largely insisted upon by the Malmesbury historian. *Even the natives (says he) under pretence of being barbarians (i.e. Danes,) fell to robberies; so that there was no safe travelling without arms. But King Alfred settled the centuries, commonly called hundreds, and the tithings; that every English man, living under the protection of the laws, should have both his hundred and his tithing. And if anyone was accused of a misdemeanour, he should get bail in the century and tithing; or if he could not, should expect the severity of the laws. But if anyone standing thus accused, should make his escape, either before or after the bail was given, that whole hundred and tithing was liable to be fined by the King. By this project, he settled peace in the kingdom; so that even upon the high-roads, where four ways met, he commanded golden bracelets to be hung up, which might expose the avarice of travellers, whilst there was none durst venture to take them away.*

These centuries are in some parts of the kingdom called *Wapentakes*: if you desire to know the reason, I will give it you out of Edward the Confessor's laws.

When anyone received the government of a Wapentake, on a set day, and in the place where the meeting used to be held, all the elder sort met him, and when he was got off his horse, rose up to him. Then he held up his spear, and took security of all there, according to custom: for whoever came, touched his spear with theirs; and this touching of armour confirmed them in one common interest, and was a public league. In English, arms are called *wepun*, and *taccare* is to confirm, as if this were a confirmation of weapons; or to speak more agreeably to the English tongue, *wepentac* is a touching of armour: for *wepun* signifies armour, and *tac* is touching. There were also other jurisdictions above those of wapentakes, which they called *dhriingas*, including the third part of the province: and those who were lords over them were termed *dhrihingerefas*. To these were appeals made in such causes as could not be determined in the wapentakes. So that what the English named a hundred, these called a *wapentake*; and what was in English three or four hundreds, they called *dhrihinge*. But in some provinces what they called *trihing*, was in English termed *lew*; and what could not be determined in the *dhrihinge*, was carried into the shire.

These counties (which if you would express in proper Latin, may be termed either *conventus* or *pagi*) we call by the peculiar name of shires; from the Saxon word *scyre*, signifying to branch, and divide. By the first division there were only 32. For in the year 1016 in the reign of Ethelred, Malmesbury assures us there were no more. In the life of Ethelred he writes thus. *At this time the Danes invaded 16 counties, whereas there are but 32 in all England.* And in those days these counties were divided according to the variety of the laws. For the laws of England were threefold; those of the West Saxons, called *West-Saxenlage*; those of the Danes, called *Denelage*; and those of the Mercians, called *Merchenlage*. Under the West Saxon law were comprehended nine counties, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Berkshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, and Devonshire. To the Dane-laws belonged fifteen counties, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Essex, Middlesex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire. The other eight were judged after the Mercian-law. Those were Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, Cheshire, Shropshire, and Staffordshire. But when William the First made his survey of this kingdom, there were reckoned 36 counties, as the *Polychronicon* tells us. But the public records, wherein he registered that survey, reckon up no more than 34. For Durham, Lancashire, Northumberland, Westmorland, and Cumberland, did not come into the number, the three last (as some would have it) being then under the Scots, and the other two, either exempt from taxes, or included under Yorkshire. But all these being afterwards added to the number, made it (as it is to this day) 39. Besides which, there are 13 more in Wales; whereof six were in Edward the First's time, the rest Henry the Eighth settled by Act of Parliament.

In each of these counties, in troublesome times especially, there is appointed a deputy under the King, by the name of lieutenant; who is to take care that the state suffer no damage. The first institution hereof seems to be fetched from King Alfred, who settled in every county the *Custodes Regni*, or keepers of the kingdom. These afterward were restored by Henry the Third, under the title of *Capitanei*. For in the fiftieth year of his reign, *he* (as John of London has it) *held a parliament, wherein this wholesome law was enacted, that in every county there should be one captain maintained by the King, who by the assistance of the sheriff should restrain the insolence of robbers. Upon which, many were so affrighted, that they left that trade,*

and the royal power began to revive. This was wisely enough ordered: but, whether Canute the Dane, when he made a tetrarchy in a monarchy, did not act more prudently, let our politicians determine. *For he* (as Hermand the Archdeacon says) *being an exceeding sagacious man, so contrived the government of the kingdom, that it should fall under tetrarchs, such as he had found faithful to him. The government of the West Saxons, which was the greatest, he took to himself; Mercia, the second part, he committed to one Edrick; the third, called Northumbre, to Yrtus, and Earl Thorkel had the fourth, i.e. East Anglia, a very plentiful country.* This account I owe to the diligence of Mr. Fr. Thinne, who hath prosecuted this study of antiquities with great honour, and particularly communicated this to me.

But every year, some one inhabitant of the lesser nobility is set over the county, and styled *Vice-Comes*, i.e. A deputy of the *Comes* or Earl; and in our language he is called *Sheriff*, i.e. One set over the county, and may very well be termed the *Quaestor* of the county or province. For 'tis his business to get up the public revenues of the county, to gather into the exchequer all fines, even by distraining; to attend the judges, and to execute their orders; to empanel twelve men, who are to judge of matters of fact, and bring in their verdict to the judges, (who are with us only judges of law, and not of fact;) to take care that such as are condemned be duly executed; and to give judgment in petty causes.

There are also in every county certain *Eirenarchae*, or Justices of the Peace, settled by King Edward III. And those take cognizance of murders, felonies, trespasses, (for so they term them) and many other misdemeanors. Besides, the King sends every year into each county two of the Justices of England, to give sentence upon prisoners, and (to use the law-term in that cause) to make a gaol-delivery. But of these more hereafter, when we come to the courts.

As to the ecclesiastical government; after the bishops of Rome had assigned to each presbyter his church, and divided the parishes among them, Honorius Archbishop of Canterbury, about the year of our Lord 636, first began to divide England into parishes, as we read in the history of Canterbury.

Now England has two provinces, and two Archbishops; Canterbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan; and York. Under these are 25 bishops; 22 under Canterbury, and the rest under York. What these bishoprics are, with their counties or dioceses which they now contain, are shown us in those words of that excellent person the most reverend father in God Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, a patron of learning, and a great judge of antiquities.

In the province of Canterbury.

The bishopric of Canterbury, along with Rochester, contains the county of Kent. London has under it Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire. Chichester has Sussex. Winchester has Hampshire, Surrey, Isle of Wight; with Guernsey and Jersey, islands lying upon the coast of Normandy. Salisbury contains Wiltshire and Berkshire. Exeter includes Devonshire and Cornwall. Bath and Wells jointly have Somersetshire; and Gloucester, Gloucestershire. Worcester, Worcestershire and part of Warwickshire. Hereford, Herefordshire and part of Shropshire. Coventry and Lichfield joined together, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, and the other part of Warwickshire; as also that part of Shropshire which borders upon the River Repil. Next, Lincoln, the largest, contains six counties, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire,

Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and the other part of Hertfordshire. Ely, Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely. Norwich, Norfolk and Suffolk. Oxford, Oxfordshire. Peterborough, Northamptonshire and Rutlandshire. Bristol, Dorsetshire. To which 18 dioceses in England, must be added those of Wales or Cambria, which are both deprived of an Archbishop of their own, and also made fewer, seven hardly coming entire into four. These are St. David's, (whose seat is at St. David's) Llandaff, Bangor, and Asaph, or Elwensis.

In the province of York.

York itself comprehends Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire. Chester, Cheshire, Richmondshire, Lancashire, with part of Cumberland, Flintshire, and Denbighshire. Durham, the bishopric of Durham, and Northumberland. Carlisle, part of Cumberland, and Westmorland. To these may be added the bishopric of Sodor in Mona; commonly called the Isle of Man.

Amongst those, the Archbishop of Canterbury takes the first place; the Archbishop of York, the second; the Bishop of London, the third; the Bishop of Durham, the fourth; and the Bishop of Winchester, the fifth. The rest take place according to the time of their consecration. But if any of the other bishops happen to be secretary to the King, he claims the fifth place. There are besides in England, 26 deaneries, 13 whereof were made in the larger churches by King Henry VIII upon expulsion of the monks. The archdeaonries are sixty; and the dignities and prebends make 544.

There are also 9284 parish churches under the bishops; of which, 3845 are *appropriate*, as is plain from the catalogue exhibited to King James, which I have here subjoined. Now, appropriate churches are such, as by the authority of the Pope, and the consent of the King and Bishop of the diocess, are upon certain conditions settled upon those monasteries, bishoprics, colleges, and hospitals, whose revenues are but small; either because they were built upon their ground, or granted by the lords of the Manor. Such a settlement is expressed in form of law by being united, annexed, and incorporated for ever. But these, upon the subversion of the monasteries, were, to the great damage of the church, made lay-fees.<79>

	Dioceses.	Parish churches.	Churches appropriate.
In the province of Canterbury.	Canterbury,	257	140
	London,	623	189
	Winchester,	362	131
	Coventry and Lichfield,	557	250
	Salisbury,	248	109
	Bath and Wells,	388	160
	Lincoln,	1255	577

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	Peterborough,	293	91
	Exeter,	604	239
	Gloucester,	267	125
	Hereford,	313	166
	Norwich,	1121	385
	Ely,	141	75
	Rochester,	98	36
	Chichester,	250	112
	Oxford,	195	88
	Worcester,	241	76
	Bristol,	236	64
	S. David's,	308	120
	Bangor,	107	36
	Llandaff,	177	98
	S. Asaph.	121	19
Peculiars<299>in the province of Canterbury.		57	14
The whole number in the province of Canterbury.		8219	3303
In the province of York.	York,	581	336
	Durham,	135	87
	Chester,	256	101
	Carlisle,	93	18
The whole number in York.		1065	592
The whole number in both provinces.		9284	3845

But in the book of Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal, written in the year 1520, there are reckoned in all the counties 9407 churches. I know not how this difference should happen, unless it be that some were demolished in the last age, and chapels, which are parochial, be omitted, others which are barely chapels being reckoned up amongst the parish churches. However, I have set down the number of churches at the end of each county, out of this book of Wolsey's.

There were also in the reign of King Henry VIII (if it be not a crime to mention them) monuments of the piety of our fore-fathers, built to the honour of God, the propagation of the Christian faith, and good learning; and for the support of the poor. Of religious houses (i.e. monasteries or abbeys, and priories,) to the number of 645, whereof when 40 had been suppressed by a grant from Pope Clement the Seventh obtained by Cardinal Wolsey, who had then laid the foundation of two colleges, one at Oxford, and another at Ipswich; presently about the 36th of Henry VIII a torrent (as it were) that has thrown down the banks, broke in upon the ecclesiastical state of England, and to the great surprise of the whole world, and oppression of this nation, at once threw down the greatest part of the religious, with their curious structures. For what the Pope granted to the Cardinal, the King took himself, by consent of parliament. Whereupon, in the year 1536 all religious houses, with their revenues, which had 200*l.* yearly, or under that, were granted to the King; in number 376. And the next year, under a specious pretence of rooting out superstition, the rest, along with the colleges, chantries, and hospitals, were given up to the King's disposal. At which time, there were valued or taxed 605 religious houses, remaining; colleges, besides those in the universities, 96; Hospitals, 110; Chantries and free-chapels, 2374. Most of which in a short time were everywhere pulled down, their revenues squandered away, and the riches, which had been consecrated to God by the pious munificence of the English, from the time they received Christianity; were, as it were, in a moment dispersed, and (if I may use the word without offence) profaned.

The Degrees of England.

As to the division of our state, it consists of a King or Monarch, the nobles, citizens, freemen (which we call yeomen) and tradesmen.

The King, styled by our ancestors *coning*, and *cyning*, (a name under which is couched both power and wisdom) by us contracted into *king*, has in these kingdoms the supreme power, and a mere government: nor holds he his empire by vassalage, neither does he receive investiture from another, nor own any superior, but God. And as that oracle of law has delivered it, everyone is under him, and himself under none, but only God. He has very many rights of majesty peculiar to himself, (which the learned in the law term the *Holy of Holies* and *Individuals*, because they are inseparable; but the common people, *the King's Prerogative*;) and those, they tell us, are denoted by the flowers in the King's crown. Some of these the King enjoys by a written law, others by right of custom, which without a law is established by a tacit consent of the whole body: and surely he deserves them, *since by his watchfulness every man's house, by his labour every man's ease, by his industry everyone's pleasure, and by his toil everyone's recreation is secured to him*. But these things are too sublime to belong properly to my business.

Next the King is his eldest son; and as he amongst the Romans that was designed for the successor, the prince was first called *prince of the youth*, *princeps juventutis*, and as flattery prevailed, afterwards *Caesar*, *Noble Caesar*, and the *Most Noble Caesar*; so ours was by our Saxon ancestors termed *etheling*, i.e. *noble*, and in Latin *clyto*, from the Greek *klytos*, famous; that age affecting the Greek tongue. Upon which, that saying concerning Edgar, the last heir male of the English crown, is still kept up, *Edgar Edheling*, *England's searling*, i.e. Edgar the Noble, England's darling. And in the ancient Latin charters of the kings, we often read, *Ego E. vel AE. Clyto*, the King's son. But the name of *Clyto* I have observed to be given to the King's children in general. After the Norman Conquest, he had no standing honorary title, nor any other that I know of, but barely the King's son, or the King's eldest son; till Edward I summoned to parliament his son Edward under the title of Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester; to whom he granted also afterwards the dukedom of Aquitaine. And this, when he came to be King Edward II summoned his son Edward to parliament, then scarce ten years old, under the title of Earl of Chester and Flint. But that Edward coming to the crown, created Edward his son, a most accomplished soldier, Duke of Cornwall; since which time the King's eldest son is born Duke of Cornwall. And a little after, he honoured the same person with the title of Prince of Wales, by a solemn investiture. The principality of Wales was conferred upon him in these words, to be held *by him and his heirs kings of England*. And as the heirs apparent of the Roman Empire were (as I observed but just now) called *Caesars*; of the Grecian, *despotae*, lords; those of the kingdom of France, *dauphins*; and of Spain, *infantes*: so those of England have been since that time styled Princes of Wales. And that title continued till the time of Henry VIII when Wales was entirely united to the kingdom of England. But now the formerly divided kingdoms of Britain being reduced into one, under the government of the most potent King James; his eldest son Henry, the darling and delight of Britain, is called Prince of Great Britain: whom, as nature has made capable of the greatest things, so, that God would bless him with the highest virtues, and a lasting honour, that his success may outdo both our hopes of him, as

also the achievements and high character of his forefathers, by a long and prosperous reign, is the constant and hearty prayer of all Britain.

Our nobles are divided into greater and less. The greater nobles we call Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, and Barons; who either enjoy these titles by an hereditary claim, or have them conferred on them by the King as a reward of their merits.

A Duke is the next title of honour to the Prince. At first this was a name of office, not of honour. About the time of Aelius Verus, those who were appointed to guard the frontiers were first called Dukes; and this title in Constantine's time was inferior to that of a Count. After the destruction of the Roman Empire, this title still continued to be the name of an office; and those amongst us who in the Saxon times are styled Dukes in such great numbers, by the ancient charters, are in the English tongue only called *Ealdormen*. The same also who are named Dukes, are likewise termed Counts: for instance, most people call William the Conqueror of England Duke of Normandy, whereas William of Malmesbury writes him Count of Normandy. However, that both Duke and Count were names of office, is plain from the form of each's creation, which we find in Marculph, an ancient writer. *The royal clemency is particularly signalized upon this account, that among all the people, the good and the watchful are singled out; nor is it convenient to commit the judiciary power to anyone, who has not first proved his loyalty and valour. Since we therefore seem to have sufficiently experienced your fidelity and usefulness, we commit to you the power of a Count, Duke, or Patricius, in that Lordship which your predecessor governed, to act in and rule over it. Still upon this condition, that you are entirely true to our government; and all the people within those limits may live under and be swayed by your government and authority; and that you rule justly according to law and their own customs: that you zealously protect widows and orphans; that you severely punish the crimes of robbers and malefactors; so that those who live regularly under your government, may be cheerful and undisturbed: and that whatever profit arises from such actions to the exchequer, you yourself bring yearly into our coffers.*

It began to be an honorary title under Otho the great, about the year 970. For he, in order to bind valiant and prudent persons more effectually to his own interest, honoured them with what he called *royalties*. Those royalties were either dignities or lands in fee. The dignities were those of Dukes, Marquisses, Counts, Captains, Valvasors, and Valvasins. An hereditary title came but late into France; not before Philip 3 King of France, granted, that for the future they should be called Dukes of Brittany, who were before styled promiscuously Dukes and Counts. But in England in the Norman times, when the Norman kings themselves were Dukes of Normandy, there were none had that honour conferred upon them for a long time; till Edward 3 created Edward his son Duke of Cornwall, by a wreath on his head, a ring on his finger, and a silver verge: as the Dukes of Normandy were formerly, by a sword and a banner delivered to them, and afterwards by girding the sword of the Duchy, and by a cirlet of gold garnished on the top with little golden roses. And the same King Edward 3 created his two sons, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and John, Duke of Lancaster, in parliament, "by the putting on a sword, setting upon their heads a furred cap, with a circle of gold set with pearls, and by the delivery of a charter." After this, he created several: and there have been now and then hereditary dukes made in this kingdom, with such like expressions in the charter: *the name, title, state, style, place, seat, pre-eminence, honour, authority and dignity of a Duke, we give and grant; and do really invest you with them, by the putting on a sword, setting a cap with a golden circle upon your head, and the delivery of a golden verge.*

A Marquess (i.e. according to the import of the word, one set to guard the limits) is a title of honour, the second from a Duke. This title we had but late, none being invested with it before the time of Richard 2. For he created his darling Robert Vere Earl of Oxford, Marquess of Dublin; and that was merely titular. For those who were formerly to secure the frontiers, were commonly called Lord Marchers, and not Marquesses, as we now style them. *They are created by the King, by girding on a sword, putting on a cap of honour and dignity, and delivering a charter.* And here I shall take the liberty of relating what I find registered in the parliament-rolls. When John de Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, was made Marquess of Dorset by Richard 2 and was deprived of that title by Henry 4, the Commons of England in Parliament made an humble request to the King, that he would restore to him the title of Marquess; but he himself opposed his own cause, and openly declared that it was an upstart dignity, altogether unknown to our ancestors; and therefore that he did not by any means desire it, nay, utterly refused it.

The Earls, which hold the third place, we seem to have had from our German ancestors. For, as Tacitus tells us, *they had always earls attending their princes to furnish them with counsel, and to gain them authority.* But others are of opinion, that both the Franks and we received them from the Romans. For Emperors, after the empire was come to its height, began to keep about them a sort of domestic senate, which was called Caesar's retinue; and these, by whose counsel they acted in war and peace, were called *comites* <81> from whence we find it common in old inscriptions *Comiti Imp.* This name in a few years prevailed so much, that all magistrates had the name of *comites* who gave their attendance at the said council, or had been of it; insomuch that it was afterwards extended to all who had the supervisal of any business, and Suidas (as Cujacius has told us) defined *comes*, [as] *a Governor of the people.* From whence also we gather, that before Constantine the Great, the name of *comes* was not used to denote dignity. But he modelling the Roman government by new distinctions, and endeavouring to oblige as many as possible by bestowing honours upon them, first instituted the title of *comes*, as barely honorary, without any duty: nay there were certain rights and privileges annexed to that title; as, to accompany the Prince not only when he appeared in public, but also in his palace and private retirements; to be admitted to his table, and to his secret consultations. Upon which we read in Epiphanius, *who also had obtained of the King the dignity of a count.* At length, such as had the favour of this title, had other honours conferred upon them, to which some duty was annexed; and again, to those who were before in offices, and were engaged in the affairs of state, he added this piece of honour. Hereupon, the name of *Count* implied both dignity and government; and being at first but temporary, it was afterwards for term of life. But when the Roman government was divided into several kingdoms, this title was still retained, and our Saxons called those in Latin *comites*, which in their own tongue were named *ealdormen*. The same persons were styled by the Danes in their language *eorlas*, i.e. honourable men, as Ethelwerd tells us; and by a little melting of that word, we call them at this day *Earls*. And for a long time they were simply so called, till at last an addition was made of the place's name over which they had jurisdiction. But still this dignity was not yet hereditary. The first hereditary earls in France, by the way, were the Earls of Bretagne. But when William the Norman, and Conqueror, had in his hands the government of this kingdom, the earls began to be feudal, hereditary, and patrimonial: and those too (as appears from *Domesday*) were styled simply *Earls*, without any addition, as, Earl Hugh, Earl Alan, Earl Roger, &c. Afterwards, as appears by ancient records, the earls were created, with an addition of the name of the place, and had

every third penny of the county assigned them. For instance; Maud the Empress, daughter and heir of King Henry 1, created an Earl by this form of words, as is manifest from the very charter, now in my hands. *I Maud, daughter of K. Henry, and governess of the English, do give and grant to Gaufred de Magnavilla for his service, and to his heirs after him hereditarily, the Earldom of Essex; and that he have the third penny out of the sheriff's court, issuing out of all pleas, as an Earl ought to receive from his county in all things.* And this is the most ancient creation-charter I ever saw. Likewise Hen. II, King of England, created an Earl in these words, *Know ye that we have made Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, namely of the third penny of Norwich and Norfolk, so that no earl in England shall hold his county more freely.* Which an ancient book belonging to Battle Abbey explains thus: *It was an ancient custom through all England, that the Earls of counties should have the third penny for their own use; from whence they were called Comites, Earls.* And another anonymous author delivers it more distinctly. *Comitatus is called from comes, or else this from the former. Now he is Comes, an Earl, because he enjoys in every county the third part of the profits arising from the pleas. But yet all earls do not enjoy them, but such only who have them granted by the King hereditarily or personally.* So that Polidore Virgil, as to the custom of the present age, delivers this matter right; *It is a custom in England, that titles from counties shall be disposed of at the pleasure of the Prince, even without the possession of such places from whence they derive their title. Upon which account, the King usually gives to such as have no possessions in the county, in lieu of that, a certain annual pension out of the exchequer.*

They were formerly created without any farther ceremony than the bare delivery of the charter. Under Stephen, who seized the crown whilst the kingdom was embroiled with civil wars, there were several who seized the title of Earl, whom the *History of the Church* of Waverly calls false earls, and imaginary earls, where it tells us how Henry 2 ejected them. But King John (as far as my observation has carried me) was the first that used the girding with a sword. For Roger of Hoveden writes thus: *King John, on his Coronation Day, girt William Marshal with the sword of the county of Strigulia, <82> and Geoffrey the son of Peter, with that of the county of Essex; and those, though they were before that called earls, and had the government of their counties, were not yet girt with the sword of the county; but that very day they served at the King's table with their swords on.* In the following age there was an additional ceremony of putting on a cap with a golden circle (which is now changed into a coronet with rays) and a Robe of State. Which three, namely a sword and a belt, a cap with a coronet, and a robe of state, are at this day carried by so many several earls before him who is to be created; and then he is introduced to the King set upon his throne, between two earls in robes of state, and himself in a surcoat; where kneeling up on his knees, whilst the instrument of his creation is read, at these words, *The same T. we advance, create, honour, prefer to, and constitute Earl of S. And accordingly give, grant, and by the girding of a sword really invest in him the name, title, state, honour, authority and dignity of Earl of S.* The King puts on him the long robe, hangs a sword at his neck, puts a cap with a coronet upon his head, and delivers into his hand the instrument of his creation, so soon as 'tis read. But these things do not properly belong to my design. But as to a custom now in use, that whoever is to be created Earl, if he be not a Baron before, must first be advanced to the dignity of a Baron; it is a new upstart thing, and only practised since King Henry the 8th's days. Now amongst the earls [or counts] those were by much the most honourable, who were called Counts Palatine. For as the title of Palatine was a name common to all who had any office in the King's palace, so that of Count Palatine was a title of

honour conferred upon such who were before *Palatini*, with the addition of a royal authority to judge in their own territory.

After the earls, the Viscounts follow next in order, called in Latin *vice-comites*. This, as to the office, is an ancient title, but as to the dignity but modern; for it was never heard of amongst us before Henry the Sixth's time.

Amongst the greater nobility, the Barons have the next place. And here, though I am not ignorant what the learned write concerning the signification of this word in Cicero; yet I am willing to close with the opinion of Isidore, and an ancient grammarian, who will have barons to be mercenary soldiers. This that known place of Hirtius in *The Alexandrian War* seems to make pretty evident. It is thus: *They run to the assistance of Cassius: for he always used to have barons, and a good number of soldiers for sudden occasions, with their weapons ready about him.* Nor is the old Latin and Greek *Glossary* against us, which translates *baro* by *Andros, a man*; as always in the laws of the Longobards *baro* is used for a man. But the etymologies of the name, which some have hammered out, do not by any means please me. The French heralds will have barons to be from *par-hommes* in the French, that is, *of equal dignity*; the English lawyers, as much as to say *robora belli*, the *sinews of war*; some Germans think it is as much as *banner-heirs*, i.e. *standard-bearers*; and Isidore, to be from *bareis* i.e. *grave* or *weighty*. Alciatus thinks the name comes from the *Berones*, an ancient nation of Spain, which he says were formerly stipendiaries; but that from the German *bar*, i.e. a free man, pleases me better.

The precise time when this name came into our island, I have not discovered: the Britons disown it; there is not the least mention made of it in the Saxon laws, nor is it reckoned in Aelfric's Saxon glossary amongst the titles of honour; for there *dominus* is turned *laford*, which we have contracted into *Lord*. And among the Danes the free lords, such as those barons are at this day, were called *thanes*, and (as Andreas Velleius witnesses) are still so termed. In Burgundy the use of this name is very ancient: for we find in Gregory of Tours, *The barons of Burgundy, as well bishops as those of the laity*. The first mention of a Baron with us, that I have met withal, is in a fragment of the laws of Canute King of England and Denmark; and even in that, according to different copies, it is read *vironis*, *baronis*, and *thani*. But that the barons are there meant, is plain from the laws of William the Conqueror, amongst which are inserted those of Canute, translated into Norman, where it is writ Baron. Take the whole passage. *But let the exercitials<83> be so moderated as to be tolerable. An Earl shall provide those things that are fitting, eight horses, four saddled and four unsaddled; four steel caps, and four coats of mail; eight javelins, and as many shields; four swords, and two hundred mancusae of gold.<84> But a King's Viron, or Baron, who is next to him, shall have four horses, two saddled and two unsaddled; two swords, four javelins, and as many shields, one steel cap, and fifty mancusae of gold.*

In the beginning also of the Norman times, the valvasors and thanes were reckoned in dignity next the earls and barons; and the greater valvasors (if we may believe those who have writ concerning feudal tenures) were the same as barons are now. So that *baro* may seem to come from that name; which time has by little and little made better and smoother. But even then it was not so very honourable; for in those times there were some earls who had their barons under them: and I remember I have read in the ancient constitutions of France, that there were ten barons under one earl, and as many chieftans under a baron. 'Tis likewise certain that there are extant

some charters since the Norman Conquest, wherein the earls write thus, to all my barons, as well French as English, greeting, &c. Nay, even citizens of the better rank were called barons; so in *Domesday Book* the citizens of Warwick are styled barons; and the citizens of London, with the inhabitants of the Cinque Ports, enjoyed the same title. But a few years after, as senators of Rome were chosen by their estates, so those were accounted barons with us, who held their lands by an entire barony, or 13 knight's fees and one third of a knight's fee, *every fee* (as we have it in an ancient book) *being computed at twenty pounds, which in all make 400 marks.* <85> *For that was the value of one entire barony; and they that had lands and revenues to this value, were wont to be summoned to parliaments.* It seems to have been a dignity with a jurisdiction, which the court-barons (as they call them) do in some measure show. And the great number of barons too, would persuade us that they were lords who could give judgment within their own jurisdiction, (such as those are whom the Germans call free-heirs) especially if they had their castles; for then they answered to the definition of Baldus, that famous lawyer, who calls him a Baron, *that had a mere and mixed government in some one castle, by the grant of the prince.* And all they (as some would have it) who held baronies, seem to have claimed that honour; so that some of our lawyers think that Baron and barony, Earl and earldom, Duke and dukedom, King and kingdom, were as it were conjugates. 'Tis certain in that age K. Henry 3rd reckoned 150 baronies in England. Upon which it comes to pass, that in the charters and histories of that age, almost all noblemen are styled barons; a term in those times exceeding honourable; the baronage of England, including in a manner all the prime orders of the kingdom, dukes, marquesses, earls, and barons.

But that name has come to the greatest honour, since King Henry 3rd, out of such a multitude of them which was seditious and turbulent, summoned to parliament by his writs some of the best only. *For* (the words are taken out of an author of considerable antiquity) *after those great disturbances, and enormous vexations between the King himself, Simon de Montfort, and other barons, were laid, he appointed and ordained, that all such earls and barons of the kingdom of England, to whom the King should vouchsafe to direct his writs of summons, should come to his parliament, and no others, unless their Lord the King please to direct other writs to them also.* But what he begun only a little before his death, was strictly observed by Edward the First and his successors. From that time, those were only looked upon as barons of the kingdom, whom the King by such writs of summons (as they term them) should call to parliament; until Richard the 2nd, the 10th of October, in the eleventh year of his reign, created John de Beauchamp of Holt, Baron of Kidderminster, by the delivery of a diploma. From which time, the kings have often conferred that honour by a diploma, or rather honorary letters, and the putting on of a long robe. And at this day, this way of creating barons by a diploma, and that other of writs of summons are in use, though they are greeted not under the name of baron, but of chevalier. Those that are thus created, are called barons of parliament, barons of the kingdom, and barons honorary, to distinguish them from those which are commonly called barons according to the ancient constitution, as those of Burford and Walton, and such as were barons to the Count Palatines of Chester, and of Pembroke, who were feudal, and barons by tenure.

Those parliamentary barons are not (like those of France and Germany) called barely by that name; but are by birth, peers, noblemen, great statesmen, and counsellors of the kingdom; and are summoned by the King in this form, to treat of the weighty affairs of the nation, and to deliver their judgment upon them. They have

their peculiar immunities and privileges, as, in criminal causes, to be judged by their peers only; not to have an oath demanded of them, but in such case 'tis sufficient if they deliver anything upon honour; not to be called among the jury of twelve to enquire into matters of fact; not to be liable to the writs *supplicavit, capias, essoins*; and a great many other privileges which I leave to the lawyers, whose proper business it is to treat of these, and things of the like nature.

Besides these, the two archbishops, and all the bishops of England, are also barons of the kingdom, or parliamentary barons; as also were (in the memory of our grandfathers) several belonging to monasteries, whereof this is a list.

Abbots of:

Glastonbury.
St. Austin's, Canterbury.
St. Peter's, Westminster.
St. Albans.
St. Edmundsbury.
Peterborough.
St. John's of Colchester.
Evesham.
Winchcombe.
Crowland.
Battle.
Reading.
Abingdon.
Waltham.
St. Cross.
Shrewsbury.
Cirencester.
St. Peter's at Gloucester.
Bardney.
St. Benedict of Hulm.
Thorney.
Ramsey.
Hyde.
Malmesbury.
St. Marie's at York.
Selbey.

Priors of

Coventry.

The order of St. John of Jerusalem, commonly styled Master of the Knights of St. John, and would be counted the first baron of England.

To these (as to this day to the bishops) it belonged *by right and custom, in every parliament* (as the public records word it) *to be present in person as peers of the realm along with the rest of the peers, to consult, treat, order, decree, and define, by virtue of their baronies held of the King.* For King William the First (as the ecclesiastics of that age complained, though those of the next looked upon it as their greatest glory) *put the bishoprics and abbeyes (holding baronies in frank almoigne,*

and so free from all secular services) under military service, enrolling every bishopric and abbey, according to the number of soldiers he and his successors might demand in times of war.

Since that, the ecclesiastical barons enjoy all the immunities which the other barons of the realm do; except, that they are not judged by their peers. For as they, by the canons of the church, are not to be present at sanguinary causes, so in the same causes they themselves are to be judged in matters of fact by twelve jurymen. But whether this be agreeable to the strict rules of the law, let the lawyers determine.

Vavasors or valvasors formerly took place next the barons, derived by lawyers from *valvae*, folding-doors; a dignity that seems to have come to us from the French. For whilst their dominion in Italy lasted, they called those Valvasors, who governed the common people or part of them under the Duke, Marquess, Earl, or Chieftain, and (as Butler the lawyer words it) *had a full power of punishing, but not the right of fairs and markets.* this is a piece of honour, never much in vogue among us; or how much soever it was, it is now long since by degrees quite disused. In Chaucer's age it was not very considerable, as appears from what he says of his franklin, or free-holder.

A sheriff had he been, and a contour
Was nowhere such a worthy vavasour.

The lesser noblemen are the knights, esquires, and those which we commonly call gentlemen.

KNIGHTS, called by our English lawyers in Latin *milites*, have almost in all nations had their name from horses. Thus they are called *cavelliers* by the Italians, *chevalier* by the French, *reuter* by the Germans, *marchog* by the Welsh, all with respect to riding. They are called knights only by the English, a word in the ancient English, as also German tongue, signifying promiscuously servant, or one that does service, and a young man. Upon which in the old Saxon gospels the disciples are called *leornung cnyhts*; and in another place we read *incnyht* for a client, and our common lawyer, Bracton, mentions the *radcnihtes*, i.e. serving horsemen; who held lands upon this condition, that they should furnish their Lord with horses: from whence by shortening the name (as we English love contractions) I was persuaded long since that *knights* remains now in use with us.

But for what reason the laws of our own country, and all the writers since the Norman Conquest, should term them in Latin *milites*, I do not well apprehend. Not but I know, that in the decline of the Roman Empire, the name of *milites* was transferred to such as were always about the King's body, and had the more considerable employments in the prince's retinue. But if I know anything of this matter, the first who were called so among us, were they that held beneficiary lands or in fee, for their service in the wars. For those fees were called *militarie*, and they that in other places are termed feudataries, were with us styled *milites*, soldiers, (as the *milites* or soldiers of the King, of the Archbishop of Canterbury, of Earl Roger, of Earl Hugh, &c.) Because they had by these persons lands bestowed upon them on this condition, that they should fight for them, and pay them fealty and homage, whereas others who served in the wars for so much in money, were called *solidarii*, and *servientes*. However these (*milites* or *equites*, which you please) are fourfold with us. The most honourable are those of the order of St. George's Garter; the second, the Bannerets; the third, of the Bath; and the fourth such as we call in English simply knights, and in

Latin *equites aurati*, or *milites*, without any addition. Of the knights of the order of St. George I will speak in their proper place, when I come to Windsor. Of the rest in this place briefly.

Bannerets, otherwise, but falsely, called baronets, have their name from a banner; for they were allowed upon the account of their military bravery to use a square banner as well as the barons; and from thence they are by some truly called *Equites Vexillarii*,^{<86>} and by the Germans banner-heires. I cannot trace their antiquity beyond the times of Edward the Third, when England was at its height for martial discipline; so that till time sets this matter in a clearer light, I must believe that this honorary title was then first invented as a reward to warlike courage. In the public records of that age, among the military titles of bannerets, there is mention also made of *Homines ad Vexillum*, "Men at the Banner," and of *Homines ad Arma*, "Men Attending in Arms;" which last seem to be the same with that other. And I have read a charter of King Edward the Third's, whereby he advanced John Coupland (for taking David, Second King of Scots, in a battle at Durham) to the honour of a banneret, in these words; *Desiring so to reward the said John, who took David de Bruis, and cheerfully delivered him up to us, and to set such a mark upon his loyalty and valour, as may give others example to serve us faithfully for the future, we have advanced the said John to the quality of a banneret; and to support that title, have for us and our heirs granted to the same John the sum of 500l. yearly, to him and his heirs, &c.* Nor may it be improper to mention out of Frossardus, the form by which John Chandos, a celebrated soldier in his time, was made banneret. When Edward Prince of Wales was ready to engage Henry the Bastard, and the French, in favour of Peter King of Castile, John Chandos came to the Prince, and delivered into his hands his banner folded, with these words; *My Lord, this is my banner, may it please you to unfold it, that I may this day carry it. For I have, by the blessing of God, sufficient revenues for this.* The Prince and Peter King of Castile who stood by him, took the banner in their hands, and restored it unfolded, with words to this purpose, *Sir John, as you expect success and glory, act with courage, and show what a man you are.* Having received the banner, he returned to his men joyful, and holding it up, *Fellow-soldiers (says he) behold my banner and yours, if you defend it stoutly as your own.* In after ages, whoever was to be dignified with this honour (either before a battle, to excite their courage, or after, as a reward to their bravery) was brought before the King or his general, carrying an oblong ensign called a pennon (wherein his arms were painted) and going between two of the senior knights, with trumpeters and heralds before him; and either the King or general wishing him success, commanded the end of the pennon to be cut off, that so the banner instead of an oblong might be made a square.

As for the *milites or equites balnei*, (Knights of the Bath) I have observed nothing more ancient of them, than that this dignity was in use among the old Franks; and that Henry the Fourth King of England, on the day of his coronation, in the tower of London, conferred knighthood upon forty-six esquires, who had watched all night before, and had bathed themselves: that he gave to everyone of them a green side-coat reaching down to the ankle, strait sleeved, and furred with miniver, and having on the left shoulder two white silk twists hanging loose, with tassels at them. These in the last age were such of the greatest of the nobility as had not been before knighted, chosen to this honour at the coronation of the kings and Queens, or at their marriages; nay sometimes, when their sons were made Princes of Wales, created dukes, or made knights. It was then done with a deal of ceremonies, which are now in a great measure left off. At present those who are appointed by the King to be thus honoured (I do not

intend to give a full account of this order) the day before their creation put on a gray hermit habit, a hood, a linen coif, and a pair of boots, and in that dress go devoutly to divine service, to begin their warfare there, as principally designed for the honour and service of God. They sup together that night, each one being attended by two esquires, and a page; after supper they withdraw to their bed-chamber, where there is prepared for each of them a little bed with red curtains, and the arms of their families upon them; with a bathing vessel close by covered with a linen cloth, where after prayers they wash themselves, to put them in mind, that they ought to keep their bodies and minds undefiled for ever after. Pretty early next morning they are awakened with music, and dress themselves in the same habit. Then the High Constable, the Earl Marshal, and others appointed by the King, go to them, call them out in order, and give them an oath to fear God, defend his church, honour the King, maintain his prerogative, and protect widows, virgins, orphans, and all others, as far as they are able, from injury and oppression. After they have taken this oath, they are conducted to morning prayer, with the King's music, and the heralds before them: and from thence to their chamber again, where they put off their hermit's habit, and dress themselves in a mantle of red taffeta, bright and shining with that martial colour, a white hat adorned with a plume of white feathers over their linen coif, with a pair of white gloves hanging at the pendant cordon of their mantle. Then they take horse; which are accoutred with black saddles and other furniture of the same colour, specked with white, and a cross on their forehead. Each of them has his page on horseback, carrying a sword with a gilded hilt, at which there hang golden spurs; and the esquires ride on both sides of them. In this state, with trumpets blowing before them, they march to court, where they are conducted by the two eldest knights into the King's presence; then the page delivers the belt and the sword hanging in it to the Lord Chamberlain, and he with great reverence gives it to the King, who puts it on overthwart the knight, and orders the senior knights there to put on the spurs. These were formerly wont after wishing them joy, to kiss the knees of the person to be knighted. After this creation, they used heretofore to serve up the dishes at the King's table, and afterwards dine together; sitting all on the same side of the table each under an escutcheon of his own arms. At evening prayer again they repair to the chapel, offer their swords upon the altar, then lay down money and redeem them. As they return, the King's head cook stands with his knife in his hand, exhorting them to show themselves faithful and worthy knights, or he'll cut off their spurs with disgrace and infamy. At the coronation they attend the King in this pomp, with their swords about them, their spurs on, and attired in a blue mantle, that being the colour of a clear sky; with a knot of white silk made like a cross, and a hood upon the left shoulder. But this may very well suffice upon a subject which is not particularly within the compass of my design.

Now for those knights simply so called without other addition; an order though lowest at this day, yet of greatest antiquity and honour in the first institution. For, as the Romans, whose habit was a gown, gave the same to all that arrived at the years of manhood; so our ancestors the Germans presented their youth with arms as soon as they were found of ability to manage them. All this we may learn from Corn. Tacitus in these words. *No one by custom was to take arms, till the city judged him able to bear them. And then in the assembly itself, either one of the great men, the father, or one of the person's relations, honoured him with a shield and javelin. This is the gown with them, this is the first honour conferred upon their youth: before this they seem to be only members of a family, but from that time of the commonweal.*

Now seeing these military young men were called by them in their language *knechts*, as they are in ours; I am of opinion that the original both of the name and institution is to be derived from hence. This was the primitive, and most plain method of creating knights; that which was in use among the Longobards, the Franks, our fore-fathers, all of them descended from the Germans. Paulus Diaconus tells us of a custom among the Longobards, *That the King's son is not permitted to dine with his father, till arms are bestowed upon him by the King of some foreign nation.* And we find in the histories of the old Franks, that their kings gave arms to their sons and others, and girt them with a sword; and Malmesbury is evidence, that our King Alfred conferred knighthood upon his nephew Athelstan, a very hopeful youth, giving him a scarlet mantle, a belt set with jewels, and a Saxon sword with a golden scabbard. Afterwards, when religion had gained so much respect in the world, that nothing was to be done well or successfully, unless religious men had a hand in it; our ancestors a little before the coming in of the Normans, were wont to receive the sword from them. This Ingulphus (who lived at that time) shows us. *He that was to be consecrated to lawful warfare, did the evening before make confession of his sins with great sorrow to some bishop, abbot, monk, or priest, and being absolved, spent that night in the church, in order to hear divine service next day; then he offered his sword upon the altar, and after the gospel, the priest put it, as 'twas then hallowed, with a blessing, upon the knight; and thus having received the sacrament, he became a lawful knight.* Nor was this custom presently in disuse among the Normans. For John of Salisbury says in his *Polycraticon*: *There was a custom, that on the very day, when anyone was knighted, he went to the church, and putting his sword upon the altar, offered it there; as if by this solemn profession, he had devoted himself to the service of the altar, and obliged himself to be ever ready to assist it with his sword, that is, do his duty to it.* Petrus Blesensis also writes thus: *The young men at this day receive their swords from the altar, that they may thereby profess themselves the sons of the church, and for the honour of the priesthood, in taking it for the protection of the poor, the punishment of malefactors, and the freedom of their country: yet this proves quite contrary to the design of its institution; for from the very time of their knighthood, they rebel immediately against the Lord's anointed, and make havoc of the revenues of the church.*

Now, as for this custom of having a sword girt on them, it is without doubt derived from the military discipline of the Romans. For, as they thought it unlawful to fight an enemy before they had taken their military oath, with their swords drawn; so our ancestors imagined they could not lawfully go to war, before they were consecrated by this ceremony to that service. And in that manner we find William Rufus King of England made a soldier by Archbishop Lanfranck. Yet this custom by degrees grew obsolete, from the time, as Ingulphus says, that it was ridiculed and exploded by the Normans; and a synod was held at Westminster in the year 1102, whereby it was decreed, *That abbots should not create knights.* Yet some interpret this, *That abbots should not grant church-lands to be held by knight-service.*

After that, it grew a custom for kings to send their sons to neighbouring princes to receive knighthood at their hands. Thus our Henry the Second was sent to David King of Scots; and Malcolm King of Scots to our Henry the Second upon the same errand; and so our Edward the First was sent to the King of Castile, to receive military arms, or *virilia*, (for that was the form and expression in such creations at that time.) Then also, besides the sword and girdle, were added the gilt spurs, as a farther ornament; and hence they are called at this day *milites*, and *equites aurati*.<87> The

privilege of a seal was also granted them; for before this cincture and creation they could not use a seal, as I infer from the Abingdon book, which has these words. *Which writing Richard Earl of Chester intended to seal with his mother Ermentrud's seal, for (being not as yet knighted) all his letters were sealed with his mother's seal.* In the following age, knights were made upon the account of their estate, as one may safely conclude: for they who had a great knight's-fee, (that is, if we may credit old records, 680 acres of land) claimed the honour of knighthood as hereby entitled to it. Nay, in Henry the Third's reign, whoever had fifteen pound yearly revenue in lands, was compelled, in a manner, to receive this dignity; so that the title was rather a burden than an honour. Matthew Paris: *In the year 1256 the King issued out a proclamation, whereby it was ordered and declared throughout the whole realm, that whosoever had fifteen librats<88> of land, or above, should be knighted, for the increase of cavalry in England, as it was in Italy; and that they who would not or could not support the honour of knighthood, should compound for a dispensation.* This is the reason why we so often find in the records, *For respite of knighthood A. of N. J. H. &c.* And such presentments as these by the jurors: *R. of St. Lawrence holds an entire knight's-fee, and is of full age, and not yet knighted, and therefore amerced.<295>* Thus far, and somewhat longer, unless I am deceived in this observation, in all our law-forms (where a jury of twelve men, who are judges of the fact, are empanelled) anyone that has a knight's-fee is styled *miles*, or knight, and those created by the King, *Milites Gladio Cincti.<89>*

And in those times when the King made a man knight, as the same Matthew Paris relates, he sat in state upon his throne, and in robes of gold of the most costly and best baudekin,<90> with a crown of gold upon his head; and to every knight he allowed 100s. for equipage. And not only the King, but the Earls also conferred knighthood in that age. For the same author makes mention, how the Earl of Gloucester knighted his brother William, after he had proclaimed a tournament; and how Simon de Montefort, Earl of Leicester, conferred the same dignity upon Gilbert de Clare. Just as it was in France, as appears from the patents for enabling anyone who has procured letters to that purpose, to be created by what knight he pleases. However, from that time no one has received that honour in England, but either from the King himself, or the Prince of Wales, permitted by his father so to do, or the King's lieutenant or general in an army; and that upon the account of brave actions either done or expected, or else in honour of civil administration.

And this was without question a wise contrivance of our kings, when they had no more fees to give away. For nothing could be more effectual to excite brave men, and lay an obligation upon their best and most deserving subjects, such as were nobly descended, and men of great estates; than as an instance of their goodwill and favour, to bestow the honourable title of knights upon them, which before was always a name of great dignity. For when the prince conferred advisedly upon merit, it was thought a great reward and favour, and looked upon as a badge of honour. Those that were thus knighted, esteemed this as the price of virtue, as an encomium upon their family, a memorial of their race, and the glory of their name. So that it is said by our lawyers, that *Miles* is a name of dignity, and not *Baro*. For a Baron in ancient times, (if he was not a knight) was written barely by his Christian name, and the proper name of his family, without any addition, unless of *Dominus*, which is likewise applicable to knights. But the name knight seems to have been an additional title of honour in the greatest dignities, seeing kings, dukes, Marquesses, earls, and barons, were ambitious both of the name and dignity. And here I cannot but insert what Matth. Florilegus

writes concerning the creation of knights, in Edward the First's time. *For the sake of his expedition into Scotland, the King published a proclamation lately throughout England, to the end, that whoever were by hereditary succession to be knights, and had wherewithal to support that dignity, should be present in Westminster at the feast of Whitsuntide, [1306] there to receive all knightly accoutrements (save equipage or horse-furniture) out of the King's wardrobe. Accordingly there assembled thither 300 young gentlemen, the sons of earls, barons, and knights, and had purple liveries, silk scarves, and robes richly embroidered with gold, bestowed upon them, according to their several qualities. And because the King's palace, though very large, was too little to receive this concourse, they cut down the apple-trees about the New Temple in London, razed the walls, and set up pavilions and tents; wherein these young gentlemen might dress themselves in garments embroidered with gold; and all that night, as many of them as the temple would hold, watched and prayed in it. But the Prince of Wales, by his father's order, with the chief of them, watched in the church of Westminster. And so great was the sound of trumpets, minstrels, and acclamations of joy there, that the chanting of the convent could not be heard from one side of the choir to the other. The day following, the King knighted his son in his palace, and gave him the dukedom of Aquitaine. The Prince therefore being thus knighted, went to the church of Westminster, that he might likewise confer the same honour upon them. And such was the press and throng about the high altar, that two knights were killed, and many fainted, though every knight had at least three or four soldiers to conduct and defend them. The prince himself, the throng was so great, was forced to knight them upon the high altar, having made his way thither by his war-horses.<91> At present, he that is knighted, kneels down, and in that posture is lightly struck upon the shoulder with a naked sword by the prince, saying thus in French, *Sois chevalier au nom de dieu*, i.e. *Be thou a knight in the name of God*: and then he adds, *Avancez chevalier*, i.e. *Rise up Sir Knight*.*

What relates farther to this order, how famous, how glorious, and how brave a reward this dignity was looked upon by men of honour, among our forefathers; with what exactness they practised fidelity and plain-dealing, when it was sufficient surety, if they promised as knights, or upon their honour; lastly, how far they were above the sordid humour of scraping, and how they contributed upon the account of their fees, when the King's eldest son was honoured with this dignity; these things I leave to other writers. As also, when they had committed any crime that was capital, how they were stripped of their ornaments, had their military belt took from them, were deprived of their sword, had their spurs cut off with a hatchet, their gloves took away, and their arms inverted; just as it is in degrading those who have listed themselves in the spiritual warefare, the ecclesiastical ornaments, the book, chalice, and such like, are taken from them.

I leave it likewise to be considered by them, whether these knights have been by some rightly termed knights bachelors, and whether bachelors were not a middle order between knights and esquires. For some records run, *Nomina militum, baccalaureorum, & valectorum comitis Glocestriae.*<92> Hence, some will have bachelors to be so called *quasi bas chevaliers*;<93> though others derive the same from *battailer*, a French word, which signifies to fight. Let them farther examine, whether these dignities, (which formerly, when very rare, were so mighty glorious and the established rewards of virtue) became not vile, as they grew common and prostitute to everyone that had the vanity to desire them. Aemilius Probus formerly complained of the same thing in a like case among the Romans.

Next in order to these knights, were the *Armigeri*, Esquires, called also *Scutiferi*, *Homines ad Arma*, and among the Goths *Schilpor*, from bearing the shield, as heretofore *Scutarii* among the Romans; who had that name, either from their coats of arms, which they bore as badges of their nobility; or because they really carried the armour of the princes and great men. For every knight was served by two of these formerly; they carried his helmet and buckler, and as his inseparable companions, adhered to him. For they held lands of the knight, their Lord, in *escuage*; as he did of the King by knight's-service. Esquires are at this day of five sorts; for those I but now treated of, are at present out of use. The chief are they, who are chosen to attend the King's person. Next them are the eldest sons of knights, and their eldest sons likewise successively. In the third place are counted the eldest sons of the youngest sons of barons, and others of greater quality; and when such heir-male fails, the title dies likewise. The fourth in order are those, to whom the King himself, together with a title, gives arms, or makes esquires, adorning them with a collar of a white silver colour, and a pair of silver spurs: whence at this day, in the West parts of the kingdom, they are called white-spurs, to distinguish them from knights or *equites aurati*, who have spurs of gold: of these the eldest sons only can bear the title. In the fifth place are to be reputed and looked upon as esquires, all such as are in any great office in the government, or serve the King in any honourable station.

But this name of *Esquire*, which in ancient times was a name of charge and office only, crept first in among the titles of honour, as far as I can find, in the reign of Richard the Second.

Gentlemen are either the common sort of nobility, who are descended of good families; or those who by their virtue and fortune have made themselves eminent. CITIZENS or burgesses are such, as are in public offices in any city, or elected to sit in parliament.

The common people or Yeomen are such as some call *Ingenui*, the law *Homines Legales*, i.e. freeholders; those who can spend at least forty shillings of their own, yearly.

Labourers are such as labour for wages, mechanics, artisans, smiths, carpenters, &c. Termed *capite censi*, and *proletarii*, by the Romans.

The Law-Courts of England.

As for the tribunals or courts of justice in England, there are three several sorts of them; some spiritual, others temporal, and one mixed or complicate of both, which is the greatest, and by far the most honourable, called the *Parliament*: a French word of no great antiquity. The Saxons our fore-fathers named it *Wittenagemot*, that is, an assembly of wise-men, and *Geraedniss*, or council, and *Micil Synod*, from the Greek word *synod*, signifying a great meeting. The Latin writers of that and the next age, call it *Commune Concilium*, *Curia Altissima*, *Generale Placitum*, *Curia Magna*, *Magnatum Conventus*, *Praesentia Rogis Praelatorum Procerumque Collectorum*, *Commune Totius Regni Concilium*, &c. And as Livy calls the general council of Aetolia, *Panetolium*, so this of ours may be termed very properly *Pananglium*. For it consists of the King, the clergy, the barons, and those knights and burgesses elected; or to express myself more plainly in law-language, the King, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, who there represent the body of the nation. This court is not held at certain set times, but is called at the King's pleasure, when things of great difficulty and importance are to be considered, in order to prevent any danger that may happen to the state; and then again, is dissolved whenever he alone pleases. Now this court has the sovereign power, and an inviolable authority in making, confirming, repealing, and explaining laws, reversing attainders, determining causes of more than ordinary difficulty between private persons; and to be short, in all things which concern the state in general, or any particular subject.

The next court to this, immediately after the coming in of the Normans, and for some time before, was the King's court, which was held in the King's palace, and followed the King, wherever he went. For in the King's palace there was a peculiar place for the chancellor and clerks, who had the issuing out of writs, and the management of the great seal; and likewise for judges, who had not only power to hear pleas of the crown, but any cause whatsoever between private persons. There was also an exchequer for the treasurer and his receivers, who had charge of the King's revenues. These, each of them were counted members of the King's family, and had their meat and clothes of the King. Hence, Gotzelin, in the *Life of St. Edward*, calls them *Palatii Causidici*; and Joannes Sarisburiensis, *Curiales*. But besides these and above them likewise, was the *Justitia Angliae*, and *Justitiarius Angliae Capitalis*, i.e. The Lord Chief Justice, who was constituted with a yearly stipend of 1000 marks, by a patent after this form: *The King to all the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, counts, barons, Viscounts, foresters, and all other his faithful subjects of England, greeting. Whereas for our own preservation, and the tranquillity of our kingdom, and for the administration of justice to all and singular of this our realm, we have ordained our beloved and trusty Philip Basset Chief Justice of England, during our will and pleasure; we do require you by the faith and allegiance due to us, strictly enjoining, that in all things relating to the said office, and the preservation of our peace and kingdom, you shall be fully obedient to him, so long as he shall continue in the said office. Witness the King, &c.*

But in the reign of Henry the Third, it was enacted, that the Common Pleas should not follow the King's court, but be held in some certain place; and a while after, the Chancery, the Pleas of the Crown, and the Exchequer also were removed from the King's court, and established apart in certain set places; as some (how truly I know not) have told us.

Having premised thus much, I will now add somewhat concerning these courts, and others that sprung from them, as they are at this day. And seeing some of them have cognizance of law, namely, the King's Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer, Assizes, Star-Chamber, Court of Wards, and the Court of Admiralty; others of equity, as the Chancery, the Court of Requests, the Councils in the Marches of Wales, and in the North: I will here insert what I have learnt from others, of each of them in their proper places.

The King's Bench, so called, because the kings themselves were wont to preside in that court, takes cognizance of all pleas of the Crown, and many other matters relating to the King, and the well-being of the public; it has power to examine and correct the errors of the Common Pleas. The judges there, besides the King himself when he is pleased to be present, are, the Lord Chief Justice of England, and four others or more, as the King pleases.

The Common Pleas has this name, because the common pleas between subject and subject is by our law (which is called the common law) there triable. The judges here are the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and four others or more to assist him. Officers belonging to this court, are the *custos brevium*, three protonotaries, and many others of inferior rank.

The Exchequer derived that name from a table at which they sat. For so Gervasius Tilburiensis writes, who lived in the year 1160. *The exchequer is a square table about ten foot long, and five broad; contrived like a dining-table to sit round. On every side it has a ledge of four fingers breadth. Upon it is spread a cloth of black colour, with stripes distant about a foot or span. A little after: this court, by report, has been from the very conquest of the realm by King William; the design and model of it being taken from the exchequer beyond sea.* Here all matters belonging to the King's revenues are decided. The judges of it are the Lord Treasurer of England, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Chief Baron, and three or four other barons. The officers of this court are, the King's Remembrancer, the Treasurer's Remembrancer, the Clerk of The Pipe, the Comptroller of The Pipe, the five Auditors of the Old Revenues, the Foreign Opposer, Clerk of the Estreats, Clerk of the Pleas, the Marshal, the Clerk of the Summons, the Deputy-Chamberlains, two secondaries in the office of the King's Remembrancer, two deputies in the office of the Treasurer's Remembrancer, two secondaries of the Pipe, four other clerks in several offices, &c. In the other part of the Exchequer, called the Receiving-Office, two Chamberlains, a Vice-Treasurer, Clerk of the Tallies, Clerk of the Pells, four Tellers, two Joiners of the Tallies, two Deputy-Chamberlains, the Clerk for Tallies, the Keeper of the Treasury, four Pursuivants Ordinary, two scribes, &c. The officers likewise of the tenths and first-fruits belong to this court. For when the Pope's authority was rejected, and an act passed, that all tithes and first-fruits should be paid to the King; these officers were instituted.

Besides these three royal courts of judicature; for the speedy execution of justice, and to ease the subject of much labour and expense, Henry the Second sent some of these judges, and others, every year into each county, who were called Justices Itinerant, or Justices in Eyre. These had jurisdiction as well in pleas of the crown as in common causes, within the counties to which they were sent. For that King, as Matthew Paris says, by the advice of his son and the bishops, *Appointed justices over six parts of the kingdom; to every part three; who took an oath, to do every man right and justice.* This institution expired at length in Edward the Third's

time; but was in some measure revived by an Act of Parliament soon after. For the counties being divided into so many circuits, two of the King's justices are to go those circuits twice every year, for the trial of prisoners and gaol-delivery. Hence, in law-Latin they are called *Justiciarii Gaolae Deliberandae*. They are likewise to take cognizance of all assizes of novel disseisin,^{<94>} and some others; from which they are called Justices of Assize; and also to try all issues between party and party in any of the King's three great courts, by recognitors of the same peerage, as the custom is. Hence they are called Justices of Nisi Prius; from the writs directed to the sheriff for these trials, which have the words *nisi prius* in them.

The Star-Chamber, or rather the court of the King's council, takes cognizance of all matters criminal, perjuries, impostures, cheats, excesses, &c. This court, if we consider it in respect of standing and dignity, is ancient and honourable above all others. For it seems to be as early as appeals from the subjects to their sovereign, and the very birth and rise of the King's council. The judges of it, are men of the greatest honour and eminence, being those of the King's privy council. It has had the name of the star-chamber, ever since this court was held in the Star Chamber in Westminster; which has now been a long time set apart to that use. For in an Act of Parliament in Edward the Third's time, we find *conseil en le chambre des estoielles, pres de la receipte at Westminster*, i.e. The council in the Star Chamber near the receipt at Westminster. The authority and jurisdiction of this court was enlarged and confirmed by an Act of Parliament, procured by that wise prince Henry the 7th; so that some have falsely ascribed the institution of it to him. The judges of this court are the Lord Chancellor of England, the Lord Treasurer of England, the Lord President of the King's Council, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and all those of the King's council, whether persons spiritual or temporal; also such of the barons of the realm as the King will appoint, with the two Chief Justices, or two other judges in their absence. The officers, are the Clerk of the Council, the Clerk of the Writs, and of the Process in the Star Chamber, &c. Causes of the court are not tried *per pares* according to the common law, but after the method of the civil law.

The Court of Wards and Liveries (which is so called from minors, whose causes are here tried) was instituted by Henry the 8. Whereas before, all business of this nature was determined in the courts of Chancery and Exchequer. For, by an old custom, derived from Normandy, and not (as some write) instituted by Henry the Third, when anyone dies holding lands of the King *in capite*^{<283>} by knight's service, both the heir, and the whole estate with the revenues of it are in ward to the King, till he has completed the age of one and twenty, and then he may sue out his livery. The judge in this court is the Master-General; under him a Supervisor of the Liveries, an Attorney-General, a Receiver-General, an Auditor, a Clerk of the Liveries, a Clerk of the Court, forty feudaries, and a messenger.

In after-ages, were instituted two other courts, for correcting of errors; the one for those of the Exchequer, the other for those of the King's Bench. The judges of the first were the Chancellor, and the Treasurer of England, taking such of the judges to their assistance as they should think fit; those of the latter, were the judges of the Common Pleas, and the barons of the Exchequer.

The Court of Admiralty has jurisdiction in marine affairs, and is administered by the Admiral of England, his Lieutenant, a judge, two clerks, a serjeant of the court, and the vice-admirals. Now for the courts of equity.

The court of Chancery takes its name from the Chancellor, a title of no great honour under the old Roman Emperors, as may be learnt from Vopiscus. At present, it is a name of the greatest dignity; and the Chancellors are raised to the highest honours in the state. Cassiodorus derives the word itself from *cancellis*, i.e. rails, or balusters, because they examine matters in a private apartment enclosed with rails, such as the Latins called *cancelli*. *Consider*, says he, *by what name you are called. What you do within the rails cannot be a secret: your doors are transparent, your cloisters lie open, and your gates are all windows*. Hence it plainly appears, that the chancellor sat exposed to everyone's view within the rails or cancels; so that his name seems to be derived from them. Now it being the business of that minister, who is (as it were) the mouth, the eyes, and ears, of the Prince, to strike or dash out with cross lines lattice-like, such writs or judgments as are against law, or prejudicial to the state, not improperly called *cancelling*; some think the word *chancellor* to be deduced from it. And thus we find it in a modern glossary: *A chancellor is he whose office is to inspect the writings and answer of Emperor, to cancel those that are wrong, and sign those that are right*. Nor is that of Polidore Virgil true, namely, *that William the Conqueror instituted a college of scribes to write letters-patents, and named the head of that society a Chancellor*: for it is evident, that chancellors were in England before the Conquest. How great the honour and authority of Chancellor is at this day, is so very well known, that I need not enlarge upon it: yet it will not be improper to subjoin a word or two from an old author, to show of what note it was formerly. *The dignity of the chancellor of England is this; he is reputed the second person in the kingdom, and next unto the King: with the King's seal (whereof he has the keeping) he may seal his own injunctions to dispose of the King's chapel as he pleases; to receive and have the custody of all archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys, and baronies, vacant and fallen into the King's hands; to be present at the King's counsels, and repair thither without summons; to seal all things by the hand of his clerk who carries the King's seal; and that all things be disposed of by his advice. Also that by the grace of God, leading a just and upright life, he may (if he will himself) die Archbishop: whereupon it is, that the chancellorship is not to be bought*.

The manner of creating a Chancellor (for that I have a mind to take notice of) in King Henry the Second's time, was by hanging the great seal about the neck of the person chosen for that office. Yet in Henry the Sixth's reign, the method was thus, as it appears from the records: *Upon the death of the Chancellor of England, the three great seals, one of gold and the other two of silver, which were kept by the Chancellor, are, immediately after his decease, shut up in a wooden chest, fast locked and sealed by the lords there present, and so conveyed into the Treasury. From thence they are brought to the King, who in the presence of many of the nobility delivers the same into the hands of him that is to be the succeeding chancellor, and undertakes the charge of that office, having first took an oath before him, that he will duly administer the same. First then he delivers up the great silver seal, next that of gold, and lastly, the other of silver, in the presence of great numbers of the nobility. After he has thus received them, he puts them into the chest again, and so sends them sealed home, where, before certain of the nobility, he causes the King's writs and briefs to be sealed with them. When a Chancellor is displaced, he delivers up those three seals into the King's hands, in the presence of many of the nobility, first the seal of gold, then the broad seal of silver, and next, the other of a less size. At this day only one seal is delivered to the chancellor; nor is there any mention to be found of these three seals, but in the reign of Henry the Sixth. In process of time, much honour and authority was added to this office of Chancellor by Act of Parliament; especially, since so much*

niceness and subtlety has crept in among the lawyers, who have made their pleadings so difficult and ensnaring; that a Court of Equity was found necessary; which was committed to the Chancellor, that he might judge according to the rules of right and equity, and moderate the rigour of exact justice, which is often down-right injustice and oppression. There preside in this court the Lord Chancellor of England, and twelve Masters of Chancery, as assessors to him: the chief where of is, the keeper of the rolls belonging to that court, and thence called *Magister Rotulorum*, or Master of the Rolls. There are also many other officers belonging to this court; some of them concerned about the King's seal, namely, the Clerk of the Crown, the Clerk of the Hamper, a Sealer, a Chauff-Wax, a Comptroller of the Hamper, twenty four Cursitors, and a clerk for the subpoena writs. Others concerned in the bills there exhibited are, a Protonotary, the six clerks, or Attorneys of the court, and a Register. There are also the three Clerks of the Petit Bag, a Clerk of the Presentations, a Clerk of the Faculties, a clerk for examining letters-patents, a clerk for dimissions, &c.

There is another court also arising from the King's privy council, called the Court of Requests, from the addresses of petitioners delivered there; where private causes are heard as in Chancery, if first presented to the King or his Privy Council: though sometimes otherwise. In this court, business is managed by the Masters of the Requests, and a clerk, or register, with two or three attorneys. As for those councils held in the marches of Wales, and in the North, I will treat of them, God willing, in another place.

The chief spiritual courts, are, the Synod, which is called the Convocation, and is always held at the same time that a parliament is; and the provincial synods in both provinces.

After these are the courts of the Archbishop of Canterbury; namely, the Court of Arches; the judge of which is the Dean of the Arches, so called from St. Mary's church in London, famous for its arched steeple. All appeals within the Province of Canterbury are made to him. There are in this court 16 advocates, or more, as the Archbishop shall think fit, all of them doctors of law; two registers, and ten proctors.

The Court of Audience, where all complaints, causes, and appeals in this province are received.

The Court of Prerogative, where the commissary judges of inheritances, whether descended without will, or devised.

The Court of Faculties, managed by a President, who takes cognizance of all grievances represented to him, by such as desire that the rigour and severity of the canon-law may be moderated; and a register to record such dispensations as are granted.

The Court of Peculiars, which has jurisdiction in certain parishes exempt from the Bishop of the diocese where they lie, and those peculiars that belong to the Archbishop, with other things of less note, I willingly omit: for I must confess it was imprudent in me, to dip at all in a subject of this nature; however, Guicciardin encouraged me to it by his example, in his description of the Netherlands.

I intended here to have inserted some few things, and those chiefly concerning the antiquity of the great magistrates of this realm, the Chancellor aforesaid, the Treasurer, the President of the Council, the Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord High Constable, the Lord Marshal, the Steward of the King's House, &c. But since I hear that this is designed by another hand, I am so far from

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offering to forestall it, that I'll willingly without more ado even impart to the undertaker, whatever observations I have already made upon those heads.

**A posthumous discourse concerning the etymology,
antiquity, and office of Earl Marshal of England.
By Mr. Camden.**

Such is the uncertainty of etymologies, that arguments drawn from them are of least force, and therefore called by an ancient Grecian, as proofs only, which do nothing but set a good face on the matter. Nevertheless, when as Plato will have them admitted, if there be a consonancy and correspondence between the name and the thing named, we will produce three etymologies of this word Marshal, wherein the name is or hath been answerable to the office in some part or other in signification. For the word, *marescallus* is used for a principal officer in the court, in the camp for a farrier, and an harbinger.<95> The Germans, from whom the word was first borrowed, called him *marescallk*; the Latins mollifying the same, *marescallus*; the office, *marescallia*: the French *marescaux*; and we *marshal*. All deduced from the German *marescallk*; which according to the received opinion is compounded of *mare*, or *mark*, which do both, say they, signify an horse; and *scalk*, which doth not signify skilful, as some will, but an officer, servant, or attendant. So *Godschalk* is interpreted God's servant; and in the old German *nunc dimittis servum*,<96> this word *servus* is translated *scalk*. So that jointly the word notifieth an officer and attendant about horses. This etymology is confirmed first, *ex legibus Allamannorum, si quis marescallus, qui 12 equis praeest, occidit, 4. solidis componat.*<97> Then out of Choniates, who writing the life of Baldwin, Emperor of Constantinople, saith, That this word *marescallus* noteth him, which marcheth foremost before the army. To maintain this etymology, they say, it may not seem strange, that so high an office as it is now, should be derived from horses; when as all preferment in ancient time, as one saith, had the first rise from the stable; and such as were there brought up, proved most serviceable horsemen; and many other names, which time hath advanced to high dignity, had very mean and small originals. But this etymology lieth open to some objections, as, that the marshals now have no command over the horses or stable; but certain it is, that in divers offices, albeit the functions are altered, the name remaineth. And as Varro writeth, *equiso* among the Latins doth not only signify master and ruler of the horses, but also of all other things committed to his charge; so accordingly it is to be supposed, this word marshal, not only to signify an officer of horses, but also of other civil and military matters appropriated to his function. It is said also, that *mare* doth not signify an horse in the German tongue, but as in ours, that which is more ignoble in that kind, and that names are to be imposed *a potiori*.<98> And albeit it is most certain out of Pausanias, that *mare* signified an horse to the old Gauls, as it doth still to our Britons their descendants; yet they say it is unfitting to compound one word of two different languages. But Quintilian showeth the contrary in *epirhedium*, *anti-cato*, *biclinium*, *epitogium*, being compounded of Greek, Latin, and other tongues; and to this etymology do they incline, which will have the marshal to be called in Latin, *magister equitum*, rather than *tribunus militum*.<99>

There is also another deduction of marshal from *maer*, the Latin word *major*, and *sala*, which signifieth a kings-court in the high-Dutch; for that they were *magistri domus*, and principal officers for ordering the court.

There is a third derivation of this name from *marke*, as it signifieth a march, bound, or limit, and *scalck*, which is minister, as we said before. From *mark* in this

sense we have *marchio*, for a Lord Marcher, and *mark-grave* in the very same sense: and therefore he relieth upon this opinion, which calleth the marshal in Latin, *praetor comitatus augustalis*,^{<100>} as being the civil judge within the limits of the court, which we call now the *verge*; for that the verge or rod of the Marshal's authority stretcheth so far: and they also, which have the marshal called in Latin, *designator castrorum*: for it was incident to his office to be as it were an harbinger, and to appoint limits and lodgings both in war and peace. Of these etymologies haply one may be true, haply none.

When this word entered first into England, I cannot resolve. I do not find that our Saxons used it, or any other name equivalent unto it, unless it was *stal-here*, which signifieth master of the stable; but that may seem rather answerable to the name of constable; yet Esgar, who was stal-here to King Edward the Confessor, writeth himself in a donation to Waltham, *regiae procurator aulae*,^{<101>} whereas William Fitz-Osborne, in the chronicles of Normandy, is called the Marshal. I believe that William Tailleure the author spake according to the time he lived in, and not according to the time he wrote of. Fauchet, a learned man in the French antiquities, saith, the name of Marshal was first heard about the time of Lewis le Grosse, who was in time equal to our King Henry the First, and Stephen of England, and from thence doubtless we borrowed that name as many other. The first author that used the word in England, was Petrus Blesensis, Chancellor, as he was then called, but indeed secretary to King Henry the Second of England, who used this word *marescallus* for an harbinger, in these words, complaining of them, *Vidi plurimos, qui marescallis manum porrexerunt liberalem, hi dum hospitium post longi fatigationem itineris cum plurimo labore quaesissent, cum adhuc essent eorum epulae semicrudae, aut cum jam forte sederent in mensa, quandoque etiam cum jam dormirent in stratis, marescalli supervenientes in superbia & abusione abscissis equorum capistris ejectisque foras sine delectu & non sine jactura sarcinalis, eos ab hospitiiis turpiter expellebant*.^{<102>}

The first mention, that I find of a Marshal in record, is in the *Red Book of the Exchequer*, written in the time of Henry the Second, which hath reference unto the time of King Henry the First: *Regis avus*, that is, Henry the First, *feoffavit Wiganum Marescallum suum de tenementis, quae de eo tenuit per servitium marescalciae suae, & rex reddidit ea Radulpho filio Wigani, tanquam marescallo suo*.^{<103>} What Marshal this was, I cannot determine. The second mention of Marshal is in the first of King John, and hath also a reference to the time of King Henry the First, in this charter, where King John confirmeth the office of Marshal, unto William Marshal Earl of Pembroke, in these words: *Johannes Dei gratia &c. Sciatis nos concessisse, & presenti nostra carta confirmasse dilecto & fideli nostro Willielmo Marescallo Com. de Pembroco & haeredibus suis magistratum marescalciae curiae nostrae, quem magistratum Gilbertus marescallus Henrici Regis avi patris nostri & Joannes filius ipsius Gilberti disrationaverunt coram praedicto rege Henrico in curia sua contra Robertum de Venoiz, contra Willielmum de Hastings, qui ipsum magistratum calumniabantur; & hoc judicio, quia defecerunt se a recto, ad diem, quem eis constituerat praedictus Rex Henricus in curia sua, sicut carta ipsius regis, quam vidimus, testatur*.^{<104>}

Here is to be noted out of these authentic records, there were marshals in the time of King Henry the First, answerable in time to the first marshals of France, that there were more marshals than one; and that William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, had only *magistratum marescalciae curiae*, that is, Marshal of the King's House: which office was so long invested in that family, that it gave them a surname; as also to other

families, which have been marshals in great houses. And lastly, that it was given to William Marshal and his heirs, and so it was challenged by them as hereditary. Nevertheless it is certain, that the next succeeding King, Henry the Third, took away that office from Richard Marshal, the son of the said William; for among the grievances of the said Richard, he complained, as appeareth in the history of Thomas Rudborne, that the King, in these terms, *Spoliavit me officio marescalciae, quod haereditario ad me pertinet & possedi, nec aliquo ad illud me restituere voluit requisitus.*<105> Happily upon this ground, which Rigordus the French historian writeth in this age of the marshalship of France, *Haereditaria successio in talibus officiis locum non habet.*<106> And after he was dead, and his brethren, his five sisters and coheirs, which, as appeareth by the partition, had everyone a thousand five hundred and twenty pounds yearly rent, began to contend about the office of the marshalship, and the manor of Hampsted-Marshal, in the county of Berkshire, belonging to the same; but Roger Bigod, son of the eldest daughter, with great difficulty obtained the same. For as Matthew Paris writeth 1246, *Multiplicatis intercessionibus concessa est marescalcia cum officio & honore comiti Rogero Bigod ratione comitissae filiae comitis magni Willielmi Marescalli primogenitae, matris suae.*<107> His nephew, Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, was enforced to surrender to King Edward the First this office, with all his inheritance in England, Ireland, and Wales, for certain insolencies against the King: and this Roger, or his uncle Roger, was he, which first styled himself, as pride is highest when downfall nearest, *Marescallus Angliae*; whereas all his predecessors used no other styles than the simple addition of Marescallus, as *Gulielmus, Richardus, Gilbertus Marescallus, Comes Pembrociae*. And no doubt, but as the greatness of William Marshal the elder, called the Great Earl, which he had gotten in the minority of King Henry the Third, gave the first greatness to this office; so there was a far greater access of dignity thereunto, when King Edward the Second granted to Thomas of Brotherton, his half brother, a prince of the blood, the lands of Bigod, and shortly after the office of Marshalship with the rights thereunto belonging, and performing the service accordingly. After the death of Thomas of Brotherton, we find William Montague Earl of Sarum, Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Henry Lord Piercy, John Fitz-Alan, Lord Maltravers, Thomas Holland Earl of Kent, and then Thomas Mowbray, right heir unto Brotherton, had the office of Marshal of England, with the name, style, title, state, and honour granted unto him in the 20th year of King Richard the Second, *de assensu parlamenti sibi & haeredibus suis masculis de corpore.*<108> Yet nevertheless, the next year after, he being banished, it was granted to Thomas Holland Duke of Surrey, as amply as it was to him; that he might as well bear in the presence and absence of the King, a rod of gold, enamelled at both ends, with the King's arms in the upper end, and his own in the lower end. Afterwards, according to the alteration of times, sometimes to the Mowbrays, and the Howards, descended from them; sometimes others, by interruptions upon sundry occasions, enjoyed the same dignity.

What belonged to that office anciently, I have read nothing, but that at a coronation of King Richard the First, William Marshal Earl of Pembroke, carried the royal sceptre, which had the cross on the top; and at the coronation of Queen Eleanor, wife to King Henry the Third, the Marshal carried a rod before the King, made way both in church and court; and ordered the feast, as Matthew Paris writeth. There is a treatise carried about the office of the Earl Marshal in the time of King Henry the Second, and another of the time of Thomas of Brotherton; where I find confusedly what belonged to them in court and camp: as in court, that at the coronation the Marshal should have the King's horse and harness, and the Queen's palfrey; that he

should hold the crown at the coronation; that he should have upon high feasts, as the high Usher, the tablecloths and cloth of state for that day; that he keep the hall in quiet; that he should bring offenders within the verge before the High Steward; that he should assign lodgings, and when the King passed the sea, each man to his ship; that he should have for his livery three winter robes at Christmas, and three summer robes at Whitsuntide; that he should allow but twelve common women to follow the court, (in which service, I suppose, he had Hamo de Gaynton his substitute, which was called *marescallus meretricum*;<109> by which service he held the manor of Cateshall in the county of Surrey) that he should have a deputy in the King's-Bench; that he should keep vagabonds from the court. In camp, that he should lead the forward; that the Constable, with him, should hold courts in camp; that he should have certain special forfeitures, as armour and weapons of prisoners; to appoint lodgings; to be abroad till all be lodged; to have fees of armourers and victuallers of the camp; to have all the armour and whole cloth of towns taken by composition; to have ransom of prisoners escaped, if they be taken again; with many such like, too long here to be specified: and in peace and war the Marshal should execute the constable's commandments in arrests and attachments; and that appeareth by the process between Grey and Hastings. In the second statute of Westminster, held 13 Ed. I, when many grievances of the Marshal were complained of, it was ordained in these words, *Marescallus de quolibet comite & barone integram baroniam tenente, de uno palfrido sit contentus, vel de pretio, quale antiquitus percipere consuevit, ita quod si ad homagium, quod fecit, palfridum vel pretium in forma praedicta ceperit, ad militiam suam nihil capiat. Et si forte ad homagium nihil ceperit, ad militiam suam capiat. de abbatibus & prioribus integram baroniam tenentibus, cum homagium aut fidelitatem pro baroniis suis fecerunt, capiat palfridum vel pretium, ut praedictum est. Hoc idem de archiepiscopis & episcopis observandum est. de his autem, qui partem baroniae tenent, sive sint religiosi, sive seculares, capiat secundum portionem partis baroniae, quam tenent. de religiosis tenentibus in liberam elemosynam, & non per baroniam vel partem, nihil de caetero exigat marescallus.*<110> And about that time were set down all the *droites* belonging to the Earl Marshal in a roll, which was laid up in the wardrobe; but that vanished shortly after. For as it appeareth by record, in the 18th of Edward the Third, the King directed a brief to the Barons of the Exchequer, of the fees, and all things else belonging to the office of Earl Marshal; and they returned in their certificate, annexed to the brief, nothing but certain petty allowances of money, wine, candles for the Marshal and Magister Marescallus, and for the four marshals for every day, *qua faciant herbergeriam.*<111> And out of the red book of the exchequer, they certify in these words: *de officio marescalciae survivit Gilbertus Mareschal, Comes de Strigal, cujus est officium tumultus sedare in domo regis, liberationes hospitiorum facere, ostia aulae regis custodire. Accipit autem de quolibet barone facto milite a rege & quolibet comite ea die palfredum cum sella.*<112> And by an inquisition taken about the 11th of Henry the Fifth, it appeareth, that there belongeth to the Earls Marshals disposing the office of the Marshal in the King's-Bench, the Marshal of the Exchequer, with the office of the crier before the Marshal, and the Marshal of the Hall of the King's House, and some other such places. But the greatest increase of the authority of this office hath been, since there were no Constables: for the kings since that time have referred many matters to them, which in former times were proper to the Constable. Neither had the Marshal any precedency in respect of his place, until King Henry the Eighth, in the 31st year of his reign, by parliament assigned him place next to the Lord Constable, and before the Lord Admiral.

The original and dignity of the Earl Marshal of England. by the same hand.

Some learned men, which have discoursed of offices and magistracies, in respect of some conveniencies in military matters, have thought the office of marshal in our age, to be answerable to that of the *tribuni militum* in the ancient Roman estate; and of the Protostrator in the late state of the Greek or Eastern empire. But this name of Marshal now in use, which in process of time hath ascended unto so high a dignity, began at such time as the Goths, Vandals, Franks, and other Northern people overflowed Europe, who settling themselves in the provinces of the Romans, liking well their policy and government, began not only to imitate the same, but also to translate their titles of civil and military dignities into their own tongues; so they translated, retaining the signification, *Limitanei Duces* into Mark-Graff, *Scutati* into Shield-Knights, *Praefectus Palatii* into *Seneschalk*, *Comes Stabuli* into Mar-Staller, *Minister Dei* into *Godschalk*, *Praefectus Equitum* into *Marschalk*. For all they, who have lately traced out etymologies, do consent, that as *mar* and *mark* signify a horse; so *schalk* signifieth a ruler, an officer, or provost. But the French mollified this harsh concurrence of consonants, and have made of *seneschalk*, *marschalk*, &c. *Seneschal* and *Marshal*. This name (albeit happily the office might be) was not in use in this realm in the Saxon government; only they had their *Staller*, which by signification and authority of historians, doth seem to be all one with the *Constable*. But as this name came out of Germany with the Franks into France; so out of France, first arrived here with the Normans: and Roger de Montgomery, which was Marshal of the Norman army at the Conquest, is accounted the first Marshal of England. For some years after, there is in histories no mention of this office, until in the confusion under King Stephen, when as Maud Fitz-Empress, for strengthening of her part, made Milo, Earl of Hereford and Constable of England; so he, for assuring his faction, made Gilbert Clare, Earl of Pembroke and Marshal of England, with the state of inheritance, who in respect of his usual habitation at Strigal, was commonly called Earl of Strigal; in which office, his son Richard, surnamed Strongbow, succeeded, who first opened the way to the English for the conquest of Ireland, by whose only daughter and heir, it descended to William Marshal, who had by her five sons, which died all without issue; and five daughters, the eldest of them named Maud, to whom, in the partition, was assigned the office of Marshal of England, with the manor of Hamstead Marshall, which, as it is in old records, the Marshals held *in marescaugia, & per virgam mareschalliae*.<113>

This Maud was married to Hugh Bigod Earl of Norfolk, whose son Roger, in right of his mother, was Marshal of England; and after him Roger Bigod, his nephew by the brother, who incurring the displeasure of King Edward the First, by denying to serve him in Guienne, practising to hinder the King's expedition into Flanders, and dissuading the commons to pay subsidies imposed by Parliament in that respect, for recovery of the King's favour, surrendered up to the King for ever, both his Earldom of Norfolk, and office of Marshal of England; which King Edward the Second granted to his brother Thomas of Brotherton, from whom it came inheritably to Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, whom King Richard the Second created Earl Marshal of England; whereas in former time they were styled only Marshals of England: and so from the Mowbrays to Howards, late Dukes of Norfolk; yet this office hath not so descended without interruption in the aforesaid families, but that upon disfavours and

attainders, it hath been oftentimes conferred upon others, as appeareth by this catalogue of them, wherein they are set down successively.

The Marshals of England.

Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury.
Walter Gifford, Earl of Buckingham.
Robert Fitz-Ede, base son of King Henry the First.
Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke.
Richard his son, Earl of Pembroke.
William Marshal the elder, Earl of Pembroke.
William his son, Earl of Pembroke.
Richard his brother, Earl of Pembroke.
Gilbert his brother, Earl of Pembroke.
Walter his brother, Earl of Pembroke.
Anselme his brother, Earl of Pembroke.
Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk.
Roger, his brother's son, Earl of Norfolk.
Roger, Lord Clifford.
Nicolas, Lord S.
Thomas Brotherton, son to King Edward the First, Earl of Norfolk.
William Montague, Earl of Salisbury.
Thomas Beauchamp the elder, Earl of Warwick.
Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.
Henry, Lord Percy.
John Fitz-Alan, Lord Maltravers.
Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, half brother to King Richard the Second.
Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham.
Thomas Holland, Duke of Surrey.
John Montague, Earl of Salisbury.
Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmorland.
Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham.
John his brother, Duke of Norfolk.
John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon.
John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.
John Mowbray his son, Duke of Norfolk.
Richard, son of King Edward the Fourth, Duke of York and Norfolk.
Thomas Grey, Knight.
John Howard, Duke of Norfolk.
William Marquess Berkeley, and Earl of Nottingham.
Henry Duke of York, son to King Henry the Seventh.
Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, afterwards Duke of Norfolk.
Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.
Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk.
Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset.
John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.
Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, restored.
Thomas Howard his nephew, late Duke of Norfolk.
George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.
Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, descended from Eva de Breosa, daughter and co-heir

Camden's Britannia

of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, by the Bohunes, Earls of Hereford and Essex,
and from Ralph Bigod, brother unto Roger Bigod, Marshal, by Lacy, Verdon, and
Crophul.

Under What Sign Britain Lies.

Some will perhaps expect to be informed under the influence of what sign and planet this Britain of ours lies. To satisfy such curious inquirers (for I have took some pains about those learned errors) I will say something; though the conjectures of astrologers is so different in this point, that the variety of opinions may seem to shake the reality of the thing itself, and leave no room for truth. M. Manilius, an ancient poet, intimates that Capricorn presides here, in that verse of his,

*Tu, Capricorne, regis quicquid sub sole cadente
expositum.—*

Thou, Capricorn, presidest o'er
What e'er lies on the western shore.

Ptolemy, Albumazar and Cardan, make Aries; John de Muris would have Saturn; the Friar Perscrutator, Esquidus, and Henry Silen, make the Moon the ruling planet, because it is, as they say, in the seventh climate. Roger of Hereford, Thomas of Ravenna, a philosopher, and Hispalensis, prefer Pisces. To conclude, Schonerus and Pitatus (so that there's no consent in this matter) subject us to Gemini upon no better grounds than the rest.

End of Volume 1

Notes

1. *Obiit. Ao. D. 1623. Aetatis Suae LXXIII*: "Died 1623, aged 73"
2. *Omnes sanos a scribendo deterruit*: "He deterred all sensible people from writing." Cicero, *Brutus* 262.
3. *Demy's place*: A scholarship. The stipend was half that of a fellow, hence the name.
4. *Relicta academia, studio incitato satis magnam Angliae partem fide oculata obivi*: "Having left the University, I faithfully observed with my own eyes the greater part of England"
5. *Decem Scriptores*: A collection of ten ancient chronicles on English history edited by Sir Roger Twysden (1597–1672) and published in 1652.
6. *Gul. Camdenus Clarenceux, filius Sampsonis, Pictoris Londinensis, dono dedit*: "Wil. Camden, Clarenceux, son of Sampson, painter of London, gave this gift."
7. *The Mantuan poet*: Virgil.
8. *Lemma*: In this sense, an inscription and signature.
9. *Peireskius*: Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637), French astronomer, antiquary and savant. His research included a determination of the difference in longitude of various locations in Europe, around the Mediterranean, and in North Africa.
10. *Duchesne*: André Duchesne (1584-1640), French geographer and historian, generally styled the father of French history.
11. *Thuanus*: Jacques Auguste de Thou (1553–1617) French historian, book collector and president of the Parlement de Paris.
12. *Sed valde, &c.*: "I very much believe, that the moderation which you advised him to show, would have saved the story of the Scottish affair (i.e. the story of Mary Queen of Scots)"
13. *Rem, &c.*: "I have taken the words of the Scots who were concerned in the matter, and the letters I asked them for; and I have judged the accuracy of Buchanan's writings against them."
14. *Similitudo studiorum*: "Similarity of studies."
15. *Sennight*: A week.
16. *Norroy*: The Norroy King-of-Arms is the herald who is responsible for the whole of England north of the River Trent.
17. *Nihil aliud &c.*: "Nothing else now remains &c.; I also consecrate something to the almighty, and to venerable antiquity. A vow which I most willingly make."
18. *Cineri supposta doloso*: "Ashes deceitfully presented"
19. *Scruple*: One minute of arc.
20. *Caerulus, -i, -um*: Blue.
21. *Ab aquis*: "From water."
22. *Gades*: Cadiz.

23. *Adelon*: "Unknown."
24. *Istre*: The Danube.
25. *Caius Caesar*: Caligula.
26. *Caius Caligula Pharum Fecit*: "Caius Caligula made the lighthouse."
27. *Liberti*: Freedmen. Much of the imperial civil service was staffed by freed slaves.
28. *Friths*: patches of woodland.
29. *Stanked*: Surrounded.
30. *Lameae Luculleae*: "Lucullus' blades"
31. From *Panegyrici Latinae*, ascribed to Eumenius.
32. From Xiphilin, out of Dio.
33. *Divi*: "Gods"
34. From Herodian, *History of the Roman Empire since the Death of Marcus Aurelius* 4. 2.
35. *Venerabilis & Piissima Augusta*: "The venerable and most pious empress"
36. *Stabularia*: Landlady of the lowest class of inn.
37. Eusebius, *The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine*.
38. Gelasius Cizicenus, *Acts of the Council of Nicea*. c. 3.
39. *Gaudium Romanorum*: "The rejoicing of the Romans".
40. *Dominus noster*: "Our Lord."
41. *Catena*: "a chain."
42. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Roman Antiquities*.
43. Sulpitius Severus.
44. Hilary, in his *Epistle to the Bishops*.
45. Prosper Tyro.
46. Zonaras.
47. Gildas.
48. *The Malmesbury historian*: William of Malmesbury (c. 1095 – c. 1143), the foremost English historian of the 12th century.
49. *Notitia*: The *Notitia Dignitatum* ("The List of Offices") is a document of the late Roman Empire that details the administrative organization of the Eastern and Western Empires. It describes several thousand offices from the imperial court to provincial governments, diplomatic missions, and army units.
- 50: *Ala Britannica milliaria*.: British wing of one thousand
Ala iiiii. Britonum in Egypto. British wing 4 in Egypt
Cohors prima Aelia Britonum. First Aelian cohort of Britons
Cohors iii Britonum. Cohort 4 of Britons
Cohors vii. Britonum. Cohort 7 of Britons
Cohors xxvi. Britonum in Armenia. Cohort 26 of Britons in Armenia

Britanniciani sub magistro peditum. British under the master of foot-soldiers
Invicti juniores Britanniciani inter auxilia Palatina. Undefeated young British men among the Palatine auxiliaries.

Exculcatores jun. Britan. Inter auxilia Palatina. Young British skirmishers among the Palatine auxiliaries.

Britones cum magistro equitum Galliarum. Britons with the Gaulish Master of Horses
Invicti juniores Britones intra Hispanos. Undefeated young British men among the Spanish

Britones seniores in Illyrico. Older British men in Illyria [The East coast of the Adriatic]

51. Tacitus. Bk. 4.

52. *Centum agnos*; "one hundred lambs;" *pretio argenti*: "pieces of silver;" *centum probatos nummos*: "One hundred good coins"

53. *Forti brachia*: "Stong arms."

54. *Epatica*: Liverwort

55. *Spanhemius*: Ezechiel von Spanheim, (1629-1710) diplomat and scholar, author of *Disputationes de usu et præstantia numismatum antiquorum* ("Discussions of the value and use of ancient coins"), a massive catalogue of all the ancient coins then known.

56. *Erga religionem Christianam bene affectus*: "That he was well disposed to the Christian religion."

57. *Et rate amata titulo salutis*: "And [the Cross will be] your yard-arm, the prescription for salvation." Paulinus of Nola, *Poem 17*.

58. *Crux navigantium gubernaculum*: "The cross is our rudder"

59. *De temone Britanno excidet Arviragus*: "Araviragus will fall from his British chariot" Juvenal, *Satire 4*, l. 126-7.

60. *Ne vel tantillum, &c.*: "So as not to leave so much of the page empty, we have selected the attached from the most learned Bouterove's *Alphabet of Ancient Coins*."

61. *Scythic Vale*: The Irish Sea

62. *A lawless generation, &c.*: *Isaiah 1:4-6*.

63. *And God called them to sorrow, &c.*: *Isaiah 22:12-13*.

64. *They have burnt with fire, &c.*: *Psalms 74:7*

65. *O God, the Gentiles are come into thy heritage, &c.* *Psalms 79:1*

66. *Poenarum gurgitibus*: "from the torturous depths of punishments." *Poenarum* means "of punishments"; *Poenorum* means "of the Carthaginians." – hence the confusion.

67. *Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum sylvas*: "The forests of the Caledonians or Picts."

68. *Castrum alatum*: "Winged Castle."

69. *Ille Britannos, &c.*:

"'Twas he, whose all-commanding yoke,

The farthest Britons gladly took;
Him the Brigantes in blue arms adored,
When subject waves confessed his power,
Restrained with laws they scorned before,
And trembling Neptune served a Roman Lord."

70. *Caeruleos scuta Brigantes*: "Brigantes with blue shields"; *caeruleos cute Brigantes*: "Brigantes with blue skins".

71. *Browis*: Broth or porridge.

72. *Quoniam ante, &c.*: "because before his time, when they wanted a halfpenny or farthing, they would break a penny in two or four pieces."

73. *Me fecit*: "Made me."

74. *Monetarius*: A maker of coins.

75. *Pallium*: A kind of scarf or collarette worn by Bishops and higher clergy: *Pedum*: A shepherd's crook or crozier.

76. *Indoles*: Innate character.

77. *Sancti Petri Moneta*: "Saint Peter's Mint." York Cathedral (known as the Minster) is dedicated to St. Peter.

78. *Hide*: "As much land as one plough can till in a year, but as others, as much as 4 virgats." [About 120 acres or 50 hectares]. This was used to determine the tax to be paid. Towns would also be assessed to pay the tax due on a particular number of hides.

79. *Lay-fee*: A property the income of which goes to a layman, in return for (often nominal) services to the Crown.

80. *Verge*: a staff.

81. *Comes*, plural *Comites*, is Latin for a companion or attendant.

82. *Strigulia*: Chepstow, Monmouthshire (Gwent)

83. *Exercitials*: Goods or money due to be paid to the Lord of the Manor on the death of a serf.

84. *Mancus*: A unit of money of the value of 30 pence.

85. *Mark*: Thirteen shillings and fourpence, or eight ounces of silver.

86. *Equites vexillarii*: "Knights of the banner."

87: *Equites aurati*: "Golden knights."

88. *Librat*: An area of land yielding a rent of a pound a year.

89. *Milites gladio cincti*. "Soldiers girded with the sword."

90. *Baudekin*: A richly embroidered cloth woven of silk and gold thread.

91. *War-horses*: Thus in the source, but glossed as "*dextarios bellicosus*." *Dextarios* is not in any dictionary but would seem to mean "right-hand men:" thus a better translation would be "bodyguards."

92. *Nomina militum, baccalaureorum, & valectorum comitis Glocestriae*: "The names of the knights, bachelors, and squires of Gloucester."

93. *Quasi bas chevaliers*: "As if to say, low knights."
94. *Assizes of novel disseisin*: Hearings of cases where a person claims to have been wrongfully dispossessed of their land.
95. *Harbinger*: A person who goes in advance of an army to arrange lodgings for the troops.
96. *Nunc dimittas servum*: "Now thou dost dismiss thy servant" *Luke 2:29*.
97. *Ex legibus Alamannorum, &c.*: "Out of the laws of the Alamanni; if any marshal who has the care of twelve horses, kill any person, let him pay four shillings."
98. *A potiori*: "As the stronger argument."
99. *Magister equitum*: "Master of horses;" *Tribunus militum*: "Military tribune," the rank above centurion in the Roman army.
100. *Praetor comitatus augustalis*: "Magistrate attending the Emperor"
101. *Regiae procurator aulae*: "Procurer of the King's lodgings."
102. *Vidi plurimos, &c.*: "I saw very many, who reached out a bountiful hand to the Marshals. When they had, with much ado, found a lodging after the fatigue of a long journey, and while their meat was half raw, or perhaps while they were sitting at table, nay, sometimes when they were asleep in their beds; the Marshals coming upon them, would, in a supercilious and abusive way, cut the collars of the horses, and throw out the baggage without distinction and not without damage, and turn the people out of their lodgings in a shameful manner."
103. *Regis avus, &c.*: "The King's grandfather, that is, Henry the First, enfeoffed Wigan, his Marshal, in certain tenements, which he held of him by service of the Marshalcy; and the King restored them to Ralph, son of Wigan, as his Marshal."
104. *Johannes Dei gratia, &c.*: "John, by the grace of God, &c. Know ye, that we have granted, and by this our present Charter, have confirmed, to our well beloved and faithful William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and to his heirs, the office of Marshalcy, in our Court; which office, Gilbert, Marshal of King Henry our grandfather, and John, son of the said Gilbert, claimed before the said King, in his Court, against Robert de Venois, and William de Hastings, who also claimed the same office ; and in this judgment, because they did not make good their claim, at the day which the said King Henry appointed them, as the King's own Charter, which we have seen, witnesseth."
105. *Spoliavit me, &c.*: "Deprived me of the office of Marshal, which belongs to me in right of inheritance, and which I was in possession of; and would by no means restore it to me, when demanded."
106. *Haereditaria successio, &c.*: "This office does not have an hereditary succession."
107. *Multiplicatis, &c.*: "Upon repeated intercessions, the Marshalcy, with the office and honour, was granted to Earl Roger Bigod, in right of his mother, the Countess, who was eldest daughter of the great Earl William Marshal."
108. *De assensu parliament &c.*: "By assent of Parliament, to him, and to the heirs male of his body begotten."
109. *Marescallus meretricum*: "Marshal of whores."

110. *Marescallus de quolibet, &c.*: "The Marshal of every Earl, and Baron holding an entire barony, shall be contented with one palfrey, [small saddle-horse] or with the price of it, such as he hath used to have of old: so that, if he took a palfrey, or the price of one, at the doing of his homage, in form aforesaid, he shall take nothing when he is made Knight: and if he took nothing at the doing of his homage, when he is made Knight he shall take the same. Of Abbots and Priors, holding a whole Barony, when they do homage or fealty for their baronies, he shall take one palfrey, or the price, as afore is said. And this shall also be observed amongst Archbishops and Bishops. But of such as hold but one part of a barony, whether they be religious or secular, he shall take according to the portion of the part of the Barony that they hold. Of religious men that hold in free alms, and not by a barony, nor part of a barony, the Marshal from henceforth shall demand nothing."

111. *Qua faciant herbegeriam*: "What would pay for their lodging."

112. *De officio marescalciae, &c.*: "In the office of Marshalcy, survives William Marshal Earl of Strigal, whose duty it is to appease tumults in the King's House and to make delivery of Lodgings, and to keep the gates of the Royal Palace. He hath, of every Baron who is made Knight by the King, and of every Earl, that day, a horse, with the Saddle."

113. *In marescaugia, & per virgam mareschalliae*: "In marshalcy, and under the rod of the Marshal."

126. *Peutingerian Table*: a map on parchment of the military roads of the ancient Roman Empire, supposed to be a copy of one constructed about A.D. 226. It was found in the 15th c. in a library at Speyer, and came into the possession of Konrad Peutinger of Augsburg (1465–1547), in whose family it remained till 1714; it is now in the Austrian National Library at Vienna.

283. *In capite*: Held as a feudal tenant directly from the King, with no intervening Lord.

295. *Amerce, Amercement*: Fine; *Amerced*: fined.

299. *Peculiar*: A parish or church exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishop in whose diocese it lie. *Prebend*: An ecclesiastical position the salary of which was a certain part of the income of the establishment to which it belongs. *Prebendary*: the holder of such an office.