DIVI BRITANNICI:

BEING

A REMARK

Upon the LIVES of all the

KINGS

Of this Isle,

FROM THE YEAR OF THE WORLD

2855.

UNTIL THE YEAR OF GRACE

1660.

By Sir WINTON CHURCHILL Kt.

LONDON,
Printed by Tho. Regency, to be sold by Francis Eleyfield, at the Sign of the
Marygold in St. Paul's Church-yard.
TO HIS MOST
Sacred Majesty
CHARLES II.
By the Grace of GOD
KING
OF
Great Britain, France, and Ireland,
Defender of the Faith, &c.

GREAT SIR,

If the Reading of History in General, be not only a Recreation, but a Restorative, and such, as by which some Princes have recover'd the Health of their Bodies, others the Distempers of their Mind, many have learn'd to settle, and most to preserve the Weal of their Estates; meet-
ing therein with divers Occurrences, which (as De-
metrius Phalaris once hinted to the first Ptolomey of
Ægypt) none of their Friends or Followers would, or
perhaps durst mind them of; then certainly the Records
of those stupendious Works perform'd in almost all Ages,
by those DIIFORMES your Great Progenitors (ma-
ny of whose Words were taken as Oracles, their A-
tions as Examples, and their Examples as Laws) cannot
but be a Subject worthy your Royal Regard: and
possibly not less pleasant then useful, whilst in
comparing Glory, it will appear how happy you are
made by their Vertues, how much happier by your
own, in which theirs, drawn by various Lines, seem
to concenter, or rather are represented to Admiration;
not unlike those Pictures of some Illustrious Personages,
which containing divers Figures, do one way shew
the Faces of sundry of their Ancestors, but another
way that of their own only, in the Circumference
whereof all the former are very plainly comprehended.

In this Confidence I have taken a Pattern of Duty
from the Ancients, whose Custom it was, Adire Ce-
sarem per Libellum, presuming the more upon your
Majesty's gracious Acceptation of the Work; in that
it was design'd to be a Monument of my own Grati-
tude, as of your Greatness, and the only Instance of
Duty I could give at that which was indeed the worst
of Times; being begun when every Body thought that
Monarchy had ended, and would have been buried in
the same Grave with your Martyr'd Father: when
those Paricides who glory'd in having banish'd you like
Tarquinius (for so they blasphemously call'd you,
though they could not add Superbus) resolve'd to Ex-
terminate all Goodness as well as all Good Men; when
none of Us that had serv'd that Blessed Prince, bad
any
any other weapon left us but our pens to shew the justice of our zeal, by that of his title; when for want of ink black enough to record the impieties that follow’d, we design’d to write them in blood: writing and fighting being alike dangerous, and necessary. When lastly, we had no good omen but what seem’d the worst of all, to see your majesty like the good emperor mauritius heretofore (who is said to have been carried up and down, in his swaddling-bands, by an empusa, or familiar spirit, but without taking any hurt) buried from one country to another, in the infancy of your power, by a devil in no measure so innocent as that, who though he was able to do you no more hurt, intended questionless the same. Violence to your sacred person, as was offer’d to that of your fathers, had not your tutelar angels, like those which are said to have preserv’d lot from the sodomites, shut the door of government upon him, and baffled his ambition by the revolt of those whom himself first taught to rebell: the blasting of whose grandeur, as it was a happy presage of the establishment of yours (whose empire, after you lost your country, was preserv’d intire in the hearts of your people) so it rais’d our faith to the expectation of those happy dayes, which (bless’d be god) we have since seen; wherein your majesty having by your clemency charm’d our fears, as by your power commanded our obedience, and by your justice secured our affections, we now stand bound with a threefold cord of allegiance, that cannot easily be broken, it being no less impossible for your dominions to cease, than our desires to serve you; and since it’s known you are as well intitled to your fathers vertues, as his kingdoms, what have we more
more to wish, but that you may prove as like the Second, as he was to the first Caesar, Et ut Nomine SECUNDUS, sic Majestate AUGUSTUS: So prays,

Great SIR,

Your Majesties

Most Loyal Subject,

and most humble, faithful,

and obedient Servant,

WINSTON CHURCHILL.
ERE have not been wanting in all times, some faithful Ministers of Fame, who rescuing out of the jaws of Time, the memory of such renowned Persons, whose Names have been less mortal then their Bodies (their Honour continuing like the Perfume in their Ashes, uncorrupted in the midst of Corruption) have oblig'd the latter; by the knowledge of the glory of former Ages, and given occasion of a modern fiction, not inferior to any of the Antients, viz.

(a) That there is a Medal hanging at the thread of every man's life, wherein his Image is stamp'd; which Time (waiting on the fatal Sifters) catches up as soon as the thread is cut, and carrying it a little way, throws it out of his bosom into the River Lethe, where many little Birds flying about the Banks, catch it up, and bearing it a while longer in their Beaks, either through weariness or negligence, let it fall into the River again, where certain Swans swim up and down, and as oft as they find a Medal with a Name in it, carry it to the Temple of Immortality, there to remain a Monument to succeeding Generations. The Mythologie whereof appears in that continued account we have had throughout all Ages, from the very time of those Αὐτοκρατοραί so much admired in the in-
fancy of the World, call'd in holy Writ Nephilim, i.e. Πνευματικοι, Sons of the Earth, which our Vulgar Translation renders Giants, of which rank I take the three famous Sons of the Patriarch Noah to be the most renowned in their Generations, amongst those that were call'd the (c) Sons of God: but the principal in story amongst those that were stili'd the Sons of Men, I take to be Tytan, Saturn, and Typhon, the last of whom in the life of Apolonius is stili'd the terrible Giant.

2. These Giants we read had a design to take Heaven itself; a fiction that answers the Story of Babel, and though they fail'd in the attempt, yet the Poets (who were the Trumpeters in that War) gave them not long after the title of Gods, and from thenceforth brought the Empire of the whole Creation to fall under the Government of (c) three only (by which number some take the Trinity to be darkly represented, whereof Trismegistus and the Philosophers coeval with him might have some imperfect Glimpse, by their acquaintance with the Books of Moses, of which there were false Copies enough to fill all the World with Fables.) The first of these Gods was Ιυπερ, who being the great Empeour of the East, from whence the day first opening made it seem the lightest, as well as the highest part of the Hemisphere; he was stili'd Θεος Θεωρους the God of Heaven. Pluto who was the Second, having the great Monarchy of the West, his Territories pointing towards the fiery descent of the Sun and night, he was termed Ταφταις, the terrible God, or the God of Hell. The last of the three was Neptune, who having no certain Province assign'd him, was allow'd to be Lord of the Seas, which (Figuratively speaking) was as much as Lord of the whole Earth. It being from that time believ'd, that who so rul'd the Seas must by consequence have the dominion of the Land, whereupon (f) Homer salutes him by way of Sanction with the Attribute of Κοσμος Θεωρους, which we may English, Sovereign of the Seas; And accordingly the first Writers of our History have been willing the World should believe, that old Albion who first gave name to this Isle, was himself Sirnamed Mareoticus, for that he did by right of his descent from Neptune Ιππας, i.e. claim the dominion
mition of the Sea; but in Process of time the number of these.

(1) *Dii populares* came to be numberless. *Eusebius* reckons out of Herod no less than Thirty thousand, and St. *Augustine* brings the number to three hundred thousand; so that 'tis probable that that antient History of the Gods written by *Euhemerus* Messenus was very voluminous, and we are little beholding to the chief Priests of *Jupiter* that imbezeld it, to the end (as *Laërtius* tells us) that the vanity of their Theology might not be detected.

3. In the next period call’d the Historical Age of the World, beginning with the (k) Olympiads, there were several (k) A. M. *Tutelares*, things something less then Gods, yet esteem’d to be (1) 3174 more then men, whereof there were as many as there were Nations in the World, each having its proper and peculiar *Demagogues*: The *Germans* follow’d *Mars*, the *Cimbrians* *Apollo*, the *Iberians* were govern’d by *Hercules*, the *Romans* had almost as many *Tutelares* as Families, but (1) some are of opinion that every Nation had its *Saturn*, *Jupiter* and *Hercules*, in the first place he that had the Kingdom in possession being (il’d) *Saturn*, his eldest Son and Heir apparent *Jupiter*, his Nephew or Heir presumptive, *Hercules*.

4. After these came in play those they call’d *Conditares*, that were the first great Land-marks to the most antient Chronologists, as *Agis* amongst the Phrygians, *Herodas* with the Bithynians, *Endimion* the Arcadians, *Achilles* amongst the Epirots, *Heflor* the Trojans, &c. Of every one of these the first Historians give the like description, as the old Geographers of the unknown parts of the World, fancying nothing but impossibilities in Nature. Of which sort we find no less then fix eminent amongst our own Historians, which we may term our *Divi Britannici*, some of them fam’d from the most early beginnings of any Records; whose ambition whilst they liv’d, though it were not to be bounded within the limits of such a Portion of the Earth, as was sometimes call’d another World; yet being dead, their memory is confin’d within the narrow bounds of a homely distichon, as unpolish’d as his Genius that wrote it.

*Celti*
From hence some begin the Epoch of our British Empire, making it little short in point of Antiquity, of any of the four great Monarchies of the East (perhaps the Assyrian only excepted, and that by the Chaldee not the Persian computation) which need as much the support of Tradition to ascertain their Age, Alterations, and Successions as ours; for as Solon was upbraided by an Egyptian Priest with the ignorance of his own Countreymen, for that they were but Babes (as he termed them) in the knowledge of the first State and original of their Countrey; whereof they of Egypt (as he affirm’d) could give a better account than the Grecians themselves, however then esteemed the most learned people of the World; so the very best as well as the first of their Writers, were not ashamed to confess that they grop’d in the dark, and took up many things upon trust from others; neither have the Roman Historians both of the first and second lyfe been less modest in acknowledging that they did come feculo fecundire, the truth of whose errors being so fatal to those that copied after them, that they brought themselves under a mistrust. Several of our Writers have chose rather to wrong the Age they liv’d in, by seeming to detract from the Reverence due to Tradition, then to offer the least violence to their own Credits, by ramfaking the Treasury of Time, for that which would not pass for current Truth, approved by the Touchstone of universal consent; and hence it is that the whole Period betwixt Brutus and Cesar passes rather for a Monastick Revelation, than any authentic Revolution, having but a single Voucher, who (like Alexander the Great when he lookt into the Sanctum Sanctorum) seems to have seen nothing but a Cloud, and was (say some) the more confident in imposing what he pleas’d on the earie faith of that age he liv’d in, because he found them delighted with the vanity of being so abus’d.

6. Take we then the Era of our Monarchy with as much modesty
modesty as truth, from the better known Government of that
Janus of our Isle Cunobeline, who first bid adieu to the barbarity
of that darker Age he liv'd in; a Prince that had the most glo-
rious Land-mark to his Chronology that ever nature knew. The
first appearance of that Sun (1) of Righteousness (born in the lat-
ter end of his Reign) whose Beams lightened (2) his Territo-
ries, whilst most of the Kingdoms in the World were obscur'd
with universal darkness. (3) Tertullian that liv'd not long after,
taking thence occasion to upbraid the unbelieving Jews, by tell-
ing them that the Britains whom the Romans could not con-
querr, were yet subject unto Christ; and to say truth, their obe-
dience to the Cross, was the chief cause of humbling themselves
under the Fasces; Lucius being the first King that stipulated
for the enjoyment of his own Laws at the price of a Tribute,
which if it were some diminution of his Majesty, was made up
with advantage by his Successour Constantine the Great, whom
therefore the (4) Panegyrist not unfidly stiles Divus Orbis (Britain-
nic) Liberator.

7. However in respect the Romans had some hold-fast here
for near a hundred years after Constantine's death, it may be by
some perhaps thought more reasonable to begin our Compu-
tation from Vortigern, who having neither Competitor nor Com-
panion in the Government (there being not one Roman left in
the whole Isle to controul or contend with him) was without
doubt the first that (as Tattius speaks of Augustus) Nomen Prin-
cipis sub Imperium accepsit, circa An. Chr. 440. At what time all
the Neighbour Princes round about him were under the com-
mon yoak of Servitude. The French themselves, who stand
so much upon the Antiquity of their Monarchy, falling short of
this Account near four hundred years; who being govern'd by
Dukes till the year 420, had not in almost thirty years after,
any more of France in their Intire possession, than that Canton
which the Romans call'd Belgium, which was the more incon-
siderable, by being parcel'd out into many Petty (5) Royalties,
that could not unite till the time of Charlemagne, who liv'd about
the latter end of our Heptarchy; after whose death; the whole
fell into five pieces again, four whereof ceased to be French,
c

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(1) Chr. Je-
(2) Nicepho-
(3) Tertul-
(4) In M. Ant.
(5) In Arc. Cot.

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(1) As were
Burgundy,
Lorraine,
Gaul, Aqui-
taine, Norm-
andy,
Champagne,
Poitou,
which
which gave so great disturbance to all their Kings of the Second and third Race, that they were so far from being Masters of that little that they had, that they were scarce (x) Lords of themselves; being forc'd to pawn the best part of their Inheritance to enable them to keep the rest; none of their Successors being in condition to redeem any considerable part, till Lewis the Eleventh, who happily having recovered the Earldom of Provence and Duchy of Burgundy, made his boast that he had brought his Kingdom Hors de Page. Much more distorted was the Empire of the Spaniards, if so be we may allow them to have anything like absolute Sovereignty, till this very last Age, when Ferdinand the Second, worthily reputed their first Monarch, happily united Castile and Aragon, with their Appendices; their Predecessors till then being so inconsiderable, that the Kings of Scotland took place of them. In how obscure a condition all the Northern Kings were (for by that common appellation those of Muscovy, Sweadland, Denmark, and Norway, past undistinguish'd till about the year 800) I need not say: Since by being thought not worth the conquering, there was not much notice taken of them, than of the rest of the barbarous Nations their Neighbours, who may be rather said to be antient than honourable, the Germans only excepted, of whom to speak slightly, were to defile our own nest, since by them we derive our selves from Kings as great before the Flood as since. 

8. Now as the Monarchy of this Isle is (as Lanquet the Chronologer expresseth it) antienter than the Records of any time, for the Kings thereof having held out a Succession of an hundred thirty nine Kings (where as France reckon but sixty four, taking in First, Second, and third Race) have by the right of custom (as our particular Law expresseth it) Du temps dont me membre me curta le contaire, and by the consent of all Nations (which is the Law universal to Ratifie and Regulate all respects) taken and been allow'd the (y) second place, inter Super Illustres (for by that term Civilians make a great distinction and difference in point of Majesty, even amongst Kings themselves) A ction which who so understands not, may see the difference plainly in that old Formular, printed at Strasburg, Anno 1519, where there
there is set down a Quadrupartite Division of Supream Principality, the first place allowed by them (as reasonably they ought) to their own Sovereign Kesar, i.e. the German Emperor; the Second to Romifchin Koning, i.e. the King of the Romans his Successor, and their Countryman too. The third place they gave to the Vier Gefalt Koning, i.e. the four anointed Kings: In the last place came the Mein Koning or Ordinary Kings. The difference between these last and the Quadror Unisi (which were the Kings of France, England, Jerusalem, and Sicily) was this, that with the holy oil they receiv'd the Title and Adjunct of Sacred, being therefore anointed In Capite, to signifie their glory, above the other Princes of the same Rank. In Pectore to denote their Sanfillity, In Brachius to Emblemazize their power: this appears by the Styles of the Literæ Formate, the antient forms of Addressess, and the Frontispicians to the antient Councells, where we find the various Styles of Sanctio, Sacretas, and Divinitas, apply'd to these; to those were given only that of Dominatio, and sometimes Celfitudo Regia; conformable to this were all the phrases of the antient Laws of this Realm, which Style the Crown-Lands (Sacra Patrimonium, the Prerogative Royal Sacra Sacrorum, the Laws themselves (in respect they take their life and being from the King) Sancta Sanctorum. The Kings presence was held so Sacred, that if a Villain heretofore cast himself ad Sacra Vestigia (as they phras'd it) his Lord could no more seize him than if he had been in the Sanctuary, before the Altar; it being upon the same Ground as great a crime to strike in the Court as in the Church: and as if this were not enough, they ascribe unto the King, as unto God, Infallibility, Rex non potest errare, Immortality, Rex non potest mori (for in all pleadings they never mention the death of the King, but call it the Deus, Rex non potest errare, Rex non potest mori). Justice in perfection, Rex non quam injuriam felet; Omnipo- sence, in so much that he cannot be non-suited in any of his Courts, because he is supposed to be always present; and for the same reason all Persons are forbid to be cover'd in his Chambers of presence, though he be not there. Lastly, they give to him, as to God, the Issues of Life and death, jus Vite et Necis.

9. And
And as the Quatuor Valesii were before all other Kings, so I take it that the Kings of this Isle ought to have the preference amongst them, for that they were the first &c anointed Christian Kings, as appears by the undeniable Testimony of the learned Gildas in his Book De excidio Britannice, written above a thousand years since, which I take to be beyond any Remain of the like Extant in any Records of the Eastern or Western Empire.

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Circa Ann. 780. The like we read of Elfred, the Son of Egbert, anointed by the same Pope, near about the same time, in the presence of his Father; but taking it to be as early in use with them, as they themselves would have it thought to be, yet falls it short of the times of our King Arthur, affirm'd by Circa Ann. 780. The like we read of Elfred, the Son of Egbert, anointed by the same Pope, near about the same time, in the presence of his Father; but taking it to be as early in use with them, as they themselves would have it thought to be, yet falls it short of the times of our King Arthur, affirm'd by

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As for the Kings of Jerusalem and Sicily, however reckoned in the rank of the four, yet were they not in being for near five hundred years after; the honour they had therein, being by composition with the Pope, to whom they humbled themselves for this advancement, so far, as to declare themselves content to hold their Kingdoms of the Church: whereas both Ours and those of France, claim'd only by divine Right, confirm'd (if the Traditions of that age might be credited) by manifestations from Heaven: the Oil that consecrated those of France, being brought down by a Dove in a Golden Viol, and continu'd many hundred years after unwafted at Rheims; that of ours being said to have been confirm'd to be celestial by three distinct manifestations, in three different Ages, which certainly were as much abused themselves, as they abused us, if they conspired to transmit an untruth to us no more to their own advantage. The first in the time of St. Oswald before mention'd, when 'tis said that there descended a great Quantity of holy Oil like Dew from Heaven, and fell upon him, by the sight and scent whereof (for it perfum'd the place) divers People were converted to the faith, as Bede affirms. The Second was at the time when the English Line were cut off by the Danes, beyond any hope of Recovery, the Danes being in quiet Possession of the Throne, when St. Peter appearing to the holy Monk Brightwold, assured him that England was God's Kingdom, for whose Successors he would take due care; and at the same time gave him a little Cruise of Oil, telling him further, that whomsoever he anointed therewith, that man should be King, and have power to heal the People by his Touch; which was accordingly performed in the Person of Edward the Confessor, on whom the Monk privately bestowed the holy Unction; with which he received otherwise the gift of healing that disease called by Physirians St. Fulke, continu'd to our Kings in a wonderful manner to this very day, inform'd that it is notoriously known how a Maid at Dover, born blind by reason of that distemper, was cured by no other visible means but the Touch of a Cloath dip'd in the blood of the late King Charles the Martyr. The Third Manifestation was in the time of Henry the Second, who having sanctified St. Thomas.
mas Beckett, the Virgin Mary appear'd to the holy Exile, as the Clergy of that age stiled him, and delivering into his hands another Golden Viol, in form of an Eagle, affur'd him that all the Kings who were anointed with the oil therein, should be Patronizers of the Church, and as long as they kept that Sacred Viol, this Blessing should rest upon them, that if any of their posterity should happen to be beaten out of their Kingdom, they should be peaceably restor'd again; Which Oil Walshingbam (an Author of unquestionable Credit) affirms to have remain'd unwasted, to the time of Henry the Fourth, who (faith he) was anointed therewith; but amongst other the dismal mischiefs attending the fatal War of the two houses of York and Lancaster, this was not the least, that it gave opportunity to some Sacrilegious hand unknown, to convey this Viol away, who stealing the Gold, could not yet rob us of the Blessing, which hath been miraculously made good to us, in the happy Restauration of our present Sovereign Charles the Second, of whom we may say, with respect to this providence as the Poet in another case,

(1) Horace. (2) Hic postuiis gaudet.

In him likewise we find that other blessing confirm'd, in the gift of healing that noisome disease afore mention'd, which by long continuance of time, having become Hereditary, hath now got the known name of the Kings-Evil, so call'd because it is hardly to be cur'd by any other human means, but by the Kings touch only, whereof we have every day so many and great Examples, that I shall forbear to say what might perhaps be pertinent enough to this Subject.

The Kings of this Ill the First Christian Kings in the World.
King Lucius was three hundred and five years before their first Christian King Clovis; and Constantine our first Christian Emperor, no less than 466 years before Charles their first Christian Emperor. And it is as evident that the very Title itself of Christianismus, take it in what sense they please, was in use with us above two hundred years, before any of their Kings took upon them to usurp it; add to this, that the Kings of England deduce a Lineal descent from the Loins of Christian Princes, for the space of near one thousand and three hundred years together, without any interruption, or breaking of the Line, which no other Princes of the World besides can pretend to, or scarcely have been Christians half that time (those of France only excepted) but then it is further noted, that there have been more Princes out of our Royal Stock, Priests, Confessours, Martyrs, and Saints, than of any other Royal Stock in the World, those of France not excepted.

11. The next thing considerable after the natural Dignity inherent in the Person of our Kings, is that honour which may be said to be peculiar to them, resulting from the Topical Excellence of their Dominion, which as it is now branch’d into three Kingdoms, so it may be said to have ever been thrice famous,

1. For being disjoin’d from all the World.
2. For having no need of the rest of the World.
3. For being itself esteem’d another World.

Though there seems to be no great matter in that remark of the Poet, when speaking of us, he faith that we were Toto disjov’d Orbe Britannos, but what may be as applicable to any other Islanders in the World, as to Us; yet there is an Emphasis in the Conceit, that shews he intended it for an Elogy, as did our Countryman Mr. Waller by that queint Paraphrase of his.

*Tis not so hard for greedy Foes to spoil
Another Nation, as to touch our Soil,

Which agrees with that which is found in old Hesychius, who personating King Agrippa speaking to Claudius of the Britains, concludes much like Florus speaking of the Ligurians, Major erat Labor invenire quam vincere; as if the difficulty of conquering lay in the difficulty of finding them out: hereupon the
He was call'd by the Antients (1) Insula Ceruli, the Isle of the Sea. So Lucan speaking of Cesar's conquest here, faith (w) Vin-
cula dedit Oceano. Now the reason why they call'd this the Isle of the Sea, more than any other Island was, because that Brit-
tain (faith the (w) Panegyrift) did not seem as the rest, to be comprehended by the Sea, but to comprehend the Sea itself; the Ancients taking this Isle to be the very utmost bounds of Nature, beyond which there was no day or light: which when Agricola had detected, by compassing it with his Fleet, Tacitus faith of him, that he did Aperire maris secretum, enter into the very Closet of the Sea; and hence it was that (x) Augustus claiming the Dominion of this Isle, in right of his Uncle Julius, whose Heir he was, as Claudius after him in his own right, look'd upon themselves to be by a Paradosis, Lords of the Sea; the first giving thereupon for his Symbol a Dolphin, the last a Ship; and from them our Kings have ever since, with no less reason, but more right, prescribe'd to be Oceanici potestates, being in this more properly like Gods (as Holy Writ stiles Kings in Ge-
eral) than any other Princes whatever: For that they do In-
curbari Aquas (as a (y) Divine of great Eloquence has express'd it) More upon the Waters with such mighty Fleets as seem to give Laws to that Indomitable Element itself.

2. In having no need of any other part of the World: Que tot a vix eget igitur: The reason whereof is plain from what has been said be-
fore, Nam qui mare tenet eum necesse est rerum potiri, faith Cicero: He that possesses the Sea must necessarily command all things, but to recite the benefits of the Sea, were to enter upon a Sub-
ject as profound as that is, and give occasion to our next Neigh-
bour the Dutch (who can give a better Account thereof than our selves) to upbraid our glory, with the shame of having so long suffer'd their depredations, who with indefatigable Pa-
tience penetrate the Womb of that dark Element, to seek for Treasure, which we either know not how to find, or how to value. Pass we then to the consideration of the Land only, on which Charles the Great (who was wont to call it the Store-house of the Western World) made this observation, that it not only

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(1) In Cato.
(2) Lucan, Pharsil.; (w) Panegyr.
(x) Emeritus apud Gion.
(y) Tr. Dun. Serm. 43; on the Annu-

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stands in no need of any other part of the World, but every Nation else stood in need of it: *Cujus totus indiget Orbis ope*, Nature and Providence having placed us so advantageously, as to supply the whole World out of our Superfluities, being for'd with all sorts of Grain (faith Zostimus) with all sorts of Cattle (faith Tacitus) with all kind of Timber (faith Cesar) with all kind of Minerals (as Strabo) with all kind of Jems, but especially Pearl (as Suetonius testifies) indeed with so much variety of all things necessary, profitable and delightful; that without vanity we may conclude as Mathew Paris doth, that *England is the Lady, Queen, and Mistress of the Sea.*

A Mistress that has had many Suitors of almost all Nations, to whom the ROMANS, that exacted Homage from all others, willingly pay'd Homage themselves; there having been no less than twenty of their Emperours to Court her here, in Person, the Canine appetite of whose insatiable Ambition (having before devour'd all other honours) was not to be satisfied with any other Title, but that of *Britannicus.*

All Nations have been ambitious to make themselves Masters of this Person, the Canine appetite of whose insatiable Ambition (having before devour'd all other honours) was not to be satisfied with any other Title, but that of *Britannicus.*

Lest ambitious but not less amorous, was the Sanguine SAXON, who bewitch'd with the beauty and fertility of the place, quit the certain profits of his old Inheritance at home, for the uncertain hopes of new here, purchasing with the loss of their Lives, a Title as mutable and frail as their fortune. The DANES their Successours esteem'd the Conquest of this Country worth the unpeopling their own; Invading the Invaders with such incredible numbers, as left their Wives and Children without defence there, whilst they strove to Captivate those here; surprising the Saxons, as the Ichneumon does the Crocodile, which finding his Jaws open to devour his prey, leaps into his mouth, and makes a passage through his Bowels. The NORMANS and they, like little Torrents, hastning to loose themselves in the fathomless depth of our British Ocean, which chang'd their Natures as well as their Names, and gave them another Spirit, fit for another World; for so was this Island esteem'd, and accordingly is to be consider'd in the next place, as the third and last Instance of its glory.
3. In being it self esteemed another World.

14. It was a great advance of Cesar's name, and made no small noise through all the Streets of Rome, when they heard he had past the danger of that dark Ocean,

 Qui geminos inter luit Orbes :

When he had shot that dismal Gulph, which ran betwixt two Worlds, under the Arch of Heaven; and as it was scarce credible that he could e're return, so upon his Return, they look'd on him as come from the Gods, and with a suitable adoration he was saluted by the Senate, 'with that Title of Divus, never given to any before, but whom they thought Immortal; but this glory of his like that of Lightning frighted them, at the same time it shin'd in their faces, to that degree, that the horror continued in their apprehensions to the very time of Caligula, who design'd to transport his Army out of Holland into Britaine, was on the sudden surpriz'd with such a Pannick Fear, at the Sight of our dark Sea, that as one deprived of all sense of honour, he contented himself with having only look'd towards us, and return'd Laden with no other Spoils than a few Cockle Shells gather'd in the Belgick Shoar. The like apprehensions had those Legions in Gallia, whom Claudius sent to attend him in his expedition there, mutining against their Officers, and crying out with one voice, that they would not make War in any other World, but their own. This conceit of Britains being another World, held to the middle times, as appears by that Title given to our Countryman Constantine, still'd by the Panegyrist Divus Ubis or Orbis, &c. (meaning Britain) and accordingly 'tis reported that when the British Soldiers saluted him Empereour at York, they presented him with a Tufa, or Golden Ball, as a Symbol of his Soveraignty over the World of Britains; upon which (being the first of that kind) he after his Conversion to Christianity, placing a Cross; it is since become the usual Ensign of Majesty, and usurp (I will not say how improperly) by all other Christian Princes, being reckned amongst the Regalia, as the Crown and Scepter; neither hath this conceit of Britains being another World been so antiquated, but that Urban the Second had respect thereto, when in the Council of Clermont, he caus'd the Arch Bishop of Canterbury
terbury to sit at his Feet, and Decreed that he should take the same place in all future Councils, *Tanquam alterius Orbis Pontificem.* The Reason of this Conceit, came not from the distance of the place, so much as the greatness of the Isle, the greatest, faith (a) *Tacitus,* ever known to the Romans, the greatest, faith (b) *Dionysius,* ever known to the World; and truly if we make our Computation (as the Antients did theirs) from the Limits of the Sea, which (as I noted before) they thought to be comprehended by Britain or within it; the bounds thereof will appear to be boundless, extending to those far distant Regions (now become a part of us and growing apace to be the bigger part) in the Sun-burnt America.

Finis hic est, qui fine caret. Que meta Britannis, Littora sunt alius, Regniqve accessio tanta est, Quod ventis velisque patet.

15. But I am loath to lessen our greatness by Extending it, for I esteem the Isle itself without Consideration of any of its Appendices, Contains Ground enough within the Integral Limits of *Terra firma,* to keep up the Repute of being still, as we find it in Ariostides by way of Excellence, *ομέγας νησις,* the great Island, for by the narrowest Computation of our modern Geographers, 'tis not less than (c) eight hundred Italian miles in length, and above four hundred broad, but taking in the (d) Sorting at the South west Cape of the Land, and the Isle of *Schetland* (generally suppos'd to be the antient *Thule* that was always reckon'd a part of Britain) at the utmost North point with the lessor Islands thereunto belonging, it is little less than 1500 miles long, the breadth since the addition of Ireland, bearing a due proportion by the present scale; and therefore 'tis no marvel that upon the Division of Christianity into Nations, at the two general Councils of *Constance* and *Pisa* (the first the very greatest that ever was, the last not the least) England gave voice as one fourth part of Christendome, the other three being France, Germany, and Italy, which being *Iberia Major* contain'd Spain as *Iberia Minor.*

16. Others there are that take the measures of our greatness from the number of those Forces this little spot of Earth hath maintained
maintained in all ages; the Reputation of whole Victories both at home and abroad, hath added so much more to the Opinion, Strangers have had of our Grandeur, by how much they find their own Historians more faithful Witnesses to our Glory, than any born amongst our selves. How far fam'd were those 6000 Tribelius Max.; carry'd hence to strengthen Otho's Faction in Germany, neither was there a less value put upon those 8000 transported away by Honarius Flac. to make good Vitellius's party. More famous but less fortunate were those 10000 (for they were no less) that were tempted by Claud. Albus, to partake of his Fate in France. Numberless were the numbers on which Constantine founded his greatness, as appears by that Province (whereof a remnant only peopled) that thereupon took its name from us. Constantine the Second carried away no less than 30000, to maintain the hope he had conceiv'd of being Lord of the greater as well as the lesser World. These were extraordinary Levies, yet perhaps not exceeding those ordinary Forces, kept in standing pay to supply every Quarter of the Empire; there being scarce any Governour of a Province, that had not a Guard of Britains to attend about his Person, such was the Reputation of their faith and courage. At Constantinople the Greek Emperours had a Guard of 2000 (as Bodinus computes them) which they call'd the Barani. The Prefect of Rome had for his standing Guard two Bands of them more, call'd Invicti Juniores Britannitiani. The Western Emperours had their Præentes or life-Guard besides, still'd Exculcatores Jun. Britan. 500. The Prefect of Gaule had a Horse Guard call'd Britones Magistri Equitum Galliarum. The Pro-Consul of Spain had a Foot-Guard of about 500 call'd Invicti Juniores Britones; besides these we find in Germany the Cohort call'd Ala Britannica Militaria, containing about 1105 footmen, and 132 Horsemanship. In Illyricum, another call'd Britones Seniores; in Egypt Ala IIII Britonum, nay, they were dispersed to the furthest parts of the East; for we find in Armenia Cohors XXVI Britonum; besides Cohors III, and Cohors VII. Britannom at Magistro Peditum in Panonia, Cohors Prima, Ælia Britonum; and several others mention'd in the Notitia Provinciarum, to the number of not fo little as fifty or
sixty thousand; all these were abroad, whilst at home there
were no less than 190,000 Foot, and 17,000 Horse, as appears
by Constantine's Establishment, set forth by Panciroll.

17. Less known was the Militia of the Saxons than that of
the Romans, in respect they had no Invitations to any Action
abroad, excepting only that single Undertaking in Barbary, Ann.
905, when they unpeopled the City and Country round about:
Azgilla, contenting themselves with that Insular glory they
had gotten here, by conquering a Nation who had so long dis-
puted with the most powerful People in the World. So that
the best measures of their strength is to be taken from that of
their Weakness, having lost (if their own Historians tell Truth)
no less than 200,000 men before they had half finish'd that
great work; yet some thought it strange they lost no more, con-
considering how those Blood-thirsty Heptarchs their Masters ac-
counted the Lives of their Subjects the least part of the Price
of their Victories, being so prodigal of blood, that they fought
no less than (g) nine set Battles in one year, wasting their strength
to that degree, that by subduing they became subdued. The
Danes falling in upon them before they could recover their spi-
rites, oppress'd them with greater Numbers than they the Brit-
tains before, vying with them both in fame and force, till there
were as many engag'd on either side, as would have reduc'd far
greater Territories than those they came from, had not divine
Justice made use of them as a Scourge to each other.

18. What the number and strength of the Norman was, may
be nearly computed by what he did abroad in that holy, and
what he suffered at home in that unholy War commonly call'd
the Barons War: The first for Religion, the last for Liberty. The
one having consum'd as many lives as there were stones in the
Walls of the holy City they fought for; The other not so far
tal, because pois'd with a more equal force, but altogether as
formidable; there being at least 50,000 always ready to do
Execution on either side. So stood the Case for the first two
hundred and fifty years after the Entrance of William the First.

The Computation of the middle times must be taken from the
Preparations of Edward the Third when he took two of the
Kings of France, and
and mist but little of taking two Kingdoms at once, ingaging himself in a double edg'd War, that ended not with his own life nor theirs; wherein though it is suppos'd he exhausted as much of the Force as the Treasure of the Kingdom, yet he did not so weaken his Successour Richard the Second; but that he was able to take the Field with 300000 Foot, and 100000 Horse, attending him (as Walsingham tells us) whose Testimony has the more Credit, by how much it is Seconded by (i) Emilius the French Historian, who had no cause to magnifie the number of the English at that time. Later Computations may be taken from the Preparations of Henry the Eight at Bullen, Queen Elizabeth at Tilbury, at either not so little as 185000 foot, and 40000 Horse in readiness for present Service; for I am willing to pass by the consideration of those vast numbers, which supported that unnatural Quarrel betwixt the two fatal Houses of York and Lancaster, as likewise the late War betwixt King Charles the First, and the Republican faction; when 'tis believed there were no less than three hundred thousand Foot, and sixty thousand Horse actually engaged in Arms; and from those Parades at the Reception of King James, when he made his first Entry into England, and more especially at the happy Restauration of our Soveraign that now is, whose Life-Guard at his Landing, were no less than fifty thousand of perhaps the best Horse in the World; not reckoning those appointed for the defence of the Realm. However all the Computations of our Land Forces fall so short of our Maritime, that as there is no Comparison to be made betwixt them, so we may say that we have rendred our selves more formidable by our Cannon Law at Sea, than any other People by any Law of Arms whatsoever.

The Kings of this Isle are absolute Princes.

(i) Emilius, vit. Car. 6.

19. The last instance of the super-excellent Majesty of the Kings of this Isle is, that they hold of (k) God to themselves and by their Sword, not Ex fædore contradicio, as antiently the Kings of France, nor Exformulâ fiduciae, as yet the Kings of Spain; neither yet Jure restrictio, as the Kings of Hungary, and the Kings of the Romans; much less Ad placitum populi, as those of Poland; Nec Jure plebisciti, as thole of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, who till of late, were as precarious, as thole of
of Poland. But as those who succeeding the Cesars (to whom this of (1) Britain whilst it was under the Romans was particu-
larly appropriated) became by their voluntary resignation of
the Government, reposseft of the prifier right of their Ance-
storfs. Ut pro derelebo (as the (m) Civilians do expresse it) or by
way of Remitter (as our own Lawyers term it) being absolute-
ly independent and supream, as any of the Roman Emperours
their Predecessours were; Qui to t tantas obtinuere Libertatesquot
Imperatores Imperia (faith M. Paris) and therefore when the Em-
peror Sigismund came over hither; to mediate a peace betwixt
our Henry the Fifth, and the French King; he was stopt be-
fore he Landed by the Duke of Gloucester, and divers of the
chief Nobility, who coming into the very water with their
Swords drawn in their hands, stay'd his Boat, and suffered him
not to Land, till he declared; Nil fe contra Regis Superioritatem
prætægere. So likewise when (v) Baldwin the Greek Emperour
came hither, to pray aid of Henry the Third (being beaten out
of his Country) the King sent him a Check instead of a Com-
plement, for Landing in his Territories before he had leave gi-
ven him fo to do; being Jealous least it might be thought that
as an Emperour he had pretended to something that might be
Interpreted Superiority, himself being Monarcha in Regno suo,
as we find in the old Lawyer Baldus, and descended from An-
cestors, that had the Imperial Stile of (o) Rex Regum, not only
in respect of their having (p) Kings to their Subjects, but in re-
gard to their enjoyment of all those fundamental rights, which
make up the whole Systeme of Supream power, by the Feudists
indifferently term'd Jura Regalia, and Jura summì Imperii, by the
Civilians Sacra Sacrorum, by our own Lawyers sometimes Poto-
tina, sometimes (q) Inseparable, which that they may be the
better understood, I shall consider them as I find them divided
into ten parts, reducing those ten (like the Decalogue of old)
into two General Heads of Power.

i. e. \[\text{Leges Ponere.} \]
\[\text{Legibus Solutum esse.}\]

20. (r) For the First, it is to be understood that however
the Kings of this Isle have been pleas'd for the better and more
equal
equal Administration of Justice, to Indulge the three Estates of
the Kingdom (who were heretofore call'd their Great Council;
but since the Parliament) with the privilege of making, enlarging,
diminishing, abrogating, repealing and reviving all Laws;
and Ordinances, relating to all Matters, whether Ecclesiastick,
Capital, Criminal, Common, Civil, or Maritime; yet it must
be understood after all, that neither houses of Parliament,
now both join'd together, have in themselves no power as
of themselves, to do any thing without him (much less, against
him) no more than the body can make use of any of its mem-
bers longer than it is actuated by the Soul. For from him they
have their life and motion: *ut caput principium et finis (as the
Lawyers express) it is he that gives them their Inchoation,
Continuation and Dissolution. 'Tis true that each Law receives
its form Ex traductu Parliamenti; that is (as our vulgar Statutes
express it) by advice and consent of the Lords and Commons,
who sit with the resemblance of so many Kings, but they find
but the grosser substance, or the material part, *tis the Royal
Assent that quickens and puts the Soul, Spirit, and Power into
it. A Roy's {saviesa, only much more' A Roy ne veult makes all
their Conceptions abortive, when he pleases; So that they can
be but the Law-makers, but the King only is the Law-giver;
and therefore Stil in the old Books, The Life of the Law, and
The Fountain of Justice.

21. This prerogative (I speak it out of a great States-man's
observation) consists in this, not that Kings need not observe
their Laws (for that were a Brutal Tyranny insupportable in
the most barbarous States) but that they may change them.
And therefore St. Augustine made that a reason why the Empe-
rours of old were not Subject to their own Laws, because (faith
he) they might make new when they pleas'd. Now if the King
of England should exceed the bounds of his own Laws, which
if it were lawful were no way convenient for him (it being that
becomes the wisdome of Princes (faith Cicero) to consider not
how much they may do, but what they ought to do) in which
sense (Seneca is to be understood when he said) divers
things were not lawful for the Emperor himself who might
do
do all which he pleased: It might be rather said in that Case (as Grotius excellently distinguishes) that he did not rightly, then that he went beyond his right: The Restraint by his Coronation Oath being like a Silken Coard, that may be stretch'd without breaking upon any extraordinary force and violence offer'd, as we see it happens upon the discovery and for the prevention of any publick mischief or Inconvenience: Where our Kings have, De proprio Jure, suspended the Laws for a time; that is, until by advice with his Parliaments he might formally alter, or totally repeal them. Add to this, that every Custom (which is a Branch of the Common Law) is void, Si exultat se in Prerogativa Regis, which I suppose is to be understood of the lesser Concerns of his Prerogative in points of Pre-eminence relating to civil Actions or Privileges personal; for as the Learned in the Laws tell us, no Sale of his Goods alters his Propriety, no Occupancy bars his Entry into his own Lands, no Laches in point of time prejudices him as it does private men: Again in doubtful cases (say they) Semper presumitur pro Rege, No Estopel binds him, nor Judgments final in Writs of Right. These and many more such as these there are which we may call Minima Inseparabilia, but in all cases where his Prerogative in point of Government is prejudic'd, there our great Gownmen hold that he cannot be restrain'd, no not by an Act of Parliament; nor is he to be restrain'd as I take it in lesser cases, unless named. And to this it was questionless that the Sage Bracton and the Learned Plowden had respect when the one said the King was above Law, to'ther that he was not bound by Law, and if it were not so, there would be no power left in him to grant any special Charter; that in its proper nature is no other than a Dispensation with the positive Laws, which can be understood to be binding to the King, no otherwise than according to the natural Rule of Order, as they are essential to the support of his Government. In which Case Kings like good Husbands may be said to be Subjectis sui Subjicitos, mov'd by a Principle of Affection that voluntarily limits it self according to Rules of Prudence, which upon all Emergencies of State on extraordinary occasions are wrested or broken
then as he himself only sees cause, there being a necessity upon which the common safety depends, that at such times Princes should be absolute, and that no less perhaps for the Subjects sake than their own; (c) *Nil majus à te Subjétis animo sæclum est, quam quod Imperarí Capítis*; and the learned Grotius gives the genuine reason for it in his Treatise of Sovereignty; because (faith he) "no man can be limited but by something superior to him; so no man can be superior to himself. But in respect that I find Seven general Topicks of absolute Sovereignty agreed by all the Feudists: We will examine the Prerogative of the Kings of this Isle with relation to each of those Particulars apart.

22. The first I take to be that unlimited power of giving the form, weight, allay, and value to all Moneys, which as it hath been always and in all Nations esteem'd a Prerogative purely Imperial, so it hath been as antient in use here as the knowledge of Money itself, and so uncontrolled that we find some of our Kings (I speak it not to their honour, since the abasement of Coin is certainly an abasing of Majesty, as betraying an necessity that heu a defect in Government) have imposed upon us Copper, others Tinn, and (w) One once Leather Money, making it as current as Silver or Gold; neither have any of our Kings at any time Communicated this Privilidge to any of their Subjects (though some of them have had the Title of King conferred on them) but have kept that power in their own hands, as one of the great *Infeparabilia*, not to be parted with: Whereas the Kings of France, who have been more presift and less provident in that point, have thereby given occasion to those *Allodiarii*, that enjoy'd that priviledge to esteem themselves (as indeed they were) absolute and free Princes, stiling themselves accordingly, *Dei gratia*, to publish they own'd no Subjection.

23. The Second Prerogative stili'd *Jus Veetigalium* (which Pleade to be that (w) *Jus Cæsárium* first brought in by the great Lawyer Papinián Temp. Imp. Severi) is diversly understood; sometimes comprehending all those Duties which the antient Feudists place under the heads of *Angaria* and *Parangaria*; by some extended to *Plautiorum* & *Navium praetationes*; by others...
to those *Jura fisci*, under which our Civilians comprehend almost all kind of Impositions and Services Pecuniary and Personal. Under all or either of these considerations, there are no Kings in the World perhaps better entitled, both *De facto*, and *de jure*, than those of this Isle; whereof there needs no other proof all the time of the Britains, than the Impresses on their Coins, stamping sometimes an Oxe or Sheep, sometimes a Blade of Corn, other while Instruments of Husbandry, or perhaps an Armed man, or Chariot and Horses, denoting (as the skilful in that Science tell us) the several Tributes and Services to which those Moneys had respect, or for which they were paid. Paffing by the Romans, whose will was their law in all places where they came, we find amongst the Saxons (the next to them) this Prerogative exercis’d by several Names, as first by that of (x) *Thol* or *Tol*, a Tax pro libertate vendendi & emendi. Secondly by the names of Bordland, Drofland, Burland, and Drinkland: Names given according to the several Natures of the Duty they related to, being generally call’d in Cromton’s Translation of Canutus’ Laws, (y) *Firma adjutorium*, that held all the Danes time, and was by the Normans comprehended, as I take it, under the common name of (z) *Curialitas*: which our Common Lawyers have taken in several Sense; when it respects Relief for War, they have ordinarily term’d it *Aides*; sometimes *Taskes*, and otherwhile (x) *Tallage*; when it hath had relation to a civil supply, it hath been sometimes stiled *Loane-money*; otherwhile *Benevolence*, which for the many Inconveniences it brought upon the Subject, has been long since annulled, by several (y) Acts of Parliament, new supplies (esteemed less grievous) being granted in the room thereof, to the no less satisfaction of the King, than of his good People, whilist their Benevolence appears to be truly such, by being given *bono magis exemplo quam concedo Jure.*

24. Touching that call’d *Jus Comitiorum*, I need say nothing; it being so well known that no man can be an Officer of this Realm, that holds not of the King, whether it be *Jure Magistratus*, or per Deputationem; either...
as being Commission'd by a Writ, or by Patent from him,

neither can any of them so much as appoint a Substitute under him, but is bound to Officiate, propria Persona, the Justice in Eyre only excepted, and that by a particular Statute, for Reasons therein express'd; So that by consequence the King must have also in him that.

4. Jus Armorum, which our Lawyers call the defence of the Force of Arms, and all other force against the peace of the Kingdom, which the Civil Law brings under those two heads, Bellam decrenre, & Fœdera inire. This is so inherent a right in our Kings, that it seems to have been always lodg'd in Senio Pœtoris, in the Shrine of his own breast, as appears by the practice of all Times; but it may suffice to look no further back than that Address of the Parliament to King Edward the Third, where they humbly beseech him to enter into League with the Duke of Brabant, and those Addresses in the eighteenth and forty fifth year of the said King, which I should have first mention'd, in the first whereof they desire him to break the peace with Flanders, in the other to declare against the Easterlings. So in the fiftieth year of the said King, praying some alteration of the Articles of peace made with the Hollanders; The Kings Answer was, he would do what seem'd meet to himself. The same Answer was given in Terninis by Richard the Second his Grand-Son, on the like occasion; So by Henry the Fourth, in the second year of his Reign; Henry the sixth, In the II. of his, upon Petitions against Merchants Strangers, that related to Violations of a Peace concluded. And as by the Julian Law Lib. 3. it was deem'd Capital for any man without leave of the Emperour to take upon him to denounce War, so it is declared Trayterous by our Law, and void in itself, if any Subject shall presume to do the like without the Kings Commission: Neither is it so in the Case of a particular Person only, but if the whole Body of the people of this Nation should take upon them to do the like, abscque assensu Regis; The Judges holding that where a War shall be so declared against any in

League
League with the King, without his consent and allowance, the League is not thereby broken: The like holds in all cases of
Confederacies and Combinations, which forced the late Rebels in the time of Charles the First, to declare this Kingdom a Common-wealth, before they could prevail with any Forrain Princes to treat with them, and very few did it then: Wherefore it is recorded as a wise answer of that Parliament in the Seventeenth of Richard the Second, who when that King out of a necessitous compliance with the People, offer'd them leave to take into their consideration some concerns of War and Peace; Replied, 'It did not become their Duty, neither in Truth durft they presume, ever to Treat of matters of so Transcendent Concernment.

No doubt then can there be of that Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus Facialis, or right of Jus 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the Peace with the French, and consequently a Capital crime in
the Governour, had not the same breath that made him forfeit it,
given him his life again; which President as it was very remark-
able, so it proves that which follows.

6. *Jus Vitæ & Nectis*. That highest power of Life and Death,
to be only in the King, being signaliz'd by the Ceremony of
carrying the Sword before him in all publick Processions; and
is in truth so antient and undoubted a Right of the Crown,
that upon this Account only, we find all the Pleas touching life
and member to be call'd by the Lawyers, *Placita Coronæ*, and
all Capital Offences of high treason are termed *Crimina Læsæ
Majestatis*; in proceeding whereon, no Original Writ is neces-
sary as in civil Causes, but every Constable (as the Kings De-
puty) may, *Ex Officio*, without any Proces, seize on any Mur-
therer, Traytor, or Felon: and till the Statute of *Magna Char-
ta 17* of King John, it is manifest that every mans Person was
so subjected to the King by his Oath of Allegiance, from those
words *De vitæ et de membro*, that the King at his pleasure
might Imprison any man without process of Law, or giving
any cause for it; and however the King has been pleas'd to
circumscribe himself by Law since for the greater assurance of
his Grace to his People; yet the Judges have still so far respect
to the Kings honour in this particular, that upon the Commit-
ment of any person by the Kings Command, or by Order of
the Lords of his Council, they do not take upon them (as per-
haps by strictness of Law they might) to deliver the Person, till
the Cause be first shewn; and then expecting a Declaration of
the Kings further pleasure, bind him to answer what may be ob-
jected in the Kings behalf.

7. *Jus Rerum Sacrarum*. The last and highest Prerogative (as being purely Spi-

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he declared the Emperour to be Filius Major; the French King Filius Minor; but our King Filius Adoptivus: neither matters it much though they prove our Church to be the younger Sister, that disparagement (if any it be) being abundantly recom-pensed by being (as indeed she is) the most innocent, the most beautiful, and perhaps the most fruitful Parent of the two: having Matriculated no less than eight Nations (now as great almost as her self) in the first Ages of Christianity, and been the Foster-Mother to as many more in this last and most knowing, age, whereby the Reformed Religion (as it is now vulgarly cal-led to difference it from that of Rome) is become as universal as that they call (with so much Oftentation) Catholick; which if confined within the Range of the Church of Rome is not a bove a (c) fourth part of Christendom, if so be the Compu-tation of our modern Geographers be not mistaken, who put Sweden in the Scale against both the Iberia's, Italy and Spain; and England, Denmark, and the Hans Towns against France (which yet we know is Chequer'd in their Religion, having divers Towns of the Reformed Judgment, besides those Lesser Congregations in Poitou, Gascony, Languedoc, and Normandy), and take out of Germany (suppos'd to be the third part of Europe) two intire parts (the whole being divided into three) that at this day are integrally Protestant; that is to say, in the East, Poland, Lithuania, Livonia, Podolia, Russia minor, with divers Parts of Hungary, and Transilvania, even to the Euxine Sea; in the West, the Cantons of Switzerland, the United Provinces, with the Grisons, and the Republick of Geneva; the South and North parts being yet more entirely Protestant, and the heart of it every whit as found as the exterior parts: Wit-ness the free Cities, and those large Countries, the Patrimonies of the Pfaltzgrave, the Dukes of Saxony, Brandenburg, Wittenburg, Lunenburg, Brunswick, Mecklen, Pomerania, Silesburgh, Newburgh, and Holst; with those other under the Prince of Anhalt, the Marquess of Baden, the Landgrafe of Hesse, and all the Princes of Germany (I think we may except only the Dukes of Austria and Bavaria, in whose Countries yet are many Protestant Families of note) to all which joyning those out-lying
ing Plantations in the furthest part of the less known World, containing many a Sun-burnt Saint (those of the Reformed Religion there, being infinitely more extensive and Populous than those of the Popish Perswafion) and all these with Universal consent acknowledging our King as Head of the League within the Protestant Pale; as it will extend the Borders of our Church beyond what is commonly apprehended, so it so far magnifies the Majesty of the King of England, whether consider'd as Propagator fidei in the Protestant Phrase, or Defender Fidei, in the Pope's stile; that it may as truly be said of him, as of Claudius, when he was Lord of Britaine,

(f) Anonimi Epigra, ver. Lib. 2.

(f) Oceanus medium venit in Imperium.

Now because the Supremacy, in Ecclesiasticis, is so nice a Point, as the Popish Faction render it, many of whom not comprehending the Legality, much less the necessity of its being intrusted with the King only, have been more obstinate in the defence of their Allegations than their Allegiance; it may be reasonable to examine the matter of Right by the matter of Fact, as that by Common Usuage, which our Common Lawyers Date (g) Du temps il n'y ad memoire de Contraire, from the Authority of which Age, we may conclude the practice (whatever it has been) to have gain'd the form and effect as well as the honour and repute of a Law, according to that known Maxime, (h) Quod prior est tempore, potius est jure.

(g) Bracien Law. Date fol. 314.
(h) Cook for Lit. L. 2. Sed. 170.

We pass then through those four noted Periods: 1. From the time of Lucius, the first Christian King of the Britains, to that of Constantine, the first Christian King or Emperour of the Romans, reckon'd about a hundred and fifty years. 2. From that Time till the Conversion of Ethelbert the first Christian King of the Saxons or English, suppos'd to be three hundred and sixty years more. 3. From thence to the time of the first King of the Norman here, which was not so little as five hundred years more, at what time the Pope first put in his Claim. 4. From thence to the time he let go his hold again, which being about the beginning of Queen Elizabeths Reign (whose Ambassadour he refused to treat with) makes up near five hundred years more, and if in all that long feries of Christi-
anity, it shall appear by consent of all Ecclesiastical Writers, in all times, that the King has ever been deem'd to be Papa Patriae, Jure Proprietatis; & Vicarius Dei in Regno, Jure Possessi-
onis; I hope then the Imputation of Herefie and Schism laid upon Henry the Eighth by Paul the Third, for taking upon him to be the Supream head of the Church within his own domi-
ions, will vanish as a Result of Passion, and Our present Kings be Judged in Remitter to their antient Right, or (as the Law-
books Express it) Enjon (i) melior Droit.

Lucius and those claiming immediately from, by, and after him, I take to be stated in a double right: Ratione Fundationis, & ratione Donationis. For (as the Lawyers have it) 
cujus est 
edere ejus est disponere: Now that all the Bishopricks of this Ifle were of his Foundation and Donative, appears by all our books (faith the (k) Lord Cooke.) The first Canons receiving Sanction Ex Divinitate Principis (as the Canonists express it) till such time as that Foundation laid by him was buried in the Rubbish of Diocletian's Persecution. After which we have no Constat of any Ecclesiastical Polity till the time of Constantine, who having recover'd the Church out of its Ruines, and laid a new Superstructure of his own upon the Old Found, is upon that Account both by Eusbius and Socrates still'd the Great (and it is well they call'd him not the Universal) Bishop: His Power being no les extensive than his Dominions; the (1) first of them pointing at his power in General, calls him Καρακώτης τῆς Ἑπισκοπῆς; The (m) last referring to his more immediate power over the Clergy (for to say truth he precided even in Rome it self) stiles him Ἐπισκοπηέτης & Ἐπι-
σκοποῦς, i. e. Pontifex Maximus.

From the time of this Constantine the Great till that of Pope Gregory the Great, neither heard those here any thing of the Church of Rome, nor they of Rome any thing of the Church here: That Pope being so little known to, or knowing any thing of the concerns of this Ifle, that when accidentally he saw some little (n) Children who had been brought from hence, he ask'd whether they were Christians or no, and it being as Ignorantly answer'd him, That all the Natives here were Pagans, then newly plant-

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(i) 25. Aeff. pl. 1. 55 Aeff. pl. 11. 23
Edw. 3. 69.
11 Hen. 4.
50. Tit. Rem-

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(k) Sur. Lit. Cap. Discon-

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(m) Socrat. Hist. Ecclesi.
Pagans, he out of his singular Zeal to Christian Piety sent over Austin the Monk to bring them under his Apostolical Obedience: By which we may rather understand a subjection to the Roman Faith than to the Roman Church; for that Rome being at that time but a private Diocese, had not Credit enough to give Laws to all the Churches of Italy, much less to impose upon those further off; for every body knows how they of

\( \text{(o)} \) Syoninius. \( \text{(p)} \) Millan (not to mention any other) contested with them for the Precedence many years after: And for the Independency of the Churches in Spain and France, there needs no other Proof than what we have from that Magisterial Monk’s own Relation before mention’d, who as he pass’d through France in his way hither, observing how different their Forms of Divine Service were from those at Rome, and how repugnant their Discipline to any thing he had been before acquainted with, was so surpriz’d with the Novelty that he could not forbear Expostulating the Reason with his Ghostly Master, whose pious Answer (yet to be seen at the end of his Printed Works) is worthy Notice, who after an excellent discourse upon that Subject concludes, that as their Liberty did not offend him, so neither did he desire that his Authority should offend them; but as soon as Austin came hither he found yet more matter of Amazement. For part of the Isle being Pagans and part Christians, these last seem’d to him to be more inhospitable than the other; at least they were so far from submitting to his Legatine Authority after the Ignorant Pagans had own’d it, that (as St. Paul expresseth it) by not understanding one another, each seem’d to the other alike Barbarian; whereby it so fell out that they fell from Arguments to Arms, and he having no probability of Subjugating them under his Jurisdiction, Baptiz’d almost as many of them in Blood as he did in Water; but as it appeared that he brought them no new Faith, so neither would they suffer him to bring in any new Laws amongst them, defending their own Church so well with their own Cannons, that neither he, nor any of the Roman community could break in upon them, or infringe their Liberty in the least for the space of near five hundred Years, when Henry the
the Second, reducing both State and Church under like Pa-
\*tion of Servitude, forc'd them by the laws of Conquest to
part as well from their Ecclesiastical as Civil Rights, and at
the same time they became no Church, to become no People,
being so Cantoniz'd with England, that they were no longer
considerable; which had yet been Impossible for him to have
Effect'd, had he not at the same time he set up his own, decla-
red against the Pope's Supremacy.

But to proceed from that of the Britains to consider the
Primitive State of the English Church, it may yet be allow'd
for good Prescription (and that we know is a (1) Title implies (2) Lit. Sel.
a long continued and peaceable Possession derived ab Authoritate (3) Legis) if it can be made out that any of the Saxon Kings,converted by the aforesaid Austin from the time of the Proto-
Christian King Estbelbert himself, until the Norman Con-
quest, did at any time so far Agnize the Pope's Authority, as
to forfeit the Exercise of any part of that Spiritual dominion
which they challenged Proprio Jure. For as it is evident that
they did constrain as well Ecclesiastics as Laicks to submit
to the final determination, as well of Spiritual as Civil Pleas in
their temporal Courts, so they not seldom made the Ecclesi-
astical Censures without, and sometimes against the Consent of
the Bishop, if it displeas'd them, even after Excommunication
pronounced; and did they not (1) dispense even with the Offen-
ces themselves, if they were only (a) Mala per accidentis, and not
mala in se (as the Casuists distinguish.) Nay did they not permit
even Nuns to marry against the usual practice of those Times,
and the Judgment of the Church, doing many other things of
the like nature, which who so reads M. Park. Florence Eadmerus
&c. will find more at large than becomes the brevity I design;
and all this they did without any Exception or Scandal, or (to
use (w) Baronius his own Phrase) Sine ulla Ecclesiastarum Labe.

Indeed such was the plentitude of their Ecclesiastical Power,
that each King of them was (as the Priest prayed at their (x) Co-
ronation that they might be) Sicut Aaron in Tabernaculo, Zacha-
ries in Templo, Petrus in Clave; as appears by their several B-
dills yet Extant; Some for the better Observation of their (y) Lords
day, (z) Leg. A-

(1) Leg. Al-

fred. cap. 8.

(2) p. 25.

(3) As were

Priest Marri-

age, Border-

Non-residen-

cy, &c.

(w) Baro-
nius Tom. 3.

Ann. 312.

N. 100.

(x) See the
old formular
continued till
H. 6. time.

(y) Leg. A-
lured. C. 39.

(z) P. 33.
day, Some for the due keeping of \textsuperscript{12}Lent, Others for the right administration of the \textsuperscript{(c) Sacraments, the Regulation of\textsuperscript{(b) Matrimony, and ascertaining the degrees of\textsuperscript{(d) Confanguinity, Some for permitting Divorces, others for perfecting Contracts; in fine they did whatever might become the wisdom and honour of such as had the sole care of the Church, all Christian Obedience being enforced \textsuperscript{Providentia \& Potentia Regis} (as \textsuperscript{(d) Hoveden expresses it) or as we find it in some \textsuperscript{(e) Records}, \textsuperscript{Justitia \& fortitudine Regis}; for however the Bishop was always joyn'd in Commission with the Lay Magistrate, as having in him \textsuperscript{(f) Jus Ordinis} (as some \textsuperscript{(f) Divines call it) yet this was not so much in affirmation of his Ecclesiastical as for Prevention of his disputing the Regal Authority, and to take off all clashing \textsuperscript{g) Inter Placita Regis \& Christianitatis Jura}, that is to say in \textsuperscript{(M. Paris's own words, ne contra Regiam Coronam,\& dignitatem aliquid statueretur Episcopus, who was to the King as the Arch-Deacon to him \textsuperscript{Tanquam Oculus Regis}; as t'other was \textsuperscript{Tanquam Oculus Episcopi.}

But the greatest Instance of all was, that of the \textsuperscript{(g) Investiture of the Bishops by the King; who gave them the Ring and the Pastoral Staffe, the antient Emblemes of Supream dignity and Authority, which he himself had accepted at his Coronation: the first signifying the Power of Joyning such an one to the Church; the last denoting the Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, \textit{in Foro interiori}, or as some term it, \textit{in Foro animae}; but he kept the Scepter in his own hand as the proper Ensign of that \textsuperscript{(f) Jus Potentiae, or Soveraign Power, by which he stood particularly obliged to defend the Church; to which King \textsuperscript{Edgar doublets Referr'd when he told his Bishops at a general Convocation, Ego Constantini, vos Petri gladium habet in manibus; and as Christ commanded \textit{Peter}, as soon as he had drawn his Sword to put it up again; so did he (as Christ's Representative) forbid St. \textsuperscript{Dunstan} (who would be thought St. \textit{Peter's}) to sheath his weapon when he began to draw upon the Lay Magistrate, and would have been medling with those things that were \textsuperscript{(f) Tè \'Extròs \& \'Exclamòries, forbidding any Inquiry to be made, de peccatis subditorum: Add to this that in all general Councils the King himself\textsuperscript{(1) Socrates expresses it.}}
himself presided, Tanquam Papa Patriæ; Thus Ina (for I chuse to begin with him, because Baroniæ titles him Rex maxime Pius) presided in the great Synod at Winchester, An. 733, by the Title of (k) Vicarius Dei. (k) Edgar at another meeting gave the Law to all the Clergy, Tanquam Pastor Pastorum; The like did Ethelred under the title of (m) Vicarius Christi; after him again Canute presided in another Council at Winchester by the Title of (n) Dei Preæ once, and another time at Southampton under the title of Divini Juris Interpæs; neither was Edward the Confessor behind any of them, when he made his Ecclesiastical Laws by the Title of (o) Vicarius Summi Regis. These Titles I have rather mentioned to shew what divine Office was esteem'd to be in the King properly, who having a mixture of the Priest and Prophet with that of his Kingship, was obliged to be folicitous, \textit{tum de} (p) Salute animarum, \textit{quam de Statu Regni} as Jorvalensis expresses it; and however, our wise Law-makers heretofore (not to say Law-masters) who were very nice in wording all the antient Statutes relating to the Supremacy, have not thought fit to stile the King a Spiritual Person, although they knew him to be \textit{Episcopus}, but \textit{Persone, mixta cum Sacerdote.}

And accordingly it is well Argued by a Modern (q) Writer of no mean note, That his Authority must be Equivalent with any of those Popes, at least, who were Laicks at the time they were chose to that Supream Dignity. For whilst there is no Qualification in their Office of Papacy to render them so far Ecclesiastical as to consecrate any Bishop personally, but that of Necessity they must do it (as he notes) by their Bull; it must necessarily follow, that that Bull (being a deputation granted to some Bishop to do the Office for him) differs very little if any thing from that of the Kings Commission in the like Case. And if it had been otherwise Understood in former times, it had been in the power of his Unboliness to have extinguished the Function of Bishops in any Princes Dominions whatever.

The first Pope who found out a way to supplant the Kings Authority in Ecclesiastice, by seeming to support it, was Nicholas the Second, one of the most subtil of all the Roman Prelates,
lates; contemporary with Edward the Confessor, one of the weakest of our Kings; who created a Title to himself by Im-
plication, whilst he persuaded the King to accept of a Bull of Confirmation from him, whereby granting him (12) Plenar-
ius Advocationem Regni & omnium totius Anglie Ecclesiastum; he made that seem to be of grace only from him, which before was of
right in the King: Of which Artifice his Successor Gregory the Seventh took no small advantage, when he put in for a share of
the Supremacy with William the Conquerour, making that single President the Found to Claim 1. The Investiture of Bishops,
which I take to be that directum Dominium held by the King, Jure Patronatus; in acknowledgment whereof, the Clergy pay
hith their first fruits. 2. The benefit of the Annates, which was a Chief Rent out of all the Spiritualities. 3. The Power
of Calling Synods, by which he might Impose upon the Govern-
ment. 4. The Right of Receiving Appeals to Rome, which over-
threw all the King's Courts. 5. The sole power of disposing and
transferring Bishops, which made them his Homagers and Feites.
6. The Power of altering and dispensing with Canons. 7. The Pri-
viledg of sending a Legate to reside here; as a Spiritual Spy to
detect all the Secrets of State, and be a kind of Check-mate
to the King himself.

But William the Conquerour, as he was a Prince that was ap-
ter to invade other mens Rights than to part with any of his
own, so finding his prerogative sufficiently guarded by the an-
tient Laws of the Land, then call'd the Laws of King Edward
(which was not the least Reason he continued so many of them
as he did) would by no means yield to him so long as he lived:
his Son William Rufus continuing yet more obstinate, who after
the death of the aforesaid Gregory turn'd Hildebrand, would
admit of no Pope, but what himself approved of: So that for
eleven years together there was no Pope acknowledged here in
England; which may be a good presdient for any that shall
hereafter hold (as some of their Catholick Doctors have as far
as they durst affirm) that there may be Asseribilitas (13) Papæ, nei-
ther would he permit appeals or any Intercourse to Rome;
which when Alpheine Arch-Bishop of Canterbury (being a natu-

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(1) Vide Insitum n. supra. Dr. Dun 43 Ser. preachi'd on the 5 Nov. at Pauls crofs.
ral Italian) attempted to bring about, he first rifled him and then banished him; neither was his brother Henry the First less tenacious of his Right, as appears by those instructions given to his Bishops when they went to meet Calixtus the Second at the Council of Reims; whom he forbade in the first place to appeal to the Pope upon any grievance whatever, for that himself (he said) would be sole Judge betwixt them. 2. He commanded them to tell the Pope plainly, if he expected his antient Rent here, he would expect a confirmation of his antient Privileges. 3. He directed them to salute the Pope and receive his Apostolick Precepts, sed superflues Inventiones re- no meo inferre nullae. The Contest betwixt the Arch-Bishop Becket, and Henry the Second shews what temper he was of; for he opposed both the Pope and the Bishop so long that they had undoubtedly cast him out of the Church, but that they fear'd he would not come in again: only King John (who therefore stands a singular example of Inconstancy) designing to make himself higher than any of his Predecessors, by stooping so much lower, quitted his being King to make himself a Tyrant; in order whereunto he voluntarily laid down his Diadem at the feet of Innocent the Third's Legate, becoming thereby guilty of such an unparallel'd villanous and abjection of spirit; that nothing can excuse but the known distraction that was upon him, when wrack'd betwixt two Extremes of hate and fear (his Enemies pressing hard upon him, whilst his Friends forsook him) he to avoid the being split upon either Rock, cast himself upon the Quick-sand of the Pope's protection, submitting to an act of Penance that shew'd the weakness of his Faith more than of his Right, his renouncing the Supremacy at that time being no more to be wondered at than his renouncing Christianity itself at another time; but his Son recover'd the ground his Father lost, when he brought the whole Kingdom to resent the In- dignity so far, as to Join with him in demanding satisfaction of the same Pope, and not content with a bare Disclaimer, forc'd the insolent Legate to fly the Kingdom, timens pellic flit (as the Record hath it) neither stopp'd they there, but voting that sub- mission of his Father a breach of his Coronation Oath, entered
so far into the Consideration of the whole matter of the Pope's Usurpation, as to make that Statute of Provifo's, which after brought in those other 27 and 38 Edw. 3. and that brought on the Treaty betwixt that King and Gregory the Eleventh, which after two years debate ended with this express Agreement; (t) Quod Papa de cetero reservationibus beneficiorum minime uteretur, which Dignities Henry the Fourth made no scruple to collate to his own use, notwithstanding his being anointed with that Oil which came from Heaven, the vertue whereof was to encline all the Princes that were inaugurated therewith to be favourable to the Church: His Son Henry the Fifth (for his exemplary Piety stil'd the Prince of Priests) thought fit to demand of Martin the Fifth several Ecclesiastical Priviledges, which his Predecessors had got from the Kings of England at several times, and his Ambassadors finding the Pope to stick at it, and give them no ready answer, told him plainly, That the King their Master intended to use his own mind in the matter, whether he consented or no. (u) Uspote quae non a necessitate sed honoris causa petat.

Thus the Papal power as it was interrupted in all times, so from this time it sensibly languish'd, till it received its fatal blow from Henry the Eighth, who (if I may so say) did as it were beat out the Popes Brains with his own Keys; and had he not afterward used violence to himself, by referring the point of his Supremacy to the Parliament, to be confirm'd by Statute Law, that was sufficiently firm'd before by the Common Law, that cannot change; he had undoubtedly been more absolute Lord of himself than any Christian Prince whatever, and acknowledg'd Head of the Church; nullis Exceptionibus (as Tacitus expresseth it in another place) but laying the burthen of that weighty Question of the Supremacy upon the Shoulders of Divines, which had been better supported by those of the great Lawyers; he was perplex'd with many Scruples, and in the end forced to enter the List in Per son, and fight the Pope at his own weapon, the Pen; wherein (by great good fortune, being a great master of defence that way) he had the better of it, and by the Authority of his Example drew many to Second him;
his Supremacy being afterward Justified by the whole Convocation of Divines in both the Universities, and most of the Monastical and Collegiate Theologues of the whole Kingdom, whilst only four adventur'd to assert the Pope's Right to be de jure divino.

29. And now to conclude this whole discourse, it may perhaps be thought a Point of glory not unworthy our Remarke, to observe that the Government of this Isle was never cloath'd in any other form, but what appeared Monarchial, notwithstanding the many chances and changes (I cannot say alterations) which Time conspiring with Fate hath brought forth, without only disposing the Scepter of these Isles, not only to several Persons, and Families, but different People and Nations. The Genius of the very first Natives, the Aborignes (as Cæsar observeth of their Ancestors the Gauls) being always inclinable to be rul'd by one single Person, affecting Monarchy as Naturally as the Greeks did Aristocracy, the Romans Democracy, or the Germans, and indeed all the Northern Nations Oligarchy; and however we read of no less than four Kings in Kent, by which may be guess a proportionable number of the like kind in other Provinces, which Cæsar had no Knowledg of; yet it appears by those who wrote after him with more certainty, That all those Reguli were under one Chief, to whom it matters not what Title was given by themselves, since Tacitus calls him (cupe Romano) Imperator Britannorum. After the Romans got the Government into their hands; though there was a seeming Pentarchy, yet the Emperor (faith Herodian) refer'd to himself all Appeals from the Presidents and Lieutenants, not excepting the Cæsars themselves here. During the Saxon Heptarchy, when each of those Reptilest had a distinct Legislative power within his own Kingdom, striving like Twins in the Womb of their Conquest, which should be born first (yet one (faith Bede) was saluted by common consent with the stile and Title of Rex Anglorum. So during the still-born Tetarchy of the Danes, Knute was not only Primus, but Princeps; Uniting the Trinie Power of his Predecessours in his single Person. Neither did the Genius of the Normans affect any other form, notwithstanding the ins-
testine Feuds betwixt divers of those Kings and their Nobles (these striving to recover what they had lost, those resolving to keep what by advantage of time and sufferance they had got) engag'd them in desperate Resolutions; for however the Popular prevail'd against King John, Henry the Third, Edward the Second, and Richard the Second, taking the boldness to commit so many Insolencies as sullied the memory of those times, and gave Strangers occasion to brand the whole Nation with one of the basest Characters that malice could invent (Les mutins Anglais) yet was not their ill disposition heightened to that degree of madness, as to follow Providence in the pursuit of their Liberties, beyond the bounds of Magna Charta; for though they left succeeding Ages a President they never found, in deposing the two last (acts no les dishonourable to themselves than them) yet they admitted the Son of the one, and the Uncle of the other to succeed; Not was it want of power to do otherwise; Vox Populi being at the same time Preached up by no meaner a man than the Primate of England, to be Vox Dei, and pass'd for as good Divinity as Policy. The like may be observed in those disorderly times, when the two fatal houses of York and Lancaster justled one another out of the Throne with such alternate success as gave advantage to the Plebiscitum, to Elect, y., which they pleas'd; the Sovereignty being so weakened by the blood lost on either side, that the people had it in their power, not only to turn the Scale as they thought fit, but to break the Beam of Majesty, on which the weight of that destructive Quarrel hung; and so by taking away the Cause have prevented the Occasions of ensuing mischiefs; yet still we find they kept within the Girck of their Allegiance, and though they directed it variously to several Lines, yet all tended to supporting the main Nave of the Monarchy, continuing the Government (as it had ever been) in a single Person; which Devotion to Monarchy was (as St. Hierome observes in one of his Epistles) rewarded from Heaven, with this great blessing upon the IncoU in general of this Isle, That by their Obedience to one Prince, they were the more easily brought to the belief of One God, who blest their early Faith with the Honour of hav-
ving the First Christian King, and Emperor of the World among them.

30. But this late Age of ours, I confess, hath brought forth an unnatural Race of Men, who inspired with the discipline of Daring beyond any of their Ancestors, put out the Laws first (as one observes the Lights use to be in such Cases) and after committed a Horrid Rape upon the Body Politick, begetting such a Brood of Monsters as made all the World (and themselves at last) afraid; whilst they spurn'd all Authority with such restless fury, as raised the Dust of their Errors to such a portentous height, that it not only endangered the putting out the Eyes of Justice (half blind before) but darkning the very Lights of Nature and Piety: The two Houses of Parliament first dividing from the King; after, from one another. So that the Commonwealth appeared like the German Eagle with two heads pecking at the main Body. Yet even during this fatal Confusion, the Government under these Πάμφειος, may be said to be as that under the Ephori, which Plutarch calls *Ayan μονάεψων; there being one who (like the Beast mention'd in the Revelation) having power above the rest, play'd the State Jugler, and reviv'd Monarchy (as Chymists do plants) out of the Salt of its own Salth, making himself more than a King by the same Principles with which he destroyed Kingship, anointing himself with Blood instead of Oil; the date of whose Rage (I cannot call it Reign) holding no longer than to shew the World the Vanity of his Usurpation, the Curse of his Ambition descended upon his Son, who distempered with the Fumes of his ill-gotten glory (like the Drunken Tinker, that by an Artificial Metempsychosis was made believe he was a Prince, and dream'd of nothing but power and greatness, till translated by the help of a second Napp into the Ditch out of which he was first taken, his grandeur forsook him with his Sleep) quickly fell out of his Throne and broke his Neck; after which Catastrophe the abused populace (like Water, which heated contrary to its nature returns to its first Condition, and becomes so much the colder) submitted themselves to their lawful Sovereign, with like Zeal.
as they fell off from him in the first place; their affections returning like the Tyde (of which there can be no reason given) mov'd by the hidden force of an unwritten Law within their Nature, which turning round (like that Rota the Usurpers would have fixed) shew'd that it was not agitated by the Power of Intelligences (as some think) but by the immediate hand of Providence: from the Constancy of whose motion, every good man expected that Revolution (which blest be Heaven, we have since seen) long before, although (being oppressed with the weight of those great Concerns that depended on it) it mov'd a while but slowly.

Horace Ode 34. lib. 1. mutare, ex insignem annexat Deus Obcura Promens.

THE
THE FIRST

DYNASTY

OF

BRITAINS.
BRITANNIA
O endeavour to find out the Original of the Britains, I take to be as hard a Task, as that put upon the two Centurions, who were commanded by * Nerc to find out the Head of Nile. Neither can it reasonably be supposed, that I should further go into the Wilds of this History, than I find vestigea veritatis vestigia; the track of some that have gone before me; since we have no Land-Marks to guide us, but what have been set up by Strangers, whilst all the Natives have kept themselves out of sight, and all the Treasures of Knowledge were locked up in the Druids Library; from whom, neither the awe of Cæsar's Majesty, nor the dread of his Legions, could extort any other discovery, than what could be made out of the Observation of their Manners and Customs, which being congenial with those of their next Neighbours the Gauls, gave him, and from him most other Writers, cause to believe them a Branch of the same Stock; who being situated in the same Zone, under the difference of little above two Climes, as they could not but have one Complexion, so Utinique sermo baud mutuain diversus, faith Tacitus. Neither were their Names less consonant then their Language, the one called * Cymbri, the other + Cambrici, both indifferently || Cublii, which Boetius derives from the Chaldee Chele, originally given by the Phenicians (as he says) that called this Isle * Barat-Anae, which by contraction (he might have said corruption) came to be afterward Britanniæ, thence the Greeks in the Age following had their BPETANNIKKH.

Lay we then aside those Vulgar Etymas of PIRITANIA and POTTANELA, by which some modern Philosophers have laboured to prove the Britains the only men of Metal (if I may so say) from the very time of Strabo, whose Authority they urge, to prove this Isle most famous for the great quantities of Lead and Tyna, that was exported hence. Neither can we but reject those exploded denominations, or (as the learned Camden quaintly calls them) Divinations, or Dreams of * Brettæ, + Bridaciane, or Frigidaciane, || Britannia, * Britania, Britisia, and I know not what more of the same stamp, which have past for current but a little while: Of all which I shall Brit. This
shall only say thus much, That they were fancies which shew'd a wantonness of Wit, that may perhaps be more reasonably excuse'd then defended: The vanity of Invention being an Epidemical Disease, that hath infected most of the Sons of Mercury in all Ages and all Nations, there being something in it that looks like Piety: Nam mentiri elarorum imagines et aliquis virtutum amor (lathe Pliny;) which Error, whilft some of our graver Authors have with no lefs affeclion attempted to correct, they themselves (like great Physicians in the time of great Plagues) have been overtaken with the general Infection; as that renowned President of Antiquaries Mr. Camden before mentioned was, who excusing his weaker Brethren with a Dein averaus Antiquitati ut misceat falsa veris, &c. did not suppose had so prophetically apologiz'd for his own Britania, which being delivered as an Origination of Celtick and Greek, upon further inquiry proves to be no part of either Speech, at leaft not in that sense he uses it. For taking the _h_ out of Brith to accommodate the word (as he design'd) to Britannia, it then becomes Brit, which is no word of any signification in the Welch Tongue, and consequentely by the razing out that single Letter, all the varnish of his fancy comes off, and spoils the painting that lay under it. But if the principal reason of his leaving out the _h_ (which might be the more excusable in respect it has been taken to be an ominous letter to this Nation) were to make that Sybilla lingua (as he calls the Welch Tongue) more smooth and polite, why then did he not leave out the two _w's_ also? the continuance whereof makes his Etymology subject to an unanswerable objection in point of Novelty: for that there is no ancient word anywhere to be found that has a double _t_ in it, as his Britannia has. Now if both the _w's_ and the _h_ had been omitted, it had then been Britania; which as it is less constrained, so it is more acceptable to every common Reader, but especially to those that are Natives. For that Brit, lingua vernacula, signifies Honos, and so the name of Brittanias would have implied as much as the Honorable Nation: in which fence I could be content to rest my self, without farther search, the Criticks would have allowed his Tania to have been Greek for Regio: but this being modestly doubted by the learned Spelman, and utterly denied by the famous Causabon (who took it so ill to have a Greek word obstruded upon him, that he never heard of before, that amongst his excellent Epistles yet extant, there is one letter purposely, not to say passionately, written to Mr. Camden upon this subject, by which he requires him to prove it Greek if he could;) I must conclude, as by his returning no answer to that bold Challenge, I suppose he himself did, that it was not the leaf of his learned mistakes. However, the Greeks were behold to him for the honour intended them; whilft by that single termination of Tania, he indevours to prove them the only Godfathers to many other great Nations, besides this of ours: viz. those of Aquitanis and Taritania, no mean People; and those of Lythania yet greater; with those of Mauritania and Turgitania, more famous then they: and yet there is another Kingdom (which it seems he forgot) that could more certainly have proved their Denomination from the Greeks, that is the great Kingdom of Basania, which before the Greeks possessed it, was called the Kingdom of Baskian, in the Land of Palestine. Neither has he made mention of another greater perhaps than all these put together: to wit, that mighty Empire of the Chymenes, who in their native Tongue call their Country Tanis, which comes as near Tania in sound as may be, but nearer yet in the sense: Tanis importing as much as the Realmor Region, or Nech'se Tale we then Tania to be heathen Greek, as he puts it, yet it will seem strange that a people so rich...
BRITAINS.

rich in words as the Greeks were, should borrow half an Etymology of such a barbarous People as they took the Britains to be: and stranger 'tis, that the Britains (if we suppose they gave themselves the name) should call themselves Blew Noses, though they were so: as well might they have named themselves Cornuti, from their custom of wearing the skins of Beasts with the Horns upon their heads, after the fashion of their Neighbours (not to say their Ancestors) the Germans. And in like manner, and for like reason, might the Germans have been called Britanni, upon the account of Painting: it being as much in use with them, as with them here; with this difference only, that they painted the skins of the Beasts they wore, these their own skins.

That the Original Names of Nations have been derived from some observation or remark of the first Nomenclators, upon the Natures and Customs that seem'd to them most singularly notable, will, I think, be agreed by every body, as that the Galates or Gauls were so named from their * Milk-like Complexions, in like manner as the Moors were, from their black and swarthy Visages. The Sarmatians (under which denomination pasted * and * " in, Lizard-like Eyes: As the Numidians anciently call'd Nomades, from their being generally Herdsmen or Feeders of Cattle: The Tuscanos and Sabins were indebted for their names to the Time of their Sacrifices, as the Astyrites to the Infamy of theirs: The Persians were so called with respect to their Habits or Garments: as the Saxons, our Ancestors, from their Sauces or Skeens. Some have been denominated from what they usually eat or drank: as the Pharmacæophi in Asia from their feeding on venomous Creatures; and the Cræmyones from their drinking broth made of Oinions: And why may not the Britains be as well supposed to have taken their Name from their Barley and Water only? but the Britains, faith he, (who yet have Vines enough) make no other use of them, but for Arbours in their Gardens, or to adorn and set forth their houses, drinking a high and mighty liquor, different from that of any other Nation, made of Barley and Water, which being not so subtil in its operation as Wine, did yet warm as much, and nourish more, leaving space enough for the performance of many great Actions, before it quite vanquished the Spirits: Now as the Britains were fam'd for this Ale of theirs, so the Ale itself was afterwards no less renown'd (as Theophrastus and Helannicus both affirm) for a certain Root that they usually put into it: from whence 'tis supposed it took its Denomination, as the Britains theirs from it. This Root was called by the Greeks Βρούκα (which sounds something better than Brith-Tania) by the Latins call'd after their manner Britannia (as * Effect agræ- gio nous habere (" in)
tical Distemper (which therefore we may venture to English Scorny-graft-Ale) the most excellent and ancient Drink of this Isle. But however our Antiquaries do differ about the name of the Isle, they all agree in the descent of the first Inhabitants; affirming them, as most of the Inhabitants on this side the World, to be the off-spring of (a) Gomer, whose truly unlucky name (if so be Melancthon interpret it rightly) carried in it the Fate of his Potterery; ominously denoting the disadvantages under which Nature and Providence had placed them; amongst whom none were yet greater sufferers then the poor Britains; who, in respect of their extrememotenets from all the rest of the World (there being none beyond them Westward but those of Ireland, which Ptolemy makes to be a part of them) unlefs that Terra Incognita, mention'd by St. Brandon, where the Souls of the just Saints touch in their way to Purgatory, known by the name of O Brazil, beyond the Isles of Arran (so often discovered and lost again) could never meet with any opportunities of glory to give them the least repute amongst their Neighbours in the Continent, nor indeed any invitements of Ambition, to shew they understood any Particle of Honour; In so much that when the Romans (those great Monopolizers of Fame) came first hither, they not only despised them as rude Barbarians; but after better acquaintance with them, took so little notice of any thing they did, or suffered, as not to think it worth recording to Posterity, whereby it so happens that we have not one brave Example to copy after, but what is decipher'd in so small Characters, that it is scarce legible at this day. Witness those gallant Resistances of Arviragus and Galgacus, the one General of the South, t'other of the North of this Isle, when they first Invaded it; whose actions, though they possibly transcended, whatever passes for wonder in our days, are so lightly and confusedly delivered by the most exact of their Writers, that it hath been doubted by some whether there were ever any such Men; at least that the one is mistaken for Praisagus, t'other for Marius. Neither have we much better accompt of that Free-born Syllurian Carabacus (who was not inferior to any of their great Captains, faving in Fortune only) of whom we hear nothing beyond the bravery of his captivity, which they set forth with that varnish of Ostentation, on part of the Victors, as shews they design'd to record their own, rather then his Glory. None of them acknowledging any of the circumstances of Dishonour under which Cæsar twice suffer'd; once at Land, when he was disarmed by (b) Jsennius, fighting hand to hand: afterwards at Sea, when he was routed by a private Captain; Neither had we ever known it, had it not suited with the design of one of their own * Poets, to bring in Pompey upbraiding him with it, in that well known Verse:

Territa quæ fitis estendit Terga Britannis.

But that which discovers a more intense prejudice and scorn of the Britains, was the calling their Innocence, Ignorance: judging their Courage to be no other then an effect of Despair; deeming their temperance, stupidity; their hardiness of Body, brutishness. A silly fort of People, faith Diodorus Siculus: because not so skilfull in the Art of Luxury as they his Country-men. Naked Barbarians, faith Dion: the more shame their armed Legions were so basted by them. (c) An obscure People, not known to any of the Civil part of the World, faith another: yet we find mention made of their Fame in the Greek (d) Annals, from the very beginning of the first Olympiad, A. M. 3720. which was 200 years before Chriff, at what

(c) In conjetures, Catilinari, Germani hominem agriffit, fine legibus, fine imperio libetermin argu faturum. (d) By no manner an AUTHOR then Polybius, who testifies that they drove a great Trade with the Grecians.
time they themselves were not known to the Greeks (if we may credit (e) Josephus) at least not so well known as that Thucylides, Herodotus, or any Historians of the first Clafs, thought them worthy of any mention by them; it is true, Strabo takes some notice of them, but he reckons them (as we find St. (f) Paul did many years after among the Nations that were esteemed Barbarous. 

Now whether we consider the Britains, as deriving themselves from Phenician, Greek, or Gallic Stocks; or whether we allow them the privilege of the most ancient Nations in the World, to deduce a fine-spun Series from the Gods, and so leave them as Aborigines: either way they have the consent of Antiquity to support the Reputation of their Being not only not obscure, but as noble a Race of People as any other Gentile Nation whatsoever; perhaps more then the moft, if we examine the Testimony of their Laws, Language, or Lineage (tis pity I cannot lay their Liberties) unattaint to this day, Maugre the Tyranny of Time and Chance: the Body of our (g) Common Law being compos'd of such Elements as were taken firft by Brute out of the ancient Greek and Trojan Laws, as one of the moft Sageft in that profound Science tells us, whole testimony is confirmed by the learned (h) Mr. Selden, in that place where he proves that London had its Municipal Laws as foon, if not (j) before Rome it felf. Now how excellent those Statutes must be, that have stood the shock of fo many Ages, and yet continued useful, I need not labour to prove; but will content my felf with the Authority of (k) Sir John Fortefcu, proves the fame by Reafoon: "Quod fi non optima extitine Regum novij, nec Regum quotannis, nec Medicis, nec Alcides, nec numinibus demulcet."

Now as the wisdom of any People is to be meafur'd by that of their Laws, and their Nobility to be judged by the measure of their Wisdom: for however we feem to be partakers with the rest of the world in the common Fate of being a Conquered Nation (there being no Country in the whole Universe that have not been subdued, as well as we, by others, or by themselves (l)): Yet our Anceftors had this to fay in their behalf, which perhaps no other conquer'd Nation can fay, That as they diputed their Freedoms as long as ever any did, having spent above a million of lives before the Romans could prevail to habit with them; fo after all, they made fo good Conditions for themselves, as to keep their own Kings, and their own Laws, being not obliged (as all their Neighbours were) to be mapped by the Civil or Roman Law; fo that in this, their fame became their glory, whilft being a mixt, they yet continued a mighty People, and gave the Rule to thofe that rules them.

Neither was their Discipline in War inferior to their Government in Peace: Witness the long refiftance against thofe, that having conquer'd almost all the World before, never wanted fresh Supplies to reinforce their Losses: So that the Britains in fighting them, encounter'd upon the matter all thofe numerous and potent Allies, that were obliged to take part with them. Yet we fee, upon the very first dispute between them and the Romans (their own Writers being Judges) they acquitted themselves fo well in point of Conduct and Courage, that there needs no further Argument to prove they had the better of Cæsar, then the routing his Horse in the firft Expedition, and all his Foot in the fecond: And after they were over-power'd, one private Prince, with the affifiance of nine Provinces only, kept all the Legions at a Bay for fome years, which shews that to be true whereof we had had no proof, had not (m) Cicero thought fit to take notice of it in his Letters to his Correspondent Atticus, telling him that they had very good Fortifications and Works in the most considerable parts of the
the Isle, which must be understood according to the practice of that time. And though he did much, yet a Woman did more, who rallying up as many of her Country-men as durst dye, taught them the way to live, by putting them upon the slaughter of 70000 of their chief Veterans, reckon'd by Dion to be the greatest lossthe Empire ever felt, under that effeminate Tyrant Nero; and so much the greater, by how much Dux Fœmina Fafi'i.

In fine, no People disputed their Liberties with less incouragement, or more courage; and therefore (n) Lucan could not forbear giving them that testimonial. And when they yielded, 'twas rather (as I noted before) by Composition then Compulsion, being, as Tacitus reports of the Germans; Magic triumphati quam Vitæ.

And had the Pen been as much in use as the Sword, doubtless they had given as good proof of the one as the other, having had the start, even of that proud Nation the Romans, that undervalued them, in that point of Glory so much infested on, their Learning, the truest Badge of their boasted Civility; for except it were their Poetry in the beginning, and their Oratory in the last place, what had the Romans to boast of. Can they shew us (hith the Learned (a) Selden) any steps of the first, before Salinator, Neuvius, Pasuvius, Adius, and some few others, who did not much precede Caesar; or any Confut of the last, before Fabius, Pictor, Varianus, and some such, whose Names yet surviv'd their Works. Or what Records had they of the more useful parts of Solid Knowledge, as Phyfick, Mathematicks, Metaphyficks, &c. for which the Britains were so fam'd: this true, there was one Book of Phyfick very early extant amongst them, which was fam'd to have been written by Celsus, but suspected to be a Translation out of Greek; but of the latter sort we find not any. Now if they had neither the true knowledge of Nature, nor Numbers of Mathematicks, nor Metaphyficks, as by the confession of some of their (p) best Writers, 'tis plain they had not, how much then had the Britains the start of them, especially if it be true which (q) Selden has endeavoured to prove, That (r) Dates (however fam'd: Phrygius) the very eldest Historian of all the Gentiles, was a Britain; and if not by birth (as Joseph of Exeter would infer) yet certainly by Education; to which Testimony is added that of (s) Pliny cited by Diogenes Laertius Vit. Philosph. to prove that the Greeks themselves (who were School-masters to the Romans) had their first Rudiments of Knowledge from hence. For as the Letters Cadmus brought to Thebes, were supposed to have been first brought from the Greeks or (t) Gauls, who (as Caesar affirms) were but the Britains Scholars: So those Imagines carried to Athens, are by (u) Lazzius more confidently affirmed to have been had from hence, which may be something of the cause perhaps why the wise Masters that govern'd that State, were call'd Barins, or (as we find it in (x) Seneca) Nobins. Against this, I know, may be objected the Authority of Caesar, to prove the Britains understood not the Greek Tongue; the Objection being grounded upon a Letter of his to Cifer (then chiefly befieged) which was written in Greek Characters, Ne intercepis Epistolam (as himself gave the reason) ab Hostibus cognosceretur; which can be understood no otherwise than either of some particular Cypher, which none but Quintilis had a key to, or possibly some such kind of Cryptography, as (y) Probus Grammaticus tells us he frequently us'd, when he wrote to such of his intimate Friends as Caius Oppius, and Balbus Cornelius, which was by way of monosyllabic, or transposition of Letters, commuting the fourth Letter for the first, &c. after which manner he sometimes wrote likewife to the Senate; many of which trysts are in ufe
use to this day, and may puzzle those of the same Language to find out the meaning: How else can Cæsar be reconcil'd to himself, who tells us, that all the Accompts and Reckonings of the Britains were in Greek Cyphers; and if he did not yet, the Testimony of (a) Strabo clears the point, who affurs us there was a great Trade driven betwixt them and the Gracians; which could not be if they understood not one another. But besides this, we have some (b) Authority to induce us to believe, that the great Masters, Chilo, Thales, Periander, and the profound M. Triphymenus himself, were beholding to the Druids, for their reputation in the Mathematicks: For till their arrival in (c) Greece, the Gracians (faith Plato) were but Children in that Science. But what need we other proof of their great Learning, then what the Romans themselves unwittingly give us: doth not Cæsar testifie to their knowledge in Astrology; Tacitus to their exquisite skill in (d) Exsathry (the Metaphysics of those times); Pliny to their Judgment in Physick; Sextus and divers others to their perfection in Magic, both Onomantical and Pneumatological, in both which they were very famous: The (e) Onomancy was a Mystery something like, if not the same, with that the Jewish Rabbins call'd Breish, and affirm'd to be first reveal'd by God himself to Moses, and after by him communicated to the LXX. but by what means transmitted to the (f) Druids, is not certain, (g) The Phenicians spoke the Language.

(a) Varr. de ling. Lat. 1. 4. (b) Philo, in Legat. (c) Plutarch. (d) The Art of Infection into the In- (e) Caius. (f) Cæsar, B. Burg. 1. 4. (g) See the Work of Dr. Tillotson in Essayes on Religion of the British, p. 11. The Druids were a very particular People, who were so skillful in their Science, that they could at any time, by the influence of numbers, foretell the future, both in publick and private affairs; and this was the reason why the Britons so revere them, and respected them so highly.

(b) Plutarch. (c) Pliny, Nat. Hist. 4. 35. (d) The Britons were a very religious People, and had a great number of Druids, who were the greatest Magicians in the world. They were divided into three classes, the greatest of which were called the Priests, who were the most learned and skilled in their Science.

(c) Cæsar, B. Burg. 1. 4. (d) Plutarch. (e) Caius, Anecd. fol. 168. (f) Cæsar, B. Burg. 1. 4. (g) The Druids were a very ancient People, and were the greatest Magicians in the world. They were divided into three classes, the greatest of which were called the Priests, who were the most learned and skilled in their Science.

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Number hath been more predominant in all the Changes and Alterations that have happened in the various disposals of the Scepter of this Isle, than any other. For taking the whole time in pieces, since there hath been any mention of Kings here, and you will find just 6 Periods or Intervals of Time, that the Aboriginal Natives ruled here; each Space containing only 6 Descents. The first Space made up of those the Romans called Britannii, or unmixed Britains; being those that had the first and entire Rule without Interruption, till their Arrival. The second Sort were those whom they called BRITTANNICI, i.e. Roman Britains, such as were made up of their own Nation, either born here, or that had made some great Achievement here. The third Sort were called BRITONES, which were properly the Camber Britains: then taking a general view of the whole Series of Succession, from that to our Times, and it will appear there hath been just 6 Dynasties of 6 several Nations; that is to say, Britains, Romans, Saxons, Danes, Normans, Scots: And some have been so curious as to observe that each of their several (i) Chiefs had but just 6 Letters in his Name: which 6 Master-Builders (like those Politick Creatures the Bees, who make up their Cells with Polygons of 6 sides) have reared their Empire upon 6 great Pillars; i.e. Rex, Prelati, Proceri, Nobles, Milites, Civitates; and adorn'd it with 6 different kinds of Law; i.e. Common Law, Statute Law, Civil Law, Canon Law, the Law of Merchants, Martial Law. And observing the same Rule in the Structure of the Church as of the State, have ordained 6 Orders of Priesthood (as a Medium between the Greek Church that have but 5, and the Roman that hath 9) These were Clerks, Sub-Deacons, Deacons, Priests, Bishops, Archbishops, who in the Primitive and purer times of Christianity, are supposed to have taken their turns to officiate daily in the Churches Service, dividing the Natural day into 6 parts, whereof each had four hours for his Devotion. The Pneumatological Magick was that which was more properly call'd the Doctrine of (k) Spirits, because it was performed by secret Intelligences, inforced with unusual Conjurations; Sometimes drawn from the mouth of a Teraphim, a way much in use amongst the Jews, and by them taught to the People of (l) Asia, and from hence brought, as 'tis conceiv'd, by the Phoenicians hither. Sometimes by the advantage of (m) Catopromantical Inspection, in imitation, as 'tis thought by the Learned (n) Selden, of the Cabalistic Doctours, when they consulted the Urim and Thummim: By this Faculty they could discourse, it seems, the greatest Secrets of Nature, and deduce the knowledge of hidden forms to strange and wonderful effects, beyond what the Natural Chymistry of humane Understanding could ever extract out of the choicest Elements of Reason. Of this kind the Roman Historians Record wonderful Instances; but amongst the rest I take that to be the most notable Example, when in the beginning of (o) the Visigoths reign, at such time as Gothicus rais'd the Rebellion amongst the Bataves, the Druids foretold the Removal of the Romans out of this Isle (who then had but begun to settle their Possessions here). They foretold likewise the Transtion of their Empire to the Trans-Alpine Nations, which has a conceit so remote and seemingly so extravagant, that it was altogether flight'd by Tacitus, as a thing ridiculous to believe; the first part of which Prophecy was not fulfill'd in near 400 years after, when Vidorinus, that govern'd here under Honorius, was recall'd to the defence of Italy, who drawing off all his Countrymen, An. Ch. 407. left not so much as a single man of his whole Nation in the Isle: the last was not accomplish'd till 800 years after, when Charlemaine.
mike was crown'd Emperor of the West in Rome, An. Ch. 800. Another Prediction they had more ancient and more strange, and so much indeed the more wonderful, by how much it seems little less then Evangelical; for they foretold that a (r) Virgin should bring forth a Son, as you may find by Cl. Alexandrinus, Postelius, and other (a) Authors of undoubted Credit; and this was so far believed both by them and the Gentiles, that these last had an Altar upon the Banks of the Garone dedicated to the Mother, so the Britains had another dedicated to the Son, by the name of Belinadri, or the Golden (r) God (for so Camden interprets it) or as we find it elsewhere, Belintuadri, that is (b) Salinus his Explication Omnians, or the All-healing God; which as it could not properly and truly be applicable to any but Christ, so 'tis not against reason to think they might have some dark Discoveries of him, if we consider howembleable a Prefignification they had of his Birth, in the Offseture of their Pauschreton, or Miffelto, described to be (x) Attis, or Sesculudo, a Medicine to heal all Disealess; which they gather'd in no other Month but that of December only, the Month in which he was born, and of all others most Sacred amongst them: Nor had they a less probable Signature of his Death and Passion, in the Perisieron or Verawin that adorn'd their Priests Caduces, which as it was twined 'bout the Staff, after the same fashion as Moses his Serpent about the Pole, so who knows but it might have the same Signification to them, as to the Jews; that as Moses lifted up the Serpent in the Wilderness, so the Son of Man should be lifted up for them: the Priests observing the Ceremony of crowning themselves when they gather'd this holy Plant (as the Italians yet call it) Dextra manu sinistra Superposita modo furce (faith Pliny) I omit what some others have further noted upon the nature of this Herb (being therefore call'd by the Greeks Perisierion, from usuppe, i.e. Columba, quod columba unice hac herbâ deliciuntur) with reference to the Holy Ghost, that afterward appear'd in that shape: Neither shall I make any descant upon their Ritual use of Bread and Wine in their Sacrifices, as answering to our Sacraments: though the learned Selden be of opinion they thereby imitated those of the Order of Melchisedec, the Everton of the Messiahs: For since he was that the Messiall did himself declare, it was hard to find faith upon the Earth, even after the time that he was reveal'd from Heaven, it may seem strange that these poor Islanders should see his Day so far off, by no other Light but that of Nature: But considering how strangely they attained to that sublime Knowledge of the Immortality of the Soul, which so amazed the Romans themselves, that, as we may find by (c) Lucan, they could not understand how Death, the ever before suppos'd end of Life, should be but the middle part, as he calls it; we may so far extend our Charity towards them, from what we find in the Prophet (f) Isaiah, as to believe they might be direct'd by the Secret Conduct of some Divine Intelligence, to apprehend some transcendant Notions, not unlike those of St. Paul in his Vision, which were not more lawful, nor perhaps possible for them, then for him to utter in words, much less commit to writing. For we know they were prohibited the use of Books, with relation to (y) Secrecy in Sacred Affairs; neither was it any scandal to their Religion to be written in their Hearts only; however it put St. Origen no less to it, to find out a Reason for their so early Faith, then Ceasar and the rest of the Romans were, to find a Foundation for their so early Reason; it being much more a wonder that they should appear so pious without the Knowledge of the true Deity, then that they should be found so learn'd without any acquaintance with Letters; Tradition proving a

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(a) Dr. Ar. 
(b) Drs. 
(r) Cl. A. 
(x) Dr. A. 
(y) Dr. A.
better School-Mistress to them, than Philosophy was to any other Nation, which doubtless had rendered them sufficiently glorious, had Posterity taken the same care to preserve, as they did to transmit to them the excellent Reliques of their Knowledge, which now being lost in the Deluge of Time, and become (as a wise man expresses it) *ex vagis naufragii* are so battered and defaced, that most men have thought them overvalued at the price of a private Belief, for which cause, as I am not pressing to impose any thing herein discours’d upon any mans Faith, much less to quarrel with his diffidence: So on the other side, I would not be thought guilty of such an Indifference, as might offer the least occasion to any one to doubt of the Testimony I have given, but by no means to condemn it. For in search of Sceptical Truths, every man should preserve a Philosophical Liberty to himself, as in the acceptance of those that are Historicks, he may challenge a Dogmatical freedom; the reason for justification of Matter of Fact in the Case of Antiquity, being so like that of Opinion in point of Novelty, both in respect of the uncertainty, and the inconvenience, that I shall not be ashamed to confess and conclude with my Friend Curtius,

*Plura equidem Tractabio quam crede.*

*Nec etenim affirmare ansui fum qua dubio.*

*Nec subducere fustineo qua accept.*

I. CLASS
I. CLASS OF BRITANNI,

A. M.          A. M.
Brute, 2855.  Ludbelin, 3880.
Malmude, 3522. Caffbelin, 3995.
Belin, 3562. Tubelin, 3921.

BRUTE 2855.

Though there be, many Modern Writers (a) Pelider, Bocce, Poets; (b) Com. Seld. Etc;
and many both Ancient and Modern, do utterly (c) deny
the Story of Brute and indeed (d) affirm it, and none can
make any other but a conjectural disproof; I conceive Antiquity may reasonably be excus'd, in claiming a Prerogative to uphold, at least for not rejecting so receiv'd an Opinion, wherein though there may appear some defects, yet (like those of an aged Parent) they ought to be conceal'd by the Sons of Wit; least Novelty should take advantage to put a
a Scandal upon Time, by calling Truth his Illegitimate Daughter. What Nation is there whose Originals are so clear, but that there remains matter enough to dispute the Authority of their first Writers, and Writings? How unreconcilable are many passages in Herodotus, Helanicus, Josephus, and almost all the best Historians of the first Age of the World? How inextricable are the Intricacies in the Fasti Consulares, the Catalogue of the Roman Consuls themselves? notwithstanding the great care they took to render their Annals certain: The like may be faid of the Assyrian, Persian, Egyptian, and Græcan Dynasty's: neither need we much to marvel at it, since we find that a great part, not to say most of the Historical part, even of Holy Writ itself, is so hard to digest without a grain of Salt (as we say) that the quitting our Reason, is made the merit, as well as the Foundation of our Faith: Much more to tolerable is it, that the Actions, Order, and Successions of Brutes Posterity should be so dark and dubious, in the Revolution of so many Ages, since the destruction of Troy; the Circumstances of which Action are so different, both in respect of the time, and the manner of it, that the whole Story, with its Dependencies, flounder unreservedly suspected of being fabulous. Yet I do not take the Authenonimes to be such as that we should thereupon blow off sixty Kings at one blast (as Lewis the Reformer of the British History taxes Camden to have done) the memory of some whereof hath been continued by diverse ancient Towns, which bearing yet their Names, gives us cause to believe they might be the first Founders; as York supposed to be built by Ebora; Caerle by Leyle; Leicester by Leire; Ludlow by Lud. Others there are whose memory feems to be perpetuated by their (f) Laws and Constitutions, as those of Malmode, the famous Martia, Belin the first, and Ludelin. Some remain Superflices by the continuation of their Names to this day in sundry Families of Note, deriv'd for ought we know from them, as Morgan, Elliot, Belin, Llbyd, Ludlow, Blackdon, Price, Sytite, &c. To divers other of whom there is no less doubt then of Brute, many Authentick Foreign Authors give sufficient testimony: thus we find Brennus mention'd by Livy, Caßibelin by Caesar, Cunobelin by Suetonius, Arviragus by Juvenal, Caracchas by Tacitus, Coell by Utopius, Lucius by Ebweius; not to mention Belous in Paulanius, and Belgus in Fabian, both supposed by Selden to be misfaken for Belinian, who, as we know, is elsewheremistaken in his Names; neither knew I how it came to pass, that Teffery of Monmouth (the first Discoverer of Brute History) lost so much reputation by it, if either the Authority of the Person be consider'd from whom he had it (a Prelate of great Gravity and Repute) or the Wisdom and Credit of the same author that (k) followed him (one whereof affirms that he saw the Original which was brought out of the Abbey of Bee in Normandy) or lastly his own Authority, being Bishop of St. Asaph under King Stephen, and for his Eminence after made a Cardinal; of whose Book, to speak freely, we may say as Cicero did of Caesar, Quantum operibus suis detrabat (k), ut etiam tantum addit laudabili. The greatest, if not the only Objeotions to it being the Incoherence of the Chronology, which most men make the Touchstone of History, whereas there is nothing more disceptious: For we see Figures frequently misfaken by the most accurate and diligent Pene- men of our own Times, who flick not to screw up or let fall a year or two, or sometimes ten, as it serves to their purpose, to adjust their Reckonings, being the bolder with that Liberty, upon experience that few men think it worth their while to examine their falshood, in respect 'tis a trouble that seldom eases the Reader wiser in the business, who in actions of this di-
BRITAINS.

Vid. in Vet. Script.

If it be true that every little Star
Is bigger than the Globe we tread on, far,
If distance can so much abuse the Sense,
Which chiefly doth inform the Intelligence;
No marvel that such Antick Gest as these
Of Brute, and Trojans (scarcely fit for Prose)
Gain little credit, since there's few allow
Vertue to be the same thing then, as now.
Some doubt of Troy, others think Brute's a Fable,
Cause that Age did, what this hath not been able.
Succeeding Times, if they allow our Story,
Will yet as much Demean upon Our Glory.

Having pretermitted the Particulars of the Story
of Brute, and the Seventeen Kings his Successors, as things
so remote and uncertain, that
no just measure can be taken either of the Persons they liv'd
with, or the Times they liv'd
in: Thenext that appears worthy of note is this Malnud, fir
named Dunwind; or, as the
English Chronicle hath it; Donebant, who was to the Britains
(as Homer to the Romans) the
first Law-giver, and the Chief Priest, from whose Reign they
dated the Knowledge of all
Civil, but more especially all
Sacred Rites, which being kept
in the Cabinet of the Druids
Breasts, sacrament in absconditis,
as Gold and Jewels are in a
Mine, were cast into no certain
form or fashion, till the use of
Letters was imposed upon them
by the Romans; as a Badge of
Subjection. Some thence concluding all to be fabulous that happened be
fore that time, without considering, what violence they offer to the credit
of those illegible Tables of Noah, that comprehended the primitive Laws
of Nature, which (however not understood) were yet admitted by the Old
World, as Reliques of so unquestionable Authority, that there is no leas to
be imputed to the vertue of the Faith of that Age; then to the Patriarch's
care, that they perished not in the universal Deluge: The Britains having
perhaps a better Confut of (1) thefe, then the Jews had of those (yet either
deriv'd from the Authority of Tradition) by how much they were left as

(1) Girald.,
Capit. Makk.
Wyl.,
White Riff.
Brit. Lib.
a Legacy to succeeding Ages, and lost nothing of their value in many hundred years after: they were first deliver'd, being the Original after which the great Legislator of the Saxons, King Alfred, copied his Breviary of Statutes (as the learned (n) Lambers acknowledges) or (which is of more Authority) as himself confesses in his Title Page: which very Breviary is said to be the Foundation of that we call our Common Law at this day; however, by reason of frequent Transcriptions, Additions, and Amendments (like that of the Ship at Argo) it seems to be new and another thing. Now for the rest of the Acts of this King, though perhaps they are not to be justified, as those written by Tlacuitalte, Zanophon, Polibius, or Cesar, who were themselves Actors of the things, as well as in the times they wrote: Yet they have the Testimony of some Reliques, which (like those two (a) Pillars erected at Tynge, that they'd there had been some Colonies of the Jews there, although no mention be made thereof in any of their own Writings) support the honour of his memory beyond contradiction: Such were those stupendious Works of his, commonly call'd the four great Caesars, that cross'd the whole Isle, erroneously supposed to be first undertaken by the Romans, whereas they were begun by (p) him, and only finish'd by them. The first, by him nam'd Fordy-Brenin, or the Kings High-way, leading from the Corner at Tynes in his own Country, pass'd through the whole County of Devon, the Counties of Somerset, Gloucester, Warwick, and Leicester, and ending at Lincoln; this the Romans call'd the Fose. The second, anciently called Guthelin-street, because it was reported to have been finish'd by that King; beginning at Dover, running out as far as Worcester, and from thence was carried to Caragain in Wales: this the ancient Britains call'd Penneys; the Romans, Via Consularis; those of later times, Waltho-street, or Werheim-street. The third call'd (q) Erming-street by the Saxons; or rather (r) Wymanbull-street, began at St. Davids in Wales, and cross'd over all the Countries betwixt that and Southampton, where it ended; this the Britains call'd Getshford, and the Romans, Via Pratioria. The fourth began a little of one side of Worcester, and pass'd on by York to Tintom, call'd Kitenedall, or Icknild-street, which I take to be its primitive denomination. And to these that Reverend (s) Monument (aged now above 2080 years, the fame and glory of the present Age) dedicated by himself to the (t) Deinities, or Holy Powers that rul'd the World, and by the Romans, at the arrival of Claudius, consecrated to the honour of the great Goddess Diana, and by King Lucius, upon the first entertainment of Christianity, to that great Apostle of the Gentiles St. Paul. To this King likewise is ascrib'd the honour of Founding those, rather ancient, then great Foundations of * Blackwell and Guild-hall, heretofore parcels of his Courts; the first continued (perhaps ever since) as the great Mercatorium or Staple for Trade; the last, as the great Orsfordaine, or Tribunal of Justice, both for City and Country. He has the repute likewise of being Founder of those two ancient Buildings in the West, e Malmesbury and the Vye, the first having the stamp of his Name yet upon it. But if the Reader be not disposed to believe any part of this, or the other Kings Legend, I shall conclude as I find a very reverend Author doth, in the like case.


(n) Mibi debetar Collectionis gratiae; Sibi habeas eleccionis materiam.

THE
The next Dynasty in order of Fame, as well as in repute of Order, was this King, whom the Britains make the common Root of that great Stock that hath adorned their Pedigrees with so many flourishing Branches, being the most Splendid of all their Princes, in that he was in like manner esteem'd by them to be a Representative of Apollo, as Apollo was by the Ancients thought to be a Type of Christ: This appears by the title they gave him, which I take to be one of the Attributes of that God, calling him Belin Tucadrc, i.e. The Healing King, or Healing God. For it was a Policy much in fashion in elder times, and as it seems, as well understood by the Britains as any other Gentile Princes, to take the advantage of assimilating themselves to that Deity, which was most ador'd by their People, to beget the greater reverence to their Majesty; and accordingly, in honour of the memory of this man, who by some Writers is called (f) Belin, or Pelinor, and by others (g) Belinwaure, all the successive Kings were fity'd Belin, as the Egyptian Kings were fity'd Pharaoh, and the Roman Emperours Cesar. The Vulgar turned Belin into Bren, and the Latin Writers following that mistake, changed Belinus into Brennus, whereby it hath so hapned, that he is by many Historians supposed (and as they think with sufficient probability) to be the same Brennus that was so terrible to the Romans. Amongst those that deny it, some doubt whether there were ever any such Persons, as the one or the other: Others take the word Bren or Belin to be only terms of Majesty, and not Names, which is an Opinion that calls in question all the best Pedigrees of Wales. And some there are, who from the difference of the Names, infer a difference of Persons, taking advantage thereby to discredit the Authority of Jeffery Son of Monmouth; by seeming to uphold it; who makes Brennus and Belinus to be two Brothers, and Sons of Malmin; but those that support the Credit of the Personality of Belinus, and are willing he should be the same with the famous Brennus that Sackt Rome, suppose there needs no better manner to illustrate the matter, than that account we have from the Oracle of Delphos, which faith that the same Brennus came of Earchipemnma, from the very farthest parts of the West, which Catullus explains Brittain; and whether he meant δια μίαν or α μίαν Βρεταινα, the greater or the lesser Brittain, according to that Division made by Ptolomy, either makes good the conjecture, as being δια νοῦς δουλος, even Westward of the West; especially the latter, which from thence (faith Bochart) got the Name of Ebernia, now corruptly Hibernia, which in the proper signification (as Melanchthon...
BRITAINS.

Ludbe lin.

3880.

B Etwixt the last and this Kings Reign, I reckon near about 330 years, by the Vulgar account, in which Jeffery of Monmouth places a Succession of about 44 Kings: But Holinshed making a digression of 180 years (which cuts of 33 from the number) leaves him, and Fabian, and the rest that follow them, to make out their Catalogue through this dark Period as well as they can, wherein they could not (it seems) discern Men from Trees, otherwise they would not (as they have) denominated the Isle of Ely from Hely, the suppos'd Father of this King (which rather was Bely the corruption of Belin) whereas the true derivation was from Helig a Willow, with which fort of Trees that Isle abounds. That which illustrates the name of this Ely, or as he is commonly call'd by contraction, Lud, or rather Lluid, i.e. the brown Belin, is that urbesaris honour given him by content of almost all Writers, of being the Founder of the West wall, as the first Belin was of the East wall of the City of London, to which the Gates yet bearing their Names, give probable Testimony of their memory. However there are those that object against both, and will have that of Belingeate to be no more but as if one should say, the Kings Gate; so call'd, because the Kings Toll and Customs was ever paid and brought in there; and Ludgate to be no more but Portus Populi, chang-
ing Lud into Leod, which in the old Saxon Tongue signifies (as Verstegan tells us) the Peoples Gate; a conceit as applicable to the Gate of any other great City, as to this; wherein if private Criticimes might be admitted to derogate from the authority of Antiquity, yet the Etymology Hermoldus Nigellus gives of this Name, deriving it from Hludo, i.e. Prec- clarius, with whom the learned Camden concurs, sufficiently repairs that Indignity, and excuses the good Will of the good old (k) Monk; that for the same reason would have London to be quasi Ludlowne; a conceit as allowable as that of Rome, from Roma, Romus, Romanus, or Romulus, all averred by several Historians to be Founders of that City, out of respect to the consonancy of the Names only, and would doubtless have passed for current, had it not latterly been exploded by a better Authority, which hath informed us that it was rather London quasi Lhondine, i.e. the City of Shipping, with which agrees that of Huntingdon (one of as good credit as any of his Time) who turns this Lud, or Lhuid, into Lond, to render him the Prince of Shipping: All that we hear of him in the British Story is, that he left two Sons under Age, at the time of his death; the elder called by the Romans, Androgius, the younger Iheomantius; either of whom being unfit to succeed in the Government, by reason of their Minority, the Britains (after the manner of most Nations at that time) chose the nearest in Merit, as well as in Kin, to succeed, which was their Uncle Cassibelin, or Belin the Yellow.

His King, as he was the first of all the British Princes that shewed himself upon the Stage of Action, so being not content to be Chief unless he were absolute, he made so good use of the Accidental part of his Fortune, the minority of his two Nephews, that he took the confidence (having first justed them out of all hopes of succeeding their Father) to quarrel with all that stood near him in the Government. Two there were more eminent than the rest, of whom it was doubted whether their Malice or their Power were the greater; Comoc Prince of the Atrebatii, and Imanuence Prince of the Trinobantes; the first a full and subtle man, the last more open, very rash, but Poular. Neither of them so confident in his Power, as affected with his merit; yet being united by the concord of their Discontents, they began to swell and be tumultuous: but as Wisdom when it wants Integrity (like Salt when it hath lost its favour) is not only as insignificant, but oftentimes more hurtful than Folly itself; so their publick Pretensions being tainted with private Malice

(k) Robert of Gloucester.
lice and Ambition, lost so much of the efficacy that was expected from a smart a beginning, that their Forces not answering their forwardness, the one was compell'd to submit to a Prisoner, the other an Exile. *Comoc* apply'd himself to Cæsar, then in the higher part of Gallia; and to make himself the more acceptable, presented to him the young Prince *Androgus*, as a Pledge for the homage of the whole Isle: This gave that great Son of Fortune the first prospect of the greatest design Humanity was capable of at that time, and so much the more worthy the thoughts of him, who would be esteem'd nothing less then a God, by how much the Transports of his invincible Spirit, carried his Resolutions to the conquest of another World; altogether unknown to his Country-men, and scarce probable to have been discover'd by him, had not their fatal Ambition, destin'd to be so officious to his, rais'd his Fame upon the Ruins of their own: Easier it was for *Comoc* to prevail with Cæsar to take the Sea, then for Cæsar to prevail with his Legions to quit it; who finding the Britains all in Arms, ready to oppose their landing, refused to set foot on shore, till Mandubrace Son of *Imonus* (whose head *Cassibelain* took off upon his departure with *Comoc*), having chang'd his Nature with his Name, leapt first into the Water, and by the fierceness of his Example urg'd them to quit their Ships, who could not yet quell their fears. Now began the Battel on which the Fate of *Britains* depended, which was so bloody beyond any that the Romans had ever seen or felt before, that doubting the protection of their Gods in a cause so injurious, they betook them to their Ships again, as dishonourably as they left them, exposing Mandubrace to the mercy of his Country-men (once his only Friends, now his only Foes,) who like a tiger in a toil, finding that the Tide forsook him as well as the Romans, fought it out from Rock to Rock, till, with the loss of their blood who press'd upon him, he had rais'd it again to such a propitious height, as serv'd to carry him off unto the Flee: The experience of his single Courage gave the Romans such a Test of what they were to expect from the collected Forces of his Country-men, that had not Cæsar himself afterwards done the same thing that Mandubrace did before (who catching up his Standard, leapt into the Ocean with it, as if resolv'd to begin the second Fight, swimming like a true Son of the Sea) he had only come and seen, but not overcome: But this Onset of his had a Success so much greater than that of *Sceva*, as was his Fortune, which always made the way where he could not find it. The Britains demanded a Parley; *Cæsar* accepted it as an instance of Submission; but it prov'd only a Trap to catch the Renegado *Comoc*, who coming to them as Ambassador from the Romans, to persuade them out of their Liberty, lost his own: Neither prov'd this a single loss to *Cæsar*; for about four days after, his Fleet being distress'd with a terrible Storm, that rose upon the back of a Spring Tide, at the time of a Full Moon, was drove out to Sea, and for want of advice of such a Pilot as he, was broken all to pieces; which accident broke off the Treaty, encouraging the Britains to far, that they who had before the care of a defensive, began now an offensive War, Invading their Invaders; but their Skill being no way answerable to their Courage, *Cæsar* found a way first to divide, and after to disperse their Forces, putting their distressed King, forsworn by his People, as soon as by Fortune, to the worst of Extremities, to release an old Enemy, that he might compound with a New, purchasing by the Freedom of *Comoc*, a Peace that he knew would enthrall his Country.

*Too hard for Kings to yield, but harder far*  
When he gives rules for Peace, that rais'd the War.
Who buys his freedom seldom ever thrives,
They make their Markets best that sell their lives.

ANDROGIUS, the eldest T UB E-
Son of Lud, proving as L I N.
false to his Country, as to his own Blood, was, after the death of his Uncle Cæsarcelin (who dyed Childless) put besides the privilege of his Birth, and his younger Brother (n) Tudorbe-
in, or as they call'd him vul-
garly, Tabelin, and the Romans Theomantius, was prefer't to the Succession. A Person lefts active then his Predecessor, and known then his Successor; but his Government falling out in such a juncture of Time, when the Romans, having enough to do at home, went not much abroad, he had the good hap to preserve the freedom of himself and his People, without any great necessity of giving proof of his Fortune or Parts.

BRITAIN, being then, by the Tri-partite Division of the Empire after Cæsar's death, become the Lot of Otho-nius, not yet grown up to be Augustus, he either distrustful of the Fate of his own Greatness, or his Country-men's Ambition (both alike dangerous whilst boundless) left it out of the Provincial Roll, as being indeed out of the World (for to faith Dion it was effect'd to be) determining to confine his Empire within the limits Nature had fixt it, by the Danub Northward, Mount Atlas Southward, the River Euphrates East, and the British Ocean Westward: But this moderation of his not agreeing with the activity of that rough Age (made up for the most part of men, that whilst they were Children, seem'd to have been nourish'd with blood rather than milk) it was not long ere their magnanimity, or the flattery of those nearest about him, prevail'd with him to enlarge his thoughts, as well as his Empire, and to found his Glory (more majorum) in the pursuit of new Discoveries. So that having before subjedt all that lay within his view, nothing appear'd to his Imagination to be so near (e) Divinity as the Conquest of the Britains, to which the Ambition of his Predecessors having only pointed out the way, but not at all shew'd the method, he thought it no allay to his Courage, to proceed with a circumspection suitable to the greatness of the design, spending more Time and Treasure in the preparation to, then the purfuit of his purpose: and having made choice of the most eminent Persons to attend him, and accommodated all things suitable to that choice, as if he had intended to bring another World to the conquest of this, he began his March towards Gallia: The Britains though they naturally disdain'd servitude, frighted it seems by the noyse of his approach (the Fame whereof broke out like Thunder before a Storm) thought...
thought it no indignity to submit to the tender of a (p) Tribute, which (however it was blanch'd under the Title of a (q) Free-will Offering to the Roman Gods) was exacted with that severity, that Tubelin was fain to send his own Son Cunobelin to remain as a Hostage at Rome, for performance of the Conditions; who living long there, pertook so much of their fashions and manners, that he is worthily reckon'd the first of the Britannici, or civilliz'd Britains; by whom his Country-men understanding that they were mark't out for Conquest, omitted no occasion of Complement after his Return, whereby they might express themselves obsequious to the Romans, even to a degree of Flattery, till they found their Liberty in danger by an (r) Injunction sent them to admit Colonies amongst them; from which time they were deaf to all Treaties, and prepar'd to make so obstinate a Defence against any Invasion, that the Report thereof so frighted Caligula, whilst he was on the other side of the Water, that he return'd home content with a piece of (s) Pageantry, instead of a Triumph, which as it was the most Sordid, so it seems to have been the most Ridiculous of any that we meet with in Story.

II. CLASS
II. CLASS OF BRITANNICI.

A.M. A.Ch.

Cunobelin, 3934. ⚫️ Meriobelin, 0098.


Belinarvirag, 0050. ⚫️ Cymbelin 0156.

CUNOBELIN 3934:

CUNOBELIN, or the Yellow King, so call'd from the Emigration of that Golden Age he liv'd in, to wit, at the time of the birth of that beautiful (a) Child, which Tully dream'd he saw let down from Heaven, in a golden Chain, which was verifi'd in the 18th Year, or as some think in the 23rd Year of this King's Reign, at which time the Temple of Jannus being shut up in Rome, in token of an universal Peace throughout the World: Some have supposed (and not improbably) that he took this occasion to make use of this Device which we find on his Money, and elsewhere. But some others that have lately div'd deeper into the Mysteries of Antiquity, conjecture that he did hereby rather denote a farewell to Barbarity; Jannus being the Person that is said to have first civiliz'd the World (as this King did the Britains) and therefore painted with two faces, as bringing
brining one shape out of another: a concept tolerable enough, and to me so much the more acceptable, by how much the fame (b) Author, whose Authority may bear it out, admits Cunobelin to be as Critical as himself: most certain it is, that mov’d by an Emulation of the Roman Majesty, whereof he had been an eye witness, when his Father, under pretence of sending him to congratulate Augustus his Success against M. Anthony, left him an Hostage at Rome: he did endeavour by his own Example, to bring his Country-men into the Roman fashion of living, imitating them in the manner of their Houses, eating, drinking, and cloaths: Coyning money in (e) Gold and Silver, instead of their rusty Iron and Copper Rings, valuing ther money (More Romano) in Medals or Plates, in the one side whereof, was some device quaint enough for the invention of those Times; on the other the face of the King; some whereof have been preserved to the glory of this King’s memory, to this day, which being under a form so rarely found amongst any other Nation, to wit, the device of the (d) Toruma ingrav’d in the Concavity of the Reversed, intitles the Nation to a distinct Epoch, more renowned than most other States in the World can pretend to. We find many different devices of this King; but this of Janus I take to be the principal, and without doubt had some signal meaning, which the Critics have not yet light upon, possibly to denote the file under two Heads at that time, Caesar and himself, who ruled (as we may say) with a kind of double face’d Supremacy.

Cunobeline, whilst thou desir’st to be
Fam’d for a double face’d Supremacy,
Bringing the Britains into thy Roman fashion,
By civilizing, thou undo’d thy Nation.
They’re Caesar’s Subjects now, who erst were thine,
Ere long their Virtue will become their Crime.
For being true to both, ’tis true to none,
Two Heads may thus prove not so good as one.

THIS is a question, Whether the last King were more happy in Himself, or in his Children, whereof he left no less than five Sons to succeed him, of which only (e) One miscarried, who, inveighing to betray his Country in the lifetime of his Father, was after his death put besides the Succession; and this King, his second Brother, set up in his room; to whom there are so many different Names given in different Transcripts, both British and Latin, as hath occasion’d many doubts of his Person. His right Name was Caradoc, which being too rough for the Roman pronunciation, their Historians call him Caraducus. The Britains, in respect of his being Prince of the Isle
of Wight, which they call'd in their Language Guith; s'tyled him, after he came to be King, Guithbelin; as much as to say, the King that came out of that Island; and the Romans thereupon, Guiderius. So that it is no marvel if those that had no other Guides but Names only, have found themselves misled in the dark places of the British Annals. He began his reign in the time of Tiberius Nero, for his sottisness nicknam'd by his Countrymen, Biberius Mero, who leaving every Province to the protection of its proper Strength, occasion'd so many disorders as begot at last a Civil war in his own Breast, as well as his Empire; his Covetousness striving in vain with his Cowardice, to recover the benefit at least, if not the honour he had loft. Britain was the place he always threaten'd, but with so palpable Irresolution, that taking occasion from every little accident to alter his purpose of Invasion, the Soldiery in scorn call'd him Callipeses; this added to the Fortune, more than the fame of this King, who all the time of his Government had no occasion given him of Glory, but found the opportunity to learn, by observing that of his Neighbours, how to encounter the dangers which afterwards approach'd towards him, when his Brother Adminius brought on Caligula to give him that false Allure of Stirrup from the Holland Coast: Nine years he ruin'd in peace, till the Ambition of Claudius, which transported him as much beyond the bounds of his Reason, as those of his Empire, broke in like the Ocean with a resistless Torrent, and bore away all before it: The Britains, who could not withstand their own Fears, being less able to resist his Forces, flying at the first sight of his Elephants, as if they had believ'd, there could have been no greater a Beast in the World then himself; upon which advantage he made himself Master of the Pass over the Thames, which yet he dreaded more than that over the Sea, and so march'd up to London, where the two brave Brothers, Caradocus and Togodomnus gave him Battle, in which the last, scorning to outlive the Liberty of his Country, fell a Sacrifice to the Incensed Gods of the Isle: His Royal Brother, retiring as a wounded Deer (forfaken by the Heard) to seek some shelter in the Neighbouring Woods, resolv'd to make head against those pursu'd him, as often as he reflect'd on his lost greatness; but the danger approaching nearer, his Wisdom prevail'd with him to retreat; till he might fight with more advantage.

So the Still Stag upon the brink Of some smooth Stream, about to drink, Surveying there his armed head, With shame remembers that he fled The scorn'd Dogs; resolves to try The Combat next: But if their cry Invades again his trembling Ear, He straight resumes his wonted fear, Leaves the unsated Spring behind, And wing'd with fear, out-flies the wind.

FROM
FROM the beginning of this Kings Reign (if so be we may not rather call it Rebellion) we date the Dominion of the Romans in this Isle. Julius Caesar had the honour of being the first Aggressor: Claudius laid the Superstructure up-

on his Foundation: Domitian had the good hap (I cannot say (c) honour) to perfect the Work. The death of the last King, as it was no small discouragement to the Britains (the brave Caractacus being at the same time taken Prisoner) so it render'd the Romans so insolent, that all the Time of (d) Nero's Government, the Story is fill'd with nothing but Relations of Murthers, Rapes, and Rapines; wherein the Virtue of his Lieutenant Suetoni-us seems to have contested with his Masters Vices, for the Sovereignty, in suppressing by his

Wisdom, or qualifying by his Courage, their Outrage, whom he had commission'd to perpetrate all manner of Villanies; being a Perfon of that excellent temper in War and Peace, that it could not have been expected the (e) Britains could long have resifted, had not the flattery of his Country-men prevail'd as much over him at home, as he did over those here: Representing the state of things to that effeminate Tyrant, not according to the Truth, but as they thought most agreeable to his humour. Whereupon he and the Consul Petronius Turpilanus that succeeded him, being both remov'd, that base Fellow Tribellius Maximus took place, whose unworthiness was such, that it provok'd his own Country-men to rebel, as well as the Britains; but his Reign ending with his Masters, during all the time of Otho Galba and Vitellius his Government (whereof he that held longest continu'd not above Eighth Months) the Roman State was as busily imploy'd in conquering itself, as before in conquering others; so that they wholly pretermitted the thoughts of all Foreign Attempts, till the entrance of Vespasian, who having laid the Foundation of his Greatness here, resolv'd to give the Britains the first tafte of his Power, by sending over those three excellent Generals, Petilius Cerialus, Julius Frontinus, and Julius Agricola; against whom there appear'd for the Britains mov'd by the Example of their Neighbours, no lefs then by their own desire of Liberty, three men of as great repute; that is to say, Arviragus, whom the Natives, after the manner of the Romans, had saluted Imperator Britannorum, the only Son of Cunobelin left alive; Venutius Prince of the Brigantes; and Galgacus Prince of the Caledonii: These three divided the Forces of the whole Isle betwixt them, thinking to have singled out the Roman Generals; but they uniting, whilft the other fought by Parties (I cannot call them Armies) routed them as
as fast as they met with them: upon which Arviragus, after the end of that sharp War, strangely begun and maintain'd by his Sister Voadicia, which cost near 100000 Roman lives, retir'd into the North, where some say he dyed; others that he submitted to a Tribute, perswaded by his Wife Genista, a Roman Lady, and near Kinwoman to Claudius.

AGRICOLA, having by the death, or recess rather, of the last King (as appears by that piece of Flattery of the (f) Poet to Domitian his Master) clear'd his way over the body of the life, as far as Sterling in Scotland (the non ultra of those days) and planted Garrisons in the most convenient places between Gota and Boadicia, i.e. the two Arms of the two contrary Seas, that run up into the Land there, now call'd the Frith of Dunbritton, and the Frith of Edinburgh, the utmost Limits then design'd: having neither desire nor provocation to pursue the Britains any further, he resolv'd to crown his Victory with subduing the perverseness of those, that were already in his power; whereby, whiles he aspir'd to no less advantage over his Predecessors, in point of Glory, then he had over his Enemies in point of Power, he shew'd the World that they only knew how to Conquer, but he how to make good a Conquest. The way he took to do this, was by permitting the People their own Laws and their own Princes; allowing their Kings the Site, State, and Complements of Majesty, after the rude manner their Ancestors had been serv'd in, himself in the mean time using the Roman fashions: so, as he seem'd rather to tempt them by his Example, than compell them by any Law to do the like. The King that then rule'd was this Meriadoc (when Romans call'd Marius) supposed to be the Son of the last King, whom to care's, they call'd Morgen, as much as to say the Freeman, which Complement so irritated those under his Fathers Colleague Gallaeus, who were driven into the inaccessible parts of Scotland, and forc'd to endure all the miseries incident to a barren Soil and unwholesome Air, whilst 't oth'er enjoy'd all blessings but that of Liberty: that their Envy turn'd to as great an Animosity against him and his people, as against the Romans themselves, and that very time, they wasted one another with alternate Inquisitions, till an Enemy, that neither of them dream'd of, broke upon them, and did them more mischief then the Romans. The only Action we find of this Marius ingag'd in, was that Expedition against the Picts; for by that Name continued the custom of going naked, and painting their body like their Ancestors, the Romans distinguish'd them from the civiliz'd, i.e. the subjugated...
jugated Britain) wherein he prov'd so successful in several Battles, that the Romans, to encourage him and all his Successors, whom they design'd as Tacitus tells us, to be Servitiis Instrumenta, erected a Stone as a Trophy of his victorious memory, by the Inscription of Murius Victoria, that hath lasted till of late years; the Glory thereof is deny'd him by some of our Modern Antiquaries, who with more Envy perhaps than Ignorance, ascribe it to Murius the Roman Consul, with as much reason as Lloyd the Britifh Historian would have him to be that Murius, on whom he fallens so many wonders; both he and they being confident, that in Relations at this distance, no man is of sufficient Authority to suppress any mans fancy, much less condemn it.

The good Fortune of Agricola in reducing the Britains, prov'd most unfortunate to himself, while the jealous Tyrant his Master, thinking the mock Triumph he had made but a little before in Germany, was upbraided by the Fame of his real conquest here, recall'd him out of ours, to send him of an Errand into another World; whereby the Britains being left to themselves, to contest with the Pitts (who had chang'd their Natures from the time they chang'd their Names, and become of Friends the most mortal Enemies) knew not how to resist the approaching storm, but were forc'd to give place, whiles they made themselves Masters of all the Country about Edinburgh: the news whereof being afterward brought to Adrian, when he was Emperor, he sent over Julius Severus, and purpos'd to follow himself in Person, to chastize the Infolence of the one, and the Cowardliness of the other: But Severus to render himself more grateful to the Britains, and to shew them that he had more of the Julius in his Nature, then the Severus, brought over with him this Coel, the Princeps Juventatis, whom he knew they long'd to see, being the next of blood to the last King (some say his Son) whom the Romans call'd Calius; who under the colour of being sent for Breeding to Rome, had been kept there as an Hostage, from the time of Murius his last entring upon the Government: Long it was not before he had beaten back the Pitts; but before he could make ready the Laurel to present to the Old Emperor his Master, he impatient of the Glory, was arriv'd in Perton, who finding the Pitts retir'd into their Fastnesses, very wisely depopulated all the Country round about, and so leaving out that which was not worth the trouble of keeping, he secur'd the rest by that wonderful Work call'd the Pitts Wall. After this he establish'd Coel in the Government over the Britains, and appointed the Prætor Licinius Priscus (whom he had purposly
positely call'd from the Jewish Wars) to be assistent to him; by whose ad-
vice Coel set up a Municipal form of Government in all the Cities and great
Towns, something like that of the Romans, and sent abroad Judges into the
Country, with Commission of Oyer and Terminer, in all matters Criminal and
Civil. Now because the People were of different Nations, and bred under
different Laws, part Britains and part Romans, they observ'd this Rule, to
punish all Romans by Roman Magistrates; all Britains by British; only here-
in they gave respect to the Romans, to submit that all Process should be in
Latin, which at first the Vulgar Sort of Britains could not well digest, because
they understood nothing of it; but sympathy of Manners and continuation
of Commerce introduc'd at last such an affection to the Language, that they
became not only knowing in the Tongue, but very Critical in that know-
ledge, arriving at a degree of Eloquence, and that led them to a perfection in
the (g) Liberal Sciences, and in a very little time they were eminently with
all the Arts of that warman Nation; but as bad causes many times produce
good effects, so out of this Dunghill sprung that Flower the Luce, which
garnish'd the Temples of the succeeding King, who meeting with an Age that
affected new Notions, suffer'd himself to be carry'd away in the Croud, till
happily, and perhaps unexpectedly, he arriv'd at last at the Doctrine of
Christianity.

T HE time ascrib'd by the CYBEB-
Britifli Historians to the 3 LI N.
last Kings (if there be no mistake in the Computation) could take
up no less then the Reigns of St
Emperours, Titus, Domitian, Ner-
va, Trajan, Adrian, and Antonius
the two first of which were per-
haps more unkind to the Britains
then to any other of their Sub-
jects; but the two next permitted
them the benefit of their own
Kings; the two last the priviledge
of their own Laws: but more be-
holding were they yet to the Em-
peror Aurelius, who, if he were not
a real Christian (as some (h) Histori-
rians believe him to be) was yet
(as 'tis reported of King Agrippa)
almost persuad'd to be so, in that
he frankly privilèd all those of
that persuasion and permitted this
Kings to be the first profess'd Be-
liever of any Prince in the World:
whereupon his Countrymen chang'd his name of Cymbelus into that of Le-
venient, i.e. the Great Light, upon which the Romans call'd him Lucius;
a Name that seems to have been written with the Beams of the Sun, to the In-
tent it might be legible throughout all the Ages of the World: in honour of
which Emperor, the said King entitul'd the first Canons that ere he made;
Leges Romanas & Cæsaris: Now however this was the first Christian King
that ever was, not excepting (with reverence to the Writers of their Legend
be it spoken) either (i) Gundafer R. of India, converted by St. Thomas, or
(A) Abgar R. of Edessa, converted by Letters (as they say) from our Saviour
himself: Yet we must not take the Arts of Christianity within this Ill.

(1) Abia. Hist. doct. lib. 9,
(2) Euth. lib. 1.
cap. 13.
(3) Nicet. Chari-
not. in Ar-
men. cap. 12.
from the date of his Conversion. Since Gildas, whose Authority is not to be questioned, deduces it *tempore summum Tiberi*, which falls out not to be above five years after Christ's Passion, who, by the *Divi扬洪* Account, suffered in the eighteenth year of the Reign of that (i) Tyrant: However, those who think not fit to look so far back do yet admit *praesidii Arvirago*, and to this even the Roman Historians, that lived near about the same time, give some probable Testimony; for else it could be underflood by that strange Superfition of the Jews, where with (m) Suetonius complains, that *Pomponia*, the Wife of A. Plautius Lieutenant to Claudius, here was infected; Judaism being supposed by the Romans to differ from Christianity in Species only; and most of our (o) Antiquaries of the best Credit, do affirm St. Peter to have been preaching here near about the same time: So that the Conversion of Lucius may be esteemed rather happy then early, who meeting with such a calm season, as did not nip the Bud of his Devotion, before it was fully blown; it was no marvel (having taken root so long before) it sprang up suddenly, if so be we may call that growth sudden, which yet rose by visible degrees, so that perfection it attained to in his time: for it is worthy the noting, how the Britains, by Conversation with the Romans, became knowing first in the use of Arms, after in the promul of Arts and Sciences, natural, civil, moral and metaphysical: In Cambelins's time they refin'd their Money: In the time of Marius they learn'd the Art of Fortifications: The last King before this Instrued them in the Rules of Phlsophy; This in the Rudiments of Religion, reducing it after into practice, as divers of our Ecclesiastical Writers inform us, by establishing with his Royal Authority *A.B. and Bishops* in the Church, instead of those *Flamines* and *Arch-Flamines* which were before in the Paganis Temples, wherein the Britib Church had the start of all other Christian Churches in the World, in point of honour, as well as Order: There being no Constand of so high a Title, as that of (p) *Arch-Bish.* in any of the Eastern Churches at that time; from whom, thofe of Rome, and all the Western Churches, had theirs many years after: which shews that this pious purpose was not to suffer Religion to loose any part of that State and Majesty, which might preserve the Reverence due to it, and accordingly he not only purged and prepar'd the great *Pagan Temples* for the Service and Honour of Religion, but erected many particular Seminaries, *w e e c h r i s t i a n æ p i s c a l i s e x t i e r e p r i m o r d i a f o r m a l d o * , *Polidor*, endowing them at his own proper costs and charges amongst the rest, I take that of Bangor to be the first, (q) Containing no less than 300 Monks.

THE BRITAINS.
THE SECOND

DYNASTY

OF

ROMANS.
OF

R O M A N S.

The Romans (as most other Nations) were a People mixt partly half Latins and half Sabins; and so equally incorporated, that the one gave name to the place they lived in, the other to the People they lived with. Rome was the name of the City, and that of the People the appellations of the Citizens. Some say the City was in the first place called (a) Febria, after the name of Febrais the mother of Mars; Others suppose the Antient name to be (b) Valentia, but (c) Pierius affirms from the testimony of Gergilias that the primitive name was Cephalona Gr. Kephalon a Gr. Kephalon a name (faith he) occasionally given to it, out of respect to a man's head of incredible magnitude that was found at the digging up the foundation of the Capitol, or rather Prophetically given, as believing it would be the head City of the World. There are who affirm it had (d) three names, the first Sovereign, which was that of Romelia, the Second Sacred, which was (e) Antibus, as much as to say Flourishing; the third was Secret, as having never been publish'd by any man (faith (f) Pliny) but once by Valerius Soranus, who for his bold Impiety (for so it was then esteem'd) was presently put to death; the Romans superstitionally believing (as all other Gentiles did at that time) that the good fortune of their City was involv'd in the name, the discovery, whereof by the help of some Charms, might be a means to Rob them of their Tutelar Gods; and therefore to shew that this name was not so much as to be enquir'd after, they made the Image of the Goddess Angerona (the pretensive of the Genius of their City) with a (g) Muffler on her mouth, to shew that the might not speak. Something of the same conceit was questioned, the cause that Posterity is left at such a loss in seeking after the right name of this Isle of Ours, which seems to be rather conceal'd by the Druides, than unknown to them; when Cæsar could neither by flattery or force extort the truth from them. Fabius Pictor tells us yet another name that Rome had, to wit Amarillis, so called from Amaris a Trench to convey water, for that after they had Sacrific'd to Vettus upon the overflow of the Arean Sea by Tyber, the water return'd to his own Channel, and thence by Aqueducts was convey'd to the City.

Thus it remains uncertain what the Original (not to say principal) name of...
of this great City was, and more uncertain when it took that name. Some fetch the Æra thereof \( Ab. M. 2389 \), others looking back to the year 2336. But most of the Vulgar Chronologers go no farther than the year 2311. Some will have it called Rome from Roma, Daughter of Italus, King of the Aborigines; Others from Romanaeia better known by the name of Saturn; Some again impute the honour to Romamus Son of Ulisses and Grecia; and there are who contend for Romus the Son of Evametheon sent by Dyomedes from Troy; but the Vulgar Tradition favours Romulus (which yet Plutarch that wrote his life acknowledges not) making him his Patronimick, who was by Birth a Bastard, and no other wife a King than by Treachery; having laid the foundation of his greatness in the Blood of his Brother, and slain his Uncle to make way for his Grand-father. Thus these Romans that would be esteem'd the most glorious People in the World, had this in Common with the most Barbarous and obscure Nations, that they came from such Springs as (running under ground) were not discoverable in many Ages after their first Rise; insomuch that they who would trace their Originals as far as they themselves could wish, or their Poets Feign, must stop at last at the Non ultra of the utmost bounds of Nature, where the rest of the Universe stands equal with them in all points.

Now as Rome had its Sacred Name, so had it also its Sacred Number comprehended in that name, which answering to the Influences of those Constellations with which the Genius of their Nation kept Intelligence, actuated all their great designs and undertakings. For as the Britains were principally, if not wholly swaid by the Number Six (as all Nations in the World by some one number or another) so were they by that of Seven, which being of all other most like the Geometrical Square, may be said to be the most proper figure of Regulation. Seven Letters in the (h) Mystical or Sacred name of their City before mention'd, as many in that of Romulus their supposed Founder, who (as Livy tells us) alter'd his mind seven times touching the place where he would have it Founded, and at last plac'd it upon seven Hills; afterwards he divided his Principality into seven Tribes, four Local, and three National; and when he came to distinguish betwixt the Nobility, and the Populace, he differenc'd them by seven distinct Privileges.

1. Jure (h) formalii, by the distinction of Habit, of which they had several Sorts, *Sagia*, *Pretexta*, *Amphistillevia*, *Laticlavia*, *Paludamenta*, *Trabea*, and *Chlamys*; of these the Common People wore only the first Sort, which were Coats without Sleeves, the rest were worn only by Gentlemen and Noblemen, differenc'd according to their respective Dignities.

2. Jure (k) Petitionis, by the right of their Offices; for those that were Senators (as afterwards all Noblemen) had their *curules* or blew Chairs, with a Chair plac'd in it to ride through the Streets; the Consuls being differenc'd by sitting in an Ivory Chair, whereas the rest were wood only.

3. Jure (l) Imaginii, by the use of Images, which were the same things to them in point of honour and Ornament, as Escocoins and Arms of Families are to us.

4. Jure Gentilitiarum, by having names that were hereditary; for from the very time of the first League with the Sabins, it was agreed that the Romans should prefix Sabin Names, and the Sabins Roman, before that of their families names; which Prenomina being hereditary, were therefore call'd Gentilitia (whence came our word Gentlemen, for at that time no...
part of the World had taken up that Custom: now Tully tells us that these Gentiles were those Qui codem inter se sunt nominae, i.e. Men of the same name; for the Common People were not permitted to call their Posterity by their own names, but were obliged to give their Children always new uncouth and unheard of names: which brought them under such contempt as if they had no names, but were (as Livy calls them) Sine nomine turba, a nameless Rabble. The original Gentiles or Leaguers of the Latin Stock, were the Fabii, descended from the Kings of the Aborigines, the Romuli, Juli, Junii, Sulpicii, Aurelii, Carulli, Horatii, Servitii Priscorum, who were of the Trojan Race, that came in with Æneas at the Conquest of Italy: those of the Sabin Race were the Tatii, the Illyr of King Tatius; the Pom–

pilii (whereof the Pinarii, the Æmuli Manurecorum were younger branches the Anciamartii, Claudii, Regilenses: the Tarquinii, Publicola, Emilii, Ænobarbi, the Quintii Capitolinorum, and Cincinnatorum, the Cornelii Scipiorum: and Lentulorum, these were all the ancient Leaguers: The Families of most note that sprung from them after they united and mixed together, were the Pothisiumi, Coffii, Sulpicii, Servitii, Sempronii (of which the Gracchi were but a younger branch): the Fulvoli, Flacci, Othaurii, Mutii, Pompeii. These I instance amongst many, because it was (m) forbid the Common People under a great penalty to name their Children by any of these names, or indeed by any other name that had but a Sound like them, or like any name of a Gentleman.

5. Jure Suffragii, by the difference of Places in all Publick Conven–
tions and Assemblies; where they had by the Law of Ænasia a very formal precedence given them, as we may see at large in (n) Lipsius and (o) Seneca.

6. Jure Communii, for by the Law of the Twelve Tables it was forbid, un–
der the pain of Degradation for any of the Gentiles to match with a Plebeian.

7. Lastly, they were distinguishing, Jure Ordinis, according to their Titles of Honour, wherein they had also Seven gradations of different Stiles, the lowest whereof was that of Egregii, which were such as we properly call Gentlemen or Esquires: next them were the Persecutissimi, which were those of the Equestrian Order, as our Knights: then came the Clarissimi, these were the Correctores or Praefatos of Provinces much like to our Lord Lieutenants of Countries: the next above these were the Spectabiles, a title proper only to Dukes and Counts Provincial: the Illustris, such were all that had any voice in Senate, all Praefatos, Magistrati Equitum ejusdem, the Questores Palatii, the Comites Marii, which were as our Lord Admirals, and all Generals and Lieutenants Generals of Armies had the same Stile: (p) Nobilissimi, which some barbarous Lawyers of late (q) Alciates have chang'd (and as they think Elegantly) into Super-Illustres, which the modern more refinedly have render'd Serenissimi; this was appropriated only to Princes by birth, as were the (r) Caesar or heirs apparent of the Empire, who were written Principes Iuventutis; the Empe–
rours took to themselves that of Divi, or Augusti, which we at this day term Sacred. It is further observable that as Romulus was the first of seven Kings, so Kingship was the first of seven Orders of Government in that Commonwealth: for there were (s) Reges, (t) Patricii, (u) Tribuni, (v) Decemviri, (w) Dictatores, (x) Triumviri, (y) Imperatores; the Last of which Titles cost no less than the Lives of seven times seven thousand Citizens; a Purchase so dear, that it had been impossible for any person to have persuaded them to submit to it, but such an one as had first slaughtered seven times seventy thousand
thousand Enemies, and subdued seven times seven Nations, as Cæsar did (if they that writ his life say truth) before he offer'd this Violence to his Country and Friends. Again 'tis noted, that there was just seven hundred years spent between Romulus the first King and Founder, and this Cæsar the first Emperor and Confounder of the Commonwealth; and they that have taken the pains to compute the years altogether from the time of the Birth of the Obsequies of this great State, have pointed out just seven Periods, which as the seven Ages of man, they have measured by the 1 Beginning, 2 Increase, 3 Confirmation, 4 Continuation, 5 Declination, 6 Degeneration, 7 Dissolution. From the Foundation to the Consulship of Brutus and Tarquinus Colatus, is reckoned the first Age, consisting of two hundred and twenty years, or thereabouts, which we may call its Infancy: the time from thence to the beginning of the second Carthaginian War, which took up two hundred and fifty years more, may be called its Adolescence: the time from that War (which happen'd in the Consulship of Ap. Claudius the Bold) to the Dictatorship of Cæsar, being two hundred and twenty years more, we may call its Youth: Augustus's his Reign passes for its Prime or Full Age, continuing to near three hundred years; from the time of Gallenus the thirty third Emperor was a sensible Declination, unto the time of Arcadius, which was about two hundred and thirteen years more; the time from their to the Death of Maximus, who flew Valentinian the Third, look'd like its Dotage Age; in which it laboured with many infirmities, and grew burdensome to itself, languishing so fast, that it was much it could hold out after so many Convulsion fits as it had unto Augustulus, in whose time it may be said to give up the Ghost and dissolve.

Thus liv'd and died this mighty State, that once was Empress of the World, having brought under its obedience most of the Great and known Nations, forcing them to write the Indentures of their Vassalage in their own Blood amongst the many whereof that were forsaken and lost, was this of Britain (if so be it may not rather be said to be won than overcome, neither submitting to the Roman People, nor their Laws, as other Provinces that fell under the superintendency of the Senate) which being taken by particular Captitation, Inter sacra Patrimonia, to be under the dictation of the Emperor himself, they sent for the most part none but Cæsars to keep the Possession of it; which Possession was yet very uncertain, from the time of the Death of Lucius, till the Birth of Constatine (therefore surnam'd the Great, because the Britains Voluntarily submitted to him as their Native Prince) whose Father by his gentle carriage prevail'd with the People to stand still (like beasts fowled) till he put that Yoke about their necks, which kept them down, without any possibility of Resistance after; before whose time the Government was rudely divided into (t) two parts, i.e. Partem Maritimam discovered by Cæsar, and Partem Interiorem subdued by Claudius: these two Constantine divided into (t) three parts, or as (x) Burton (who affirms Cambden to be mistaken by a false Copy of Sextus Rufus) would have us to believe into four, contrary to the Consul of the Notitia, which reckons but three; to each of which he appointed a Rector, under the Superintendency of one Vices General, which was the (y) Provost of Gaul; two of these Rectors were Consular, the third Prefidal, to whom was committed the care of Civil affairs: the Martial were manag'd by three (x) Lieutenants Generals, the one entitled Comes Britannicus, who had the Guard of the Northern part of the Isle, against the Picts; the second
was Comes Marisimi Traiani, he had the charge of the Sea Ports and Stores, not much unlike Our Lord Wardens of the Cinque Ports; or rather as some think Lord Admiral, against the Northern Rovers, that began to be very troublesome about that time: The middle and Western parts were under the Command of one that was still Dux Britanniae, being indeed Generalfisimo over the whole. The Ecclesiastical Politie was suited to that of the Civil and Military; there being as many Arch-Bishops as Consular Deputies, each having under his Jurisdiction a Competent number of Suffragans or Provincials: and for the better order, the Lawyers were under one President, the Souldiers under one Provost, the Clergy under one Patriarch; this form held near a hundred and fifty years, till the Duches of Britain (who as I observ'd before had the General Charge of the whole, under the Emperour) casting off their Allegiance, provok'd Flav. Valentinian (who by the care and diligence of his Lieutenant Flav. Theodosius had got the Reins into his own hands) to make some Alteration suitable to his own humour, who cutting one part into two, made five parts of the whole, and new nam'd them Britannia prima, Britannia secunda, Mass. Cesarisentis, Valencia, and Flavia. This divident continued as long as the Romans had any thing to do here, whose Domination holding not above thirty years after, we may account the whole date of their Government to have lasted about four hundred sixty two years, reckoning from the time of J. Cesar's first landing, to the time Honorius by his mandatory letters clear'd the land. In which tract of time, 'tis incredible how much they beautified this little spot of Earth, with rare Structures and buildings, not inferior (faith Cambden) to any of those in Italy, France or Spain; Decorata sunt urbis, quibus quaternitis Civitates (by which must be understood) quattuor urbes principaliores, praeferunt Cæsarea immensa, qua e ipsa magna sursum portas, Seris eximias infrastruere firmissimis (faith Bede.) Add to this, that they repair'd those ruinate Carpofs, built by the Antient Britains, across the whole Isle, laying the Lines of new Roads in other places through the most fruitful and habitable part of the Country to all the great Towns of Trade, and Cities, avoiding such places as were pleas'd with savage beasts, or men more dangerous than they; neither spared they any cost in wanton as well as necessary works, building magnificent Thermes, pleasant Aqua-ducts, Grotts, Tesselated pavements, entire Columns, hieroglyphical Obelisks, Pyramids, and structures of all Sorts, that might conduce to ease, ornament, greatness or pleasure; witness the stupendous Raines of many of those monuments of theirs, not lessthe wonder than the delight of the beholders to this day: by all which it appears to have been both the Glory and Security of the Britains, to have had so many Roman Colonies planted amongst them; not only in that 'tis more than probable (by what follow'd after) that they had been wholly unpeopled, had a ruder and less noble Enemy broke in upon them, but in respect to the advantage of being brought into the Society of a Civil Conversation, by nearer ways, and such as had been impossible for them to have found out: whereby they were led to an affectation of glory, the natural incentive to all virtue, which however some that would be thought Polititians interpret an Effect of their Bondage, and Servitude, was so much the more grateful a loss, by much the Liberty they exchange'd for it, was the worst sort of Licentiousnes: but that which Counterpoises the parting from Life, Liberty, Estate, Reputation, or whatever else might be dear or desirable, was that inestimable Treasure of Christianity (for which they principally, if not only stood indebted to the Romans) which finely and alone weighs down the con-
Mediation of any natural, civil or moral sufferings; and that which gives us cause to believe that they themselves who liv’d at that time, were of this opinion, is the reciprocity of affection betwixt the Conquerors and the Conquered, being such, that they who had but a little before mingled blood in the Field, did not long after do the same in their Families, mixing names almost as soon as they had mixt Nations, the Romans glorying more in their Britifh Cognomens then in those more glorious ones of their own, some being pleased to denominate themselves from the places where they liv’d, others from the places where they had fought, most from the Charges they had borne here; every one taking occasion from some one cause or another to let his friends at home know what value he had for his friends here: To say truth, this was the darling Plantation, and that which therefore they would have call’d (**). Romania i.e. Ρωμαίον, the Roman Island, as the Spaniards since have had their nova Hispania, the French their nova Francia, and We Our new England: neither were the Britains so full of not to join in this Sympathy or respect, their Princes changing their uncouth names of Guine-dib, Arviridoc, Meurig or Levermawr, into Guiderius, Arviragus, Marius, Lucius, &c. And as the Princes, so each great man (Regis ad exemplum) putting himself into the Roman Fashion, Latiniz’d his name to advance the Sound, as appears by the names of many Noble Families yet extant among us, possibly deriv’d from those times, as Cary, Lucy, Savill, Constanfie, Martin, Pyndar, Griffin, Corbet, Cecil, Gorges, Clode, Flavel, &c. The Britains generally complying so far, that as if they had really design’d to be one Nation with them, they equally engag’d in all their unequal Feudes, fighting for them abroad till they had wafted more Blood than they had lost in fighting before against them at home, whereby they were left so weak, after the Romans left them to themselves, that it is no marvel they were so soon overcome by an Enemy seeming less Puissant than themselves, falling under a second Conquest, so much worse than the former, by how much those that overcame them, fought not (as the Romans) for Domination, but for their Dominions, thrusting them out as they over-threw them till the mischief became incurable.
I. CLASS OF ROMANS

Caesar, I.  3928.  Pertinax,  184.
Claudius,  A.C.43.  Severus,  211.
Adrianus,  123.  Bassianus,  214.

Caesar I. 3928.

HE First of all the Romans, that cherish'd so high a thought, as the Conquest of Britain, was this J. Caesar, whom Plutarch compares to Alexander the Great; and not untruly, if the Character be true, which (a) Julian (a) gives of them both; who said that the one did affect (b)nurra mea, the other (c) to imperirion; (c) To rule all. but how like ever they were in point of Majesty, they differed much in point of Modesty: Caesar not thinking himself worthy to be esteemed the others' equal, till he appeared his Superiour, by finding out (what Alexander only deird) another (d)World to conquer, and which was yet more, conquering it in less time.  

(a) Inquit Minervae.  
(b) To conquer all.  
(c) To rule all.  
(d) Vindexus dieque fratis in Orbis Britann. Luc.
time, than he could possibly have found it out; for it was no more
to him but *veni, vidi, vici*, as himself express'd it; wherein if we
oppose the greatnes of his mind, to that of the design, we shall
find the glory of his Undertaking so much greater, by how much
he had taken before the true measure of those difficulties he was
to expect here, by comparing them with those he found in Gallia:
neither do I think it any diminution of the Esteem we ought to have
of his courage, that it admitted some Allay of caution, his wis-
dom prompting him to find the depth of the danger, as his Mag-
nanimity did that of the Seas; for by sending C. Valusentu before
him, like Lightning before the Thunderclap, to prepare his
Way with a Terrour suitable to the Greatnes of the Action; he
deceiv'd every body but himself, and gain'd that glory by the
surprise which perhaps had been none if he had made use of force: so
that it may be said in some fence, he overcame before he came
over, the amazed Britains tempting him with the profer of a Tri-
but, to forbear making them Tributary; but as great Bodies
though they move slowly, are not suddenly stopp'd in their motion,
so neither was he to be put besides his great purpofes, by any
Overtures; which look'd (as that) more like a Subjection to the
Roman State, than a Submission to him, his Genius (which always
pursu'd Victory, as he did his Enemies, following it even through
feeming impossibilities) urging him to Try the favour of his great
Miftref's Fortune, by such a bold Temptation, as none had ever given
her before, to stand Spefatrix, whiles he put Fetters upon the
(c) Ocean, as well as the Britains: Whom therefore after his Landing
he charg'd with that Fury, as if he had intended his first onset
should have been his last; chasing them through Woods rather like
Beasts than Men, without regard to either age or Sex, till his cruelty
offend'd even Heaven itself; who by a dreadful Wreck requited him
at Sea, for all the wrongs he had done by Land, a Storm rising upon a
Spring Tyde, that destroyed the greatest number of his Ships, and ren-
dred the refit unferviceable. This Rebellion of the Ocean encouraged
the Britains to Revolt also, who disdainning to have peace with one,
on whom the very Elements seem'd to make War, withdrew their
profer'dSubmission during the time they were engag'd in a Treaty
with him, and attach'd his Camp with a resolution so much beyond
their reafon, that he whose courage never fail'd him before, seeming
now to be loft unto himself, confess'd this was the only time in all
his Life, he found it easier to offend others than defend himself,
being not ashamed to draw off with that secrecy, as made his Re-
treat look like a Flight; wherein however he seem'd to have forgot
his honour, Fortune yet forgot not him, but made that Victoy over
him, the occasion of a greater Victory for him; whiles the too for-
ward Britains drawn out beyond any possibility of reccefs (an Er-
for found out by him before they themselfes took notice of it)
were incompasst by his horse that wheeted round about them, and
so forc'd to yield to his wisdom, that lost to submit to his
power; which double beating cost them a double tribute, and that
being well secure by good Hostages, he timely withdrew again
into Gallia, to avoid the Flaws of the approaching Winter.
No sooner was he departed from their Coast, but the Britains departed from their Faith, probably believing they had so baffled his Expedition, in the meanness of the Spoils he carried hence, that the empty consideration of Glory, would not have been sufficient incitement to have tempted him to repeat the danger of the Seas he had so lately past: But they found themselves deceived in the measure they took of his Ambition: For the next Spring he returned upon them, with a Countenance of having perfectly recovered his Strength; and by his Presence only, struck such a terror into them, that however Heaven seem'd to take part with them, as formerly, and charg'd him the second time in his Rear, while they stood ready to charge him in the front: notwithstanding, I say, this Incouragement given them by Divine assistance, they had not the Faith (I am loath to say not the Courage) to strike one stroke: But shewing their Fears to be as wide dispersed as their Forces, submitted to a perpetual Tribute, which I take to be the first Foundation of his perpetual Dictatorship, the highest honour the Roman State could give him, although the most fatal, in that there was nothing beyond it, but what was immortal, to which the Senate not long after made his great Soul a passage by twenty three wounds: rendring him more glorious (if possible) in death, then life; whilst all the World stood amazed, to see the Fall of the first Emperor, like the Fall of the first King of the Romans, given by the hands of those that supported him; herein only had Vespasian the better of Romulus, as well as of his Parallel Alexander, that he left his Name to his Successors, which neither of them two did.

The Second Emperor CLAUDIUS, made a personal Journey into Britain, moved by his Emulation of the great Julius, as he by his Envy to the Gods, was this Claudius, the fifth in Succession to the Empire, who, though he were so notorious a Coward whilst he was a private Person, that out of fear of death he buried himself alive, being pluck'd by the heels out of a Hole, to be set upon the Throne; yet as soon as he was saluted Caesar, his thoughts mounting to a Level with his Fortune, he took the Resolution (possibly from the apprehensions he had of the danger of having been so near sent into another World) to force his way into this little World of ours; giving himself thereby Title to that Glory, which the Romans esteemed next that of Immortality; being indeed so seemingly full of horror, that the (f) Legions refused to attend him; adding happily more to his Fame by their fears, then otherwise he himself...
himself could have contributed by his forwardness, whilst the distance of the danger proclaimed the praises of his cunning, as loudly as the difficulty of the design did that of his courage; it being easily foreseen, that the noise of his most extravagant preparations would so affright the long alarm'd Britains, that there would need no other force than that of their own apprehensions, to make them submit before they were subdued: in order whereunto he pretermitted not any circumstance of terror, clearing his way by two lieutenants, who though of different tempers, yet were either so qualified, that he needed no further security than what the proof of either virtue gave him: the first was a senator and a soldier, one that could handle his tongue (if we may so say) as well as his sword, being equally provided to push or persuade; who finding he had to do with a people that had rather give up their freedoms, than have them taken from them, chose to treat rather than fight, hoping by making their subjection voluntary, to make it lasting: but his master's patience being no way adequate to his prudence, the other was sent to second him; who, as he was of a finer temper, and a more active age, so by the severity of his executions, and the suddenness of his resolutions, it appeared he better understood the nature of the service he was engaged in, and the disposition of the person he was engaged by; for being to fight against a barbarous enemy, for a more barbarous master, the one implacable without conquest, the other not during to be conquer'd, he actuated plantisus's colder temper with his heart, whilst plantisus with his gravity preponderated his rashness. however, neither could the activity of the one, nor the authority of the other, to prevail (the Britains being too suspicious to be beguil'd, too numerous to be compell'd, and too obstinate to yield) but that they were fain to demand aid out of gallia; where the legions (as I said before) declaring that they would not make war in another world, claudius took that occasion to upbraid their cowardice, by his own example, shewing the world what he durst do, by undertaking what they durst not; the flattery of the augures being the ground of his confidence, who made him believe they had read the title of Britannus in his stars; which forwardness of his so stimulated the courage of his soldiers, that in sixteen days after his arrival, there was more done towards the conquest of Britain, than in sixteen years before: a good beginning if it had had a good ending. but the same destiny that exalted him, with intention to make his fall more notorious, permitted him not to tarry to perfect this great work, hurrying him from the conquest of so many brave men, to sink most ignominiously, under the restless malice of an imperious woman, who found a way to unravel all his glory, and give posterity occasion to use him worse (if possible) after he was dead, then she did while he was living; putting this indelible mark upon his weaknes's, that as no man did greater things with less hazard, so no man arrived at greater honour with less worth.

Though
Though the honour of ADRIA-

conquering Britain, be given to

the last Emperor, for that

his Lieutenants were the first

that pierced through the Body

of the Isle, making their way

to the very furthest parts

Northward and Westward;

yet the good old Emperor

Vespasian (who numbered his

years by his dangers) and his

most excellent Son Titus, who

had their share of the peril,

ought to have had their part in

the glory: But certainly the

true Britanicus was that incom-

parable Agricola (worthily so
call'd, for that he planted

the most Deserts, parts of the

Isle, and made them habitable

for men, where even Beasts re-

frained to live) who by the

power of his Tongue, rather

than that of his Sword

(both being alike sharp)

overcame them with Reason, after

others in vain had attempted it by Rage; his

Conquest being so much more excellent than that of any before him, by how

much 'tis harder to civilize than subdue. Pity 'twas, that when the Brit-

ains thought him invincible, they found him yielding to the Envy of his

Savage Master, which, like Lightning that melts the Blade, without so

much as singeing the Scabbard, blasted his Glory, whilst his Power re-

mained entire; putting such discouragements upon his Virtue, that during

the reign of the two next Emperours, Nero and Trajan (however men of

order and rule) none were found so hardy to desire, much less to dare

dwell here: By which means the Britains being once more left to them-

selves, and happily (as they thought) delivered from a condition of Slavery
to their Enemies, fell under the Curse of a more fatal War with their

Friends the Picts. These were that indomitable part of themselves, that

thought themselves better secured by the Mountains of Scotland, than the

Faith of Romans, and disdaining the baseness of their civilized Coun-
try-men, took advantage of the Romans retiring, prosecuting their disdain

with that cruelty and hardness, that Adrian, upon an address made to him

after he became Emperor, thought it a Glory worthy the hazard of his

own Person to relieve them: And having first sent over his Lieutenant Se-

verus to prepare the way, came himself after; who finding upon the Ret-

reat of the Picts into their Paffness, it would prove a War against Woods

and Mountains, rather than Men, wherein they had the advantage to fight

him when they pleased, without any other great hazard, then what they

were sufficiently prepar'd to sustain, went a new way to work with them,

and rais'd that Posterity amazing Work, call'd the Picts' Wall; a Rampire

of Earth of a prodigious height, environ'd with a double Fos,
ginta militia passum (faith Lampridius) but without doubt 'twas of much more Extent; for it reach't from Solway Frith in Scotland, to the mouth of Tyne by Newcastle: This, though it were perhaps a Monument of his Patience rather than his Prowefs, wrought so good an effect to the Securify of the very farthest, as well as of that part of the Ille, that the Britains ador'd him as The Refourer of their Country, with which Title (sufficiently rewarded for his pains, as he thought) he returned home Triumphant, with the Veneration of being the moft accomplifh'd Perfon at that time for Conduct and Counsel: Vertues fo eminent, that if they had not been lower'd with that Severity which moft men call Cruelty, he might have died with the fame honour he lived, and not have been cenfur'd (as after he was) to have been (however a good Prince) scarce a good man.

It hath been a Question, Whether Fortune be not born with a man as other Qualities; since, like an Incantation, it over-rules his Actions by something, which what it is, is not known unto himself; and there seems to be some Resolve of it in the unexpected greatness of this Emperour, the next that came over in person hither; who was rais'd out of nothing, to become nothing almost as soon as he was rais'd: A Perfon inferiour to many in blood, equal'd by as many in parts; back't with little or no allyance, qualified but with an ordinary Education; first a Pedagogue, then a Pettyfogger; naturally fo duffl and stubborn that his Father gave him thereupon this Surname of Pertinax, which we may English Blockhead. Yet being called from the Courts where he used to plead, to the Camp, he discovered fo extraordinary a Courage, acquiring himself fo well in all, but especially the Parthian Wars, that he was sent over as Admiral into Britain; and afterwards call'd into the Senate by Commodus, then made Governour of Assyria and Aifa: And lastly, when the Legions here in Britain began to Mutiny, he was the only man pitch't upon by the Tyrant to curb their Infolence; wherein as he proceeded more like a Pedant then a Prior, causing divers of the Principal Officers to be whipt, as if they had been his Boy's, and he their School-master, so he incenc'd them to that degree, that they fell upon him (as Boy's often do upon those unreasonable Corregidores) and without any reverence had to his Authority or Age, knockt him down dead (as they suppos'd) from his Horse; whence recovering again by a strange Resurrection (Fortune having reserved him for more honourable Adventures) he prevail'd so far over moft of the men that would have taken away his, as to bring them to lay
lay down their lives, against the Common Enemy, making them instrumental, whiles they became their own Executioners, to put into his hands a notable Victory over the Picts, who had by this time broke down part of the great Wall, and entering at the Breach, Sack't the Country round about: The Defeat he gave then, got him the Title of Britannicus, and made him so Popular ever after, that the Conspirators, who pluck't his Master from the Throne, designing to defend that bad action by a better choice, set him up in the room. However, he either not trusting their groundless kindness, or distrusting rather the Power of those that were to come next after him, made it his first work to break down the stairs by which he ascended: But by the same way he thought to preserve, he lost his Life and Empire; for they whom he intended to fling down, laying hold (as I may say) on him, pluck't him down with them, and so perished all together.

After the death of Pertinax, and during the short Reign of the short liv'd Did. Julianus, Clodius Albinus, that had been by Commodus declared Caesar, continued Lieutenant of Britain; and upon the Election of this Severus, he was declared his Associate in the Empire. But Severus, whose Ambition began where his years ended, finding his Age as much over-matcht by his Youth, as the merit of his Sons (whom he design'd to make his Successors) were by his Fortune, he resolv'd to remove him further off, in order to bring in them nearer the Throne: However, this being only in Intention, might possibly have lost its effects, by lying long in his cold Breast, had not those two Sparks of Ambition (born to set the World on fire) thaw'd his frozen blood, and turn'd all his Phlegm into Choler, by urging him with continual occasions of distrust: But those Fears and jealousies concluding not long after with the life of Albinus, slain in France, at the head of twelve thousand Britain's, his two Sons and he came over hither. The younger he left under the Tuition of Papinian, the then great Minister of State; the Eldest he took with him against the Picts: And to make him appear the more considerable amongst the Soldiery, caused him to be declar'd Augustus, and his Colleague in the Empire. But this proved an unfortunate undertaking to enter a young General; the Picts having got so much the better of the Romans, that they were forc'd, after the loss of near fifty thousand men, to admit a Treaty, and conclude a Peace, that did rather suspend than end the War; gaining only so much advantage at present, as to
prevent all disadvantages for the future, by repairing the broken Wall, or rather building of a new one of Stone, upon the old Earth work: This, as it was *Maximum Imperii decus & tutamen*, as *Spartianus* expresses it, so was it the only Monument that hath continued the honour of this Emperor's Name to this Day, under the glorious Title of *Britannicus Maximus*: However, he lived not to see the compleating of the Work, being forced to yield to the Infirmities of his Age, before he could bring the Enemy to yield to the dread of his Power, finishing the Course of Nature so abruptly and untimely, that the World was in suspense to determine, whether it had been better he had never been born to Empire, or being Emperor, had never died; having in much Cruelty laid a Ground work to great Glory, but left no Body behind that knew how to lay the Super-structure upon that Foundation.

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**BASSIANUS.**

*The next in order, I cannot say in Succession after Severus* (for he was jointly possess of the Empire with him in his Life time, and not solely possess after his Death, having indeed too little worth to fill up the Throne single) *was his disorderly Son Bassianus* (if so be we may honour him so far as to call him a Son, who after he had attempted the murder of his Father, flew his Brother in the arms of his Mother) the beginning of whose Government, like that of his Ambition, appear'd black and fatal, making his Friends more afraid of him than his Enemies, in respect his delight was rather in Blood than War: Who, notwithstanding the Picts had murder'd so many of his Country-men, that there were scarce enough left to secure those that were not destroy'd, yet he was so far from vindicating his Nation's honour or right, that he clapt up a Peace with them upon Conditions no less unsafe than dishonourable; and as if he had had no other way to shew Postiety that he once reigned here, but by leaving such Monuments of Defoliation as might detest any one from ever undertaking the Government after him: He withdrew himself first and the most considerable of his Officers, and afterward the whole Nation of the Romans, and left the Natives in so miserable a Condition, that from his time to the Reign of Constantius Chlorus (which was above sixty years) during the Succession of no less than twenty Emperours, the Britains were labouring (as men taken with fainting fits) to preserve themselves a People. For however we read that there was one Numnius Philippus here, under the Title of *Prætor*, in the time of Gordianus the younger, and after that Lollianus Victorinus Posthumus, after whom succeed the two Tetrici and Marius, who
who seem to have had some Marks of Soveraignty about the Reign of Gallienus (as appears by some old Coyms that have been found with scarce legible Inscriptions of their Names) yet I take these to be only such as touch't here, with no other design, but to plunder or squeeze some Tribute out of the Impoverish't Islanders; as did the drunken Bonosus, Admiral to Aurelian, and Gaurusius, Admiral to Diocleian (whom I know not for what reason some would have thought to be Natives, whereas Eumenes Rhetor calls the last Terrae Bataviae Alumnus) or peradventure took Sanctuary here, as in the remotest and most secure place to shelter themselves in, after they rebell'd against their Masters, like as did Alcitus, when pursu'd by Constantius the next Emperour in Succession.

II. CLASS
II. CLASS OF ROMANS.

Constantius Chlorus, 304.
Constantius Mag. 308.
Constantius II. 381.

Constantius Chlorus 304.

HIS Constantius, first sent over into Britain by Aurelian, having by the report of his good fortune against the Picts, and quiet government of the Britains, made himself so considerable, as to be Elected Cesar, by Maximilian, Colleague to Dioclesian, who resign'd up to him France and Italy, with some part of Africa: he gave up all to his Son Constantine, referring only Britain to himself, whether out of affection to his Son, or to the place, as being the Province where he had spent his youth before he came to be Cesar, is uncertain. There are who say he was by birth a Briton, at least by the Moth's side. Others again suppose that it was rather the birth-place of his Honour, it being
being the employment he had here, that made him first known to the World.

Several of the British Historians ascribe this choice of his, to the affection he had for his Wife Helena, the Famed Daughter to King Coel (whom the Romans called Calius), but most probable is, that he preferred the Britains above any other People, out of gratitude to the great instances of affection they had given him; many of them quitting their Country to follow his fortune. However it was, we find he fixed his Residence at York, which being conveniently situate to regard either the Picts or Britains, he built him there a Palace, whereof, it is said, there are some Remains to this day.

During his Government (whether we may ascribe it as a good effect of a bad cause, to the continued troubles for so many years before, that had quite tired out both sides; or to the more peaceable inclinations of the Britains, become less turbulent, since they became Christians; or to the universal contentment of the Britains, who were well pleased to see one appointed to rule over them, that had some of their own blood in his veins, I know not) it so fell out, that there was no great occasion of Action: so that those that write his Life, have chose rather to transmit to us a Character of his Person, than set down any Constitution of his Government, leaving us by the excellency of his temper, to guess at that of the times, who, though he was himself no Christian, and which was more, Colleague with one that was a great persecutor of them, did not only this good, that he did them no hurt, but was so far a positive benefactor to them, as to permit, if not encourage, the open profession of their Faith: Testified by many notable works of piety, that were reared under his permission, giving the World a true measure of his own, by what he took of others virtue, in that excellent Apotheosis of his, That whosever was false to his God, could not be true to his Prince. This benign clemency of his being crowned with this blessing, above all the Emperors that were before him, that he only died a dry death, and with this, above all that came after him to be so superlatively beloved, that he seem'd to live even after he was dead, the Britains endeavouring to eternalize his memory, by preferring his ashes in a Cell, that was for many hundred years after fam'd for a burning Lamp, made (as some think) of liquid Gold, artificially dissolved into an unctuous substance, which (not without great wonder, or perhaps a miracle) continued its light even to latter Ages, to denote to posterity to whom they were first beholding for that sacred light, which hath continued ever since, whereof his own Son was the first profest adorer.
 Upon the death of Constantius, the Empire fell under the Government of four Cæsars. Galerius held most of the East; Maxentius both the Iberia's; this Constantine, Son of the last Constantius, succeeded in Britain and France; and Licinius (declared Cæsar by Galerius) held Hungary. The Ball lying thus even betwixt the four, most of them of like age, but certainly of not unlike ambition and courage, it could not be expected but that they would fight for it, and over it, the World being not wide enough to keep them long asunder, without justling each other. The first that mov'd out of his Station, was this Constantine, who set upon Maxentius, whilst Licinius attach'd Galerius, the two Cæsars against the two Emperours.

And either Aggressor proving victorious, they returned back to try their Fortunes, as they had before their Forces, upon each other, that so it might be known for whom the Conquest of the whole was refer'd by Providence. Neither wanted they sufficient ground of quarrel, not from their ambition only, but Religion, this being a Christian, that a Pagan, this the first open Preacher, as the other the fiercest Persecutor of Christianity, the one fighting to proclaim his piety, the other to defend his cruelty. The different Nations engag'd by different interests on either side, made it a tumultuary War, wherein glory and despair had a like effect in the expense of their blood and treasure. Neither for a while was it to be judged by their alternate successes, to whom fortune inclin'd, till Constantine strengthen'd by the help of those Legions he brought out of Britain, gave him his deaths wound, and forc'd him to reel rather than retreat into the East, being weaken'd more by the loss of his reputation, than the sense of his loss. Upon which beginning his own where the other's greatness ended, he fixt his Imperial Seat there where he might seem to rise with the Sun, and have a full dayes journey through his own Dominions, setting at last in Britain, the then supposed uttermost part of the habitable World.

Being now Lord of no less than one hundred and twenty Provinces, each large enough to make a Kingdom, he reduc'd them into fourteen Dioceses (as he call'd them) seven of which were in the East, seven in the West. These were under the Government of four particular Presidents; the first intitul'd, Praefectus Praetorio Italia, who had under him Rome, Italy, and Africa; the Second intitul'd, Praefectus Praetorio Galliarum, had under him France, Spain, and Britain; The third intitul'd,
still'd, Prefectus Praetorio Orientis, had Egypt the Orient, properly so call'd, Asia, Pontus, and Thrace: The fourth was, Prefectus Prætorio Illyrici, who had Illyricum, Macedon, and Dacia. Every one of these Prefects had particular Governors of Cities under them, which were still'd, Defensores Civitatum, and in every City where they resided was a Bishop, and answerable to the Governors of Provinces, or Vices-Generals, there were appointed Metropolitans, and for every Diocese where the Praetor kept his Court, there was a Primus residing, from whom there could be no Appeal. The Emperor himself still'd himself, Defensor fidei, having in him both the Temporal and Spiritual Power; his Imperial residence was at Byzantium in Thrace, from him called Constantinople, which being so remote from the Western Provinces, that it left them under a sensible declination of their wealth and glory, he neither could settle the uncertain obedience of those that own'd him, nor check the insolence of those that did not, but was forc'd to trust all to the fortune and fortitude of his Lieutenants, who regarding their own interest more than his honour, so fought against all revolters, as to leave a continued necessity of fighting, as long as there was any thing left to make War for. But amongst those that took his absence most to heart, were those of Britain, who finding themselves unsufferably oppressed by Pacatianus, who was appointed Deputy here to the Prefect of Gallia before-mentioned, set up a Governor of their own, whereof he had no sooner notice, but to make some shew of honouring them with a particular regard, as the Country to which he was indebted, if not for his (e) own, yet for the birth of his honour, he sent over to them his eldest Son Constantine, whom he had declar'd Cæsar, to whom, upon the division he made afterwards of the whole betwixt his three Sons, he bequeathed this Isle, with the addition of France, Spain, and some part of Germany, as the best Inheritance he could leave to him.
ONE would have thought that the last great, but least happy Emperour, Constantine (for his happiness departed before himself, after it had led him through most part of the World, with restless motion, and made him believe he was nearest, when he was farthest off from glory) had left enough to each of his three Sons, in that Division he made betwixt them, to have prevented any further Division betwixt themselves, at least enough to have satisfied their avarice, if not their ambition. But as that which is great in desiring, seems nothing when enjoyed, (the Abyss of Princes thoughts being deep enough to swallow up the whole Globe of the Earth,) so when this young Eagle came to be upon the wing, and take his flight, he consider'd not so much what he had left him, as what he thought he ought to have had. Whereupon quarrelling with his Brothers, he took away first their lives, afterwards their Dominions, destiny making him the fatal instrument to revenge the death of his innocent Brother Julianus, murder'd by their Mother, upon her two innocent Sons, which seem'd to be so horrid and unnatural a War, that to pacifie those Provinces, whose blood was the price of his victories, he shut up the Temple of Janus, in token of universal peace, a blessing he could not hope for while any of his own Family were alive. But whatsoever calm there was abroad, there was certainly none in his own breast, his distrust increasing with his power, which (like the Sun that draws up vapours as it rises, and lets them down in clouds) exhali'd matter enough from the discontents of the Provinces, to discharge it self in a dreadful form of Tyranny, whereof none felt the stroke so much as those of Britain, from many of whom he took their lives, from all their Liberties, exposing them to the insolence of those under whose protection he left them, which was more insupportable than the rapines of the common Enemy: so that in high desperation and rage, they renounced their allegiance to him, and gave it to one who had no other merit to intitle him to their affections, than the good omen of his Name.

Valiant
All men understand no Glory that is without themselves, nor are they satisfied with any return of honour, but what is the purchase of their own merit. 'Twas not enough for this "Maximus" that he was descended from the loins of the greatest Emperors in the World, without he himself be also an Emperor, and made so by himself: And as Nature prompted him to this Ambition, so Education accommodated all things to his Nature; bred from a Boy under the famous Captain Theodorus, Father to the Emperor Theodosius of the East, by whom recommended to his Colleague Gratian, then Emperor of the West, he obtained the command of the Second Legion here in Britain, then refiding at Rutupia, now called Richmond, to prevent the Inroads of those Northern Pickeroons, the Saxons and Danes, that began to infest the British Seas near about that time: which charge he performed with so general satisfaction to all the Britains, that they saluted him with the Title of Augustus, wherein whether they shew'd more gratitude to him, in giving, or he more ingratitude to his Master, in accepting the honour, those that write the History of that time can best resolve. Some make it an Act of Necessity; others say 'twas an Artifice: Some think 'twas the effect of his Merit; others impute it to the easiness of Gratian's Nature, that tempted him to a boldness which otherwise had been as void of reason, as it was of modesty, in advancing as he did into Germany, not contenting himself with being absolute Lord of a more remote part, till he had fixt himself so near, as to outface his Master, and the whole World at once, making Trieris his chief Seat, where he most treacherously contriv'd the death of that Innocent Emperor when he could not do it by fair force. So blind is Hatred as well as Love, that it considers not, that the Arrows of him that takes a Throne by Violence or Treachery, are often shot back at himself, whilst he is sitting upon the same Seat; there being a secret rule in the Justice of Fate, which few men observe, till they feel the effects of it, viz. That Heaven always seconds those that live not to revenge themselves: And thus it fell out to this Usurper, who delivered up by his own Souldiers into the hands of Theodosius, was expos'd by him to the fury and scorn of the Rabble, who torturing him with the remembrance of all his Crimes, made his death more insupportable by their Reproaches, whilst they upbraided him with want of discretion, as well as of probity, and told him scoffingly, He might have been longer Maximus, if he had been truly Clemens.
The miserable Example of the last Usurper sufficiently proves, That the Government of a State is so slippery a Path, that 'tis almost impossible to walk far in it, though never so warily, without catching a Fall. And the unhappiness of such a mishap is, That if it prove not mortal, yet it so bruises them, that they scarcely ever rise again. Those therefore that take the measure of happiness by its greatness, or of honour by its height, consider not how much the danger exceeds the dignity, whilst all the glory which distinguishes Princes from the Common People, is no more than what they receive from them, who like unruly Horses, suffer themselves to be no longer ridden then until they find their own strength, and if by chance they get their Master out of the Saddle, they certainly dash out his Brains. But the Infelicity of this Gratian proved more notorious and singular, in that he tripped at the very first step of the Throne, and was cut off, before the actions of his Life could give any reason for the suddenness of his death, or the circumstance of that, any ground for the dislike, which occasion'd it, being slain like a Sacrifice as soon as Elevated: Only thus much may be gathered from the Catastrophe of his Fall, that the beginnings of his Reglement answered not the ends of his advancement; being fet up by his Fellow Souldiers, rather to defie his Masters, then defend them. For every Nation at that time designing Liberty, wounded the Eagle with a Feather pluckt from his own Wing; those here in Britain doing it with more confidence, by how much they seem'd to be separatied by Nature, for a distinct Empire, it being no small vanity to be thought the leading Nation to freedom from the common Yoke; but as it often fails out, that they who are necessitated to defend what they have done ill, seldom are at leisure to govern well; so it hapned both in this mans Story, and his Predecessors, who conscious to themselves of the weakness of their Title, refer'd those Forces to curb Insurrections, which had been better employed in preventing Invasions, whereby the Princes broke in so often upon them, that the enraged Multitude finding themselves uncertain of Peace, and no way secured in War, turn'd that Revenge upon them, which they expected they should have taken upon the Common Enemy. The only difference in the Fate of these two (of all other most unlucky) Princes was this, That this last had so much the better of the first, as to prevent the intended violence upon his Person, by becoming his own Executioner; whereby he not only prevented the shame which is oftentimes more grievous then death itself, but made himself Master of that Repute in the other World, which Fame denied him in this; so that what the Poet said of Otho, may not improperly be applied to him:

* Es te solem facis nobile quad perist. 

IT
It is commonly seen that those that have it in their power to make a king, seldom endure him when he is made; so hard a thing it is for any man to obey one, who through his own means, commands him. The Britains having set up two Romans, for no other reasons, but because they were Romans, nor finding their expectation answered by either, advance a Britain, and such an one as had the preference in their election, for the good omen of his name only: Constantine being as superstitiously esteem'd by them, as the name of Antonine heretofore by those. Some historians place one Marcus between this man and Maximus: but if there were any such person, and that he were anything more than a general, the actions of his government are so obscure, and his reign so short, that the same flout Cicero put upon the consulate of Nativius, may be put upon his. That it was altogether monstrous, as having in it neither spring, summer, autumn, nor winter; for to say truth, it lasted not full two months.

The hopes conceived of him at his election were very great, nor was the beginning of his undertakings unsuitable to that expectation: For in the first place he clear'd himself of all his homebred enemies, the Picts, who though they gave him rather a trouble than a war, yet were more terrible than a nobler enemy, in that they were not only ravenous, but reliev'd like fleas, which though they sting not as bees, have yet venom enough to make those insensible wounds they give very visible: and having secure'd the country against them, he carry'd the war beyond the seas, with so good success, that it was not long ere he spread his wings from the Rhine to the Mediterranean: And having fix'd his imperial seat at Arles (which after his own name was thereupon call'd Constantine) he gave the government of Spain to his eldest son Constance, with the title of Caesar; making his second son Julian (thir'd thereupon Nobilissimus) Lord lieutenant of Britain, whilst he kept France in his own hands. Thus far fortune seem'd to give consent to the people's choice of this man: but as those who arrive at unusual heights grow giddy, and fearful of falling, not being able to look down the precipice, over which they stand; so hap'd it to him, who, however made great for his courage, was by his great men made so very a coward, that upon the first report of the emperor Honorius his advance against him, he proffer'd to submit to mercy, basely excusing his arrogance, by an apology that betray'd his ignorance, pretending he was compell'd by his country-men to take that honour upon him; by which
which pretended innocence, as he shew'd himself more guilty, so he instructed *Honorius* what he ought to do, by shewing him what he might do; or rather by what he might do, betraying what he fear'd he would do to him: who accordingly first took the Diadem from his Head, and then his Head from his Shoulders; and having a little before surpriz'd his Son *Constance*, in his return from that Court, he sent *Victorinus* into *Britain* to apprehend the other Son *Julian*, who finding the Piets had been aforehand, having not only kill'd the young Springal, but overrun the Country, beyond any seeming possibility of being beat out again, did not only retire himself, but by the advice of *Gallus*, his Lieutenant General, drew off every one of his Country-men out of the Isle, not leaving so much as one Family (if we may credit *Gildas*) of all the vast numbers that had been planted here, for the space of near five hundred years, whereby the Britains were left in so great distress, that for fifty years after they liv'd the lives of Beasts, rather then Men, in desert Woods and Mountains, whereby with flight, or vanquished with Famine, they languish'd under the oppression of their boundless liberty, whilst each prey'd upon the other, with such uncontrolled violence, as made every one as terrible to his Neighbour as his Enemy was to him: This brought them under the necessity of choosing another King, who proving as careless of the common danger, as he was inapprehensive of his own, ruin'd them irrecoverably, by the same means he hoped to have preserv'd them, trusting to the assurance of a Foreign Nation, that did them more mischief by being their Friends, then it had been possible for them to have done by being (as but a little before they were) their profess'd Enemies.

**I. CLASS**
I. CLASS OF BRITONES.

Vortigern, 446. Arthur, 517.
A. Ambrosius, 481. Constantine, 543.

VORTIGERN 446.

Or near forty years together after the death of the last Constantine, the Britains languishing under a continual War, like dying men then fancy change of Beds, thought they could have no ease but by change of Governours, whose Reigns fell out to be so short, or so obscure, that there remains no account of any of them till the Monarchy revived in this VORTIGERN; who being Duke of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, and Somerset, Provinces that had not felt the smart of pillage, as those in the North and Midland Counties, held himself engaged in honour and honesty, as well as in interest (being descended from the ancient flock of the Britifh Kings) to take up the Scepter that had so long lain upon the ground, ruffled with blood.
blood and dust; who beginning a new Period, and better known, is worthily esteem'd the first absolute Monarch of this life, having neither Rival nor Partner to prevent or interrupt his Glory, much less to claim any share in it; whereas all those Regulds, his Predecessors before the Roman conquest (Lucius the last King only excepted) appeared rather like Generals then Kings, having Chief, but scarce Sovereign Authority.

Great were the hopes conceiv'd of this Prince his Virtue, greater those of his Fortune, whilst being both a Christian and a Chiefain of so high note, no man could doubt his Power that did not distrust his Courage. But standing single and alone, like a high Tree upon a large Plain, it was not in the power of Fate to keep him from being blown down. Neither was it so great a wonder that he should fall (being exposéd as he was to such lasting Storms of Hostility) as that his Son VORTIMER should so overtop him, who rising like a dwarf'd Plant out of a Thicket of Brambles, for his whole Reign was as one continued Battle of twelve Years; grew so crooked, in making his way out, that it was not likely he should attain to any considerable height; having this necessity added to the rest of his unhappiness, that by the same means he expected to be Great, he was obliged to be Impious: The regard he pretended to have to his Country, being so incompatible with that due to his Father, that nothing but his own could have prevented his Father's death.

This Vortigern foreseeing by instinct of Majesty (that is, a compound of Fear, Jealousie, and Power) and being naturally prone to fear his Friends more than his Enemies, he took advantage of the common danger to prevent his own, and with like raffines, as that which Court flatterers call Resolution in Princes, he call'd in Nine Thousand Foreigners to his Assistance of the English Nation: A race of People, at that time grown so terrible even to the Romans themselves, that their very Name made them way to Victory; with these he pretended to subdue the Picts, but intended to correct the Infolence and Envy of his Domestic Foes. Their Leader was one Engist, a politician Prince, who to make his conquest sure, brought along with him a fair young Daughter to be partaker of his Glory, by reducing the amorous King under her power; whiles he brought the clamorous People under his; the weaknes of both the one and the other being so notoriously known, that he concluded him as little able to stand against her, as they to withstand him; neither was he deceive'd in the conjecture, the power of her Charms being so resistless, that it was not long before the fascinated King repudiated his Christian Wife, to espouse her that was a Pagan.

This, as it aggravat'd the offence generally taken by his People, so it particularly provoked his Son Vortimer to lay aside all obligations of Affection and Duty; who neither respecting him as a Father, nor as a King, punish'd his sin (seemingly against Nature as well as Reason) by a judgment no less strange and inhumane, commanding that he should at once be deprived of life and honour, by putting him into that condition, as made them equally burthenome to him, whiles he was immured betwixt two Walls within the narrow confines of such a dismal Dungeon, as seeming like, was yet so much worse than a Grave, as the present shame and scorn worse than death.

Thus he continued dying all the time of his Sons life, but he being slain by the Saxons, by a rare accident in the fortune of Princes, he recovered not only his Liberty, and with it his Understanding, but so far repose'd himself of the affections of the People (who naturally incline to pity men
B R I T A I N S.

In misery, and much more their Prince) that believing him thoroughly sensible of his error, and encouraged by his Example, they set upon the Saxons unanimously, and began a War that every body believed would have ended even when it began, being so merciless and bloody on both sides; that 'tis no little wonder how they found matter for their cruelty, since equal force meeting with equal courage, neither Nation yielding, both must be destroy'd.

So fierce indeed was the execution on either side, that Victory delighting in mischief, seem'd to hover over both Armies, as not resolv'd which deserve best of her. The Britains strove to shut the door of Invasion; the Saxons fought to keep it open; and as long as they were upon even terms, the Britains grapled desperately with them: But the Saxons having posses'd themselves of several Ports, by which they receiv'd continual recruits out of their own Country, they not only tyred out all those that liv'd nearest the danger, but (which was yet more dangerous) by picking one Arrow out of the Sheaf, hazarded the falling out of all the rest: for the gaining Kent made their way into Suffex, the possession of that gave them admission into Suffolk and Norfolk; the loss of those left the North: And in the end Fortier too late finding how he was involved in the misery of his own folly, not more confounded with forrow then shame, retired first into Cornwall, after into Wales, where he dyed as unpitied as he was miserable.

As there is no mischief more deplorable than that which a man draws upon himself, so there is no Fate so irresistable as that which is in conjunction with Nature, whereby drawing back, we tye the knot of Destiny faster, and by turning aside, or winding about, so tangle the Chain of Causes, that he that is not strangled, must certainly be bound up so fast, that (like a fly in a Cobweb) he can no way help himself or avoid destruction: this I take to be the case of the last King, who being unfortunately iliacqueated by his own passions, vainly strove to avoid the fatal effects of his fatal improvidence, when it was too late: for what could he think that England expected for a Dowry for his fair Daughter, less than half his Kingdom; and to return her back without it, was to do her that wrong, without which her Father could pretend to no manner of Right, to do what afterward he did; and to keep her still in his Bed, was to nourish a Snake in his bosom, which quickned by the heat she receiv'd from him, would in time shew the danger of her sting to be mortal: so do her that wrong, without which her Father could pretend to no manner of Right, to do what afterward he did; and to keep her still in his Bed, was to nourish a Snake in his bosom, which quickned by the heat she receiv'd from him, would in time shew the danger of her sting to be mortal: Miserable
Miserable state of Princes, whose Errors are as much above others, as they themselves above other men: and so much more fatal, by how much there can be no satisfaction given, but what is alike mischiefous, as the evil they would avoid.

This extremity beat Vortigern off from his first confidence, and mortified him so far, that he was content to give up a third part of his Dominions, that he might quietly enjoy the rest. But as the pouring Water upon Fire, if it do not utterly quench, raiseth the flame higher; so what he gave, contributed so little to the satisfaction of their Avarice, and so much less to that of their Ambition, that it serv'd only to increase their desire of having more; and to draw them on from one Proposal to another, till they had so far wafted and weakened him in Reputation and Power, that another Enemy seemingly less considerable, was emboldened to put in his claim for the rest. This was the present King, who being a Prince of the same flock, I cannot say of the same temper, just led him out of the Throne at the first shock, and finding him reeling, prest so hard upon him, that his fall made a greater noise than his rise.

With this Aurelius Ambrosius came over his Brother Uter, a Prince very early in action, and for his fierceness surnamed Pendragon: to these the People as willingly opened their purses as their ports; so that like two young Eagles, being upon the wing, they took their flight several ways, each to prey for himself, where ere they could find their quarry. Ambrosius set upon the Saxons, whiles Uter sought out Vortigern. This brought a fourth Pretender into the list, as forward and fortunate as either of them: who had he been as skilful to keep, as he was to get a Victory, he might possibly by turning Fortune round, have made her so giddy, that she could not in a short time have been able to bear up as after she did, and fix her self upon one side; This was Pascenius the second Son of Vortigern, who mov'd with like Zeal to preserve his Father, as his elder Brother was to preserve his Country; joyn'd with the Saxons, and set upon Ambrosius, to divert Uter, and if possible, to have contracted the War into a narrower room, at that place now called Aymesbury, but in the first place Ambrosius, in memory of K. Ambrosius his being slain there, where they met with so like assurance, and not unlike courage, that the hopes on either side seem'd evenly poys'd; But the Battel ending with the lives of the two great Undertakers, Ambrosius and Pascenius, the one just ready to step into the Throne, the other not well fixed in it; who went into the other World, with a sufficient train of Followers to shew what rank they held in this.

Utter enter'd not only without resistance, but without a Rival, which added no less to his Greatness then to his Security.
THAT Love and Arms are as congenial as Honour and Virtue, and as productive of each other, as light and heat by the Sun; there can be no more pregnant instance, then in the story of this amorous young King, who was no sooner a Victor over his Enemies, but he became a Slave to his Passions, and so totally vanquished by Love and Luxury, that he forfeited the favour of his best Mistress, Fortune; who finding that he had飞行ed her to court another, not only flighted him, but taking a Woman's revenge, watch'd her opportunity to bring his Enemy upon him, to take him (as Vulcan did Mars) in the arms of his Venus. However, they were so hamstring'd, that they could not only not make any further progress in their intended Conquest, but were scarce able to make a stand to defend what they had already got (being constrained to break up their Seige at York, and draw all their Forces into the narrow Circle of their associate Counties) yet they set upon his triumphant Army with redoubled confidence, coming upon them at a time when he was no less sick in body then mind, languishing under the tyranny of a raging Fever, which held him prisoner in his Bed, and at that distance from the Camp, that it was thought impossible for him (if well) to have reached them time enough before they were defeated.

This one would have thought had been sufficient to have unravel'd all his Glory, and to have rendred him not only lost to all the World, but to himself too: But as the Palm-tree is therefore figurative of Victory, because the more it is depressed, the stronger it bears up against the weight is laid upon it; so he, less sensible of his own, then his Armies weaknesses, caus'd himself to be carried in his Litter to them, and that unexpected conquest of his own infirmities, so animated their activity, that finding they must either leave all their Bodies dead upon the place, or his, in case they did not make themselves Masters of the Day, they carried not to expect the Assault, but gave it; whereby turning the surprise upon the other side, they slew Ten thousand of their best men, and forced the rest to seek safeguard under the protection of their new landed Forces, who taught by the experience of former Battels lost, how necessary 'tis to joyn to Courage caution, had strongly fortified themselves within an inaccessible Rampart, which he indevouuring to force, lost his Victory as unexpectedly as he got it, and with it his own, amongst many other lives, falling like the fierce Creature from which he took his Name, whose Image 'tis thought he bore upon his Shield.
Shield, to shew his descent from the Roman Emperours, as our Kings since have continued it amongst the Royal Banners of England, to shew their descent from him.

ARTHUR

T HIS Prince (the only Son of Uther, begot on the fair Dutchess of Cornwall) being very young at the time of his Fathers death, 'tis hard to say whether the crack in his birth, or the imbecility of his Nonage, rendered him more obnoxious to Envy or Injury: the Emulation of his Friends, being like to prove more dangerous to his Title, then the opposition of his Enemies could be to his Person. For his Father having made a League with the Piets, by the marriage of his Sister to their King, it now became a Question, whether she as the only Legitimate Female, or he as the Illegitimate Male, should succeed. The first seem'd to be backt by more right; the last by more affection: For the Britains carry'd him up and down with their Army in his Cradle, as they had before his sick Father in his Litter; believing (or at least willing that it should be so believed) that he was the moving Genius of their Nation. Instead of Rattles and Whistles, they enur'd him only to Drums, Fifes, and Trumpets: Instead of Milk they nourish'd him up with Blood: and thus by extraordinary Education, he became a Man, even while he was a Child, and something more then a Man after he was full grown. Now whether we measure his Greatness by his Virtues, his Virtues by his Fortune, or his Fortune by his Fame, we shall find him as much above his Title, as that was above his Dominions: For the Bards stil'd him Imperator Britannia, Gallia, Germaniae & Dacie: and the Monks extol'd him to that degree, as if they had design'd to make his Reputation a Monument for their own. Ninus tells us, he fought twelve Battles before he was twelve years old. Others tells us how at fifteen he kill'd a Danish Giant hand to hand, if they mistake not, for hand to foot; the over-grown Enemy being so much above him in Stature, that we must imagine he began at his Leggs, and lewed him down as they do a Tree, that suffers nothing to grow near it. After that, he purfified those bold Intruders, the Piets, into their own Country, and forc'd a Tribute from them. Thus we find his Story leff'd by those that labour to magnifie it: Some not being ashamed to affirm he sent to Rome to demand a Tribute of the Senate there; whilst others more modest think it honour enough to afford, that he boldly deny'd the Tribute demanded of him here. Doubtles, his Reign lasting so long as it did (I take it not much less then Twenty six years) and falling
BRITAINS.

...
him: His death proving the more unfortunate, in that he lived not to reconcile himself to the Church, to which he had given great offence, by violating the holy Rights of Sanctuary, as well as of his own Faith, to take his Revenge on the two Innocent Princes his Rivals, the Sons of the deceas'd Mordred, whom he murthred before the Altar, in requital of the trouble their Ancestor had given to his. Upon his death there were three Pretenders at once; each of which being absolute within the Circle of his own Territories, could not give place to the other. Aurelius Comannus Prince of North-Wales; Vortiporus Lord of South-Wales; and Malgo-Conan, who Gildas calls the Liragon of the Isles: which for a while (each calling himself King of Britain) made a vain resistance against the Common Enemy, that had by this time over-run almost all that part of the Isle, which we properly now call England. But finding themselves endanger'd by their divided Power, they put themselves under the protection of this Caridie that succeeds.

THIS Caridie, whom Latin Historians call Careticus, was one of the Eleven Sons (all famous in the British Annals) of Wledic ap Edern ap Padarn, Lord of the Isles; who after the Saxons beat them over Severn, disposedst the Posterity of Beethoven, the Descendants of Glamheltor, the most ancient Lords of South-Wales. He was the last British King that had any thing to do in England, an active Prince, and one that made many Attacks upon the Saxons with indifferent success, till at last they confederated with the Danes, and well near surrounded him; for whilst he was preparing to give Battel to Kenrick the West-Saxon, Gurmand the Dane appear'd behind him, being advance'd so near to Worcester, that 'twas feard he might take the Town: this necessitated him to quit the English, and face about towards him, which, as it was the last, so it proved the most fatal Battel, that ever the Britains fought, divers of their Princes losing their Lives upon the place, the rest losing the Place, which was dearer to them then their Lives: After which he retreated over Severn and Dee, and taking the advantages of those inacessable Streights, seated himself amongst the desert Mountains of Wales, where he spent the remainder of his days, in the contemplation of his loft Glory, having no prospect of any future happiness, beyond that of seeing assured, that his unhappiness would end with himself, in respect...
he had no issue to complain of the loss of their inheritance, nor no wife to upbraid him with his want of issue. However, there were those that came after him, that appeared right-worthy to have been before him, who defended so well that little that was left, that it appeared they had lost nothing of the greatness of their minds, however it fell short in that of their dominions; making continual war upon their potent neighbours, for near two hundred years after: Till in the length, rather worn out then vanquished, they were contentedly betray'd into such alliances, as dissolv'd their power insensibly, and brought them at last under the bondage of an union, which making the two nations one, rendered them no people.
THE THIRD

DYNASTY

OF

ENGLISH.
Successors to the Romans were the English, a People of so ancient an Extract, that he that will trace their Original, must follow it (as Berosus doth) into the Flood; for as they were ever famous by Sea, so they deduce their Pedigree from the Universal Deluge; (a) Woden, their Common Ancestor, being descended in a direct Line from (b) Thamus, the Grandchild of (c) Camborvins (the first Inventor of good Ale and Beer, which they have lov'd but too well ever since) he was the third in descent from (d) Emnas, Son of (e) Tuilo, the eldest Son of Gomer, the first Son of Japheth, third Son of Noah, whom Moses remembers by the name of Aschenaz, from whom the Hebrews call the Germans, (f) Asche-nims.

Thus their own Records will have them to be some of the most renown'd Reliques of the Old World, however Tacitus (who began to live near about the time Christ died) by what mis-understanding I know not, makes no mention of them, otherwise than under the Common Name of Cimbri: But probable 'tis, that in respect they possess'd that part of Germany, which lies betwixt the Rhene and the River Abbe, over which the Romans never pas'd, being by (g) Ptolemy's Reckoning near a third part of the whole, he had not the good hap to attain to any near acquaintance with them.

At their first Arrival here, they design'd to change the Name of Britain into Nova Saxonia, or rather Saxonia Transmarina, they themselves passing under the general Name of Saxons, so call'd from their (h) Sax(es), a sort of short Swords, or rather long Knives, that they wore under their Arming Coats. So much more remarkable amongst the unadvised Britains, in that they made a most fatal Proof of the dangerous use of them, by the loss of no less than three hundred Lives at one Interview; amongst whom were divers of the best Quality of their Nation, who were inhumanely butcher'd at a Parley, where they met unarm'd, in that desert place now call'd Stonehenge in Wiltshire, by some suppos'd to be the Monument of that days Treachery, for which there can be no excuse but that of the Poet,

---Virtus an dolus, quae in Hoc requiras?

But
But after they got the entire possession of the whole, they chang'd their minds, and as some say, in honour of Engist the first Invader, they turn'd the Name of Britain into Engisland, or as others say, complying with the Angles, (the greatest People amongst them) call'd it Angleland, which since we term England.

They were divided into three distinct Tribes, differing as in Country, so in Name: The first call'd Yutes, or (as Bede calls them) Vutes; these before they came hither, inhabited the Mountains that divide Germany from Italy in the first place, and afterwards fixt themselves in the Cimbrian Chersones; since call'd Juteland; their portion here was most of the South part of the Isle (being thereupon term'd South-saxon) toward that Island which from them was call'd the Isle of Vutes or Wight. The second Tribe was call'd Angles, who possesting the South part of the Chersones, gave name to the Town of Angelen: These were the greatest Sect both for fame and power, who taking up much of the East, all the North, and most of the North-west part of this Isle, being four parts of seven in the whole; the rest took its denomination from them, and fell under the general appellation of (i) angleland or England. The third Tribe which afterwards devoured the other two, were those most properly call'd Saxon, and for distinction fake from the rest of their own Country, (k) HOLT SAXONS, in respect of their woody Country: Since the Dukedom of Holstein, in the very neck of the Chersonese where it joins Germany: their Territories here in England were the South and West parts of the Isle, whereupon they were term'd West Saxons.

Now as they arriv'd not all at once, so neither all at one place, each General waiting till Fortune made him way, by which means landing in several parts of the Isle, they tried the Natives with frequent slaughters; and to raise the fame of their Conquest the higher, they so timed their ambition, as if they would have posterity believe, they had won a Kingdom for every day in the Week, setting up as many distinct Monarchies, as they had Letters in the (m) name of their own Countrey.

This Heptarchy of theirs was formed after the ancient optimical model of Government, used by most of the Northern Nations of the World; amongst whom the right of Sovereignty was not measur'd by any Line of Descent from Royal Progenitors, but considered according to the primitive (m) Rule of vertue, set up by the Stoicks, wherein that of Fortitude had the start in point of esteem and reputation of all other good Qualities whatsoever, as being the most useful for those active times, none being admitted to the trust of Governing, but such whose Swords had made them passage to that honour, through the bowels of Fame; these therefore they stil'd Cyning or Koningh, each of these titles signifying men of power and spirit, conduct and courage. And as these good Qualities made the people first in love with them, so it made them themselves so far in love with the way of their own preferment, as to prefer it before all other, afflicting more adopted than natural Sons, and not seldom nominating such for their Successors, in case of minority as well as deficiency, as were nearer them in proficiency of parts, than proximity of blood.

This however it seem'd most unnaturally natural (for that 'tis observ'd, inocculated Grafts prove better than those which spring out of the Stock) introduced such a kind of co-equality between the Kings, and those of the first rank of their Subjects, that they that were nearest to the Throne, often took the boldness to step in first, till by frequent Usurpations, the power
power of Majesty was so checkt, that though there were some one or other all the time of the Heptarchy, who for dignity sake had the Prerogative to be stild Rex Anglorum, (which was no lessthan Rex Regum at that time) as much as to say, King of all the rest of the Kings, yet not any one of these Monarchs were able to effect any such entire Conflation for the security of the whole, as to settle any one form or order of Law currant amongst them, till Alfred (more Majorum) after the custom of his Ancestors, the Germans, did (as Tacitus testifies of them) Jnter Pagos reddere, every County till his time, holding their Customs apart, as they had receiv'd from those Roytelets, their particular Founders, without the obligation to any universal Law but what was Canonical; which was not the least cause they labour'd so long in vain, under the various pressures of envy, necessity and chance, being driven to and fro like the Sea, from whence they first came, (the nature of which reflit's Element is to lose ground in one place as it gets in another) and urged with alternate Revolutions, after they had loft all their Interest in their own Country, to be in hazard of being irrecoverably lost here, whilst they were forc'd to maintain a War against the Britains, their common Foe, the Danes, their accidental Foe, and themselves, the intestine Foe, and therefore the most dangerous, by how much they themselves made the breach, at which the other entred, who watching his time (as the Ichneumon that creeps into the mouth of the Crocodile, whilst he is gaping to devour his prey) made a passage through their bowels, before they could swallow up the Britains, and gain an entire conquest over them.

This lookt like a judgment inflicted upon them, by that Nemesis, that was the just revenger of the Britains wrongs, to whom they were of all others the most pernicious enemies; for contrary to the practice and policy of those that were before them, as well as of those that came after them, they refus'd all commerce, communion, or mixture with them, extinguish'd their Religion totally, silenc'd their Laws, rejected their Language, and in conclusion took from them their very Name, as well as their Country. Neither stopp'd they here, but dissolving all regard, rendred Barbarism wholly triumphant, whilst fury and ignorance met in conjunction. In fine, being irreconcileable to whatever could be call'd civil or sacred, they not only took from the Men their Lives, from the Women their Honour, from both their Liberty, but defac'd all Monuments, devoted to piety or peace; and if they did not wholly demolish them, yet they profan'd the holy things, not seldom sacrificing the Sacrificers upon their own Altar. And which made the Persecution the more dreadful, was, that it was not to be pacified by any Offering or prayers, for one hundred and fifty years together, so far as to have the least regard to Sex, Age, Degree, Quality, or Relation whatever, till their brutifish spirits were quite tired out with continual slaughters and butcheries.

But after that light which shineth in darkness, guided them to the knowledge of that blessed Truth, whose meekness miraculously allay'd their rough natures, they not only took from the Men their Lives, from the Women their Honour, from both their Liberty, but defac'd all Monuments, devoted to piety or peace; and if they did not wholly demolish them, yet they profan'd the holy things, not seldom sacrificing the Sacrificers upon their own Altar. And which made the Persecution the more dreadful, was, that it was not to be pacified by any Offering or prayers, for one hundred and fifty years together, so far as to have the least regard to Sex, Age, Degree, Quality, or Relation whatever, till their brutifish spirits were quite tired out with continual slaughters and butcheries.

But after that light which shineth in darkness, guided them to the knowledge of that blessed Truth, whose meekness miraculously allay'd their rough natures, they became so flexible and obedient to the principles of their new Faith, as men that thought they could never expiate their former inhumanities, but by an excess of zeal, they did as immoderately wast themselves in repairing the ruins they had made, raising fo many new Structures, that the number as well as the beauty so far exceeded all those of former times, that it might have been said of this Isle as once of Rome, that it seem'd but one great Monastery; the piety of their Kings so surmounting their policy, that many of them turned their Scepters into Croisiers,
fiers, and exchange'd their Crowns for Miters, their Princes thinking it a
greater glory to be made Priests, than their Priests thought it to be made
Princes.

Thus they conquer'd themselves before they had half conquer'd the
Britains; and as 'tis observable, how by their contention for Heaven,
they were happily brought to imitate it, in that wonderful work of the
Circulation of the Globe, effected by the power of that truly divine Sci-
ence, the Art of Navigation, first reduce'd into practice by them, where-
by they had the honour to be the first that resolv'd the Non ultra of the
Ancients, into a Plus ultra, discovering another World, which neither the
Greeks nor Romans ever knew: So it is more than probable, that if they
had quietly enjoy'd the benefit of their Conquest here at home, after it came
to be entire and absolute, without that interruption they had from the
Dane, (who finding them busi'd in an intestine War one with another, un-
dermin'd them by Land, before they could perfect any great matter by
Sea) they had not contented themselves as they did, with an Insular glo-
ry; having laid so good a foundation to an universal Empire, and so much
more lasting than any that were ever before it, by how much they would
have had it in their power, to have secur'd the obedience of the rest of the
World by their ignorance, rendering themselves their Masters, by a my-
stery of State not to be refuted, because not understood, whereas our
Kings their Successors, now absolute Lords of the Sea, have happily made
good proof. For as a modern Poet hath well observe'd:

Where ere our Navy spreads her Canvas Wings,
Homage to the State, and Peace to all she brings.
French, Dutch, and Spaniards, when our Flags appear,
Forget their hatred, and consent to fear.
So Jove from Ida did the Hoys survey,
And when he pleas'd to thunder, part the Fray.
Waller.
Ships hitherto in Seas like Fishes sped,
The greatest still upon the smallest fed.
We on the Deep impose more equal Laws,
And by that Justice do remove the cause
Of those rude Tempests, which for rapine sent.
Did too oft involve the innocent:
Rending the Ocean (as our Thames is) free
From both those Fates, of Storms and Piracy.
Thrice happy People, who can fear no force,
But winged Troops, or Pegasean Horse.

But considering (as I said) the difficulties they met with before, without
mentioning the dangers they encountered after they were feted, the checks
of Fortune whilst they were rising, and the counterbuffs of Envy after they
were up, and mounted to their height, whereof (as Gildas relates) they were
forewarned by their Gods, who being consulted about the Invasion, gave an-
swer, that the Land whereso they went, should be held by them 300 years,
half the time to be spent in conquering, the other half in possessing their Con-
quiest, which agreed with the measure of their Heptarchy. Lastly, Considering
the fierceness of the Britains of the one side, and the fraud of the Danes
of the other, those perhaps doing them more mischief by Treaties, than the
other by admitting no cessation: We may conclude with the Poet,

Nec minor est Virtus quam querere parta socii.

THE
ENGLISH.

THE ORDER OF THE KINGS OF KENT.

I.

ENGIST having broken in like a Horse (for so his Name imports) and trampled down all that withstood him, made himself King of Kent; and by being the first King, was worthily esteem'd the first Monarch of the English: a Title that during the Heptarchy, was appropriated to some one above all the rest of the Kings. He reigned 34 years, and left his Glory to descend on his second Son.

II.

OESKE, under whose Government the Kentish men thriv'd so well, that they were contentedly named from him Eskins.

III.

OCTA had a longer, but less happy Reign, lasting 22 years without any memorable act, that might render him more renowned than his Successor.

IV.

RMERICK, who after 25 years 537 Reign by Stow's Account, 29 by Savill's, had nothing to boast, but that he was the Son of such a Father as Oeske, and the Father of such a Son as

V.

ETHELBERT, the first Christian 562 King of all this Nation, and the sixth Monarch of the English men: A Prince who was therefore esteem'd great, because good; but his happiness ended with himself, for his impiious Son

VI.

EDBALD was laid in his Bed as soon as he was laid in his Grave, apostatizing from his natural Religion, to gratifie his unnatural Lust; he had many Sons, but the Succession fell to the youngest.

VII.
VII.  
ERCOMBERT, more like his Grandfather then his Father; a pious, publick spirited Prince: he was the first divided Kent into Parishes, and commanded the observation of Lent. He was not so good, but his Sons were as bad.  

EGBERT the eldest, made his way 665. to the Crown, by the murder of his two Cousins, the right Heirs of Ethelbert, and Sons to his Fathers Elder Brother Ermenred, who being not able to do themselves right, were revengeed by his younger Brother.  

LOTAIRE, who gave the like 677. measure to his two Sons, putting them besides the Succession, to admit  

EDRICK, who entred with more 686. Triumph than Joy, being within two years after, depriu’d both of honour and life, by his own Subjects; upon which his Brother  

WIGNRED assumed the Government, being rather admitted then chosen; or rather gave himself up to be govern’d by one Swebard, who they put over him, by whose advice he ruled not ingloriously 33 years, and left his Kingdom to his Sons, who alternately succeeded.  

EGBERT the Eldest, most like his Father, both in Person and Fortune, reigned 23 years.  

ETHELBERT the second reigned 749. but one year.  

ALRICK the last of the three, and 760. indeed the last of the Royal Line, did only something that made him more notably unfortunate then the two former, in being overcome by the great Mercian Offa, whereby the Kingdom became a prey to whosoever could catch it; the first whereof that got that advantage was  

ETHELBERT the third, firme- 794. med Pren, who entred in the Vacancy of the first Occupant, and being differ- 

ded by that Wolfe, Kenelwolph the thirteenth King of Mercia, he put in one  

CUTHRED, who enjoyed an un- 797. disturbed possession eight years, after whom  

BALDRED steps in, being his 805. little regarded abroad, was left behind at home, fearing his People might leave him; he first left them, and flying over the River Thames, as soon as Egbert the West-Saxon entred his Territories, left also the Conqueror, who without more trouble made this Kingdom, and those of the South and East-Sexes, an appenage for his younger Son Athelstan.
It is hard to resolve, whether Ethelred that erected this
Kingdom, were more beholding to Fortune or his own
foresight; or whether indeed the folly of Vortigern, were
not more advantageous to him than either; who not trust-
ing the uncertain obedience of his own People, cast himself
upon the faith of this Stranger, who in serving of him,
could have no other design, but
to serve himself upon him:
Neither did the sordidness of the Natives contribute less
to his Greatness, then the folly
of their King, who not con-
senting to the Ratification of
that little which was promis'd
him, justisil'd him in the larger
Demands he made afterwards,
when they durst not deny his
Experience on the Seas, taught
him how to Laveer from point
to point, and shift as he found
the wind falling, to steer in a direct course; but had the Britains kept
Faith with him, 'tis probable he had not broke as he did with them, tak-
ing that advantage by his very first Treaty, which was not to have
been hop'd for by any long hostility; which successes, though the execution
seem'd not considerable, amounted to a kind of Victory. So that
'twas no wonder he rested not contented with such a Proportion, as he
was before aham'd to with for; Ambition respecting not so much whence
it comes, as whither it is addressed, pressing still forwards, without a-
ny consideration, but that of the felicity it aims at, on which it fixes
with so intense a look, that it regards no dangers, much less any faith:
being deny'd the Government of the Isle of Thanet, he insist'd upon
that of the whole Province of Kent: meeting with opposition there,
he supply'd force with fraud, and both with Fortune, and by the
possession of that one only, got the command of three Provinces more,
all lying so convenient for landing Supplies, that this seem'd to be but
an Earnest for an entire Conquest: Neither thought he it sufficient to
have the Power, without he had the Title of a King. Hitherto he had
only studied his Security; that being obtain'd, he begins to affect
Glory; and in respect Kent was his Principal Seat, he gives that the
preeminence of giving the Name to his Kingdom, being the first, not
to say the last too of the whole Heptarchy, continuing near four hun-
dred years, supported by its own proper Forces, before it fell under
the common Fate, of being incorporated into the Universal Monarchy
of the English. And as it was the first Kingdom, so was it the first
Christian Kingdom of the Seven, from whom the East Saxons bor-
row'd their light, and from them the rest, till an universal brightness
overspread the whole Hemisphere; which, however, it seems to have been a work of time, as appears by that old Adage yet in use among us (In Kent and Christendom) was an occasion of so high regard to the People of that Province, that all the Counties of England have ever since, consented to allow them the honour of precedence in the Field, by giving them the right of leading the Van, as often as the Nation appears to give any Battel Royal, which Privilege hath been by special Charter confirm'd to them from the time of King Knute the Zealous.

The long Reign of Ængilf (not less as some say, than fifty years) contributed much to the Corroboration of his Conquest, which being the Gift of Fortune rather than Nature, he bestowed on his youngest Son Æseite, from whom, as I said before, 'twas call'd the Kingdom of Excitium; which beginning at the time of Ambrosius the British King, continued Three hundred seventy two years, an entire Kingdom: and after the West-Saxons reduced it under their Obedience, had yet the repute of being a distinct Principality; and by that Title was bestowed upon the younger Sons of those Kings, who defended it against the Danes, till Ethelbert the second Son of Athelstan, second Son of Egbert, after the death of his Elder Brother Ethelwald, entering upon the whole Monarchy of England, Anno 860, united it inseparably to his Empire.
THE
ORDER
OF THE
KINGS
OF
SOUTH-SEX E.

ELLA was the first King of this, and second absolute Monarch of the whole Kingdom; for which Honour he was more indebted to the length of his Reign, than the greatness of his Dominions, being indeed the very least of the Seven.

II.

CISSA his youngest Son (the two elder being slain) succeeded his Father; he reigned peaceably seventy six years; founded Chichester and Chisbury; the one for the rest of his People, the other for the repose of himself, where dying, he left his Son Edelwolph to succeed, the first Christian of this House, who refusing to contribute to the War against the Britains, in respect the West-Saxon lay between him and danger, Ceadwald the Tenth of those Kings, fell upon him, and slew him, upon whose death

IV.

B E R T H U N D Two Dukes colla-
and, and prung out
AUTHUN of the Royal
Stock of this Kingdome, interpos'd themselves with equal merit, in the common Calamity and Defence of their Country; and forcing Ceadwald to retire, rule'd jointly for five years, till the same King returning upon them, took from the one his Life, from the other his Liberty, whereby this became a Province to the West-Sexe.
BY the setting up of this Kingdom, containing no more but two Counties, Sussex and Surrey, and those none of the greatest, we may take some measure of the Ambition of our Ancestors, who had as great respect to their Glory, as their Security, being not content to have the Power, without they had the Title of Kings. This was in the first place but a Colonel under Engist, who made him Governor of Sussex, to which having added Surrey, with the loss of the lives of his two eldest Sons, Kymen and Plemchin, after the death of his General, he set up for himself, and being resolv'd to shew the greatness of his mind, by the narrowness of his Dominions, not only declard himself the first King of the South-Sexe, but made himself so considerable in the esteem of all his Country-men, that they submitted to him, as the second Monarch of the Englishe, which Glory he held up to the height near thirty years: But that Sun which began in Kent, the East part of the Isle, and came towards him who was planted in the South, hasted to set amongst the West-Sexe, to whom his Successors were forc'd to become Tributary; or if it may lessen the dishonour (for these were all of them most deserving Princes) we may say Contributors towards the War against the Britains. The West Saxon Kingdom lying betwixt them and danger, the non-payment of this Tax (whether it were that the Kings hereof refused it as being too heavy a Burthen upon them, or disdain'd the manner of Exactition, or thought themselves not oblig'd to be longer charg'd, having clear'd their own Territories, is not certain) was the first and only occasion of the downfall of this Kingdom, being thereby ingag'd in a War with too potent a Neighbour; against whom, though they had no hopes to prevail, yet they scorn'd to yield, till their tottering State fell down about their Ears, and buried them in the common Ruins of their Country, which was so far wasted, before it submitted to become a Province, that when it was added to the other, it became rather a Burthen then a Strengthening for a great while; so far had Famine and Plague (the Peace-makers in all Civil Wars) disabled them to all inrents and purposes, before this Curse fell upon them to be devour'd by their Friends, which was so much more dishonourable, than to be conquer'd by their Enemies, by how much it was the first unhappiness of this kind.
THE ORDER OF THE KINGS OF WEST-SEXE.

III.

I. 522. Cerdic, having conquer'd Natan-leod the Dragon of the Western Britains, set up the third Kingdom, which reaching from Hampshire to Cornwall, was call'd the Kingdom of West-Sexe; and gave him the repute of being the third Monarch of the English.

II. 534. Kenrick his Son succeeded him both in the Kingdom and Monarchy.

III. 561. Chevlín his Son was the fifth Monarch; but his power being not adequate to his Fame, he in 33 years time could not so settle himself, but that he was dispossessed by his Brother.

IV. 592. Cearlick, who being not so good at keeping as in getting the Kingdom into his hands, was himself deposed in like manner by his Son.

V. 598. Chelwolphp Son of Cuthfifth Son of Kenrick, a Prince worthy the Greatness he inherited; who, notwith-
636. Ceadwold had so much leisure as to fall upon his nearest Neighbours, the South-Sexe, and weaken them so far, that they were forc'd to yield to his Successor.

X.

XI. INE, worthily esteem'd the greatest Prince of his time, and the most magnific, yet withal the most humble; he dy'd in a Pilgrimage to Rome, nominating.

762. Ethelward the Son of Oswald, the Son of Ethelbald, descend'd from Kenwal, his Successor, who reign'd fourteen years, and left the Scepter to his Brother.

XII.

740. Cuthred, whose heart being broken by seeing his Son murder'd, the Crown came to.

XIII.

SIGEBERT, one whose vices were less obscure than his Parentage, who murdering one of the best of his Friends, was himself slain by one of the basest of his Enemies, a Swineherd, whereby.

XIV.

KENWOLFE succeeded, a person worthy of better fate than he met with, being slain by the hand of an Outlaw, at a time when he did not expect, and consequently was not prepared for death, and so.

XV.

Bithrick succeeded, the last.

738. Ethelred, the Son of Os-wald, the Son of Ethelbald, descend'd from Kenwal, his Successor, who reign'd fourteen years, and left the Scepter to his Brother.

XVI.

Ethealward, the Son of Ethelbald, descend'd from Kenwal, his Successor, who reign'd fourteen years, and left the Scepter to his Brother.

XIII.

Cuthred, whose heart being broken by seeing his Son murder'd, the Crown came to.

XIV.

Sigebert, one whose vices were less obscure than his Parentage, who murdering one of the best of his Friends, was himself slain by one of the basest of his Enemies, a Swineherd, whereby.

XV.

Kenwolfe succeeded, a person worthy of better fate than he met with, being slain by the hand of an Outlaw, at a time when he did not expect, and consequently was not prepared for death, and so.

XVI.

Bithrick succeeded, the last.
this Shield of the Dragon: He was thereupon declar'd the third Monarch of the English men, his Son Kenrick was the fourth, and his Grandson Cheulin the fifth: Each of these that 'd with him in the honour of being the first raisers of this Kingdom: the establisher of it was King Kenwin, the ninth Monarch, who expuls'd all the Britains: the first that enlarg'd it was Ceadwal, the tenth King, who having made his way to the Conquest of Kent, by that of the South-Sexe, left his Successor Line (worthily therefore firman'd the Great) to give his Neighbours a true estimate of his power, by that of his wealth, and a measure of his wealth, by that of his munificence; whereof there needs no other instances, than in the Foundation of the Abbey of Glastenbury, the Furniture of whose Chappel only took up 2835 pound weight of Silver, and 337 pound weight of Gold, (a vast sum for those days) which being for the ornamental part only, could not be comparable to that which was left for the endowment. He Founded also the Cathedral Church of Wells, the West part whereof is perhaps one of the most stately Fabricks in the known World. Yet neither of these are more lasting Monuments than those of his Laws, translated for their excellency by the learned Lambert into Latin, as being the Foundation of what we are governed by so long since. This was he that gave the first Eleemosynary Dole of Peter-pence to the Church of Rome, which was exacted in the next Age as a Tribute. In this man's Reign this Kingdom was at its heighth, declining after his death insensibly, till the time of Egbert, who being the Darling of Fortune as well as of his own Subjects, and a Prince of great Towardliness, after he had corrected his youth by the experience he had in the Wars under Charles the Great (being the first of all the Saxon Princes that were educated abroad) he got so far the advantage of all his home-bred Contemporaries, that he easily soar'd above the common height of Majesty, and beat up the seven Crowns into one; which placing on his own head, he not only gave those Laws but that Name to the whole Isle, which continued till King James his Reign, who uniting Scotland to the rest of the Terra firma not reduced, altered the flyle of King of England, into that which only could make it greater, writing himself, King of Great Britain, to which August and most Imperial Title we now pay homage, and may we ever do so.
ENGLISH.

THE ORDER OF THE KINGS OF EAST-SEX.

IV.

527. ERCHEWWIN, the Son of Offa, Great-Grandson of Sneppa, third in descent from Saxnod, third Son of Woden the common Progenitor of the Saxons, began this Kingdom with the happiness of a long Reign, which however it be seldom defir'd, was certainly very advantageous to his Successor.

I I.

587. SLEDDA, who thought the readiest way to keep what his Predecessor got, was to add to it what his Successors were not like to keep, a Peace with the Kings of Kent, his next Neighbours, confirm'd by an Alliance with Ethelbert the Proto-Christian, who converted his Son.

III.

SIGEBERT, that in honour to his Religion made that League perpetual, which after his death was broken by his three graceless Sons.

IV.

SEERED, who ruled together 609, as like Brethren in Iniquity, persecuting all that were Christians, till Ingold the West-Saxon (converted but a little before) revenged the holy Cause by putting an end to their Triumvirate, upon which.

V.

SIGEBERT, Son of the middle 623, most, took place, he was surname'd The Little probability of his little Credit, rather than his little Person, being so detested by his People, that they put by his Son and Brother, to admit another of the same Name, but of different Temper.

VI.

SIGEBERT, the third Son of Si- 640, gebald, younger Brother of Sigebert the first, who declaring for Christianity, was surname'd, the Good; and being murther'd, during the minority of his Son, his Brother.

VII. SWI-
VII.
661. SWITHELM succeeded, as if to taste of Royalty only, falling under the same fate by the same hand, and for the same cause; by whose death

VIII.
663. SGEHERE, the Son of Sigebert the Little, assisted by his uncle Sebba, got into the Throne: His Successor was

IX.
664. SEBBA the Saint, on whom Bede fastens that famous Miracle of lengthening the Marble Chest in which his Body was laid, which he says was too short by a foot for the Corpse; till the Body was put into it, which, who so believes, must stretch his Faith as much. Successor to him was

X.
694. SIGEHERE the Second, one fitter to be a Monk then a Monarch, giving up his Scepter for a pair of Beads to his Brother

XI.
698. SEOFRID, who if he ru'd not

with him, ru'd'd very little after him; and then came

XII.
OFFA, the Son of Sigehere to succeed, who impoverished himself by enriching the Church, and having quit his Wife to perform a Pilgrimage to Rome, tempted her to quit the World, and become a Nun, whereby either left the other and both the hopes of any issue; which made well for

XIII.
SELRED, the Son of Sigebert the Younger, on whom Bede fastens that famous Miracle of lengthening the Marble Chest in which his Body was laid, which he says was too short by a foot for the Corpse; till the Body was put into it, which, who so believes, must stretch his Faith as much. Successor to him was

XIV.
SUTHRED filled up his place, who

In the midst of the Universal Conflagrations that near about this time began to spread over the Face of the whole Isle, the flames whereof were not otherwise to be quench'd, but by the blood of the miserable Natives; it so hapned that Essex (however nearest to those Countries that first felt the sharpness of the Saxon Swords) had the good Fortune to preserve it itself untouched till about the year 527, when Erchenwin landing in Norfolk, and taking thence a view of the neighbouring Vales, imagin'd there went no more to the taking possession, then to enter and make a bold claim: But finding the Inhabitants obstinately resolv'd to make their Graves in no other place, but where their Bones might mix with those of their Ancestors; 'tis hard to say, Whether his Fury or his Fear prevail'd most with him: whilst being ingaged beyond
the safety of a Retreat, he made his way into the heart of their Country with that precipitate Courage, as if he had designed to fly through them into the Provinces beyond; which they perceiving, like men well acquainted with the violence of such Land Floods, made him way to pass into Kent; where promising to become a Feodary to that Prince, he return'd him with that additional Strength, as made him not only Master of this, but by uniting Middlesex and a great part of Hertfordshire, gave him the honour of setting up a fourth Kingdom, call'd that of the East-Sex: which however it was not very great, was well fortified with the Ocean on the East, the Thames on the South-side, the River Coln on the West, and the Stour on the North-side: and being establish'd by the advantage of a long and peaceable Reign, and the reputation of the Allyance he had with the potent King of Kent, he was secure'd far on that side, as to put him in condition of securing himself on the other, till such time as the East-Angles and the Mercian, by the Interposition of their Territories betwixt him and the Common Enemy, left him regardles of any further danger; but withal so enervated his Successor, that being seldom arm'd, and never active, Fortune grew out of Love with them, and never vouchsaf'd any one of them the honour to be rang'd amongst the Monarchs of the Isle; a favour every other House alternately enjoy'd, according to the variation or vicissitude of their Successes; but however they attained it, it appears they aim'd at greater Glory than any of their Neighbours, being the second Kingdom that openly profess'd Christianity, and those that gave it the best entertainment; Sacrificing to the Church what others spent in War, being repay'd with Pardons, Benedictions, and Indulgences, while they liv'd; and with Shrines, Miracles, and Canonizations after they were dead: Kings in that Age being no less ambitious to be Sainted, than Saints in our Age to be made Kings. And to say truth, they were better Men than Monarchs, taking more care of the business of Religion, than of State; relying more on the Forces of the Kings of Kent, with whom they had contracted a perpetual League, having been hatch'd under their wings, than on their own proper Strength: whereby it fell out that they were crush'd with others fall, and at the same time submitted to the same Fate, to be a Province to the West-Saxon: So easy is it to conquer those that contribute to their own destruction; taking upon them to protect the unfortunate Balder: when they were not able to defend themselves: But it is less strange that they fail'd now, then that they held out so long; their Territories being the very leaf of the whole Heptarchy, and they the laziest of the whole Nation: their Majesty being prefer'd by a kind of Antiperistasis, lying encompass'd with three puissant Neighbours, Kent, Mercia, and West-Sex: who, like three great Doggs equally match'd, kept this Bone between them for two hundred and eighty years; in which large portion of time they were prefer'd as by Miracle, from the fury of either of them, that wanted not appetites to desire, nor mouths to devour, nor perhaps occasion to urge them to fall upon them; but restrain'd by the sense of either equal Power, they left it to Fortune to give the odds; who having declared on the West-Saxon side, he run down all at last.
THE ORDER OF THE KINGS OF MERCIA.

I. 560. CRIDDA, the tenth in descent from Whethelgast, the third Son of Woden, was the last, but by no means the least of the Heptarchs; for he had seventeen entire Provinces, which shows his head to be as active as his hands. His Son

II. 595. WIBBA, thought he did enough in keeping what his Father got, which he left well fortified to his Nephew

III. 615. CEORL, Son of Kinemund, younger Brother to Cridda, whose reign was neither long nor splendid; perhaps over-them'd by the Glory of his Successor

IV. 625. PENDA, the Son of Wibba, a minor when his Father dyed, and so put beside the Crown: but being King, he over-and all the rest that were Contemporary with him; having slain six Kings of the East-Angles, and two of Northumber and: But the last requited him blood for blood, and took from him both Life and Kingdom, which

V. Osywy the Conquerour generously return'd to his eldest Son

VI. PEADA, who thereupon became his 655. Son and his Subject, and at once imbraced his Daughter and the Christian Faith; the last more fatal to him than the first; his Life being thereupon taken away by her that first gave it, to make way for his Pagan Brother

VII. WULPHERE, who from his own 658. Mother learnt to butcher his own Sons, hearing that they were conversed by St. Chad Bishop of Litchfield, which yet could not prevent a Christian Successor: for

VIII. ETHELRED came in after him 675. (his Son being under Age) who as if he had had only intended to show his Nephew what he would have him do, devoted himself to a Religious Life, to make way to

IX. KENRED, who after eight years 700. tryal, being no better pleas'd with the
the sweet of Dominion, surrender'd to
IX.

709. CHELRED his Son, who prov'd
no less vigilant and valiant than his
Grand father; but being overmatch'd
by the West-Saxon, his Country lost
a great part of the happiness, and him-
self of the renown that justly might
have been hoped from the continuance
of his life; whereby
X.

716. ETHELBALD succeeded, who was
descented from a younger Brother of
Pendy, against whom the vileness of
Whodert prevail'd more than the va-
lour of his Enemies could; being trea-
cherously slain to make way for a stran-
gers, who yet was put beside the suc-
cession by
XI.

757. OFFA, another Prince of the col-
lateral Line, descented from Koppa
second son of Wilba, who it seems was
more indebted to Education than Na-
ture, and to Providence than either;
for being born blind, deaf, and dumb, he
became miraculously restored to all his
Senses, and gave so great proofs of his
Courage, Prudence, and Piety, that
his Reign is supposed to be the Meri-
dian of the Mercian Kingdoms Glory,
for from his death it visibly fell under
the Horizon.

XII.

796. EGFRID his son succeeded, who
was the more famous in that he was
made a King before he had a Kingdom;
but as trees that blossom too soon never
bear Fruit, so his too early Honour was
quickly blasted, whereby
XIII.

796. KENULPH took place, who was
fifth in descent from Kenwalch, younger
Brother to Penda, who seems to have
been happier in himself than his Pois-

rity for his Reign was not so long, but
XIV.

KENELM his Sons was as short, being
murthred by his own Sister to
make way for her Uncle
XV.

CEOLULPH, who was as barba-
rously dispatch'd by one
XVI.

BERNULPH an Usurper, who prov'd a better King than he was
a Man: he contested hard with Egbert
the West-Saxon, and lost so much blood
in the quarrel, that his old Adversary
the East-Angle perceiving how he was
weakened, set upon him and slew him.
XVII.

LUDFAC his successor attempt-
ing to revenge his death, got his own;
whereupon
XVIII.

WITLAF that came after him, bought his security with a Tribute, which
successor
XIX.

BERTULPH was content to con-
tinue; but whiles he looks for right on-
ly, an unexpected Enemy came upon
him behind, to wit, the merciless Dane,
and over-run him: but Ethelwulf the
West-Saxon recovering back the King-
dom, gave it with his Daughter
XX.

BURTHRED, a Person worthy
either, who supported this tottering
House, ready to fall about his Ears, till
he was betray'd by his servant
XXI.

CEOLWULPH, whose treachery
was rewarded by the Danes with the
Title of King; but King Edward
the Eldest having slain him, made it a
Province of the English Monarchy.
THIS, though it were one of the last, was yet the very largest of all the Heptarchical Dominions, and fitly setted to give Laws to all the rest, as being in Umbilisco Terrarum, in the very Center or Navel of the Isle. The wonder is how so great a Kingdom rose out of nothing, with so little noise, the Founder leaving no more Constat of his Merit, then of the method of his Ambition; it being not yet known whether he attain'd that power that render'd him so great, or receiv'd from Fortune the Greatnes that render'd him so powerful: Some ascribing it to his Wisdom; others to his Courage; but most to his Credit: so that we may guess his Character to be not much unlike that which a foolish Athenian gave of God, who being ask'd what he was, answered He was neither Bowman nor Spearman, Horseman nor Footman, but one that knew well how to command all. So 'tis as probable this man was neither Souldier nor Scholar, but (as the Athenian said) one that knew how to govern either; otherwise he could not have dispos'd all things as he did so much to the advantage of his Successors, that in fewer Months then others took up Years, they spread their Wings over no les then six of the most goodly Provinces, according to Ptolomeys accoumt, but by that of their own, when they cauntered the whole into Shires, it was no les then seventeen, which in Alfreds Tripartite Division, made one third part of the whole Isle: too great a Gripe to have been held long, had not the Reign of his Successor, who laided the Superstructure as wisely, as he the Foundation, fortunately confirm'd the Fabrick till it was feted and past shaking; a happy beginning, that made those that came after, not only the Terroure of their Enemies, but the Envy of their Neighbours, whereof no les then Four assauted his Grand-Son at once, and those not the meanest; viz. the Northumber, the East-Angle, the West-Saxon, and those of Kent, keeping him at a Bay, as a Lyon in a Toy, till Fate conspiring with his Forces, drove some of them out of their Confidence, others out of their Kingdoms, and the rest out of the World: Some compounding by a Tribute, others by Homage, the rest with loss of their Lives; Prosperity prompting him to scorn all Conditions of Peace, till he gave them a greater advantage by their dispair, then themselves could have hop'd from their natural Fortitude; for not knowing how to overcome, he took from them all hopes of yielding, and shewed them thereby a way to conquer him, which they could not have found before he wrote himself Universal Monarch; a Title he design'd to rip out of the Womb.
Womb of Providence, having not patience to expect the fruits of his greatness. His fall so crush'd the growth of his successors, that they recovered not in many years after; but as backward Springs produce the best fruit, so the glory that came late held the longer, their heads proving as active as their hands, their hands as bountiful as their hearts, and their hearts as large as their purses. Whilst they were Pagans, they fortified themselves by extraordinary acts of cruelty; but after they became Christians, they raised them by as great works of charity. Once they were closely begirt, and in a low condition, that they were forc'd to redeem themselves by a tribute, from the power of the Northumbrer's, but having recover'd this, they stood fair to have taken in the whole Heptarchy under the government of Offa; the series of whose prosperity, had it not been interrupted by one unlucky action (the guilt whereof not only damp'd his own spirit, but cast a fatal vale of distrust on all his successors) had probably reach'd beyond the bounds of an insular glory, as appears by the emulation of his contemporary Charlemain, who much disdaine'd he should have the honour to be still The Great as well as himself; but having inhospitably murther'd Ethelbert King of the East-Saxons, coming to his court under the security of publick faith, as a suitor to his daughter: his innocent blood was by divine vengeance charged so home upon his posterity, that their greatness declin'd, as planet-struck, from that very time: so that of nine descents after him, there was only one that had not a short, but not any that had not a very sinister and unprosperous reign, till fate drew the circle of their royalty to the full compass, stopping thereby the hand of providence from any further motion: so that from that time their kingdom, like a great tree blown down, but not quite rooted up, lay so low, that some branches or other were lop'd off daily from it, till the West-Saxon seiz'd on the main body, as a windfall due to him, after it had stood the shock of three hundred forty-five winters.
THE ORDER OF THE KINGS OF EAST- ANGLES

I.

UFFA, seventh in descent from Cæsar, second son of Woden, was the first king of the East-Angeles, from him call'd the Kingdom of the Uffins, whose reign was rather happy than long, yet long enough to confirm the succession to his son.

II.

TITULUS, who did nothing to make himself known more than being the father of

III.

REDWALD, who in assisting Edwin the Northumber, lost his eldest son, and that broke his heart; so that the second son

IV.

ERPEWALD took place, the first Christian of this race, converted by the aforesaid King Edwin, with so much dislike of his people, that a base villain adventur'd to murder him.

V.

SIGEBURT, whose converse with 636. Learning and Learned men (being bred in France) render'd him so favourable to both, that the two Universities Oxford and Cambridge, do to this day contend for the honour of having him their founder: He gave up his royalty to his kinsman

VI.

EGRICK, who with himself, and 638. the next in succession

VII.

ANNA, were all slain by the Pagan 642. Penda, who plac'd here the younger brother

VIII.

ETHELLHERD, a traitor to his 654. Country and his own blood, worthily depriv'd of life and kingdom, by the famous Olwine the Northumber, who

IX.
IX.

656. **ETHELWOLD**, Regent in Trust for his Nephew

X.

664. **ALDULPH**, eldest Son of Ethelherd, then a Child, who wasted nineteen years without any memorable Action, leaving his Brother

XI.

683. **EÆWOLPH**, to deserve a listless Posterity and his People: Neither did the younger Brother

XII.

714. **BEORN** excelleither of them, for he left neither Wife, Issue, or Action, to continue his memory; whereby

XIII.

714. **ETHELRED** took place, famous for nothing but being the Father of

XIV.

**ETHELBERT** the Unfortunate, 749. who was murdered by Offa the Mercian, after whole death the said Offa broke into this Kingdom of the one side, and the West-Saxon on the other, and the King of Kent on another side, each preying like Vultures upon the headless Trunk, or like Pikes in a Pond, which devour one another, till they were beaten off by a Stranger, one

XV.

**EDMUND**, the Son of Alkmond, 771. a German Prince, made Executor of one Offa, a Prince of this Family, and the next it seems in blood as well as in right, who dying at Norimberg, in his passage to the Holy Land, adopted the Edmund his Heir, who defending his Title, was slain by the Danes, who thereupon placed here a King of their own, as will appear in its proper place.

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THE Saxons having engaged their whole Nation to an entire Conquest of this Isle, partly out of desire of glory, but more of gain, ceased not daily to oppress the dismay'd Britains with unequal numbers, who growing base with their Fortune, lost their Courage as fast as their Country, fighting so faintly at the last, that when they prevail'd they were afraid to pursue, which made Fortune out of love with them, that she seldom or never took their part. The report hereof being carry'd into Germany, every person that had any sense of Honour or Necessity, emulous of his Neighbours Forwardness, or ashamed of his own Sloth, transplanted himself hither with whatsoever Forces he could get together. And among the men that took ad

vantage of this common Calamity, was this **Uffa**; in the beginning a Vice-roy to the Kings of Kent, in the Provinces of Suffolk and Norfolk; who having
having over-run all the Countrey about the isle of Ely, to the uttermost parts of Cambridgeshire, joyn'd those to these, and made up the sixt Kingdom, stil'd the Kingdom of the East-Angles, but with respect to him the Kingdom of the Uffins. It was one of the least in dimensions, but greatest in dignity of all the Seven; for the Kings being but fifteen in number, were deservedly esteem'd the wisest and valiantest of all this Nation, by how much though their Title were the worst, (the best part obtain'd by treachery) their Advantages the least, their Territories the narrowest, and their Adversaries the most numerous, to say the most puissant, that is the haughty Northumber, the impacable West-Saxon, the cruel Mercian, and the victorious Eskin, the three last assailing them all at one time; yet they maintained a defensive War for three hundred years with so good success, that they not only kept what they call'd their own, but were for the most part on the winning side, being once in as fair a probability to have enlarg'd their Territories, as any of their Neighbourhood, had they not been over-charg'd in the Flank by an unequal Enemy, and of all others least expect'd, the Invincible Dane, a People prepar'd for mischief, and heightened by the Desolations they had made in Northumberland, Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and the Countreys thereabouts; the Fame of whose cruelty having made their way, they broke in upon this tyr'n Province, weary'd and weakened with giving and taking wounds from their own Countreymen, surprizing them ere they had time to recover strength, or means to recover time to make so good a defence as otherwise they would have done: Yet they did not submit to the first misfortune, nor fell like Fools or men affrighted, but struggled with all their power near fifty years, without any other aid than what was maintain'd by their own proper strength and courage, being the Bulwark that defended all their Neighbours against the Dane, who the whilst wast'd each other with intestine Feuds, till they fell a Sacrifice to their private lusts and ambition, and these only to the publick safety.
THE ORDER OF THE KINGS OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

I.

ETCHERICK, the fourth Son of Ida, Lord of Bernicia, was the first that styled himself King of Northumberland, though indeed he had but the half, call'd Bernicia, which descended on his Son

II.

ETHELFRED, surnamed the Wild, a Prince of much fierceness and insolence, which rendered him so odious to his Subjects, that his Enemies easily found an opportunity to depose him, and set up one

III.

EDWIN, the Son of Ella, Lord of Deira, which was the other part of Northumberland, who was the first Christian of this House, and got such repute, that he was acknowledged the eighth Monarch of the Englishmen; he was at last however unhappily overcome, and slain by the Pagan Penda, King of Mercia.

IV.

OSRICK, Son of his Uncle Alfrid, succeeded him, whose Reign was as confus'd as the time he liv'd in; he was Lord of Deira only, which upon his death was united to Bernicia, and so descended on his Son

V.

OSWALD, the ninth Monarch, whilst he liv'd, and dying, esteem'd the first Martyr of all the Englishmen, his Successor was

VI.

OSWY, the tenth Monarch of the English, who left the Succession to his furious Son

VII.

EGFRID, who making War with the Picts, that were backs by their Confederates the Irish, he was by them slain, and his Bastard Brother took place.

VIII.

ALKFRID, a Prince more behold-ing to Providence than Nature, for the first gave him the right of a Son, when
when the last deny'd him a Son to enjoy that right; whereby the Crown devolv'd upon

IX.

705. OSRED, a Child of eight years old, of a collateral Branch, and as indirect a Disposition, not old enough to govern himself, nor wise enough to govern others; so that his Subjects withdrew their Allegiance, to give it to

X.

716. KENRED, the next of the whole Blood, who conspiring with Osrick, the next of kin to himself, to kill Osred, the next of kin to the Crown, was undermine'd by his Confederate, who set up for himself.

XI.

OSRICK the second knew better it seems how to get, than to keep a Kingdom; for he was as easily depos'd by

XII.

729. CEONULPH, younger Brother to Kenred, one of the most glorious of all the Northumbrian Race; this was he to whom Bede dedicated his History of England, and one that render'd himself more glorious by a voluntary obscurity, preferring a Caputus before a Crown, whose Example was a Rule to his Successor

XIII.

738. EGBERT, who did the like, being moved by the delusion of this pious fraud, to surrender to his Son

XIV.

758. OSWOLPH, who liv'd not long to enjoy the pleasure of his Royalty, being made away by some of his Domesticks, as was his Successor

XV.

759. EDELMAULD, commonly call'd Mollo, slain by his own Steward

XVI.

765. ALURED, who had no better Title than his successful Villany, which being rais'd upon the sandy foundation of the Peoples favour, quickly foundered and fell to the ground; so that

XVII.

774. ETHELRED, Son of the aforesaid Mollo, recover'd the Throne, who not answering the expectation, was depos'd to make way for

XVIII.

ALFWALD, Brother to Alured, 778. a Prince worthy of greater Title and better Subjects; for the Northumbrians being flush with the blood of their Princes, began to be very tumultuous and dissolvo, and amongst the rest murther'd him, to make way for one

XIX.

OSRED, a worthless person, but 789. the Darling of the multitude; he held the Scepter, till it was taken from him by

XX.

ETHELRED, who liv'd to re-790. venge his indignity upon the Heirs of his Adversaries, and being puff'd up with that success, and the alliance he afterwards made with the great Mercian Offa, grew cruel, and provoked his People to fly to Arms, who in one battle took from him both his Life and Kingdom.

XXI.

OSWALD, a common Man, was 794. put up in his place for the good Omen of his Name; but his good Fortune lasted not above thirty days, (so sickle is the favour of the common People, not unfitly compar'd to the Sea, whose fluxes and refuxes are of no long continuance) before

XXII.

ADULPH was set up in his stead; 794. he was a banish'd Duke, and look'd on as their Martyr, for taking part with them against Ethelred, but his glory was not much longer liv'd than the others; so that

XXIII.

ALSWALD succeeded, who having 795. only shew'd him'self upon the Stage, turned about, and made his Exit, to give place to another

XXIV.

ETHELRED, a Man of a hated 795. Name, and not very well belov'd, who step'd up to make way for three of his Sons to come after him, one of which having committed some insolence against a Danish Lady, gave that cruel People a just occasion to fall into this Country, and harase it to that degree, that it became not long after a prey to the West-Saxon.

THIS
T HIS, though it were the first entire Province, the Saxons were Masters of, yet it was the last made a Kingdom, being the only part of the whole that cost them no blood to get it; for it was by consent delivered up to them by the Britains, to make a Colony against the Picts: but that of all others cost most to defend it; for besides those without, they had Enemies within themselves, having cut themselves into two distinct Principalities, either of which were more desperately bent against each other, than either Picts or Britains against both. The whole Continent of their Dominions took up six Counties, as we now reckon them; viz. Northumberland properly so called, Weftmerland, Cumber-land, Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Durham: These falling to the Charge of Otho and Ebufa, they made an equal Dividend betwixt them, taking three to each; the first had all betwixt Humber and Tine, and called it the Dukedom of Deira: The second had all from Tine to the Frith of Edinburgh, which was entitled the Dukedom of Bernicia: Ninety nine years it continued under the distinct Government of their Posterity, each independent of other, and each as often as the Common Enemy gave them any rest, pecking at the other with equal Enmity, and not unequal Fortune, till the time of Ella and Ida, two famous Captains, the one descended from Wealdeag fourth Son of Woden; the other from Bealdeag his fifth Son; who thinking themselves les in Title than in Power, urged by a mutual Emulation, elevated their Dignity to the height of their Fortunes, and still'd themselves (as all the rest of their Country-men) Kings: the last was the first Monarch; the first the last King: One getting the Start of Priority in Degree; the other the advantage of Survivorship: by which means it happened that the Government, which hitherto had been as it were Parti per Pale, not long after became Chequy Fortune according to her Constant Inconstancy, alternately deposing sometimes one, sometimes the other, disposing the Diadem like a Ball to'sd from one Hazard to another; so that the Spectators knew not which side to beat on, till those of the House of Ella making a Fault, Estelrick won the Sett, having got the honour to be the first absolute Lord of the whole, which he united under the Title of the Kingdom of Northumberland, banishing the other Names of Distinction: This Malmesbury ascribes more to his Fortune than his Merit, making him beholden to the bravery of his sprightly Son Ethelfrith the Wild, for the continuance of any Memory of his Name: which
which shews us the Founders themselves are oftentimes as the Foundations they lay under Ground, unknown and obscure, taking their Honour from the Superstructure that they rear, not from themselves: But as those of Bernicia claim'd the honour of building the House, so those of Deira boasted they were the first took the Possession; their Dignity becoming them so much the better, in that they made their Power known where their Title was not, by the Courage of their Magnanimous King Edwin, who enlarged his Dominions as far as the Mercian, but by that Prosperity of his render'd himself rather Glorious than Great, drawing himself out of his proper Strength by an Extent that weakened him, and drew on him a more powerful Enemy than that he had subdued, to wit, the Neighbouring Mercian, who by his death and his Sons, made way to let in the Bernician Line again, which continued uninterrupted ten Descents: after which follow'd a Succession of Six Upstarts out of distinct Stocks, who wasted near Thirty years with so little advantage to themselves or their Country, that at length it became a Prey to several petty Tyrants of so low Rank, that only One of Ten had the Confidence to style himself a King; which confusion tempted the Dane to fall in upon them with so resistless fury, that they were fain to crave Protection of the West-Saxon, who made them a Province unto him, after they had stood the shock of Two hundred thirty five years, with reputable of being an absolute and intire Kingdom.
THE ORDER OF THE English Kings AFTER THE HEPTARCHY Was reduc'd into an Absolute Monarchy.

VIII.

EGBERT was the first gave himself the Imperial Stile of King of England, differing therein from his Predecessors, who styled themselves Kings of the Englishmen; having reduc'd the Heptarchy into a Monarchy, he gave Kent and Sussex to his younger Son Athelstan, the rest descending on his eldest Son Ethelwulf.

ETHELBERT, before Lord of a part, as Heir to his Uncle Athelstan, became now Lord of the whole, and by managing that he learnt how to manage this; the number of his troubles exceeded that of the Months of his reign, so that not able to bear up under the weight of the burden of the Government, he died and left his Brother

ETHELRED to succeed him at

V. Ethelred, both to his happiness and unhappiness, who being likewise wearied, rather than vanquished by the continual assaults of the Danes, left the glory with the danger to his Brother
ELFRID, a Prince that in despit of War performed all the noblest Acts of Peace, making as good use of his Pen as of his Sword, at the same time securing and civilizing his People. His Son

EDWARD, surnamed the Elder, enjoyed thereby such a happiness, as was only worthy the Son of such a Father as St. Elfrid, and the Father of such a Son as

ATHELSTAN, who knew no Peace but what he purchased with his Sword, being more forward than fortunate, and therein like his Brother

EDMOND, who escaping all the Storm, perished in a Calm, being killed after he had escaped so many Battles, in a private Fray between two of his own Servants, in his own House.

EADRED succeeded, who gave himself the title of King of Great Britain, a Title too great it seems for his Successor

EDWIN, who discontinued it, shewing thereby, that Nature was mistaken in bringing him into the World before his Brother

EDGAR, who reasumed it, shewing again, yet not before he had made himself Lord of the whole Continent; but as one surfeited with Glory, he dyed (as we may so say) before he began to live, leaving his Son

EDWARD, surnamed the Martyr, to support his memory, who fell as a Sacrifice to the Inhumane Ambition of a Step-mother, who murdered him to prefer his younger Brother, but her eldest Son

ETHELRED, an excellent Prince, had he not been blasted by the Curse of his Mothers Guilt, who as an ill-set Plant, withered before he could take firm Root, being wind-shaken with continual Storms all his reign, which his Son

EDMOND, from his continual being in arms, surnamed Iron-sides, was so sensible of, that he was forced to compound with an Enemy that afterwards took from him the whole, by the same Power he compelled him to let go the half: however, in two Descents after, the English Line took place again in the Person of

EDWARD, surnamed the Confessor, who provoking regardless of Posterity, tempted Providence to take no care of him, whereby his Steward thought himself obliged amongst other things committed to his Charge, to take that of the Crown, which was the famous

HAROLD, Son of Godwyn, Earl of Kent, who putting the undoubted Heir besides his Right, taught the Norman how to dispossess him, who with his death put an end to the English Monarchy, that (reckoning from England, by all Historians accounted the first King) had lasted Six hundred and twenty years.
THIS was he that may be said to be the first of all the English whom Fortune declar'd to be her Heir, having beaten up the Seven Crowns of his Predecessors into one Diadem, to fit his Head. To them she gave only Title to part, but to him the Dominion of the whole Isle; Nature agreeing to fit his Parts to the proportion of his Preferment: For as he was young and hardy, so he was temperate and discreet; noble by Birth (descended from Ingil, Brother to Ine the Magnificent) but no blander by his Bounty, which had purchas'd him so universal an Affection, that his Predecessor Bithrick suspecting the danger of his Vertues, made them so far his Crimes, as to give him a fair pretense to banish him; by which means all his good Qualities came to be so refin'd (breathing in a purer Air then that of his native Soil) as leaves it yet in doubt, Whether he were any whit less beholding to Providence then Nature; his Afflictions contributing so much to his Experience, his Experience to his Wisdom, and his Wisdom to his Fame, that they seem'd like so many steps fitly placed together, by which he might ascend the Throne. He serv'd the Emperor Charles the Great, in that great Expedition of his into Italy, which took up all the time of his banishment; and there he so well govern'd himself, that he return'd with a Testimonial of his fitness to govern others. The Tyrant Bithrick who had expuls'd him, finding (when it was too late) that by driving him further from his Country, he had brought him nearer to the Affections of his Country-men, especially those of the Vulgar sort, who first pity, then praise men in distress, and not seldom by their Opinion make up the want in Merit, and not seldom by their Opinion make up the want in Merit, and where there is no want, add so great a Weight, that 'tis not in the power of Humane Policy to turn the Scale: Yet he did not think fit to return, till after Bithrick's death, as judging it more danger than honor to serve one, under whom 'twas a Crime to be Victorious, and Capital to be otherwise. Besides, he thought it greater to let Honour seek him, then for him to seek it; knowing that Necessity, if not Choice, would move his Country-men to call him home, being begirt with potent Neighbours, that wanted nothing but a Circulation of Intelligence, to subvert them totally: So much were they discouraged by their Fears from without, and their Difficulties within. Neither miss'd he of the Invitation he look'd for, being receiv'd with so universal Satisfaction, that it appeared he was their Lord, before he became their Soveraign. In this confidence he took up the Sword before the Scepter, to the end his Title might be written in the blood of his Enemies; the number
ber whereof were more than those of his Subjects. The first that wrestled with him were the sturdy Cornish, who being laid on their backs, by a trick they understood not; The next that came on were the Welsh their Allies, who though they rather gave him Trouble then Wat, yet he thought it worth the going in Person against them, and pursu'd them so far, as made it appear it was more their dishonour then his, that they were not totally subdued by him. The next that fell under the power of his Arms, was the haughty Northumber; for both he and the disdainful Mercian, dreading his growing Greatness, burst with swelling. This gave him leisure to look towards Kent, the only considerable foe left, whose King flying into Essex, like a spark of Fire into another mans House, ruin'd that, by the same way he had undone his own Kingdom; That Prince taking a pattern of Cowardize from him to quit that, as the other had done his Kingdom: so that Egbert whilst he pursued one, conquer'd two of the Heptarchs. This success inlarg'd his Dominions so wide, that he began to bear himself up with a universal Obedience; being no less elevated with the prospect of his Power, then Hercules after he had subdued the many headed Moniter, with the contemplation of his Fortune: to manifest which he turn'd the Name of Britain, so venerable for its Age (having been the only Appellation of this Isle for near 1800 years before) into that of England, the Country from whence his Ancestors came. A Vanity so displeasing to Providence, that it set up the same Nemesis, which had been so Instrumental to his Country-men, in the destruction of the Britains, to face about upon him and his Successors, whose Necks it broke down the same stairs by which they ascended; setting up a People to be the dire Executioners of her Justice, that were of their own Lineage, spoke the same Language, and had drove them out once before, from those Possessions to which they had much better right then to any thing here: This was the Dane; which though they got not much in this Kings reign, yet they so nippt the glory of his Conquest, by beating down the Blossoms of his Reputation, that he liv'd not to see the Fruit he expected; being forc'd to divide, before he had firmly united, and cut his own Kingdom into two again: Giving that of Kent to his younger Son Ethelbert, not without a seeming injury to his elder Son Ethelwulf, that being the most fertile, though the leffer; this the most incumbred, though the greater; yet herein his Wisdom appears to have equall'd his Power, in that he made both Kings, but left but one Sovereign.
ETHELWOLPH.

837.

THIS St. Ethelwolph, or (as he is vulgarly call'd) St. Adolph, was at the time of his Fathers death a Deacon; Hovenden says a Bishop; and so much addicted to Devotion more then Action, that he accepted the Government rather out of necessity then choice, refusing to be crown'd, as long as he could resit the importunity of his Friends, or suffer the Insolence of his Enemies; being at last made a King as it were in his own defence, as well as the Kingdoms. But no sooner had the loud Acclamations of his over joy'd People awaken'd his Lyon-like Dullness, but rouzing up himself he confronted the Common Foe with such a silent Resolution, as look'd like a belief of conquering them without a stroke: for he fought only one Battle with the Danes, and no more; wherein he press'd upon them with that inconsideration, as shew'd that the apprehensions of future danger had made him altogether contemn the present, the slaughter on their side being so great, that he thinking it not worth the trouble to bury their Carcasses in several Graves, caus'd them to be gather'd into congested heaps; and by those dismal Monuments of their unhappy Courage, left to Posterity so many Land-marks of a second Conquest. That which made this Victory of his appear more serene (like the Air after a Thunder storm) was the sudden Calm which followed after it; all those fierce Infidels being so wholly dispers'd and defeated, that having nothing more to do relating to War, he bethought himself of performing some notable Act of Peace: And accordingly made a Pilgrimage to Rome; where it appears how welcom he was, by the magnificent Reception he had of Pope Leo the Fourth, who not only entertain'd him a whole year upon his own Charge, but anointed his darling Son Elfried (who accompanied him thither) to the expectation of his Kingdom after him: wherein whether his Holines intended an Obligation to the Father, in honouring the Son, that was thought most like him, and certainly most below'd of him; or whether it were that being his God-son, he could not bestow upon him any cheaper Blessing, then an Airy Title, which yet seem'd to be a Prophetical Designation to the Crown; or what other Cause mov'd him to prop up the old, with setting up a young King, is not known: But in the Consequence it prov'd a fatal Complement to them both: For Ethelbald the elder Brother, apprehending that he was rejected, being a Prince of a furious and vindictive Spirit, attempted to do himself right by such an unnatural Wrong as never any Son offer'd to a Father before, taking his exception from the most unreasonable, and one would have thought the most frivolous
frivolous Ground that could be imaginable. For the Father having given
the Complement of Majesty to his young Queen, the fair Daughter of the
Emperour Charles the Bald (whom he had married in his return through
France) contrary (as his Son urg'd) to a Law made by the Wom- Sexe, who
(after Bisbrick was poysont'd by his Queen) ordain'd that no English
Queen ever after should be allow'd the Title, place, or Privilege of Ma-
jest y; he took that Occasion from the respect shew'd to his Mother in
Law to justifie himself so far in his Disrespect to his Father, that without more
ado he seiz'd the Crown, and kept out both Father and Brother: the
People (who are apt to adore the rising Sun) declaring their readiness to
stand by him, as he by the Laws: The shame and horror of which unex-
pected Repulse, broke the heart of the good old King, who dying, seem'd
to bemoan more the loss of his Subjects duty, then that of his own Ho-
nour. But that blessing which Providence deny'd to himsell, it gave
to his four Sons; each of which was King after him, and all of them (this
Esthelbald only excepted) so eminently virtuous, that however we can-
cannot

the English: Yet had not this single Ingratitude of his been double edg'd,
it could never have pierc'd to the heart of so wise a Prince: but the ha-

ted to the Father being bottom'd upon a love to the Mother, whose Bea-

uty, Pride, and Lust had prepared the first temptation for his Youth and
Power: The good old King could not refist that double Injury, there
being in good an Understanding betwixt the two Serpents, that they en-
gendred, whilst they were hissing at one another: And which is yet more
strange, the Incestuous Parricide, after he had posses'd the Bed as well as

the
the Throne (so blind is Passion) out-did his Father as much in that very point of respect to her, for which he undid him, as he out-did all other men in point of Inhumanity; allowing her not only the stile of Queen, but designing to make her by the formal pomp of the solemn Coronation, alike Partner with him in his Royalty, as she was in his Luxury, had not Death and the Danes happily parted them: After which she was forc'd to return home, and by the way fell, it seems, into the hands of Baldwin the Forrester of Arden, by whom being taken Prisoner, he entred at the Breach he found already made, and took the Pleasure of her Beauty as lawful Prize.

ETHELBERT.

S0 monstrously rebellions was Ethelwald against his Father, that Providence vouchsafed him not the honour of being a Father himself: So that dying Childless, his second Brother Ethelbert became his Heir and Successor; a Prince fitted by the Government of part, for the Sovereignty of the whole: who having happily ruled the Kentish, South, and East-Saxons, for five years together, was admitted by common Consent, as well as by particular Right, to the honour of being Fourth absolute Monarch of England. However his Government was much disturb'd before he could settle upon the Lees of his Power, by the increasing rage of the Danes, who landing at Southampton, sack'd all the Country to the Walls of Winchester; and having afterwards buried that Loyal old Town in its own Ashes, came on as far as Berkshire, with intent to visit London itself: but being stopp'd by the united Forces of that Country, they were compell'd to repay the price of their Cruelties to those they had before harass'd, falling under the Fury of Osrick Earl of Southampton, whose People, provok'd with the sense of their Sufferings, forc'd in upon them, and slew Osbeeck and Crans their Chief Leaders, exposing the rest to all the miseries that usually befall a routed Enemy in a strange Country; and so great was the slaughter of them, that the very Fame of it encourag'd the Kentish men to turn head upon another Party, that had bridled, and was about to saddle them. Some have doubted the Courage of this King, for that they find him not personally ingag'd all this while; not considering that all Motions were actuated by his Command and Countenance, who could not be idle at the Stern, whilst his Subjects were so busie in the middle part of the Weather-beaten Vessel: and perhaps 'twas not without great Reason (as things then stood) that he reserv'd himself for Victories of a deeper Dye: the Oppositions
Theberts Sun being set in ETHEL-a Cloud, beheld a more RED.
refulgent rising in his room, the heat of whose Rayes kind-
led new Courage and Affe-
tion in each English Breast: This
was perhaps that only Prince
that seem'd to have been as
well fitted for the Times he
liv'd in, as the People he liv'd
with: at least he was the first
that taught them the right use of
Necessity, which is a Virtue
(if well improv'd) that (like
Powder imprison'd in the
womb of a Rock, which makes
its way as soon as fired) quick-
ens its execution by resistence.
Harder it was for him to get
up an Army together, then be-
ing up, to lay down his Arms:
this appears by those Nine set
Battels he fought in One year,
with so various successes, that
while the Enemy routed him,
he purs'd them, keeping his
Circulation like a hunted Hare, which follows the Dogs upon the same
Trail that they pursure het. The first Volley discharg'd upon him, was by
the two furious Danes, Hungar and Hubba; men of that Ambition, that to
be equalled to him in Title, as they were in Force, they stiled themselves
Kings as well as he: and as Fortune was not wanting to them, so neither
were they to her; attending her motions with such undaunted Resolution,
and improving her Favours with such incredible diligence, that they nei-
ther stoop'd at petty Victories, nor stop'd at petty Repulses, but pressing
forward with obstinate boldness, pierc'd through the Bowels of Mercia,
as far as Nottingham: here King Ethelred fell upon them, and forc'd them
to Retreat; but it was so slowly, as if they had deignedly gone back to
seek a more convenient place to fight, as afterwards they did: getting this
Reputation by not being beaten, though they did not beat him, that the
Stake still remain'd undispos'd betwixt them. The next year they came
over Humber, whose red Banks look'd as if they had been dy'd with the
blood of those that were slain in opposing their Passage; thence directing
their Course towards East-Anglia (the Country that lay most convenient
to receive their Recruits) they there made a grand Holocaust to their Idol
Gods (delighted it seems with humane Sacrifices) and amongst the rest of
their abominable Offerings, presented the Crowned Head of that holy Martyr
tyr St. Edmond, then King of that Province; whose fall so shook the whole life, that it made every English heart tremble with fear, or desire of Revenge. Religion being now at stake as well as Liberty, each side prepared for slaughter; success swell'd the number of the Pagans, as despair increas'd that of the Christians: both Armies oppressed as it were with their Multitudes divided into two Battalions; but having so little room to fight in that they were forc'd to charge through each other, the right Wings of both were routed; those that pursi'd, return'd; and led by equal Courage and like Destiny, began (which hath rarely been seen) another Battel upon the same day, and that so much more dreadful then the former, by how much it lasted till either side were so weakened or wearied, that neither could fly away. Here Ethelred perform'd Wonders worthy the admiration of a greater part of the World, than he could ever hope to be Master of; gaining indeed the Victory, but at a price more valuable then any gain, the losse of his own life: however, he departed into the other World with the same Majesty he rul'd in this, being attended by no less then two Kings, one on each side of him, and at his feet lay dead nine Earls, and two hundred Barons, and round about them at further distance, such a Mountain of common Carcasses, as if design'd by Destiny for a Monument, to which no other Kings could pretend, but such as fell like him, his Country's Sacrifice and his own.

ELFRID. 873.

No sooner was Ethelred fall'n, but Elfrid retook up his Sword and Scepter, as one alike entitled to his Trouble as his Glory: who, however he was the last in Succession, was first in Ordination of all King Ethelwolph's Children, being anointed King by Pope Leo, before he had a Kingdom; and which was more, in the presence of his Father, in the lifetime of two elder Brothers, and in his own Minority. A strange Riddle to Ambition, which knows no greater punishment, then to be so near a Crown in Title, and so far distant in point of Right as he was. But the same Providence that made him a King before he had a Kingdom, resolv'd it seems after he had the Kingdom, to make him no King again: for he was no sooner in the Throne, ere he was laid upon the Ground, and forc'd, after the fighting seven almost equal Battels, to give up a part, to secure the rest of his Dominions, and at last to retire almost out of his Kingdom, but wholly out of himself: being reduc'd to such extremity, that for self preservation he was necessitated to personate a common Minstrel, and under that disguise was lost till the
he found the opportunity to recover that from Fame, which Fortune had denied him, by sending so many of his Enemies to the dead, who believed him not alive, that there were not enough left to defend that Sacred Banner, in which they fondly supposed the Fate of their Nation to be wrapped up.

And now having all that became him as a Soldier, after twenty seven years War (in all which time he seem'd to fight rather for Life than Honour) he resolved to lose no opportunity of performing such Noble acts of Peace, as might draw his Subjects by his own example to the study of Arts as well as Arms: In order whereunto he took the whole Frame of his Government at issue, which he made up again like a Master-workman better then it was before, thereby preventing all those Infolencies and Disorders which are the natural effects of turbulent Times (the Commotions of War, like those of the Sea, which rouls and runs high a long time after the Storm is over, being such as commonly end in Ryots and Rapine) giving security to the whole, by fixing every individual Person throughout his Kingdom, within such known Limits of Shires; Hundreds, and Tythings, as made them answerable to the Law in case of breach of Faith or Peace, by mutual obligations each for other: wherein his Clemency so interpos'd betwixt his Wisdom and his Power, that it is hard to judge whether he ruled more by Awe, Art, or Affection, tying them to no Rule or Order which he did not with more severity impose upon himself: So that what Martial says of Fronte, may be applied to him, That he was Clarum Militiae Togaque decorum, there being that harmony in his natural Constitution, as inclined him to that gentle Science of Musick, which as it served him to good purpose in his utmost extremity, so it brought him to such a strict habit in keeping of Time, that to make himself sure of every moment of his whole life, he divided the Day into three equal spaces, allowing the first to the business of Devotion; the second to the care of Nature; and the third to that of his State; of each of which he was so excellent a manager, that he is not undeservedly placed in the first rank of the Conductors of this Nation. And if he were not the first Founder of Oxford, which cannot be conceiv'd without apparent injury to the memory of his Grandfather, whom the Annals of Winchester commemorate as the greatest Patron that ever the Muses had there, yet we cannot deny him the glory of being one of those great Patrons or Foster-fathers (whereof there were many almost in all Ages from the very time of the Britains, whose beneficence Alexander Necam celebrates with much gratitude) who nourish'd Learning and learned Men, and gave Encouragement to all those who studi'd knowledge: And this he did in such unsettled and disorderly Times, when he had much ado to bear up himself with all the helps he had from the Wisdom and Courage of all about him: the Troubles of his Reign being so incessant (like one continued Storm) that he was (as is said before) once forc'd to quit the Steam, another time to cut the Cable, and never enjoy'd so much tranquillity as to be able to put out all his Sayls; so that it was a great good luck that he was not wreck'd, since he could not reach his Port, which doubtless he owed to the Faith of his People, the universality of whose Affections supply'd the defects of his Power, being as superstitious in the confidence of his good Fortunes, as Cæsar's Soldiers are said to have been of his, who never thought themselves in danger, while he was safe, nor ever thought him the less safe, for being in the midst of danger.
Who would not follow him into the Field,  
Who cannot choose but conquer, though he yield.  
Whose Sword cut deep, yet was his wit more keen;  
Some Fence 'gainst that, but this did wound unseen.  
To thee is due (great Elfrid) double praise,  
To thee we bring the Laurel and the Bays,  
To reconcile the Gauntlets to the Gown.  
But who did e'er with the same Sword, like thee,  
Execute Justice, and the Enemy:  
Keep up at once the Law of Arms and Peace,  
And from the Camp, issue out Writs of Ease.

As Elfrid was thought to be dead, long after he was living, so long after he was dead, he seem'd to live still in the Person of this his Son Edward, who was so like him that he might rather have been call'd Elfrid the Younger, then Edward the Elder, being so immediate a Successor to his Virtues, as well as his Titles, that 'twas not discernable whether the Peoples grief or joy was greater, out of the apprehensions they had of the los of the one, or the hopes conceived by the fruition of the other. In Learning he was his Fathers Inferiour, in Courage his Equal, but in Fortune his Superior. For however he was attach'd on all sides by tumultuary Troops of Danes (who by this time were grown very numerous, and were a People of that stomach and patience, that they grew greater by being lessned, and (which is strange to tell) prosper'd by being beaten) yet he acquitted himself so well of them, that they got no more Ground from him than what might be allowed them for their Graves, which they purchas'd at the price of their blood, and measur'd out by the length of their Swords. However, the first provocation he had to arm was from his own fiefth and blood, an Enemy so much more dangerous, for that he had something of his own Nature in him; this was Ethelward, the Son of Ethelbert, his Fathers second Brother, who having been declar'd Clyto (which amongst the Saxons was as much as Caesar amongst the Romans, that is to say the Heir Apparent) he thought it not so much an Injury to be put besides the Right of Succession by his two Uncles, as an Indignity to be disappointed by a Cosin, who, however call'd the Elder, was in truth

EDWARD
THE ELDER.
900.
truth the Younger of the two; and perhaps, according to the Rule of those times, had the weaker Title: This spark of Indignation being kindled in his Breast, was quickly blown into a Flame, and wanting not matter to nourish it, was easily kept up at its height by other men's discontents, as well as his own, who urging him to arm, without due consideration of King Edwards Possession, Power and Reputation (all great Check-mates to Rebellion) brought him and themselves under a necessity of craving help from the common Enemy, who having no other way but by this division, to preserve themselves intire, readily accorded to acknowledge him King. Upon this the two Rivals meeting at a place call'd St. Edmunds-Ditch, gave Battel to each other, where King Edward got the Victory, but loft the day; the Battel being so equally poys'd, that it not being known which had the better, either side was suppos'd to have the worst of it. King Edward loft the greater number of men; King Ethelward the most considerable; for both himself, and the Danish General his Colleague, were slain, their Bodies lying conceal'd under such vast heaps of the English, that their dishonour seems to be cancell'd by those that conquer'd them. Upon this there was a Truce concluded with the Dane, I cannot call it a Peace, since the shortness of it made it seem no more then a Rest to take breath to fight again: during this Cessation, Fame (partial to the English) had so divulg'd the losse of the Enemy, that the Countess of Mercia, Sister to King Edward, and as nearly related to him in Fortune as in Blood, arm'd herself, like another Zenobia, and fell upon those that were nearest her Country, who, by the death of two great Princes, Coenwulf and Healdine, gave her Brother time to refresh his tired Forces: But he, as doubting his Sword might rust if it were put up into the Sheath bloody, pursu'd his Successes with so indefatigable a Rage, that all those of East-Anglia dreading the Consequences of being conquer'd, compounded for their own Lives, by giving up that of their King, choosing rather to be disloyal than miserable, but lost them their Freedom by the same way they hoped to preserve it: For K. Edward was so incensed at the sight of their Butchery, that however the Paracide made for him 10 the recovery of that whole Kingdom, yet he determin'd to give the Traytours no Conditions. Upon which they fled into Northumberland, where he thought not fit to pursue, but left the Glory of clearing that Province to his Successor, who neither deceiv'd his nor the Kingdoms expectation.
THEY that will take the height of this King, must begin near about the time his Reign began to end; his rising being like that of the Sun in a Cloud, which being not discernable at first, after looks red and bloody, but at last recovers its wonted lustre and brightness. The inequality of his Mothers condition to that of his Fathers, (being but a private Gentlewoman, contrasted to him in the life of the Grandfather) forsooth'd his Birth, that there were great doubts whether he were not illegitimate; and that which gave the suspicion of it, was his Fathers not owning of him after he came to be King; who caus'd his second Brother to be Crown'd in his own life-time, to entitle him the nearer to the Succession, in order to the putting this man by: By which srowardness of Fate, or rather of his own Friends, he was so over-shadow'd at the time of his Fathers death, that had he not shew'd himself to be the true Son as well as the eldest, and the undoubted Heir of his Courage, if not to his Crown, fitted for Government by parts as well as by years, 'tis probable he had been wholly set aside, it being scarce possible for him to have penetrated so thick a cloud of aice, as his merit had exhald, much less to have sustaine'd the shock of his Fathers envy alone, who malign'd him upon no other account, but that of his Grandfathers Indulgence, who was so fond of him, that 'twas thought he would have given him a share of the Government with himself whilst he lived, as an earnest of the rest when he was dead, to the hazard of setting aside his Son Edward. Thus the kindness of his Grandfather and the unkindness of his Father, being alike unfortunate to him, 'tis no marvel the melancholy he had contrived, thickened his blood, and corrupted his good nature, inclining him to srowardness and cruelty, after he recover'd the Zenith of his Power, taking a presidence of unnaturalness from his Father, to fall upon his innocent Brother; jealousy, the canker of Majesty, having so far eaten out the coar of his vertues, that he could entertain no other thoughts, but what were rank with revenge, being so far transported, that when death had remov'd the Brother that was his Rival, he was not satisfied, till himself had remov'd the other that was not, whom (resolv'd it seems to have no body stand near his Throne) he expos'd to the rage and fury of the Sea, in a Fack without Sails, or any kind of Tackle, where the helpless Youth believing that rude Element more merciful than his Brother, cast himself into its bosom, and so put a speedy end to his unhappines and fear. This was so crying a crime, that it needed not a second to weigh down all his vertues, and would questionless have condemn'd him to all eternity,
eternity, had he not timely condemned himself for it, and by a suitable Penance (which ended not but with his own life) pacified the Ghost of his murder'd Brother, and the horror of his own guilty Conscience, that came to be as strangely awaken'd, as it was at first abuse'd, by the very same person who put him upon that execrable action (who as the Story goes) stumbling accidentally in his presence, as he was bringing up a Dish of meat to his Table, having recover'd himself without faltering, said, (as he thought pleasantly, but unwittingly) See Sir, how one Brother (meaning one Leg) helps another; which unexpected jest gave a sudden touch to the King's conscience, that in as sudden a passion he reply'd, Villain, it was thou that didst cause me to murder my innocent Brother, and so commanded him to be strangled in his presence. This was thought to be an effect of rage rather than remorse, till it appear'd otherwise by those voluntary punishments he afterwards laid upon his own Person, and more upon his Purse, the expiating of this one sin costing him no less Treasure than all his Wars, though he knew no Peace all his Reign; and had it not been for this blood in the beginning of his Story, no King had left his Name to posterity, under a fairer Character, for being just, in his promises, resolv'd in his purposes, constant in his resolutions, and (as his Father before him) fortunate, in that constancy, having rule'd in his promisses, resolv'd in his purposes, constant in his resolutions, and after dy'd desired; which could not have been, had he not been as much Lord of himself as others, and rightly tempered, to maintain by his Courage what he got by his Wisdom; of both which Qualifications he gave so signal proof, that the memory of his Magnanimity hath outlived himself; it being agreed by all Historians, that he once oppos'd himself single to the force of a whole Army, and notwithstanding the odds of number, kept them at a stand, till he was reliev'd by his own People, who turn'd the Duel into a Battle, but could not part the Enemy and he, till he had made his way through them to their King, with whom he fought hand to hand; he yielded himself Prisoner: after which, (as if he were not satisfied with conquering him but once) he dismiss'd him again with a generous scorn, saying, 'Twas greater to make a King than be one: Pity 'twas that Nature was not so kind to him as Fortune, for this made his way to the Crown, but his Father deny'd him Issue to enjoy it; so that for want of Heirs of his own Body, he was forc'd to leave the Succession to his younger Brother, the first Son of his Father by a second Venter.
This Prince being but three years old at the death of his Father, and not full fifteen at the death of his Brother, lost all those Advantages he might have hop’d for, by observing the Virtues of the one, or the Vices of the other; however the loss of the Example of his Father was so well supply’d by the Care and Providence of his Mother, (who gave him an Education fit for those active times) that he may worthily be said to have been fitted for Majesty, before Majesty was fitted for him; shooting up to that unexpected height, that the Danes finding they could not keep down his growth by open Hostility, endeavour’d to supplant him by unperceiv’d Hypocrifie, casting themselves under the Sanctuary of Religion, as profess’d Proselytes to the two great Prelates that then rul’d him and his Kingdom, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York: By the solemnity of which holy Cheat, (ratif’d with the Seal of Baptism, and new promises given at the taking their new Names, to be true to the old League of their Predecessors) they obtain’d a Truce, so like a Peace, that it wanted only age to make it so, and therewith an opportunity of recovering fresh strength, as well as malice; after which, like Snakes that had felt the heat of the Sun, they began to hiss, and chew, that the Water pour’d out upon their heads, had not power to quench the Fire in their hearts; which breach of Faith, urg’d the young King to take a voyage into the North: where finding that they had fortifi’d themselves with the Alliance of the Prince of Cumberland, he prepar’d to give them Battle upon the Border of Northumberland; in which dispute having got the better of them, he pursu’d his Victory, till he overtook the two treacherous Sons of Dunmole their Confederate, to whom he cruelly gave their lives, but on such a condition as was worse than death itself; for at the same time he took from them both their Eyes and their Inheritance, the first never to be recover’d, the last almost as desperate; for he befor’d it on Milcolm, King of Scots, to be held of him in grand Serjeanty, by the service of bearing the Sword before him, as oft as he came into those parts; the two Renegado’s, Anleff and Reignold made their escape into the Isles, and thence into Ireland, thinking themselves scarce secure at that distance. Thus satiast with Victory and Triumph, the fruits of vigilance and fortitude, he return’d back to fortifie himself by the most noble actions of Peace, binding his Subjects to him by the Bonds of so good Laws, that the memory of some of them are continued to this day, favouring of a wis’dom rarely to be found in so green years; which as it made him rever’d in his life-time, so much more
more pity'd in his death, when he fell by the hands of an Out-Law, who thrust him through the Body, as he was endeavouring to part two of his domestick Servants, that were so insolent to begin a Fray in his own house and presence, which fatal Accident was not more unlucky to himself than to his Children, the eldest whereof being but four, the youngest scarcely two years old at his death, were without any great difficulty, put besides the Succession, by their Uncle Eadred.

T H E Activity of the EADRED Danes, after they came to get Footing, enfor'd the English to make many Ruptures out of course, in the Succession of their Kings, breaking off their Lines where at any time it seem'd weak, and uniting it together again in the strongest place, doubting left the Imbecility of one that had been either a Fool or a Child, might be an occasion of letting the common Enemy in upon them: Upon which account this King was prefer'd before his Nephews, the right Heirs, he being of age, and they not; his Title of Election out-weighing theirs of Succession, as being more agreeable to the necessity of those rough and boy-sterous Times; however there were always some found, that durst oppose the common Choice, mov'd by particular Interests, giving their Kings so continued Alarums, that they were not seldom forc'd to lay aside their Royal Robes, and cloath themselves in Steel, And this I take to be the Case of this particular King, who was put to a greater expense of Treasure than Blood, by the frequent Revolts (for they were not worthy the name of Rebellions) of such, who upon the account of discontent and faction, gave him more trouble than danger, baffling his Courage by long Marches to reduce them, when indeed they were subdued by their own fears, before he could reach them. Now as that which yields, deads the force of violent motions, and causes them to lose their execution; so he by not being resisted, return'd still a Conquerour without a Conquest, till involv'd in the common Fate of all Vildors, (who weakened by often over-coming, are at last overcome by themselves) his Fury spent it self like Thunder after much Lightning, without any great harm done; all his Glory being by this means turn'd into a kind of Mockery, the Danes as well as the Rebels, playing fast and loose with him at that rate, that between War and Peace, he was neither safe nor quiet, finding continual matter of Indignation or Scorn, till Fortune by bringing him so often to fight with Air, made him secure, and by that means left the Enemy an opportunity to steal a Victory, that they durst not try to force from him: After which, death stole behind him,
him, and broke the Glasses of his Soveraignty before it had run out full ten years: too short a space to secure the Liberties of his People, much less to allay their Fears; who terrified with the various Ensigns of an Implacable Enemy, basely decline'd all noble Occasions of Revenge, and shamefully lost all that they possest'd, by the same way they first got it.

**EDWIN.**

955.

It hath been observ'd, that the self-same Weapons Time uses to overcome the Body, are by the Understanding us'd to subdue Time. And by this means it prevails with Fame to allow that Glory to Patience, which Fortune not sedulously denies to Fortitude: but this seems to be a secret which this young King either did not know, or not regard: by which Animadversion his Memory became obnoxious to much Obloquy and Scandal, which his Youth might otherwise have excus'd, or the Age he liv'd in pardon'd: For not caring to humour those that then would be esteem'd the test of men (I mean the Clergy) for that Cause only he fell under the Reproach of being himself one of the worst of Kings. The truth is, he was very severe toward the Priesthood upon account of their Lazinesfs; which provok'd them by way of Recrimination, to declaim as much against him for his Lascivioulinefs; their Revenge appearing to be like theirselves, truly Spiritual, in that it surviv'd the Occasion, and proved so immortal a Defamation, as is like to continue as long as there is any mention made of him in any Story, his Vices being represented in such a Magnifying Glass as dilated them to a degree of Deformity, more suitable to a Monster then a Man. For they accus'd him to have ravish'd a Young Lady the fame hour that he was anointed King; and to make it yet more horrid avow'd that he did it in the sight of all the People, and particularly of her own Husband, whom, after he had tortur'd with the shame of so unparalleled an indignity, he afterward murthert'd: But how improbable this is, each Reader may judge. And those that consider how Venial a sin Venery was in those times, will conclude his greatest Crime to be the taking of Abbot Dunstan by the Nole in like manner as it is said he did the Devil, who having cheated his Predecessor of a vast Treasure, deliver'd him under secret Trust, to which he had most meritoriously entituled the Church; he not only compelled him to vomit up his Sacrilege, but to make the punishment as notorious as his guilt, compelld him to depart the Realm: This lost him the hearts of the Clergy; and long it was not ere they found an artifice to bereave him so far of the affections of the Laity, that they withdrew their Allegiance
glance too upon the account of his Nonage, being then but sixteen years old: Neither took they from him his Crown only, but what was more dear to him than his life, his beautiful young Wife, upon pretence of too near Consanguinity; which Divorce cast him into a fit of despondency, and that into so high a Fever as compleated the Separation by his death: being dead they deny'd him Burial, and to shew that something worse than the poison of Asps (which works no longer than while it finds heat) was under their Tongues, they most uncharitably reported the same Evil Spirits, whom they would have thought in possession of his Soul, to have carried away his Body; presuming that they might without any great difficulty gain Credit from posterity, having so easily abused the present: but those that give us the most Impartial Account of his unhappiness, back'd with circumstances that prove themselves, delineate such an active generosity in his Nature, as by the Advantage of his Youth, might have been render'd very useful if it had met with a loyal Nobility, or an untainted Clergy; but the first being led like Sheep by the last, they to shew posterity how all the weight of Government hung upon the Lines of their hate or love, set up his Brother Edgar as very a Child as himself, giving no other reason why they thought him fitter to Rule, but that they judged him easier to be ruled.

This King growing up like a young tree, planted under the shelter of the walls of the Sanctuary, could not choose but flourish, and being happy, who would not allow him to be wise, valiant, and just; but these good qualities were not it seems without some mixture of those dregs in his Brother's Nature, which were heightened so much by the Corruption of the Times, as that of their youth, either affording sufficient Temptation to men of so great Power, with so little experience. He began his Reign before his Brother ended his, and shooting up so soon, 'tis no marvel his top wither'd before he was full grown. That which gave him the great advantage of his Brother, was that which calls a great disadvantage upon most other men, in the like case, the point of minority; for coming to the Crown in so very tender years (being as I take it scarce seven years old) they that set him up, judged him incapable of making those obstinate Disputes, which Flatterers (of all Friends the worst Enemies) make Princes believe their Majesty will bear them out in; so that they who would take Exceptions to his Government, were first to Quarrel with the wisdom of St. Dunstan, who ruling him, as he would have him rule them, stood a long time betwixt him
him and Envy, making him by that distance appear in his Ascendant so much above any of his Predecessors, that he was not unworthily reputed the mott, not to say the first absolute Monarch of the whole life: for however Egbert was the first Monarch of all the Heptarchs, as Elfrid the first absolute of all the Monarchs, yet neither of these had any more than two parts of the whole; whereas he enlarg'd his Dominions over all the (*) circum-

styiein his jacent Territories, and took in all those petty Princes his Neighbours (who yet call'd themselves Kings) together with the King of Scotland himself, to be his Vassals, who submitted to him in so humble (not to say servile) a manner, that Florentius and Hoveden record it as one of the highest remarks of Majesty, that ever any King of England could glory in; that passing over the River Dee, Seven of them rowed his Farge; that is to say, the King of Scots, the King of Cumberland, the King of Northumberland, the King of Man and the Isles, and the three Kings of Wales. Neither is it strange, that he should be so much above any Kings that were before him, since he took a different way from them all to enlarge his Empire; for they only busied themselves to Fortifie so by Land, as to keep themselves in an uncertain Condition of defence, like men rowling a stone up a Hill, that is ready to tumble down again upon their heads, if they do not continually support it with main strength; whereas he made the Ocean, as Nature first intended it, the Bulwark of his Dominions; and was indeed the very first that made it, by providing such a Fleet, as met with danger before it could approach too near him, whereby he had this double advantage, not only to take off the Fears of his own People, which had so long abused their Courage, but added so much to the Terror of his Neighbours, that they submitted to him without being conquer'd; and having never seen him, paid him Tribute on condition they never might: Fame as it were, so out-sailing his Navy, that they who before made it their business to invade his Territories, counted it happiness enough now that he did not invade theirs. Hence it was that there was not the least noise of War all his Time, nor scarce a whisper of Rebellion; Except some little Demurrers of discontent, put in by the Welsh Princes, presuming upon their Poverty; for that which is the weakness of other Princes, was their only Ground of Confidence; but that little Inflammation ceased by the letting out of a very little blood; the Danes who were then in the nearest Enemy, lying still like Silk-worms in Winter, without the least motion or appearance of Life; in Fine, the peace attended his Government was so universal, that to signify the Calm, he added to the Arms of his Ancestors four Martlets, Birds that much delight to be about Water, and most if not wholly in clear and still Seasons, for such indeed was his Reign (as a Calm between Storms) which had it been as long as 'twas prosperous, he had not only past for the most August Prince of this Nation, but this for the most Auspicate Kingdom perhaps on this side the World, he as keeping the Keys, and that as being the Storehouse to all other Nations. But he being (as I observ'd before) like a Plant abounding with too much moisture shut up too soon, and being made wanton with ease and plenty, grew over Prodigal of that vital heat which should have cherish'd Nature, that it was not in the power of Art to preserve his Life beyond the thirty sixth year of his Age, which was too short a space to close up the diverufed joints of so mixt a Kingdom, whereof the Danes kept ye a fourth share; much 'efs to establish an universal Empire, which being weakened by being so diffused, could no longer hold out than while it was preferv'd by the Courage of such active Princes, as tho' that appear'd

(*) See his of the whole; whereas he enlarg'd his Dominions over all the
appear'd upon the Throne the four last Descents following, who spight of Fate made good their Ground for an hundred years without any Interruption to the course of honour, save by the Interposition of Edwin, whom yet the hatred of the Clergy is suppos'd to have made worse than he was.

The Globe of Sovereignty, like that of the Earth, is so placed, that it never stands still; but as the Ocean (the Emblem of human frailty) has its Ebbs and Flows, its Falls and Swellings, so hath it its Turnings, Tumblings, and Revolutions. No sooner were Edgar's Halcyonian days done, but there appear'd new Signs of the old Troubles, and Commotions, which like the meeting of contrary Tides, press in each upon other with dreadful noise and Tumult; the Laity opposing the Clergy, the Nobility scorning the Populacy, and they again dividing from one another: But amongst the rest, no Feud seemed so fatal, as that betwixt the two Unhappy Sons of this so happy Father; the one trusting to his Primogeniture, the other standing upon his Legitimacy; the right of either being so equally balanced, that there wanted only the affections of the Multitude to turn the Scale either way, whilst the Clergy favour'd the Elder, the Temporal Lords the younger. The head of the Church-Faction was the A.B. Dunstan, then, and all the time of the last King, chief Minifter of State: Principal of the Lay Faction, was Óðgar the great Earl of Devon, back'd by the Queen Mother's Party. So equal was the power, so pressing the necessity on either side, that both Conlected to stand to the determination of a Publick Convention of all the States at London: Accordingly a Parliament was held at Westminster, where the bold St. Dunstan, not tarrying for the result of any Debate upon the point De Jure, set the Crown upon the head of Edward the Elder Brother, and so presented him De Facto, to the Affembly, as their lawful Sovereign; which confident Act of his, either satisfying or surprizing those of the opposite Party, met with an universal submission; every Body acquiescing, and diffembling their discontent, except the Queen only, who being his Step-mother, could not forget, much less forgive, an injury so grievous to the Son of her own Body: turning therefore her passion of Ambition into that of Revenge, she broke over all the bounds of Nature and Right, to find the nearest way to the Throne: nor wanted the a dismal opportunity, however taken from a pretence of humanity and kindness, to set up her Darling by the murther of this guiltless Prince, who coming a-
lone estray'd from Hunting, and altogether unattended, to visit her at her
Castle of Corfe, in the Isle of Purbeck; was by her Command slain by an As-
solver, that took the advantage to stab him in the Reins of the Back, as he
was drinking her Health at the gate on Horse-back: the helpless Youth
finding himself wounded, clapt spurs to his Horse, in hopes to have out-rid
her malice, but his Spirits failing, he fell out of his Saddle, and so unfor-

tunately, that his Foot fastned in the Stirrup; at which his poor Beast
affrighted, became alike accersary, though not alike guilty of his death, by
casting out his Brains, before that Life had got its passage through his
wounds. So perished this harmless Prince in the infancy of his Royalty
as well as of his Age, being rather sacrificed than slain, by a kind of dou-
ble Death, without so much as a single Crime laid to his charge: the same
valour that envy'd him the honour of being a King, becoming instrumental
thereto to the dignifying him with the glory of being a Martyr; the Cha-
rry of those times, or rather the Affection of the Clergy, leaving him en-
fringed in the Calendar of Saints. Which shews how deplorable his death
was, whereof the whole Nation were so much more sufferers than himself,
that it may be truly said, that 'tis the same Stroke which took way his Life,
gave the Death's wound to the English Monarchy, bringing upon them the
martyr of being in Bondage to a Stranger Nation, of all other the most
cruel and insolent; who owed their Rise next the immediate determination
of Providence to nothing more than the unexpected Fall of this hope-
ful Prince; with whose blood they may be said to have mixt the Mortar of
that Foundation they after laid, taking the same advantage of the Sins of
the English, as they before of those of the Britains, and breaking in upon
them, as they upon 't other, with a Resolution not so much to conquer, as
to confound them; which may be some Excuse for the cruelty of the next
King, that massacred so many of them in cold blood, whilst who like Samp-
son in the midst of his Enemies, thought there was no way left, but remo-
ving the Pillars of the house, and perishing together with them.
Tis easy to imagine by the Title of Martyr, given to the last King, what Reflex his Death had upon this, who like an ill-set plant, unhappily placed in the same Room, from which the other was taken, never could recover any firm rooting, and consequently never thrive, being continually wind-shaken from the very first moment that he was set up, and vexed with incessant troubles; the Sword never departing from his House, as reported St. Dunstan preaching at his Coronation boldly foretold till the common Enemy became Master of his ill-got Glory, repaying him with the misery of loss, and that infelicity which always attends its flame and reproach. For 'tis observed, that notwithstanding there were scarcely any Kings that ever felt the constitutions of his Government, upon firmer principles, that fought his Battles with brave Resolution, that encountered all Emergencies of State with like indifferency and temperance; yet neither could his Vigilance or Valour, his Prudence, Fortitude, or Patience prevail against Destiny, but that all his designs were frustrated at the very point of dispatch; as if Heaven had decreed to lay such a curse upon the wickedness of his Parent, as should weigh down all the merits of his Virtues, and blast the hopes conceived from them. One while Famine was his Foe, another time Pestilence; and it was not rare for the very Elements themselves to fight against him; it being more than once or twice that he had a kind of Battle with Heaven itself; for his Fleets were in danger of being fired by unexpected Lightning and Thunder-Storms; neither was it for a little time that he thus struggled with the perverseness of his Stars, hoping the malignity of their Influences might spend itself in the Season; but finding they gave him no opportunity or encouragement to perform any worthy Action, for several years together, having plac'd all Glory so above the reach of his Sword, that 'twas impossible he could at the same time appear to be valiant and wise, he despaired by sensible degrees: and as one grown weary of Greatness, became less concern'd, as he found Fortune more froward; till at length he fell under the lowest Reproach that could befall an active Prince, to be stilt'd The Unready (for so was he mis-call'd) the apprehensions of which indignity so wholly relaxed his Spirits, that he resolves'd to purchase what he could not win, a little rest (I cannot call it peace, being rather like a Submission than a Cessation) which yet he paid an incredible price for, indeed no less than 10000 pounds, a vast Sum for those times, and so much the dearer pennyworth to his poor people, in as much as it...
it was the occasion of a Tax, which not only was the very first they ever knew, but was executed with so much rigour, that the shame and indignation he conceived thereupon, put him upon washing off the Stain of his dishonour with a deluge of innocent blood: exasperating him to the hazard of the worst of remedies, a general Massacre throughout his Territories; which afterwards was executed upon the Danes with so much secrecy, and so little compassion, that very few, if any of them, escaped. 'Twas thought this one Act, however cruel, would have freed him from all future fears of the like necessity for the time to come; but that weight which would have fixt the pillars of his Government upon their Fanes, had they continued upright; leaning on one side, overcharg'd and crack'd them: for the bold Executioners of his rage, upon the first preparation the Enemy made for Revenge, finding themselves disappointed in the main ends of their Cruelty, turn'd Cowards, and by a strange infatuation quit his Protection, to seek refuge from those whom yet they believ'd implacable; who having no colour of right, till this wrong was done to them, had now so fair a Pretence to do what 'e was foul, that King Swain himself thought it obligatory upon him, to cross the Sea to see right done to the incensed ghosts of his People: The terror of whose first approach made such impressions upon the very wisest of the English, that they thought it better to give him the possession of their Country, than hazard his undertaking it from them, yielding up most of the great Towns and Cities, to disappoint his Fury by unexpected submission. Only London stood firm to King Ethelred in this extremity, and left him not till he left them; who having before the Storm came, sent away his Wife and Children into Normandy, follow'd them himself not long after; leaving Swain in the sole possession of the Kingdom: who from thence forward had nothing more to do, but to bind those he had thus conquer'd with chains of Allegiance. But see the mockery of human greatness: whilst he thought himself above all Enemies, having one foot upon the step to mount into the Throne, death the common Enemy of mankind, struck him to the ground: the winged news of which unexpected Event, taking its flight into Normandy, so imbeldned Ethelred, that he believing himself now reconcil'd to Fortune, immediately return'd, and shew'd his People, he was not that Unready man the World misnam'd him to be: but behold, instead of an aged Enemy, who had more to do to contest with his own infirmity than with his Forces, there appear'd a Successor more youthful and vigorous than himself, one that was equal to him in conduct, but surpass'd him in Ambition: this was Knute the Son of Swain, who finding the only way to be great at Land, was to be Master at Sea, made it his first business to corrupt the Fleet, and by that advantage gave so fatal a blow to Ethelred's power, that he could no longer resist the force of Desperation; but languishing in mind as before in Body, left the justice of his Title to be disputed with more equality by his Son Edmund, who hoping to Overcome by yielding, loft the whole by giving up a part only.
HE unexpected Death of the last King, sur-
charg'd with misfortunes rather than years, as it made
way for his Son to the Throne, so happening before he was
sufficiently prepar'd for so important a Charge, it was
was not the least occasion of the total overthrow of the
English Monarchy: However we may call this rather his
Fate than his Fault, being a Prince worthy a happier
Father, and a nobler Destiny; who, had Providence been
pleas'd to have post-dated the birth of his glory, till time had
purg'd away the guilt of his Family, and left him no more
Enemies to grapple with, than what his Sword could have
reach'd; might possibly by his personal Gallantry, have reco-
ver'd his languishing power, at least prevented those dire dif-
putes, which afterwards cost his Posterity more blood, than the Domini-
ons they Contended for could supply. But the same hand that wrote his
name in this period of Succession, and as 'twas thought, ingrav'd his De-
finty in that (*) Name, contrary both to the literal sense of it, and the
hopes conceiv'd by them that gave it him; turn'd that of Bless'd and Peace-
able, into that of Iron-sides; an Adjunct which carried horror in the found,
and perhaps more proper for him, who was condemn'd to fight three set
Battels in the space of three Months; on the success of each of which,
depended no less than half a Kingdom, which yet was his all; the rest be-
ing in possession of his Foe, who fought him with his own Weapons, bring-
ing Subject against Subject, English against English. King Edmund's Gen-
eral was the Earl of Essex; the Earl of Northumberland was the Danes, both
men of great Conduct and Courage: Not far distant from these appear'd
the Earl of Merkland, with another Body 5 by his Father of English Des-
cent, by his Mothers side a Dane; who pretending to affect both sides, could
by no means be drawn to declare for either; having secretly however sup-
ported each, till he had so far wea kned them both by his Encouragements,
that neither was in Condition to punish his Treachery, much less to refuse
his Courtesie: And now being drawn up in Battel to decide the great ques-
tion of right, he shew'd, seeing him hovering at a distance with such a neutral
party, as gave them just apprehensions of both his Force and Fraud, trus-
ting to no Sword but their own, they mutually accorded to decide the
Justice of their quarrel by Combat rather than Battel, obliging their re-
pective Armies to submit to the success of him that conquer'd; upon which
entring singly into an Island on the Severn, they charg'd each other with
so much fury, and so little Caution, as if the desire of assailing had wholly
taken
taken away the care of defence; but being equal in Stomach and strength, the Fight continued pois'd in the uncertainty of any advantage on either side, till at length both being tired, neither vanquish'd, either hoping to win, both scorning to yield, with like desire, though not with like reason, they agreed to divide the Kingdom between them. And to make the atonement appear as acceptable to their Armies as to themselves, they transferred their Persons, by exchange of Cloaths and Arms: Edmond appearing to the Danes in dreis like Knute, Knute like K. Edmond to the English: a fatal exchange for this poor Prince, who whilst they seem'd thus to become each other, he only remain'd not himself, falling by degrees from being half a King, to be very shortly after none: betray'd by false grounds of security, into an unpitied Ruine, whilst he prefer'd a bad Peace before a good War, and neglected those means for the preservation of life, which he might have learn'd from the continual expectation of death: and that which made his end more deplorable was, that with him perish'd the English Monarchy. For however it seem'd to have recover'd itself again in the same age, yet it prov'd like a plant new set after it had been long out of ground, which whiles there remains any sap in the root, will send forth fresh Sprouts, but those so weak and tender, that the least bruise makes them wither and die: the mistaken Majesty of the Kings that succeeded him, being no less crazed and infirm than they themselves, who fainted away upon the first wounds given them, and bled themselves to death in one single battle,
THE FOURTH

DYNASTY

OF

DANES.
OF

DANES.

It is said, the Danes were a People, whose Original, Tradition, hath which much ado traced through the Dusky Fogs of the Euxine Sea, unto the Land of Helvetia; which being the first place they were ever known to inhabit, they are thought under the obscure name of the Camar, till they were expelled thence by the Sophians, why (as Orosius, Olens Megaricus, and others affirm) have continued therewith since. 

They were driven out by a sudden inundation of the Country, upon which they petition'd the Romans (then Lords of almost all the World) for the assignation of some vacant place in their Dominions: But the meanness of their Condition inclining them to request, they were necessitated to move up and down in unsettled Condition for some years: At last (tis said) they fixed in Scandia, where possessing themselves of the strongest Part of those cold Islands in the Baltic Ocean, they found an opportunity to justly out divers Roman Colonies. This begat a quarrel, and that at last a War, in which the Romans lost several of their Generals before they could reduce them to any Terms of Submission. A little after this (which was yet before the Incarnation) they began to undermine their next Neighbours the Jutes, who (as Maimster relates) dwelt right over against them, on the Chersees, that jets out into the Amfi Sea. By that Contest they gave the World so good an account of their skill in Naval Fights, that the Jutes weary of their Vicinity, left them the possession of that Promontory, and came themselves over into this Isle of ours.

Thus by commanding the Sea, they made themselves first Lords at Land, and with their new Seats they got a new Name; the broad-mouth'd Northern People about those parts, calling them the DAN'S: whether from Don their king, as fome, too ancient to be refuted, fancy; or from Dom, the abbreviation of Dominium (as the Spaniards got the Style of Don amongst them) being of that haughty humour, that they would be called by no other name after they came hither, but Lordanes; or whether from DAN, which
which (as Junius tells us) signified a Firr-tree (whereof they had there such abundance, that it continues yet their Staple Commodity) I will not take upon me to determine. Certain it is, that most Writers reckon them amongst the Minores Genes; but if their own Records speak Truth, we must look on them as the off-spring of the Scythians, the noblest Race of People in the World; from whom all the Northern Nations were as ambitious to derive themselves, as those in the East from the Medians, those in the South from the Ethiopians, or those in the West from our Ancestors the Germans. There are who reasonably enough conclude them to be a branch of those last: For the Posterity of Gomer planting in Italy, disturbed part of their numbers into Germany, and part into Gaul. From those in Germany sprung two Branches, the Franks, and the Danes (as Procopius tells us) both promiscuously at that time called Normans: From those in Gaul sprung our Ancestors the Britains, and those of Belgia: by which it is evident, We that at this day are call'd English, were originally all of one Stock. Neither hath the change of Names or Nations much altered our Natures, but that we continue to be still the same in humour, as we were ever in point of Constitution.

They were (as indeed most of the Inhabitants of the Septentrional part of the world) a hardy and bold (I cannot say brave) People: for their behaviour was plain and rude, and they so affected their own manners, that however they were led by Providence into Countries where they per-took more of Civility and the Sun, yet they would not be mov'd to change any of their ancient Customs, having but little sense of honour, and less of danger, aiming more at gain then glory: Infomuch, that they were altogether strangers to such gay distinctions of Honour as are since in fashion, and wherewith those now in Denmark have been but very lately acquainted: the reason was, for that all their Dignities were Personal, and not Hereditary, held by no other Charter but that of their Venue: So that their wife Kings observing that old Adage, Virtutis Lout Atio, never suffered them to want fresh Occasions of Action, whereby they sold them the honour they pretended to give them, by parting with it not so much as a Reward of past, as an earnest of future Services. Neither did this a little enhance the value of their Nobility, which being for term of life only, as it fell sooner into the Kings hands, to be remunerated again with better improvement and advantage, so the Perfons dignify'd were not apt to be infected with those haughty conceipts, which most usually puff up the minds of such as are born Noble, who believing something to be in their Blood, that differs them from the common Rank of Subjects (the Obligation whereof they have either forgotten, or hold to be discharged by their Ancestors) grow insolent and factionous, and by their disloyalty not seldom disturb both their own Families and the Kingdoms peace: Of this Knute had so sad a proof, that as soon as he came to be King of England, he endeavoured to discharge all his Grandees, that might any way pretend to have any share in his Conquest, crushing the two great Paladines, Iris and Turkill, the one Earl of Northumberland, the other of Merkland; each of whose Principalties were so independent, and governed by such distinct Laws as made them so absolute, that the Monarchy till then looked like a Tetrarchy; but he was forc'd at the same time to banish Ten thousand of his other Country-men, only to be rid of them two: putting himself by an unusual Confidence, upon the Faith of the English, whom to oblige the more, he taught the knowledge of their own Strength (which till then they seem'd ignorant of) shewing them the way to Victory in other Countries;
tries; where while they became Conquerours under him, they forgot
the hate conceiv'd for being conquer'd by him: Neither was he less care-
ful in Peace, to heal the wounds receiv'd in War, by applying the Balsome
of wholesome Laws, in the making whereof he had a particular Art to meet
with the Diftempers of the Times; wisely providing against such as were
likely to have become Epidemical: But more particularly severe was he
against that foulish sin of Drinking, then so much in fashion, not without
some secret infin'd perhaps, or preface of what did happen after, that
it would prove fatal to the Glory of his own House, and not only cut off
every Branch thereof, but be the occasion of rooting out his Nation so full
and wholly, that in two Successions after him, there should not be found
scarce one Family in the whole Isle, that could so trace their broken Pedi-
grees, through the obscure windings and deviations of their so often in-
terrupted Histories, as to prove himself of Dania, Extrac, both by Fa-
ther and Mother.

But as it was too great an Undertaking to subdue the Vices of that
indomitable Age, where if they had not thirsted for wine, they would per-
haps for blood: So much less was he able to contest with Heaven, which
had put them a period for a Penalty, and bound them up by an invisible
Chain of Causes, beyond the length of which they could not make one step
forward: The Links whereof were peradventure no more (and therefore
the heavier) then what was proper for the mystical number of their three
Letter'd Name of DAN: for as their Monarchy held only three Descents,
so the whole Systeme of their Conquest, with every Action, Accident, and
Achievement therein, seems to be circumscribed within the Circle of that
three corner'd Square, with like Fatality as the Britains were ruled by the
Number of Six, and the Romans by that of Seven: For as they were or-
ginally divided into three Tribes, so each Tribe had as many Kingdoms,
and thereupon they gave for their ancient Arms three times three * Hearts,
which makes up Nine, the great Square of the Number Three, their Do-
minions then containing just so many Islands (as we learn from + Tho. Bar-
tolinus) to which they have added since Three Lions; so when they be-
gan their Invasion here, 'tis observable they had but only Three Ships;
yet which yet landed not all at once, but in three several places, and that in-
considerable Party they brought over, were conducted by three Generals,
each equal in Trust and Honour; these were Gurmo, Byorn, and Sytherick,
who began that cruel war that followed: Upon their Departure came over
Ingar, Ivor, and Hubbo, three fierce Brothers, which were seconded by
Gurmo the younger, Erkell and Amond, as they again back'd by Cockrie,
Hastang, and Rollo. The three great Triumviri in the height of the war
were Edric, Stroeg, and Halidina: after them succeeded Sytherick the Sec-
ond, Godfred, and Anlaff: after whom were Eric the Second, Anlaff the
Second, and Swain: not to mention, Fran, Frihtegiff, and Frothor, whose
names were over-whelm'd by Irtus, Turkill, and Knume, who were the bring-
ers up of the Rear, and ended the war; the last of whom was the first had
the good fortune to shake off his right and left hand-men in the Govern-
ment. The like Order they observ'd in invading Ireland; where the first
Undertakers were Turges, and the two Gurmo's, Father and Son; the second
Expedition being managed by Thor, Raglebert, and Sytherick; the same
Sytherick, I take it, came after into England: And as they had alwaies three
Generals, so all their Battallions were divided into Teritia's; and as divers
Historians relate, they never quit the Field how much sooner over-press'd
by their Enemies, till they had been thrice broken. Laftly, as they had a
Succession
Succession of three times three Kings here, before they could get the intire Domination over the whole (that is to say, three in East-Anglia, and twice three in Northumberland) so they had three, and but three Kings, that continued the Succession after they became absolute: And as their Monarchy held out but three Descents, so it continued but three times nine years at longest: Too short a space to compensate the loss of so much blood, as the recovery of their short-liv'd Glory cost them; much less to repair the Nausfrages of the Common-wealth, wasted by continual Storms, whilst Fortune appear'd so indifferent which side to favour, that there could be no measure taken of her Inclinations, from the Success, there being scarce any Battel fought, in which the Conqueror had so much the better on't to keep the Field long; or the conquer'd so beaten, as not to be able in very short time to take the Field again, with confidence of getting the day next, rising like Game-cocks after they were laid for dead, to crow over them that had the better of them; those that died, intailing their Ambition on those that surviv'd, infecting them (if I may so say) with their Courage. So that that Character is very applicable to them which we find elsewhere,
THE
Order and Succession
OF THEIR
KINGS
Before and after they got
The Intire and Absolute Government
OF
ENGLAND.

I.
870. HUNGAR was the first Danish
King in this Isle, who assisted by his Brother Beorn, that had
married the Lady of Northumberland, found Interest enough to give
him admittance there: whence marching directly into East-Anglia, he sac-
crific'd King Edmund to the Ghost of his mother'd Father, and posseffing
himself of that Kingdom, left it to

II.
874. GURMO, a younger Brother of the Royal House of Denmark; who, to in-
gratiate himself to the English, became a Christian, and with his new Title
took a new Name, being by his God-
father King Elfred, worthily call'd Athelstan: that is to say (as Verstegan
interprets it) the Noble; he left his Title to his Brother

III.
905. ERIC, the first that had this name, and left that had this honour; who
meeting with a Compeforter that over-
match'd him both in the dignity of his Person, and the designation of his Pow-
er, was betray'd by his own Subjects, who put themselves under King Ed-
ward, surname'd the Elder: the North-
thumbers and Mercians submitting to

IV.
ERIC the Second, or (as some call him) Sytherick a Norwegian: who
contracting an alliance with King Athelstan, and after the Example of
Gurmo, turning Christian, was pes-
son'd by his own two Sons: the eldest

V.
ANLaffen the First possess'd him 924:
self of Northumberland: Godfrid his younger Brother held Mercia: but
King Athelstan fell upon both, and took
from the last his Life, from the first his Kingdom; which was recovered
again not long after, by his Son

VI.
ANLaffen the Second, thereupon 946.
estem'd the third King of the Nor-

thumbers:
thumbers. His reign was not long; for his Subjects weary of continual wars, set him besides the Saddle, to make way for

VII.

950. ERIC the Third, or as some call him IRING, Son of Harold, the Grandson of Gurno King of Denmark, recommended to them by Milcolmb King of Scots: but he being elected King of Sweden, the Northumbers submitted to Edgar the younger Brother, or next in succession to Edwyn, and from that time, it continued a Member of the

English Crown, till about the year 980, when

VIII. ANLAFF the Third, understanding they were affected to his Nation, arrived with a fresh Supply, and making his Claim, was admitted King; but being over-prést, the Title came to

IX. SWAIN, King of Denmark, who made this his first step to the English Throne: into which as he was mounting, death seiz'd on him, and kept the Room empty for his Son Knute.

DANES

Absolute Kings of England.

I. KNUTE was deservedly surnam'd the Great, as being the very greatest, and most absolute King that ever England or Denmark knew (those of the Roman Line only excepted) for he was King of England, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Lord of a great part of Poland, all Saxony, some part, and not a little, of Brandenburgh, Bremen, Pomerania, and the adjacent Countries; most of them, not to say all (besides Denmark and Norway) reduced under his Obedience, by the valour of the English only: upon his death Denmark and Norway fell to his Son Hardycanute; the rest, as Sweden, &c. devolv'd upon the right Heirs; whilst England was usurp'd by his Natural Son

II. 1036. HAROLD, surnam'd Harfager, or Golden Locks; who being the Elder, and having the advantage to be upon the place, entered as the first Occupant, thereby disappointing his legitimate Brother

III. 1041. KNUTE, surnam'd the Hardy, design'd by his Father to be the next Successor to him, as bearing his Name, though upon trial it appear'd he had the least part of his Nature: for he had not the Courage to come over and make any claim, as long as Harold liv'd; and after his death, he drown'd himself in a Land-flood of Wine, losing all the Glory his Predecessors had gotten, by waging through a sea of blood, which made the way to his Throne so slippery, that those English that came after him, could never find firm footing: But upon the very first Encounter with the Norman, caught such a Fall, that could never recover themselves again.

THE
THE Danes observing the intestine feuds amongst the Saxons, as they before had taken notice of those amongst the Britains, urg'd with the same Emulation, and led by the same Providence, they invaded the Invaders; resolvi...
neft, they took that Bird for their Cognizance; which being embroy-
der'd by their Vestal Sisters, in a Banner consecrated after the horrid
Rites of their Paganish Superstition, with many Charms and Curzes,
which render'd it (as the Vulgar believ'd) impossible to be taken, they
set it up as the Royal Standard: calling it by the Name of the Raven.
Whether they intended it for the Portraiture of that happy prefa-
ging Raven, that spoke in the Capitol at Rome, and told them Verum \muestra

whether it were the Ensign of the ancient Danish Kings, is not certain; but this we know, that it drew great numbers to them, who supposing the Genius of the Nation was wrapp'd up in that Flagg, thought themselves sufficiently protected under the shadow of it, against all dangers whatsoever; and accordingly expos'd themselves to all desperate Attempts, with so little Caution, that the English, daunted with their more then humane Courage, gave Ground, till Fortune was pleas'd to undermine them by that unexpected Success at Kin-
worth in Devonshire; where the Raven was taken, and Hubbo slain: from whom the place is since call'd Hubbelston. However, such was the
good hap of Hungar and Ivor before that black day, that they made
themselves Lords of Northumberland, by the death of Earl Osbright the
suppos'd Ravisher of Frea, whom they besieg'd in York, where firing
the City, they consum'd him in the Flames which his own Luxt had kind-
led. Thence they marched into Norfolk, advancing as far as Thetford,
then reputed a City, and the Royal Seat of Edmund King of East-Anglia,
whom they besieged in his Castle, and after taking him, cut off his Head,
placing his Crown upon the Head of this Hungar, who from thence for-
ward was stiled by all his People, King of East-Anglia: a Title that con-
tinued in his Successors about fifty years after, but with so great a Curze
intail'd upon it, that as neither himself, so few or none of them died dry
deaths; the cry of King Edmund's blood being not stopp'd till Canute's time,
who endeavoured to compound with his injur'd Ghost, and as much as in
him lay, to get of the Guilt of his Ancestors by large Donatives to the
Church where he was inter'd, offering up his own Crown at the Royal
Martyrs Tomb, as a Peace-offering for the Usurpation of his.

IVOR
IVOR being call'd back GURMO, into the place from whence he came, and Hubbo sent to the place whither all must go, the Kingdom of East-Anglia, after the death of Hungen fell to Gurmo, who (as Saxon-Posthumous and Krafinus set forth his Pedigree) was the Son of Harold Klaak, who was the Son of Brother, the Grandson of Lean Knaue, Son of Bors Blaou, by the Daughter and Heir of Guthorn, Son of Harold Klaak (who therefore is by Albertus Stadensis mistaken for Gurmo's Father) who was Great Grandson to Gatherick, the first absolute Monarch of Denmark, whose Father was the famous Sigward King of Norway, surname'd Snoweje, Brother to Heli- dine, afterwards reign here in England.

This Gurmo came out of Ireland, I take it in the second year of King Elfrid, not without a confident hope of making good his Predecessors Conquest, which had cost already so much blood, as made his desire of Rule look like a necessity of Revenge: the Monarchy of Denmark it self being put (if I may so say) into a Falsity, or trembling Fit, by the loss of the Spirits it had wasted here. So that came with this advantage, which those before him had not, That the Cause seem'd now to be his Countries, more then his own; who therefore bore him up with two notable props, Esketel and Amon, men of great Conduct and known Courage; the one of which he plac'd as Vice-Roy in Northumberland; t'other in Mercia: And having before expelled Burtbred the Saxon, he fixed himself in East-Anglia, as being nearer to correspond with Denmark, and most commodious to receive Recruits. Upon his first advance against King Elfrid, Fortune appear'd to much a Neuter, that either seem'd afraid of other, and striking under line, prefer'd a dissembled Friendship before down right Hostility: And to shew how much the edge of their Courage was rebated, they mutually accorded to divide the Land betwixt them: Gurmo was to be Lord of the North and East: Elfrid to hold the South and West part of the Isle. The politick Dane after this, suffered himself to become what the English would have him to be (a Christian) to the intent that he might be what he would have himself to be (absolute) changing his Pagan name of Gurmo, into that of Athelstan; which being of all others the most grateful to the Saxons, he render'd him self by that Condescension so acceptable to the whole Nation, that they conferred to his Marriage with the fam'd Prince's Thyra, King Elfrid's former Sister, by whom he had issue Harold Blastaed, that liv'd to be King of Denmark after himself; and another
another Knute, whom he left in Ireland, to make good the Acquests of the first Gurmo there: a Prince of so great hopes, and so belov'd by him, that the knowledge of his death (being slain at the Siege of Dublin) gave him his own: for he no sooner apprehended the tidings thereof, by the sight of his Queens being in mourning, but he fell into such a violent fit of Grief, as left him not till he left the World, whereby the Crown of Denmark fell to his Son Harold, the Title and Possession of East Anglis, with its Appurrences, he bequeath'd to his Brother Eric, who having perfom'd the first Act of Security to himself, in having taken an Oath of Allegiance of all his Subjects, suffer'd them to perform the last Act of Piety towards him, in giving him all the Rites of an honourable Interment at Haddon in Suffolk: which place it seems he purposed to make the Burial place of all the East Anglian Kings. But this Ambition of his beginning where it should have ended, with a design of affuriring to himself more honour after he was dead, then he was able to make good, whiles he was living, ended as soon as it began, as will appear by his Story following.

ERIC finding himself overthrow'd by his Contemporaty King Edward, who as he was surnam'd the Elder, was questionles the Wiser, if not the Valianter Prince of the two, thought it necessary to spring a Mine, before he made an Assault, that so entring in smoak (as we say) he might by the assistance of a few, accomplish that which was not to be hoped for by any open hosility, from the force of many more, then he could spare: hereupon he made it his first care to tamper with Ethelbald, the Son of the late King Ethelbert, and Uncle to the present King Edward, who having been disappointed of the Succession by reason of his Minority, at the time of his Fathers death, coming now to Age, thought himself sufficiently qualified for, and as well intitu to

the Government, as King Edward himself. Nor wanted he matter to kindle such a Fire within the Breast of this young Phaeton, as being born into a Flame, might indanger the whole State of the English; for he intimated to him, that it was not his but Natures Fault, that he was not a King: urging further, that the way to recover that Right, was to shew the World how sensible he was of the wrong: adding, that what he lost by being a Child, must be recover'd by doing something which might now speak him Man, wherein to wait an Opportunity from the help of Time or Chance, would prove an Error of Sloath not to be discern'd, till it were
were too late, and would by Wise men be interpreted Folly, and by Valiant men Cowardise. So pleasing was the Argument, that there needed no Rhetorick to prevail with this aspiring Prince to accept Affilliance from him, in the recovery of his imaginary Right: and as green wood, after it is thoroughlly fired, burns more fervently then that which is dry; so Ambition meeting with his Youth, incend'd his Passions to that degree, that he presently flew to Arms, declaring himself as much an Enemy to his Country as his Competitor, by the committment of several Outrages, that spoke him least sensible of shame then danger: And that he might yet appear more an Enemy to himselt, then either, he as rashly quit his Religion as his Loyalty, drawing many infamous Person's after him by the fame of his Apostacy. Eric publickly join'd with him, and declar'd against the Peace made by his Predecessors. King Edward that had been sufficiently allarm'd by the noise of this Conspiracy, before it came to its height, waited not their coming towards him, but met them half way, and at a place call'd St. Edmunds Ditch, famous for a Victory obtain'd by the English not long before, resolv'd to try his Title with them, dividing his Armies into two Battalions; the first lead by himself, the other by Prince Athelstan his Son: Against which Eric (who had the marshalling the other side) drew up his Army; but divided not as King Edward expected, into two great Wings, one to be commanded by himself, the other by Ethelbald; but after the manner of his Ancestors, made up three Boddies, two whereof were all English, the third all Danes: And resolv'ing to cut the Diamond with a Diamond, set the English against the English, and kept himself for the Reserve; The right Wing he left to be commanded by Ethelbald, who advanc'd against Prince Athelstan that had the left Wing of his Fathers Forces, and against King Edward that had the right Wing, he appointed one Cowulph, a Person of as desperate Fortune as disloyal Principes, descended by his Mothers side from the Earls of Chester, by the Fathers side from a bastard Dane, upon which account they afterward made him Titular King of Mercia; Eric with his Body of Danes stood to view the Field, and witness to the gallant Madison of the English; whilst each man fell upon his Fellow, his Brother, his Father, or his Uncle: not fighting Foe against Foe, but Friend against Friend; each wound that each man gave to other, letting out some of the same blood that run in his own Veins: wherein Fortune dispos'd the Battel, even as himself could wish, for Ethelbald lost his life, and King Edward the day: whose Forces being totally routed, Eric suffer'd not his men to wipe off the blood from their Swords, till they brandish'd them in the Faces of the Mercians, where King Edward appear'd at the head of them as boldy, as if he had receiv'd no defeat before. Here the Interest of both Nations came at the same time to the stake: For on the English side were engaged Ethelred, Earl of Wesmorland, Ethelred, Earl of Mercia, Ethelred, Earl of Northumberland, Godfride Earl of Wesmorland, Colburne Earl of Devon and Dorset, Scenen, the potent Earl of Somerset, and divers others of the greatest note among the English. On Eric's side appear'd Cowulph, Titular King of Mercia, with the victorious Vice-Roy of Northumberland, Stroeg Duke of Cumberland, Godfride Earl of Wesmorland, Colburne Earl of Devon, a man of do great strength, that they called him the Giants these were reinforce'd by new Supplies out of Denmark, under the Conduct of three famous Commanders, Uter, Umg, and Surfa. The hopes conceiv'd on either side was equal, as was their Courage: neither were their Forces dispro-
DANES.

Disproportionate to their Hopes. The advantage of the Danes was the reputation of the last Victory, that of the English rested in their despair. Either side alike concern'd in the thoughts of Greatness or a Grave. But whilst they were fatally disputing the Ground they stood on, Fortune that for a while had turn'd her back upon King Edward, declar'd for him, and by withdrawing her Presence out of the Danes Camp, left such an impression of Fear upon them, that one half quit the Field, the other that stayed did yet worse: For laying hold of their own King (who out of Indignation of the approaching Repulse, had turn'd his Fury upon those that fled) they bought their own Peace, with the price of his Head: whereby the English recover'd back all East Anglia, and the greatest part of East Anglia, which were thenceforth preserved as inseparable Members of the English Empire, till the Reduction of the whole under Knute: The Danes that fled thinking it enough to be able to make good Northumberland, and the parts about it; and being afterward back'd by the Scotch and Welsh, whose business it was to hold up the War, they set up another King of the same Name, though not of the same Race.

ERIIC II.

907.

Eric the Second, by some Writers call'd Sytherick, and by his Countrymen Sgefrid, is vulgarly suppos'd to be one of the Sons of Lathbrock, by his fruitful Wife Thora. But I rather take him to be that Eric the Son of Olave, mention'd by Knauius, who was the Nephew of King Rayner, and after the death of Hanger made Lord of the Isles. The first appearance he made in our History, is in the Company of his two Brothers Ivor and Rathbarth; whose way being made into Ireland, by the reputation of their Predecessors Turgofius, and the two Garman's, they all three continued there till the death of Hubba, slain at the Battle of Kenwam in Devonshire: upon the report whereof, Rathbarth went into the Hebrides, Ingar into Northumberland, and this Sytherick besieged Exeter: but the place being too warm to stay there long (for it was in the heart of the associated Counties he took shipping, and parted for Chester, burnt all that City, and by putting all the Inhabitants to the Sword, struck such a dread into all the Country round about, that he found an easy passage into the Land: and though the most People fled before him, with all the speed they could make, yet his Sword overtook so many, that the very Aye was infected with the blood he shed; the Pestilence devou-
ring more afterwards, then his Fury before. The purpose of his Brother 
Hungar was to have met him, and joyned Forces; which design was 
carried on by Garma and Eric, his Successors in East-Anglia: but nei-
ther of them being able to effect it, upon the death of Eric, the 
Northumbers sent to him, to come and take the protection of that Remnant 
that was left of the routed Army: who upon the first sight saluted him 
their King. This fell out in such a Juncture of Time, that it was more 
advantageous for him to make a bad Peace, then continue any kind of 
War: Whereupon he happily clos'd with King Athelftan, who suc-
ceeding his Father King Edward, thought it best to sheath the Sword, 
before it was quite blunted; having this unhappiness peculiar to 
himself, That he had more cause to fear his Friends than his Foes. This 
Pacton of theirs was afterwards confirm'd by an Allyance, that they 
hoped might unite their Families, either side being willing to be at rest; 
(to wit) a marriage betwixt Sytherick, and the Princess Edith, Sifter 
to King Athelftan; which Union begat an unity of Religion, Sytherick 
readily yielding to be openly baptized: But whilst he thought there-
by to oblige his Wifes Friends, he did so far disoblige his own, that 
those to whom himself had given life, were the first attempted to take 
away his: For his two Sons by his former Wife, Anlaff and Goth-
rick, believing it a Sacrifice acceptable to their abus'd Country, 
but more to their incens'd Gods, butcher'd him as he was asleep in 
his Garden.

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum ?

Upon which, his Queen frighted with the horror of their Inhumanity, 
 fled back to her Brother Athelftan, to seek from his Power, Justice, 
Protection, and Revenge; whiles Anlaff took upon him to be 
King.
RELIGION, as 'tis above the consideration of anything beside its self, so being mistaken, it doth as easily infatuate as inspire the two unnatural Paregicides (who dreaded not to do an Act, which could not but render them unprosperous, to the end they might have the glory to be thought Zealous) consider'd not that the Cruelty to their Father would so aggravate the wrong done to their Mother, as to draw upon them an Enemy, who having the advantage in Power, as well as in Repute, and the Justice of the Cause, would be oblig'd by the same motives to justify, as provok'd them to defile the Truth of Christianity: For no sooner was Anlaff declar'd King, but he was forc'd to quit his abortive Glory, and leave his Country, to be consum'd in the Flames his own mad Zeal had kindled, whilst his Brother Gatherick presst'd by the same necessity, to a degree of misery scarce to be distinguish'd from despair, sought an obscure livelihood in Ireland, as he in Scotland: both being scatter'd beyond all hope of recovery, had not Howel Prince of Wales (an unreconcilable Enemy to the English) divert'd Athelstan's Fury, by obliging him to look back to that part of the Kingdom, which he had infested, whereby they gain'd time (like Vipers cut in pieces) to recollect their scatter'd Limbs, and unite again; with which they follow'd close after him, in hope to charge him in the Rear, whilst the Welch gave him battle in the Front. But as too much haste is as much afore time, as too much delay out of time; so overtaking him, before he had overtaken the Welch, they put into his hand an unexpected Victory, from which they could make no retreat, and were forc'd to submit to a double Conquest; first by his Courage, then by his Courtesie: Who finding Anlaff so humble as to submit to the Faith, as well as to him, generously dismiss'd him without Ransome, I cannot say without some vainglory, having declar'd at the same instant, that he thought 'twas a greater thing to make a King, then to be one. Gatherick broke both his Faith and Prison, and escaping to Dunmail, who call'd himself King of Cumberland, confederated with him, and with William Prince of Scotts, and Donald Lord of the Highlands, and the above-nam'd Howell to begin the War again, into which League he afterwards brought his Brother Anlaff, which thereupon being call'd the League of the Five Kings, made such a noise as alarum'd all England, and start'd Athelstan himself so far, that he thought it necessary to set up his Royal Standard, and call in to his Assistance all the Friends he could make: these
Those of most note that appeared in Arms with him, yet rather for their Countries sake then his, were his Brother Elfric Prince of East-Sexe, Edvald Duke of the West-Sexe, Eorfrid the great Earl of Kent, Segar the valiant Duke of the South-Sexe, and (who was yet greater than either of them, and much more terrible) Guy Earl of Warwick, whose Courage has rendered him so famous among the Common People to this day, who came attended with his hopeful Son Earl Reyborne, the Mirror of Chivalry; and with them were most of the great Men of that time: The fatal place chosen to decide the glory of this day, was Brimsbury in Yorkshire; where Athalaf himself resolving to take a personal view of the English Army, with no less Circumspection then Courage, entered their Camp (as King Eofrid had formerly into that of the Danes) in the dress of a common Fidler; and having by that disguise satisfied himself in all the Particulars of their Discipline and Order, retreated again, without being discover'd or known to any, but one private Souldier, who, it seems, had such a mixture in his Nature of Honesty and Honour, that having formerly served him, he would not be so base as to betray him, and being gone, would not be so false as not to discover him to King Athelstan, who easily guessing at the end of his Design, secretly and suddenly alter'd the place of his own Tent, and doubled his Guards: whereupon Athalaf returning, was engaged in a fatal mistake, for where he expected the King to be lodged, he found a Bishop, that upon his Removal had taken up the place: A Priest, that better prepar'd, it seems, to live then to dye, who, (like an old Rat in a Cheese) animated with desparation, made a shift to defend himself till the Army took an Alarum from his Resistance; and so the Battle began with so good Success on the English side, that King Athelstan having before put all things in a readiness, contrary to the expectation of the Danes, after a sharp, but short Dispute, put them to flight, leaving three of the five Kings dead behind, with divers of their Princes, and particularly Gotherick; but Athalaf escap'd that was least likely to have done it, carrying off with him a considerable Party, reserv'd by Destiny to give the English new troubles, as often as they happen'd to have new Wars.
After the Battle of Brimsbury (of all others the most fatal to the Danes, as having lost (as most of the Writers of those times agree) no less than three, if not four Kings, six Dukes, and more than double as many Earls, besides ten thousand of the Rascal herd; and being in jeopardy of a total Extermination, had the Conqueror liv'd to have improv'd the advantage of that day's success) there being several back doors still open to receive all the Enemies to England, 'tis no marvel Anlaff made his escape; who passing through Scotland, got over into Ireland, where he was to till he had news of the death of Holstein King of Sweden: upon which he crost the seas again to make his claim to that Crown, in right of Ulilda the only Daughter and Heir of the said Holstein. But Animander, one of the Princes of the Blood of Collateral Descent, having got the start of primier Seizen, and back'd by a pretended Law, which all the Nobility favour'd, for that it excluded all Pretenders to that Scepter, but such as were Natives of the Country; he was forc'd to compound for his Departure, and please himself with the Ayr of a Title, that upon his death descended upon his Son Anlaff; who having some reputation amongst the barbarous People of the High-lands, got up a ragged Recruit, with which, by the help of the King of Scots, his Fathers fast Friend, he not long after put him into possession of the Kingdom of Northumberland: and finding that his great Adversary King Edmund the Fifth, Brother and Successor of King Athelstan, was upon the matter a Child at least, very young and unexperienced, he adventur'd without any great hazard, to over-run Darby, Lincoln, Leicesters, Stafford, Nottingham, and the most part of Yorksire; which yet did not fo provoke the English Nobility (being either less forward at that time, or less faithful then they ought to be) but that they neglected the Common Defence, till the young King himself, taking Encouragement from that discourag'd them, (to wit, the ready submission of those Provinces to the Enemy) went himself in Person against him, conducting his Army through the aforesaid Counties, with that Resolution and Majesty, as if he had design'd to punish an Infidelity, rather than to recover a Loss; with which Confidence Fortune seems to have been so well pleased, that she never forsook him till he had so far frightned the bold Intruder, that he was fain to submit, and fly to the old religious shift of washing off the guilt of that Innocent blood he had shed, in the Laver of Baptism: upon which occasion there never wanted some good meaning men to be Sureties for their Faith, though none
none durst undertake for their Truth. But as there is no washing of a Blackmore, so he appear'd in his proper colours as soon as King Edmund return'd back, betraying the early Courage of two young Princes his Neighbours, Sons of Dunmaile the Titular King of Cumberland, into an Engagement that cost them that which was dearer to them then Life itself, their Eyes; which King Edmund putting out, showed therein an example of Cruelty rarely to be found in any History, and the first in our own, forfeiting thereby that which was dearer to him than either to them, to wit, his Glory; which by this one Instance of Inhumanity was so blasted, that no Act of Generosity, how extensive soever, could ever recover its lustre; the World having grounded on that single Action so fix'd an Opinion of his ill Nature, that his Subjects would no more trust him then his Enemies; whereby Anlaff prov'd to have the better, by having the worst on't, his Extremity being the principal Occasion of Edmund's Cruelty, as that of the Infelicity which attended it. The poor unfortunate Prince being afterwards slain by the hand of one of his own Domes-sticks, not seeing who he hurt, as neither he who hurt him whilst this Christian Pagan surviv'd to baffle his Successor, as he had done him, putting himself in a fair capacity by the benefit of time and his own patience, to have been a great Master, if he could have submitted to a Mistress; for he was prov'd the Kingdom of Cumberland (as it was then sty'd) by Milcome King of Scots, with a Concubine of his; but refusing her, he was rejected by the said King, and his Nephew Eric set up in his place.

THIS Eric or Iving, by Latin Authors call'd Irtus, was the Son of Harold Bladand, Grandson of Gurmo, bred up under his Martial Uncle Eric Bladex, King of Norway, whose Wife was Guind, Sister to the said King Harold, and by him employ'd in the Conquest of the Highlands; from whence King Malcome his Mothers Brother, upon the displacing of Anlaff, got him to be admitted King of Northumberland; a Title which he gave as great reputation to, as he had from it: For he disposed his Government, that he was surnam'd the Wife, and might as well have been call'd Happy, by that Rule of the Gospel, Beati Pacifici: For contrary to the humour of all his Predecessors, who were inclined to War, and had fed more upon Blood then Milk, he made it his business to Overcome by Peace; and finding that he had an inconstant People of his own to deal with, neither patient in War, nor
pleas'd without it, he resolv'd to make the best of so crass'd a Condition, by diverting those virulent humours, which he found he had not power to correct. This Pachick Spirit, as it was rare'y to be found in any of his Country-men, being naturally of a proud, rough, and fierce disposition; so he seems to be inclin'd thereto, by the mild Influences of some gentle Stars, that at the time of his Birth were as well predominant over the Affections of his Contemporaries, as over his; the Tranquility of King Edgar's Government being very agreeable to the Serenity of his Mind, whereby he got a Name so much above any of his Ancestors, who yet were apt enough to close with any Overtures that might give them rest; possibly out of hopes to beguile the Dane, but visibly cozening themselves, whilst they perceived not that the Tree fastned by being unshaken, it having been as easy and more secure to have digg'd up their Roots at first, then to have lop'd off the Branches, as they did at last, which sprouting up with fresh Succours, not only increased as they rose, but larg'd their Tops to such a degree, as in few years after over-shadowed the greatest part of the Isle, and in time the whole: But as the best Fruits do soonest perish, so this excellent King liv'd not to perfect the Glory he design'd; however long enough to make his People so in love with Peace, that they thought it not dear bought, by submitting so far as to become a Province again to the English Empire, continuing a Member of the Crown of England, till the reign of Ethelred, who being for'd to quit all, this part, with the rest, return'd to do homage to Knute.

THE Fortune and Vigilance of those four active Princes, Edward the Elder, Athelstan, Edmund, and Eadred, had fo disappoin ted the Preparations of the Indefatigable Danes, and render'd their Courage so often fatal to themselves, that they durst not adventure to break that well grounded Peace made by the last Eric, for near twenty two years after his death; that is to say, from the disliked reign of Edwy, till the year 980: time enough to have rusted their Swords in the Scabards (put up so bloody as they were) and sheath'd them for ever, had not a more then humane hand drawn them forth again to punish that Planet-stroke Prince King Ethelred the Unready; a Person ordain'd to maintain a War against Heaven, as well as against them:

In the second year of whose Reign this Anlaff came into Northumberland, and caus'd himself to be proclain'd King, being second Son of Harold Harfager, the Fourth King of Normey, and Father of that great Anlaff, whose
DANES.

whose Son Sutherick in the Irish Annals is intitled, The King of Dublin, whose Son Godred was the first King of Man of the Norwegian Race. This Anlauff being a great Pirate, and alwais used to the Seas, took a new Course for the establishment of his Kingdom, contrary to all his Predecessors; beginning a War that gave his People the advantage of infesting their Neighbours, without any fear of being invaded themselves: For he manned out a small Fleet of Seven Ships only, with which he went in Person, and haraz'd Kent; whither King Ethelred drawing down all the Force he had in readiness to oppose him, he got aboard again and sail'd for Essex, where he had the good Fortune in a Skirmish (which from the Consequences of it had the repute of a Battle) to kill Earl Brightwold, the Lord Lieutenant of that County; and taking confidence from that dayes Success, advanc'd towards London, where King Ethelred tarried to expect him, having sent his Admiral Edric, Duke of Mercia, to fet upon his Fleet: but all things falling out unluckily to that poor King, how well soever design'd, it happen'd that Edric, having a Dane to his Mother, had suck'd so much of her Milk, as inclin'd him more to that Nation then his own, so that he fell in (as 'tis commonly said) with the Danish Fleet, but it was as a Friend, not as a Foe, joyning with them to block up the Thames on the one side, whilst Anlauff distress'd the City on the other, reducing Ethelred to that low Condition, that he was forc'd to buy his Peace at the price of 10000 l., which prov'd the dearer pay worth in this respect, for that he was not sure of his Bargain longer then the Contractor (I might as well say the Conquerour) would; who having found the benefit of such a Market, would in all probability raise the Price every year, as it fell out afterwards. For from a Composition they came to lay a Tax, which however not great, was so much the more grievous, in that it eat into the Liberty of the poor Subject, beyond all probability of being ever made whole again, continuing many Ages after the Occasion was extinct: So that at last it became by cite from the usual Supplement to the necessity of the Princes, as well as to the danger of the Times, being the Foundation of that decry'd Tax of Ship money, which in this last Age of ours cost more blood to justify it, then was lost in the first setting it up.
By this time the Danes were grown so numerous, and bold, that the first Article they made upon the last Peace with the English, was to secure a Cohabitation amongst them, whereby they increas’d their Repute, not to say their Rule, so far, that having match’d with most of the greatest Families in almost every County, they not only seem’d to be, but were indeed a very considerable part of the Commonwealth; the distracted Condition of a young friendless and unfled Prince, giving them great Temptations to increase their numbers, so that the Harvest seem’d ripe for the Sickle.

Swain King of Denmark, after the death of the last Anlaff (deservedly sum’d the unfortunate) thought it an Expedition worthy the hazard of his own Person, to come over and take Livery and Seisin of the Kingdom, which he lett out again under a Free-farm Rent of 48000 l. and having it ratified by consent of all the States in Parliament, return’d home with the Repute of having subdu’d the Kingdom; whereof there needed no further Manifesto then this Paxtion of Servitude (for I can call it no less) confirm’d by the delivery of such Hostages to him, as was no less then Surties for the keeping them to their good Behaviour (the break whereof being as Capital as that of their Allegiance) he press’d the People with new Taxes as often as he had occasion for new Sums. This as it was a Reproach of so deep a dye, that nothing but blood could wash off the stain it left upon the Name of King Ethelred; so his immense desire of Rule made his desire of Revenge so unreasonable, that resolving to maintain his Sovereignty with no less horror than he got it, he put all the Danes to the Sword that he could surprize in cold blood; which dismal News being brought to Swain, he was not long behind hand in requiting the Cruelty. For landing first at Chester, he made that whole City one common Urn for the Ashes of its Citizens; then taking Sea again, he did the like by Southampton: From thence marching to Winchester, he compel’d the Inhabitants there to drink as deep Healths in their own blood, as if it had been Wine, by which they fell down dead drunk in the Streets beyond all recovery, as after other deboises: so passing thence he besieged the two Universities, wherein he so far complied with the design of their Founders, as to make them truly the two great Lights of the Nation, by firing all their goodly Fabricks, and desolating all the places round about them: The last, but not the least Tragical Scene, was that of Canterbury, whose Right Reverend Bishop he sacrific’d to the incensed Genius of his Nation, and in scorn to his Sacred Function, slew nine hundred Religious
Religious Persons to attend his Ghost into Purgatory: In fine, he spent all the stock of his Mercy so far, as to spare no more but the Tenth man of all sorts of People of what Age or Sex ever that fell under his Mercy; those that could escape flying to London, as the Spirits to the Heart, to guard the last Stake that was left: Where they made such brave resistance, as showed they contended the Fate they fled from, scorning to quit their Allegiance, till their King, to whom it was due, quit them; who making his escape into the Isle of Wight, went from thence into Normandy (whether he had sent his Wife and Children before) upon which they gave up their Keys, and with them the forsaken Crown, to the Victor, who funk so suddenly under the weight of it, that he had no time to fix the Succession on his Son Knute; but as one surfeited with Blood and Revenge, left him to try his Chance with the advantage of the Possession against Ethelred, who every one expected should have taken new life from his old Enemies death; but he, tired with Age and Arms, dyed not long after himself, leaving his Son Edmund Ironsides (a fitter Match for so young a Rival) to enter the List with him, who hoping for that help from Time, which Fortune allowed not his Father, contented to divide the Stake; not considering, that by the same Power he was compell'd to let go the half, he would be (as he was afterwards) necessitated to part with the whole, having made Knute his Superior, from the very time he admitted him to be his Equal.

Knute the Second of Knute. 1017.

Denmark, and First of England of that Name, was Lord of as many Kingdoms, as there were days in the Week, to wit: one for every day: having attain'd to that point of Glory and Felicity, which never any of this Nation could before, to be Sovereign Lord of the whole Isle; the Scots King (such is the power of Conquest) submitting to the Fortune of his Title, and the English Nobility preferring it before the Right of all the Princes of their own Blood, whereof there were no less than five Pretenders living, three Brothers, and two Sons to the unfortunate King Edmund; the last whereof were remov'd by their Father to his hand, and kept in the Court of their Uncle, Richard Duke of Normandy; the rest were in his Custody, to remove when he pleas'd: whom accordingly he sent to his half Brother, Olave King of Norway, with intent (as 'twas thought) that he should send them into another World: But he conveying them to Solomon King of Hungary, who married his Wife's youngest Sister to the eldest.
dealt of them, left Knute to secure himself by the same way he was endan-
gered, who thereupon marrying their Mother, got with her the Peoples
affections, setting the young Pretenders as far out of hope, as they were
before out of distance. Yet he thought it not sufficient to fence himself
against all forms from abroad, till he had fix'd himself in quietness at home,
wherein he took such an odd course, as is very rarely to be found in any
History, and till then never in ours, securing himself against his Enemies,
by discharging himself of all his Friends: for he banished all his Country-
men (as the king of the Bees doth the Drones) leaving not one Lordane
(as they called them) in any one Hive throughout the whole Ilfe; and
thereby not only took off all the exasperation of those that were disposed
to be desperately malicious, but out-witted the Fears of those that were
innocently Jealous: By which Policy he had a double benefit, or as we
proverbially say, had the hap to kill two Birds with the same bolt; for
by making the disobligation to his Country-men so universal, he not only
seem’d himself resolved to become an English-man, but happily accoutned
himself of a debt, which though he had paid, he could never have clear’d
them, would never have been satisfied with any share of Honour or Treas-
ure, but what would have been too great a lessening to his own. However
’twas not enough to deliver the People from the terror of his Party, with-
out he took off all their fear of himself too. And therefore he took the best:
course to make himself known to them, by giving them new Laws, which
however they seem’d to be as so many new Bonds, were yet so smoothly fi-
led, that they could scarcely gall; and that which made them seem lighter
to them, was that he suffered himself to be as fast bound by them as they.
Having thus far secured his Interest here on Earth, he made it his next bu-
ness to make even with Heaven, expiating the immanities of the War by
such Penances, as made the Peace he intended more acceptable both to
God and Men: wherein ’tis worthy the noting, how he did even un-king
himself to keep up his Majesty: For besides the particular care he took,
to provide for those whom his Country-men had made Widows or Father-
less, which shew’d his Charity, and the repairing many Noble Delapida-
tions with advantage, to shew his magnificence; he Dedicated several rich
Offerings at several Shrines of offended Saints, to testifie his Piety: Some of
them of incredible value, as was that Crucifix given to the Church of
Winchefter (not to mention the rest) valu’d at one years Revenue of the
whole Kingdom, on which he afterward placed his Crown, taking an ex-
traordinary, or (as it was at first thought) extravagant occasion to do it:
For it being told him that some of his Sycophatical Courtiers, had been
very elegantly blasphemous, in giving him the Stile of a God, ’tis said that
he did thereupon command them to attend him to the Sea-side, where set-
ting himself upon the Sands in great State, Royally Rob’d, and his Crown
on his Head, the Tyde being then coming in, he call’d aloud to the Sea,
that all might hear, in joyning it not to dare to approach so near as to wet
his Feet, upon pain of being dried up: but the deaf Elment continuing
its rebellious Fluctuations, till it dash’d upon his Robes, he gravely rose
up, and turning to those impious Wretches, told them with a Majellick in-
digation, that there was no God but him whom the Sea obey’s, and there-
fore since they had so prophanely ascribed to him the Title only due to the
Almighty, he would from thenceforth no more wear that Crown on his
Head which had so dazzled their eyes, but offer it up to him that gave it; and
and accordingly he caus'd it to be plac'd upon the head of the Image that was fix'd to the Crucifix before mention'd: Thus by letting his Root run lower then ordinary, 'twas not to be imag'd to what a height he rose, and yet kept himself so firmly fastned in the point of Opinion and Esteem, that he may be said to have got a double Conquest over the affections, as well as over the persons of the People, with whom his credit prevail'd so far as to make them do that which they never but once before could be brought to do, viz. to partake with him in the dangers of a new War beyond the Sea, whereof he was only to have the benefit, they the peril: For Intelligence being given him, that the Vandals had taken the advantage of his absence, to fall into Norway, and had done much spoil, depoising his Vice-Roy Olave, who was his own half Brother by the Mother's side; so many of the English Nobility proffered their service to him, as made up an Army not less considerable for their number then their force, who as they were the first that ever went out of this Isle, since the Romans left it, so by their particular Courage, without the help of any of his natural Subjects there, they made his way to conquer the Kingdom of Sweden, and Dukedoms of Saxony, Pomerania, and Bremen: and taking Ulfus and Anlaff, two of the principal Vandals Prisoners, made him so much more formidable by that Conquest, to all his Neighbours, then he was before; that upon his return back, Malcolm the second King of Scots, Iomare the Wild, and Mackbeth, two great Lords of the Isles, came all to do him homage, putting their Dominions under his protection, and themselves under his Allegiance; and not long after the barbarous Kings of Ireland, vanquish'd by the Fame of their Submission, hastned to do the like. Being thus arriv'd at the Meridian of his Glory, there wanted nothing to complete his Felicity but an assurance that it should set with the same splendor it rose; wherein as Nature had oblig'd him, with a sufficient stock to have maintain'd the Succession; by the lives of three healthful Sons, all Kings after him; so by his care and providence he sufficiently oblig'd them, had they either had the wit to have understand'd his Precepts, or the Courage to have follow'd his Example; but Destiny it seems had bound up all his happiness with the thread of his own life, which was no sooner cut in two, but all his Mightiness unravel'd in less time then it was winding up; an Evil not to be prevented by humane Policy, which therefore may, most properly be call'd the Kings Evil, as being a Malady which no Touch can cure, unless it be by that Hand which is invisible, and by that Power only which can make Vertrue as inheritable as Kingdoms, and by a Metempsycosis in the Descents of Princes, supply those defects which commonly, if not naturally, are incident to the Children of Wise men; whose Spirits being too fine and sublime to be transmitted to their Posterity, by that gross way of Seminal Traduction, they are left for the most part indigent of those ordinary qualifications, wherewith the Children of less knowing Parents are not seldom blest.
THE fall of Knute not only shook, but so disjoynted the whole frame of that great work begun by him, that it stood but a very little time after: for however he liv'd to make a Will, appointing thereby that Son to bear his honour, who had the honour to bear his Name; yet as Kings Testaments are for the most part left's binding then those of private men, so it happen'd to his; which was boldly wav'd by this Harold (the second Son by a former venter) that took the advantage of his elder Brother Knute's absence (left by the wise Father in possession of Denmark, to the intent he might be in the better condition to make good his Right and Title to England) and like a nimble Gentleman (worthy indeed that Surname which he had of Hairsoof) step'd up into the empty Throne, thinking it enough to make himself King de facto, whilst he had the good liking of the Londoners to back him: however his Step-mother, and Goodwin Earl of Kent, his Fathers sole Executor, boldly oppos'd him, declaring his Usurpation to be so much the more insupportable, by how much it was not certain (at least they took on them so to publish) whether he were the true Son of Knute or no: common Fame having so far debas'd him, as to make him a spurious Imposter chang'd at Nurse, which was a point of disparagement below the degree of Bastard.

The Equality of Power, as well as of Ambition, ripen'd the Factions on both sides very fast, by the heat of their Contest: But before they came to Maturitv, there was a Parliament conven'd at Oxford, that took the matter into consideration; where the Lords fearing that the Question (if delay'd) might be decided by Swords, and not by Words, out of a deep sense of the lingering Calamities of a new War (all the wounds of the old being not yet cured, or at least not so well, but that the Scars were yet fresh in many of their Faces) they declar'd for the King in possession, but with such a wary form of Submission, as shew'd they did it rather out of regard to themselves, then him: whereupon Goodwin produced the deceased King's Will in opposition to theirs; but the regard they had to the living, being more prevalent then that of the dead, the Queen urged her Articles of Marriage, by which it was covenanted that her Children should Inherit, to which their Lordships had all subscrib'd; which being acknowledged by the Arch-bishop of Canterbury (the principal Verb in the Sentence) his Authority led the sense of the whole Clergy, and having (as he was Legate) the Scepter and Crown in his hand, he laid them down on
on the Altar, challenging the Usurper to take them up thence if he durst: whereupon King Harold, as quick of Apprehension as he was nimble of Foot, alka’d this Thunder-clap with a shower of Golden Promises, vowing to defend the Churches Rights with his Blood; for which, as he gave some Pledges in publick, but many more, as ’tis thought, in private, so he carried the Cause with more Facility then Applause.

And now being fix’d, I cannot say fea’d, nor without the suspicion of some foul play on Earl Goodwin’s part, whose unexpected submission shew’d that he had either quit his Wisdom or his Honesty; he began the pleasure of his Reign with that of Revenge: and as he dreaded those Sons of the Queen the more; and often as he was pleas’d to call himselfe; when it serv’d his own turn) affurining him there wanted neither hearts nor hands to serve him. The Person who was to give him the first Reception after landing, was the unsuspected Goodwin, who pretending to conduct him privately to his Mother, betray’d him into the Vulture’s power, who immediately put out his eyes, manifesting to the World the necessity those have to be cruel, that dare be unjust: For as Ambition is that illustrious sin that claims Kinred with every great Vice, so it hath this Prerogative above them all, in respect of its noble Extent, that the deeper ’tis dyed, the better colour it takes, and of all Colours, so none so natural to it as that Crimson.

Sic utviola undum est, regnandi causa violandum.

For he that cannot rule himselfe well, may yet rule others better, and make satisfaction for being an ill man, by becoming a good King. But this was not Harold’s intention; the ills that he feared could not be secured but by those he did, and therefore he provided for greater; first banishing the innocent Queen, after confiscating all her Estate to his own use; and having little apprehensions of any danger, from that dull Rival the elder Brother, who seem’d to affect a Myster rather than a Crown, he turn’d his thoughts toward his own Brother Knute, resolving to reach him by poison under a gilded Pill, which he belived he could not want hands to administer, whilst the Furies were in Confederacy with him to secure the ill-got Greatness they had bestowed upon him. Several persons were corrupted with golden promises of great Preferments in case they could effect the black deed: but Providence being more kind to him, then he to himself, prevented his further guilt, by putting an end to his loathed life, which yet had concluded happily enough, if either his infancy had ended with himself, or himself had been at rest when he ended: But being the Peoples terror whiles he was alive, the King, his Adversary that succeeded him, took that advantage to make him their scorn after he was dead, raking up his Ashes out of the Dust where it was laid, to expose it to another Element, as restless as was himself: whereby, though in effect he did no more but rob the Worms, to gratifie the Fishes, yet the Common fort judging there was something more of Inhumanity in the manner, then perhaps of Injustice in the matter of the Revenge, it meeted down their hate into a kind of pity; and as their spite for the most part ends with their fears, so forgetting their own, they became so sensible of his wrong, that
from that time they withdrew their affections from that King, and had doubtless expos'd him (had he not prevented it by exposing himself) to some danger as great as that he met with.

HAROLD being dead without issue, the English Nobility hearing that Knute had made great preparations by Sea, to meet his exil'd Mother at Bruges, or rather to visit them here; sent Ambassadors, to prevent the ill effects of his impatience, by the early Tender of their Allegiance, not without hope that grafting him in the Royalty by a free Election, they might have better fruit of his, then they had of his Predecessors Government, who sprung up from the wild Stock of his own power: but it was not long ere they found by the like inflammation in either's Blood, that the same blood run in both their Veins; and as this stocked upon them, they were not a little surpriz'd to find in his Nature a sowerness of disposition, that caus'd such great inclinations to revenge, as the other had to cruelty, whereof there could scarce be a more degenerate instance then in the taking up of his dead Enemies' Corps, after it had been buried for some time, to fling it with no less scorn then malice into the Thames. This so alarm'd all those of Harold's party, that most of them flew to Arms: some there were that chose rather to trust to Flattery then Force; amongst whom was the politick Earl Goodwin himself, who, though he lay under a weight great enough to have crush'd any man else, at that time (when perhaps it was the same thing to be guilty, and to be only thought so to be) being more then suspected to have had a hand in the death of Prince Alfred, yet having this justification, that he was the only person that took the Lyon by the beard, and boldly denied King Harold to be any son of Canute's, when under that colour he first began his usurpation; he concluded from the certainty of his merit, and the uncertainty of proving his offence, that there was more ground of hope then fear in addressing himself to a Prince that had more need of his assistance, then he of his favour; however, he thought it necessary to indure him to him, by a rare and rich devised present, befriending any King but more particularly this, whose fortis humour had render'd him most infamously famous. It was a cup of Gold in the form of a Pinnace, carrying in it divers Souldiers all in Danish habits, of the same Metal, the least of them weighing more then his Innocence, who by the help of some unfeen motions, chang'd their station, and seem'd to act the part of Mariners with this quaint bribe, and the pretence of being a better Good-fellow.
then indeed he was, forcing himself to drink all night with him, and his
deboist Parasites; he so prevail'd over both, that he not only reconciled
himself to his good favour, but made himself so totally Master of it, that
'twas a doubt amongst the weaker fort (though none amongst the wiser) which rul'd the Kingdom, the King or he: And Queen Emma, that for a while influenced all the Councill, appear'd now but as the Moon that borrowed her light from his Orb. To say truth, he arrived at such an unexpected height that his head turn'd giddy with looking down at what he was before, and his eyes were so dazled with the luster of the Crown, to which he was placed so near, that it seem'd to him to totter on his head that wore it. This apprehension begat no less change in his mind, than which he foresaw he might make in the State, having no Check-mate but a Woman, and no Superior, but one who was weaker then he. Now as Ambition is a restless passion, which makes a man (like a sealed Dove) never leave mounting till he fall down dead; so it fermented in his hot Brain to that degree, that he thought the happiness of ruling a King not to be enough, without he had the Glory to be one himself. The power he had, he conceiv'd to be a sufficient Foundation without a Title, to make him so; and yet perhaps he had Title enough too, to make a Ground-work for a higher Superstructure. Some Right he pretended to by his first Wife Thyra, Sister to the great Knute; but more by his second Wife Gytha, this present King's Niece, and (as he call'd her) his Heir. These perhaps of themselves were slender Ties to bind the People's Faith, much less their affections to him: but twisting them up together with his present Interest, being an Englishman, and (which was more) a very subtil man, might prove strong enough to strangle such an unwieldy Prince as this, half chocked up before with Flegm and Ale, and so dozed that all men expected he would go out of the World with as little fence as he came into it. But see the uncertainty of human Policy; whilst Goodwin projected to raise himself by the King's fall, the King dies before he was prepared to rise. Great men, like great Birds, cannot suddenly take wing, but must have time and space to run a while, before they can mount. Fortune or Time (for they were both of the Plot) mislook'd their Measures, and struck as much too soon for him, as it would have been perhaps too late for his Son (that enjoy'd the Glory he aim'd at) had they tarried longer: it being possible, not to say probable, that the domination of the Dane (which ended with this King) might have been continued by as rare Accidents as it began, and yet without any violence to the English Line, which now crossing his design, and being too strong to be broken off, was to be cut into two: but this being by Providence appointed for his Son to do, who liv'd to reap the Fruit of his Fathers patience (I cannot say power) it will not much trespass upon the Readers patience to expect (as he himself was forc'd to do) the expiration of one King more (as fit as perhaps, though not to debist as this last) before he see what the event was.
THE Danish Line being broken off before the ambitious Goodwin could fasten his Hook to it, and all claim on that side made void; by the immediate Revolt of Norway, and their dissensions at home; he had only this advantage (and it was a great one) to make his own choice out of all the English, that pretended to the right of Succession, and to take whomsoever he thought would be the fittest mold for him to cast the Model of his own designed Greatness in. The first in right to the Crown, were Prince Edward and Edmund, the Sons of Ironsides; but the remoteness of their Persons, being of greater consideration than the nearness of their Titles, having ever since the death of their Father, continued as Out-laws in Hungary (to which Crown they were so nearly allied, that he was put beside all hope of tampering with them) he prefer'd their Uncle Edward, one of the younger Sons of Ethelred, a Prince so soft and pliant, that he seem'd to be fram'd by Nature for every Impression that was to be put upon him: to him therefore he gave up the Crown, and with it (as a Bribe) a Jewel (perhaps of greater value, if it had been rightly us'd or understood) his virtuous Daughter Edith; a Lady of so incomparable person and parts, that he might be very well confident he had made all cock-fure (as we vulgarly say) knowing that whenever he came within the Circle of her Arms, he must be so charm'd (if he had any thing of man in him) as never to be able to get loose again: This assurance made our Politician very bold with his
his Son in Law; that boldness quickly turn'd to Arrogance, that Arrogance attracted great Envy, and that Envy rais'd great Opposition: Those of the Nobility that were men of Action, became his Rivals in Glory, performing as great things against the Scots, as he and his Sons could do against the Welsh; whilst those that were men of Counsel, made it their business to counterplot his Intreagues, wherein they likewise prevail'd so far, as to prefer Genumfis Eliphop of London (the very greatest Enemy he had) to be Arch-bishop of Canterbury; but he being a Norman (which crossed a wife Ordinance made at the coming in of the King, that no stranger should be admitted into any place of Profit or Truith) Goodwin made it the Kingdoms grievance more then his own: and rather then want an Occasion to puzzle the short sighted Multitude, he took a very flight one, from an accidental Fray at Canterbury, between the Towns-men and some of the Followers of the Earl of Belloigne, the Kings Brother in law, whose Harbingers being kill'd in the Scuffle, the King commanded Goodwin as Lord Lieutenant of that County, to do Justice on the Offenders: but he deny'd, returning this popular Answer, That it was against his Conscience to execute his Country-men unheard, upon the complaint of Strangers. This coloquies of his rais'd such a sudden heat in the Common People, that there wanted nothing to set the whole Kingdom in a Flame, but to tell them their Liberties were in danger, and that there was no body durst affright them but the Earl Goodwin. King Edward perceiving his design and doubting least it might bring him himself into suspition with his People, being upon the matter a Stranger (as having been always brought up in Normandy') he resolv'd to question him in open Parliament: and accordingly he summon'd him and his Sons to give their attendance: but they refusing to appear, both sides armed. London was divided in the Quarrel; for the King pos sess'd all on this side the Thames, the Earl all on the other side next Kent. But such is the terror of Guilt, that the Night before the Battel was to be fought, the Rebels quit their General, and by that commendable Treacher y, forc'd him to quit the Realm, who taking shipping at Greenwic, fled away as fast by water, as his Complices did by Land. The King upon this turn was so changed in his humour (incensed at this their gross contumacy) that he grew extremely choleric and peevish, discharging his Anger with that violence upon all the Earls Friends, that it recoisd back upon the spotless Queen her self; whom, in the transport of his Passion he accus'd of a Crime, which if she had been guilty of, himself could not have been Innocent: having (as he was not ashamed afterwards to confess) never performed the Duty of a Husband to her; under which pretended jealousy she was forced to suffer a years Imprisonment in a Cloyster, partaking patiently the Pennance of those, who were under a Vow never to know any man, only to satisfie him, who had before vowed never to know any woman. This Indignity offer'd to the Innocent Daughter (in whom (faith Inguiphus) there was no fault but that she was a Rose of that prickly stock) did so stimulate the guilty Father, for whose sake she suffer'd, that he meditated nothing but the extremest Revenge, and by frequent Piracies to disturb'd all Trade, that the King finding that the popular were on his side, was glad to compound with him for his quiet, upon his own terms, yielding to the banishment of all Strangers; which Concession did his business, but undid the Kingdoms: For as it made way for his Son to be (as he design'd him) a King, so it was the fatal occaision of that unexpected Invasion of the Normans, (abetted by the Earl of Belloigne, that had the first af front given him) which not long after not only overwhelm'd the particular honour...
honour of his own Family, but the glory of the whole English Nation, by a
Conquest so universal and sudden, as if the Strangers they banished had gone
out of the Country for no other end, but to fetch in more: However, Hea-
ven suffered not him to see either the fruit or punishment of his dark pur-
poses; it so falling out, that whilst he design'd to have devour'd the whole
Kingdom, he was himself choak'd with a small morsel of Bread, that went
the wrong way down, and by his death put such a full point to all great
Actions, as shews that either he did all that was done then, or the King did
not long survive him; whose Reign being nothing else but a Commentary
upon that Earl's Ambition, 'tis no marvel that his Fame began where another's
ended, being founded upon Opinion rather than Action; whilst his Mag-
nanimity was interpreted Patience, and his Patience judged the Effect
of Wisdom: But they that duly examine the whole course of his life, will
find that the active part of it declar'd him scarce a good man, the passive
certainly not a good King: and however the Clergy (who were well bribe'd)
extoll'd his Chastity and Piety, yet 'tis evident that the first was not with-
out manifest wrong to his Wife (whom not to use was the highest abuse) the
last: with no less ingratitude towards his Mother, whom upon like suspi-
cion, he 'put to such a kind of Purgation, as might have condemn'd the great-
est Innocence, causing her to pass the Ordain'd, or Fiery Trial then in
fashion: But this unkindness to them is the less, when compared with that
to himself, in the total disregard of all Piety, affecting more to a Benifici-
dor to, then a Father of his Country, as believing Religious Houses
more lasting Monuments than Religious Children; whereby it came to
pass that for want of Issue of his own Body, he was fain to leave the suc-
cession to one that was both a Child and a Stranger, little knowing, and less
known to the English, as not having so much of the Language, as might
serve to demand or declare his Right when he was to recover it, nor so much
Spirit or Judgment, as to shew himself sensible of the Injury when he was
afterwards put besides it. A fit adopted Successor for such a Sacerdoting
King, of whom if I should give an impartial Character, I must say, that he
was rather cold then chaste, rather superstitious then religious, fitter to be
a Monk then a Monarch; indeed so sottish, that (as it's reported of Vitellius)
he would have forgotten he was born a Prince, if others had not put him in
mind of it. So that 'tis no marvel, considering either his own weakness, or
his that was to have come after him, that his Steward Harold, by having only
the rule of his Household, should take upon him (as he did) to rule the
Kingdom, and be thought the fittest man (however half a Dane) to support
the English Monarchy.
As there is no temptation so powerful as that which arises from the knowledge of a man's power, so there is no Consideration of that force as to make a man quit his Ambition, that thinks he hath merited a Crown. Harold having resolved to be a King, carries not till the People made him so; but to take the charge of Injustice off from them, boldly steps into the Throne, the better to outface his Rivals from thence; who being no less then three, two on a pretended, and one with a real Right, he conceived they must jumble one another before they could come at him. The pretenders were Swain King of Denmark, whose claim was as the undoubted Heir of the aft Knute; and William Duke of Normandy, that set up a Title by Gift and Conveyance from the last King Edward: But of these, the first was engaged in a War with the Swede, the last imbrogled in a dispute with the French, and so neither at leisure (as he thought) to disturb him. The third, who claimed as the right Heir by descent, as well as by the Will of his Uncle, was Edgar Atheling, Son of Prince Edward, eldest Son of Edmund Ironides; but being a Child, and having no Friends nearer then Hungary, he oppos'd to him the good Omen of his own Name only, that is to say, concluded to overcome Right by Might; having besides the advantage of his Years and Experience, two great Supporters to participate of the danger with him, in case the other two should join with Edgar; that was Marcæ Earl of York, and Edwin Earl of Chester, both Brothers to his Wife: who being the Relic of Llewelin Prince of Wales, seem'd to be a Pledge given by Fortune, to secure to him the affections of that People also. Neither wanted he nothing like a gilded Title to dazzle the Common Peoples eyes; for besides that he was Heir to the Fame and Fortune of the great Goodwin, the Champion of their Liberties, descended from the Kings of the West-Sexe, which gave him the preference of the Norman, so by the Mothers side he had in him the Royal Blood of Denmark, which by the advantage of his present possession, gave him the Superiority of those Kings too. Thus fortified and adorned, he undertook to make the People as happy, as they had made him Great; and because Trifles please Children as well as greater matters, he call'd himself Edgar's Protector, fooling those of his Party into a belief, that he intended something towards him, that might amount to a Surrender in convenient time, or at least to a Confirmation of the Succession after him, which
they were well contented with. Thus having by many Lines drawn to
himself an universal Consent, that made his Right of Desert equivalent
with others Right of Descent, he hung like a Spider by the slender
thread spun out of his own Bowels, which, how weak soever it seem'd,
was strong enough to bear him up, till he had put his Affairs into as
good a Posture of Security as the present necessity would permit. And
it so fell out, that the first that question'd him, was the last that assault-
ed him, his next Neighbour the Norman, who pretending to a Con-
veyance of King Edward's Right to him, to which (as he said) Harold
himself was Witness, and (which was more,) sworn by Oath to defend,
he tax'd him upon his Allegiance to make good the same; to which Harold
return'd a short Answer, That Oaths exacted were not binding (for taking his pleasure, as it is said, one day at Sea, he was
by contrary winds drove into Normandy, and there detained till he
took that Oath). 2. He said that his private compact with the Norman
was of no validity, without the consent of the whole State of
England. 3. That no Act of King Edward's could pass the Crown a-
way, being himself intitled to it but by Election, and so holding only
in Trust. Lastly, that the Kingdom of England, and Duchy of Nor-
mandy, were enough for two Persons, and too much to be rul'd by
one, and therefore Nature had well placed a sea betwixt them: which
Sea, because he thought the Norman could not pass, he concluded he
would not divest himself of the Dignity Providence had given him with
the consent of the People.

By this Duke William finding that Arms, not Arguments, must decide
the Controversie, resolved to drive out one wedge with another; and
accordingly working upon the Revenge and Ambition of Tostian, Harold's
younger Brother, then in his Court, who was tainted with an
irreconcilable Enmity both to his Brother and Country: to him for a
Box of the Ear given him in the presence of King Edward; to it, for a
worse blow, in deposing him from his Government in Northumberland,
and forcing him into Exile, whereby he was necessitated to appear ra-
ther like a Pirate than a Prince; he prevail'd with him to make the first
Invasion: who affilid by the King of Scots, and the King of Norway,
(them ingaged in taking in the Northern Isles) landed in his own Pro-
vince, and thence pier'd into the very Bowels of the Kingdom, forcing
his Brother Harold (though with apparent hazard) to leave London to
make what speed he could to check their forwardness; who accordingly
advanc'd as far as Stamford, where he put an end to the troubles of his
Brother and the Norwegian, but not to his own: For as he was allaying
this Storm in the North, he had notice of a more dreadful one in the
South; the Norman having so tim'd his business, that he landed that very
day that his Confederates were fighting; with whom came over the Great
Earl of Flanders, Father in Law to Tostian, as well as to himself, ac-
companied with the Earl of Bulloigne, who had been so inhospitably

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ditions of Peace, having in his memory the fatal Success of that dispute between Knute and Ironsides, on the like Occasion, return'd him this Answer, That none but that Power which gave it him, should judge his Right, and that he would support it with more than single Courage (superstitiously believing that that day would prove auspicious to him, because it was his Birth-day.) Neither was he worse than his word; for that single Battel cost the English near Seven thousand Lives (besides what were loft on the Norman side, the just number whereof their Historians have not thought fit to let us know.) Men worthy to be as they were then made, Immortal; who bravely strove with Destiny to save their Country from the Ca'amy of Foreign Servitude: but finding that they could not do it, as scorning to outlive their Liberties, they fell round the Body of their vanquish'd King (which lay wrapt up in his Royal Standard, instead of a Winding sheet, with more wounds upon him, than he had reign'd Months) in such congested heaps, as shew'd the Normans that they had with him subdued the Kingdom: there being scarce so much Noble blood left unspilt as to keep the State alive (if he had quit them) much less to make a second Resistance. From which Catastrophe we may conclude, that the advantage which the English got over the Britains in the first place, was no more than what the Normans got over them in the last; not by an inequality of Courage, but partiality of Fortune, which like a Bowl once put besides its Byafs, goes the further from its Mark the more 'tis informed.
THE FIFTH

DYNASTY

OF

NORMANS.

OF
OF

NORMANS.

THE Normans (so call'd by the French, in respect of the Northern Clime from whence they came, here-tofore call'd "Scandia, since Norway") were another Branch of the ancient Cimbri, seated near the frozen Sea, whose Country being too barren to nourish so fruitful a People, they dispersed their Multitudes, wherefoever force could make way for them: Some straggling as far as the Mediterranean; others farther Southward: some few lost in the Frozen Sea, attempting the Desert Isles far Northward; but most following the Sun, infested their Southern Neighbours. About the time of Charles the Great they began to grow very troublesome by their frequent Pyracies, making several Inroads into England, but especially into France, pressing so hard upon Lewis the Holy, that he was fain to empty all his frontier Garrisons, and quitting the Maritime, draw them into the interior and more considerable parts of his Empire, as the Spirits are drawn to the heart upon all Commotions to preserve life: Their Successes in Germany, England, Scotland, and Holland, having made them so bold, that they doubted not to advance as far as Paris; where after divers disputes with Charles the Bald, Charles le Gros, and Charles the Simple (which concluded with an honourable Composition) they fix'd their two Chiefs, Haftang and Rolle in the most fertile and best parts of that goodly Country; the first being made Earl of Charters, the last Duke of Neustria (from him call'd afterwards Normandy) the seventh in descent from whom was Duke William, better known to us here by the Name of The Conqueror, who with like confidence, and not unlike Injustice, invaded England, as his Ancestors did France, pretending a Donation of the Sovereignty from his near Kinsman King Edward the Confessor, confirm'd, as he alleges, by his last Will and Testament, in the presence of most of the English Nobility: a pretence that could have been of no validity, had it not been back'd by more than humane Power, to disinherit Edgar Atheling, who (as being of the whole English Blood) was
was rather Heir to the Kingdom then to the King; and so by no Law could have his Right contested to a Stranger; but the use he made of it was to convince the World, that he had more Reason, not to say Right, to demand, than Harold to detain the Crown, who having put Prince Edgar besides the Succession, defied the Justice of all Mankind as he was an Usurper, and so it was a design worthy his Sword, who had so fortunately vanquished (even before he wrote Man) those great difficulties at home given by the Opposition of Doleful Rivals, no less puffed and popular then Harold, to put him at least out of Polemion: But that which seems strange, and was questionless a great surprize upon Harold, was the conjunction of the Peers of France in an Action that was so apparently hazardous to the greatness of their own State; every addition to so near and dangerous a Neighbour, grown long before too powerful, being a kind of diminution unto them, whereof there can be no probable Caution, beyond their natural affection of Glory, and wantonness of Courage, but that Influence which the Conqueror's Father in Law, Baldwin Earl of Flanders had, by being then Governour of the King and Kingdom of France, who not only engaged most of the greatest Persons there, as the Duke of Orleans, the Earls of Champagne, Blois, Brittain, Panthieue, Maine, Nevers, Poitiers, Anjou, and Maine, but drew in the Emperor himself, and many of the German Princes to side with him.

This Preparation being such as it was, it cannot be thought that the English lost any honour, by mingling blood with men of that Quality and Condition; the sound of whose Names was perhaps little less terrible then that of their Arms; much less takes it from the reputation of their Courage, to have held up the dispute but for one day only, having fought it out as they did, till the number of the slain so far exceeded that of the living, as made the Conqueror doubt there would not be enough left to be conquered. Who knows not that Fate made way for the Normans, where their Swords could not, guiding them by a Series of Successes near about the same time) to the expectation of an universal Empire, having but a little before made themselves Lords of Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, and Greece, and enlarged their Conquests as far as Palestine.

But what we allow to the Courage, we must take from the Wisdom of the English; that being subdued, they continued Nescia vincit, vexing the Conqueror after they had submitted to him, by such continual Revolts, as suffered him not to sheath his Sword all his Reign; or if he did, urged him to continue till so fulfiscious of their Loyalty, that he was forc'd away to keep his hand upon the hilt, ready to draw it forth, having no leisure to intend what was before established, much less to establish what he before intended: So that they put upon him a kind of necessity of being a Tyrant, to make good his being a King: Yet such was the moderation of his mind, that he chose rather to bind them stricter to him by the old Laws, then to gall them with any new, guarding his Prerogative within that Citadel of the Borough Law (as they call'd it) from whence as often as they began to mutiny, he batter'd them with their own Ordnance, and so made them Parties to their own wrongs; and however fume that design'd to pre-occupate the grace of Servitude, gave him the ungrateful Title of Conqueror (which he esteem'd the greatest misfortune his good Fortune had brought upon him) thereby to proclaim his Power to be as boundless as his Will, which they took to be above all Limitation or Contradiction: yet we find he suffered himself to be so far conquer'd by them, that instead of giving to, he took the Law from them, and contentedly bound himself up by
by those which they call'd St. Edward's Laws, which being an Abbreviation of the great triple Code of Danique, Merke, and Well-Sexe Laws, was such a form of Combination, as he himself could not desire to introduce a better; and if any thing look'd like absolute, 'twas his disarming them when he found them thus Law-bound hand and foot: After which he erected divers Fortresses where he thought fit, dispos'd all Offices of Command and Judicature, to such as he could best confide in; and by that Law of Cover fee, obliging them to the observation of better hours of Repose, then they had formerly been us'd to, gave himself more rest, as well as them. As for his putting the Law into a Language they understood not, whereby they were made more learn'd, or less litigious then they were before; it was that the Lawyers only had cause to complain of, whose practice at the first perhaps was a little disordered by it; but those since, who have found the benefit of having the Laws mysterious and less intelligible, have little cause to decry him for it, unless for this cause, that they are never pleas'd with any fighting King.

In fine, he strain'd not the Prerogative so high, but his Son Henry the First, let it down again as low, when he restored to the People their ancient freedom of General Assemblies; or rather permitted them a kind of share with himself in the Government, by instituting a form of Convention, so much nobler than any thing they had been acquainted with in elder times, in that the Peers sat as so many Kings partaking stakes with Sovereigns, if what Braéton tells us be true, who faith, there were many things which by law, the King could not do without them, and some things which legally they might do without him: which tho' that have read upon the Statute of Magna Charta can best explain. This was not therefore improperly call'd the Parliament, in respect of the Freedom of parling after another fashion then had been permitted to their Ancestors in former Meetings; which being Ex more, or (as they were wont to phrase it) of Customs Grace, during all the time of the Saxon Kings, we cannot imagine their Debates to be much less restrained than themselves, who attending in the Kings Palace (like the Lords of the Council at this day) having had the honour to give their Opinions in any point of State, submitted the final Judgment and determination to the Kings will and pleasure. And whereas then the Commons were wholly left out of all Consultations (unless with the Learned Lambert, we may think them included in the word Barons, which seems to have been as equivocal a term heretofore in England, as that of Laird yet in Scotland) they now were made partakers of the like privilege of voting as the Lords; so that in Henry the Third his time (to look no further backward) we find them call'd by the yet continued title of Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, to consult together with the Lords, pro Pace afferenda & facienda, &c. (as the Record expresses) neither fate they when they met, as Cyphers to those great Figures: For when Pope Alexander the Fourth would have revoked the Sentence of Banishment past upon his proud Legate Adomare Bishop of Winchester, for that he was not (as he alleged) subject to lay Censure, they took upon them to give their Answer by themselves (and it was a bold one) Tho' though the King and Lords should be willing to revoke it: Communitas tamen ipsius impressum in Angliam multatumus ipsius. How far their Privileges were afterward confirmed and enlarged by several Kings successively, but more particularly by that most excellent Prince Henry the Fifth (who first allowed * The Petition of Right, and permitted it to be entred in their Journals as the Great Standard of Liberty) is not un

* Who was Lord Chief Justice to his Grandson Br. 3. 1307. 4. 1327.

X known:
known: from which time it hath been esteemed the second Great Charter of England, whereby we were manumitted into that degree of Freedom, as no Subjects in the world enjoy the like, with like security from the fear of future bondage: For as no man can be made liable to the payment of any more or other Taxes than what himself lays upon himself, by his representatives in that great Parliaments, so all the Kings of England since that time, have been pleas'd to accept the Aids given by them, even for the necessary support of the Government, as so many Freewill Offerings: And well it is that they esteem them free, since they are not obtained without a kind of Composition; I might say obligation, to give good Laws for good mony, wherein the performance on the Princes part alwaies precedes that on the Peoples.

But there is yet something further then all this that renders the Norman Conquest so much more considerable then either that of the Romans, Saxons, or Danes; by how much it spread its wings over the Seas, into those good Provinces of the South, never known to the English before: thereby not only giving them Title to keep their Swords from rusting, as long as they had any Arms to draw them forth, but the Advantage therewithal of a mutual Conversation with a civiliz'd People, who introduced a happy Change in Laws and Language, in Habits and Humors, in Manners and Temperature, that not only their rough, but their dull Phlegmatick Complexions (pale and wan by the continued use of dozing dreggy Liquors, Ale) became as ruddy as the Wine they drank, which having more of Spirit and Fire then that other heavy composition, sublimated their Courage and Wit, and rendered them more lofty and eloquent, both in Action and Language; the last being before so asperous, harsh, and gutteral, that an hours discourse together would have indanger'd the skin of their throats, but being softened by the French and Latin Accents, it became so gentle and smooth, that a Modern Master of Elocution hath observ'd, *tis now so soft and pleasing, that

From the Normans likewise we had that honourable distinction of Surnames, which however they borrowed in the first place from the French, (who, as Do Tillet tells us, were about the year 1000 much delighted with the humour of Soubriquets, or giving one another Nick-names, as we commonly call them) so much that two of the very chiefest Houses amongst them, the Capets and the Plantagenets, had no other rise for their Names, were continued no where with that certainty and order as amongst us here, to the great renown and honour of our Families, whose Nobility, if it exceed not the date of the Norman Conquest, may yet without any disparagement, compare with any of those who call themselves the unconquer'd Nations of the World: It being space long enough, considering the vicissitude of time, and power of Chance, to anticipate the glory of great States, much more of private Families, and few there are that have attain'd to that Age. For however Honour (like old Age) magnifies its reverence by multiplying its years, yet it is to be considered, that there are visible decayes attend Veneration, and it may to fall out, that Names as well as Men may out-live themselves, while the glory of a Family, by over-length of time, being
being less known, may be the more suspected to have been but imaginary; as some, who exceeding the common bounds of certainty, do pretend to justify their Gentility by Charters from St. Edward, and others from King Edgar, whose Pedigrees do yet fall short of many of the Welsh by many Descents.

In fine, from the Normans we first learn'd how to appear like a People compleatly civiliz'd; being, as more elegant in our Fashions, so more sumptuous in our Dwellings, more magnific in our Retinue, not to say choicer in our Pleasures, yet withal more frugal in our Expenes: For the English being accustomed to bury all their Rents in the Draught, knowing no other way to out-vie one another, but (as a French Writer expresses it) by a kind of greasy Riot, which under the specious Name of Hospitality, turn'd their Glory into Shame, began after the Conquest to consume the Superfluity of their Estates, in more lasting Excesses; turning their Hamlets into Villes, their Villages into Towns, and their Towns into Cities, adorning those Cities with goodly Castles, Palaces, and Churches, which being before made up of that we call Flemish Work (which is only Wood and Clay) were by the Normans converted into Brick and Stone; which till their coming, was so rarely used, that Mauritius Bishop of London, being about to re-edifie Paul's Church, burn'd in the Year 1086. was, either for want of Workmen, Materials, or both, necessitated not only to fetch all his Stone out of Normandy, but to form it there. So that we may conclude, if the Conqueror had not (as he did) obliged the English to a grateful continuance of his Memory, by personal and particular Immunities, yet he deferv'd to be Eterniz'd for this, that he elevated their minds to a higher point of Grandeur and Magnificence, and rendered the Nation capable of greater Undertakings, whereby they suddenly became the most opulent and flourishing People of the World, advanced in Shipping, Mariners, and Trade, in Power External as well as Internal; witness no less then two Kings made Prisoners here at one time; one of them the very greatest of Europe: whereby they increased their publick Revenues, as well as their private Wealth, even to the double recompensing the loss sustained by his Entry, whilst himself, however suppos'd by that big sounding Title of Conqueror, to have been one of the most absolute Princes we had, got not so much ground while he was living, as to bury him here when he was dead, but with much ado obtain'd a homely Monument in his Native Soil.
THE ORDER AND SUCCESSION OF THE Norman Kings.

I. 1066 WILLIAM I., known by that terrible Name of the Conqueror, gave the English by one single Battle, so sad experience of their own weakness, and his power, that they universally submitted to him; whereby becoming the first King of England of the Norman Race, he left that Glory to be inherited by his second Son.

II. 1087 WILLIAM II., surnamed Rufus, who being the eldest born after he was a King, and a Native of this Country, succeeded with as much satisfaction to the English, as to himself; but dying without Issue, left his younger Brother.

III. 1100 HENRY I., surnamed Beauclerk, to succeed, in whose Fortune all his Friends were as much deceived as in his Parts (his Father only excepted) who foretold he would be a King, when he scarce left him enough to support the dignity of being a Prince. As he set aside his elder Brother, Robert Duke of Normandy, so he was requited by a like Judgment upon his Grandson, the Son of his Daughter Maud, who was set aside.

IV. STEPHEN Earl of Blois, 1135 his Cousin; but she being such a woman as could indeed match any man, disputed her Right so well with him, that however she could not regain the Possession to herself, she got the Inheritance fixed upon her Son.

V. HENRY II. Plantagenet, the first of that Name and Race, and the very greatest King that ever England knew, but withal the most unfortunate: and that which made his misfortunes more notorious, was, that they rose out of his own Bowels; his Death being imputed to those only to whom himself had given life, his ungracious Sons, the eldest whereof that survived him, succeeded by the Name of RICHARD I.
VI.

1189 Richard I., Coeur de Lion, whose undutifulness to his Father was so far retorted by his Brother, that looking on it as a just Judgment upon him, when he dyed he desired to be buried as near his Father as might be possible, in hopes to meet the sooner, and ask forgiveness of him in the other World: his Brother

VII.

1199 John, surnamed Lackland, had so much more lack of Grace, that he had no manner of sense of his Offence, though alike guilty; who after all his troubling the World, and being troubled with it, neither could keep the Crown with honour, nor leave it in peace, which made it a kind of Miracle, that so passionate a Prince as his Son

VIII.

1216 Henry III. should bear up so long as he did, who made a shift to shuffle away fifty six years doing nothing, or which was worse; time enough to have overthrown the tottering Monarchy, had it not been supported by such a Noble Pillar as was his Son and Successor

IX.

Edward I., a Prince worthy of greater Empire than he left him; who being a strict Observer of Opportunity (the infallible sign of Wisdom) compass'd all the differences that had infested his Fathers, Grandfathers, and Great-Grandfathers Governments; and had questionless dyed as happy as he was glorious, had his Son

X.

Edward II., answer'd expectation, who had nothing to glory in, but that he was the Son of such a Father, and the Father of such a Son as

XI.

Edward III. who was no less fortunate than valiant, and his Fortune the greater by a kind of Antiperistasis, as coming between two unfortunate Princes, Successor to his Father, and Predecessor to his Grandson

XII.

Richard II., the most unfortunate Son of that most fortunate Father Edward, commonly call'd the Black Prince; who not having the Judgment to distinguish between Flatterers and Friends, fell (like his Great-Grandfather) the miserable example of Cruelty, being depo'd by his Cousin

XIII.

Henry IV., the first King of the House of Lancaster, descended from a fourth Son of Edward the Third, who being so much a greater Subject then he was a King, 'twas thought he took the Crown out of Compassion rather then Ambition, to relieve his oppressed Country, rather then to raise his own House; and accordingly Providence was pleas'd to rivet him so fast in the Opinion of the People, that his Race have continued (though not without great Interruption) ever since: His Son

XIV.

Henry V. was in that respect with the People, that they swore Allegiance to him before he was crown'd; an honour never done to any of his Predecessors: neither was he less singular in his Fortune then his Glory: having united the Lilies of France to the Roses of England, and made of both one Diadem, to place on the Head of his Son

XV.

Henry VI. who whilst he was a Child could have no sense of the honour or happiness he was born to; and when he came to be a Man so despi'td it, that every Body thought him fitter to be a Priest then a King: only those of the House of York thought him fitter to be made a Sacrifice then a Priest; and accordingly crook-back'd Richard murder'd him to make way for his elder Brother Edward IV.
Edward IV. the first King of the House of York, descended from the fifth Son of Edward the Third, who made the White Rose to flourish as long as Henry the fourth did the Red; and had kept it flourishing much longer, had he not been more unfortunate, by the Ambition of those of his own, then those of his Enemies to set his two Sons 

Edward V. that should have succeeded him, with his innocent Brother, being both murdered by their unnatural Uncle (who yet called himself their Protector) 

Richard III. Duke of Gloucester, who having killed one King before to make way for their Father, killed them afterward to make way for himself; but his usurpation lasted a very little while, both Nature and Providence agreeing to deny him any Children of his own, for that he had so ill treated those of his nearest Relation, so that for want of Issue, rather than want of Success, the Crown came to the House of Lancaster in the Person of

Henry VII. a Prince that was observed to be no great Lover of Women, and yet all his Greatness came by that Sex, that is to say, his title to his Conquestion in, and his Transmission of the Crown to his Posterity, whose Advent to the Crown being foretold by no less then two Kings, Cadwallader and Henry the Sixth, the one prophesying his union of the Britains and Normans, the other his joining of the two Roses together, 'tis no marvel his Son

Henry VIII. Heir by his Farthers side to the House of Lancaster; by his Mothers side to the House of York, entered with so general a satisfaction to all at home, and with so great a terror to all abroad, that they submitted to make him great Arbiter of Christendom: his Son

Edward VI. being very young when he dyed, and dying before he was sixteen years old, had not time to lay a suitable Superstructure upon his Foundation, whereby the glory of his Family past away to his Sister

Mary, who wasted as much blood to show herself to be Defender of the Faith, as her Father before to make good his being Head of the Church; her Successor

Elizabeth, worthily entitled herself to both, declining the being a Mother of Children, to the end she might be a Nursing Mother of the Church, which having defended with great honour and success for forty six years together, dying she bequeathed a Peace to her Kingdoms, and her Kingdoms to that pacific Prince, James the Sixth of Scotland, who began the next Dynasty.
and make that usual haste most Conquerors do (who commonly follow Fame close upon the heels, that so they may enter the Gates with her) but made his approaches so slowly and leisurely, that his march look'd more like a Progress than a Pursuit: whereby seeming to have no distrust, he at once tried and assered their affections to him, having the good hap to be received rather like a Guest than an Enemy, not as an Alien (however a Stranger) but as one that had the same blood running in his Veins, and as they hoped, something of the same good Nature in that Blood, as their beloved King Edward had, by whose Will he chose to make his Title, rather than by his own Sword; and by that modesty of his took off much of the rancor and inflammation from the wounds he had given the common fort, though he took off but little from the fears of the wiser sort, who knowing his Power to be as wide as his Will, did not irrationally conclude that to be as boundless as his Ambition.

The only Province refus'd to swim down the common stream of Servitude were those of Kent (the first Invaders when the English came in, the last Invaded at the coming in of these Normans) who yet only made a Pause as it were, to file their Fetters smoother, and make them easie by such Conditions, which pleasing themselves, might not be distastefull to him. After this there were some attempts to set up Edgar by some of the discontented Nobility, who though they appear'd to be but like Drones, which make a great noise without being able to sting, yet they provoked him so far, that every Body expected he would take that occasion to make himself a real, instead of an imaginary Conqueror, nothing so much advancing Sovereignty as unsuccessful Rebellions: but as the Lion disdains to fall upon those Beasts that crouche and prostrate themselves at his feet; so he, scorning that any
any who submitted to him, should have so much the better of him, as not to be pardoned, prevented their fears by a general indemnity, in which he did not except against his very rival Edgar; who, however, he had in respect to his title of Athelin (which was as much as to say the darling) some place in his caution, was it seems, so much below his jealousy, that when he came to render himself (as after he did) with all humility upon his knee, he received him with that magnificent declaration, *Petits se vengent je pardonne*; his generosity so far vying with his magnanimity, that as he pitied, so he preferred him, making up in happiness what he denied him in greatness, whilst he allowed him a competent support, to maintain the respects due to his birth, secure from the danger of suspicion.

But it was not in the power of his clemency, courage, or wisdom, so to oblige, overawe, or satisfy the common people, but that envy, ignorance, or malice, found out frequent occasions of complaint and murmur; some repining at the new laws they understood not; others at the continuance of the old they understood too well: amongst which that of the borough-laws seemed to be no small grievance, in respect they were so bound for each other, or rather one to the other, that like tether'd horses, they could not break out of their bounds: all thinking it grievous, so hard of digestion is everything that savours of conquest, to be wrested from their present usages and forms of state, though the change was much for the better: as when he confined the bishops to the rule of souls only, before they assisted with the great or alderman (as he was then called) that is, the earl of every county, were absolute judges in all cases, and over all persons; and when in the room of the greve he constituted judges of oyer and terminer by special commission, to decide all matters of law, as the justices of the peace, as he called them, took out of the minors nobles of every county, who were made judges of record, and from henceforth had the power of vita et de membro (as the lawyers express it) the mighty current of the earl's power that had overborne whomsoever he had a mind to destroy, was on the sudden sunk so low, by the running down of judgement in so many lesser streams, that every man, how mean soever, could wade through a suit without fear of being overwhelmed, it being impossible to suffer but by judgment of his inquest, and he hath been ever since called which consisting of twelve men, could not have continued thus long, after so many strivings and stragglings for liberty, as have been since that time, had not the wisdom of so many ages judged it to be the greatest privilege the subject could be capable of, being that indeed which no less circumscribes the sovereign's power, then the subject's obedience; so that doubts less he hop'd to naturalize himself by it into their good opinion and liking: But that which frighted them most, was the black cenotaph (therefore called that dismal name of the doomsday book) which discovering the secrets of their estates, left them under strange apprehensions of ensuing oppression and tyranny; however, it was no otherwife intended, then as an instrument to confirm his own, by establishing their rights and proprieties, which having been under a very uncertain title, and very odly qualified (the tenures of boke or folkland, which they called freehold, belonging only to the nobility, being perchance no better then the ancient eves that depended on the will of the first donors) he made absolute and hereditary. The tenure of folkland (which was without writing, and so much worse then tenants at will at this day, that we need not doubt to call it villenage) he changed into estates for life, which have since shew'd us the way to those in tail: neither
ther did he clog their Estates with many Taxes (however reputed very avaricious) but found out many witty sleights to avoid the necessity of Land Taxes, as knowing how clamorous and burdensome they are, laying only that of Esgage upon them, which yet was done by way of composition rather than imposition; in lieu of which he took off that of Dangelt, which was sufficient, one would have thought, to have abated the Grievance.

Yet such was their Obstinacy, Ingratitude, or Dismay, that they never ceased to plot or practice Treason against him, giving him renewed Jealousies from their success, and like to prove successful Conspiracies, which as great Waves, came thick upon the back of one another, never breaking, but with so apparent danger, as threatened him with a wreck in Port, after his escape of all the forms at Sea: First Edric the Forrester incouraged by the Welsh; after Edwin and Morcar, Brothers to the late Queen, incouraged by the Scots, thinking their Splendor eclipsed by the interposition of so many stranger Princes, as waited daily in his Court, flew to Arms, and drew many after them of the Lay Nobility; whilst the two Arch-bishops who followed them, were attended by as strong a Party of the Clergy; the first pretended to make the war legal, the last to render it meritorious: and whilst he set himself to suppress this danger in the North, a new Rebellion prefented itself in the West; The Citizens of Exeter and those of Oxford, incouraged by the report of new Forces brought out of Ireland by the Sons of Harold, not only shut up their Gates, but perfwaded the Countries also round about to expostulate their Liberties, with Swords in their hands: and whilst he turns to these, they of the North are reinforce'd again by the arrival of two Sons of Swain King of Denmark, with a Fleet of no less then 300 Sail: and whilst he sent another Party to confront these, there rose a form behind them out of the Isle of Ely: and after all this, the wide divers of these Tumors (fed from many secret Veins) swelled up into a general Combination of all the Neighbour Princes together; so that no less then five Kings drew upon him at once; the King of France, who had 10,000 men in readiness to invade him in Normandy, the King of Denmark, who had prepar'd a Navy of 1600 Sail to invade him by Sea, the King of Ireland, who appeared with 65 Sail more to second them in; and the Kings of Scotland and Wales opening their Ports to let them in. This thought made the danger seem so much the more considerate, by how much it was scarce to be prevented, without such a vast Expenditure of Treasure and Blood, as might hazard an irrecoverable Consummation, if not put him against the winning of England; yet the resolutions of his great Mind being preordain'd for the great work he had undertaken, he shew'd no manner of Consternation at all: till at last a way was found to bring himself against himself, by setting up his eldest Son Robert, to dispossess him of the Dutchy of Normandy without any colour of Right. This Rebellion indeed was so much the more grievous to him, because unnatural, and therefore the only one he thought fit to reprefend by the Authority of his own Presence; wherein he proceeded not as one that went to take revenge upon an Enemy, or reduce a Rebel, but as he ought to chaitize an obstinate Son, proceeding however with that calmness, as if he designed to defeat his Enterprise, and not him; nor, in truth rather to surprize than subdue him, calling about how he might make him more afraid then afraid, not doubting but (like Caesar) to overcome him as soon as he came over to him: but such was the majesty of his Stars, as to make his Son a double Conqueror over him; first in commanding his life, which shew'd his Power, then in giving it back again to him, which shew'd his Piety: but this, as it was too great a Gift, to be ac-

\textbf{NORMANS.}
Normans.

knowledged or forgotten; so he receiv'd it with such inward indignation as shew'd he only pardon'd what he could not punish: But it appear'd afterwards that it was not in the young Rebels power to give back the life he had proceeded so near taking away, for the wound in his Spirit was so much deeper then any of those on his Body, that it could never be cured, however skin'd over, bleeding inwardly unperceiv'd till he died; which however it were not long after, yet he out liv'd most of those great men that were Actors with him in his Undertakings, and left not the world till he had sufficiently requited the King of France for this unpardonable injury of seducing his Son, taking a flight occasion from a Jest, to shew how much he was in Earnest in his Revenge. For that King having scoff'd at his great Belly, saying, That he lay in when he was sick at Roan, he return'd him word, That he should have notice of his Upsetting by the many Bonfires he would make in the heart of his Country. Neither was he worse then his Promise, for he depopulated all the Towns of note that lay in his way, till he came to Mans; in the destruction of which goodly City he got his own, the Ream of his Belly being broke (as 'tis thought) by a sudden leap of his Horse, frighted at the sight of the Confagrations) as he pass'd by the burning Ruins. Thus ended this great Conqueror, and with him all his Greatness, being left by all the World almost as soon as he left it; not only by those to whom he had given a livelihood, but by those to whom he had given life, every one of them for fixing him to scramble for what he left: his eldest Son hasten'd away to take possession of his Dutchy of Normandy; his second Son to Invest himself in his Kingdom of England; only he to whom providentially he had left him, was the man stayed to bring him to his long home; which yet could not be done without much disaster and interruption; for as 'twas three days before his Body was mov'd from the place where he dy'd; so 'twas twice three before his Son Henry could get any to undertake the conveying it to Cane, where 'twas to be buried: after it came there, 'twas left the second time alone in the street by those that carried it, who took occasion, it seems, to ruin all away to quench a Fire that broke out of a House by which they were to pass; and being with all this ado brought afterward to his Grave, one slept forth and forbid the Interment, till they compounded for the Ground he was to be buried in. Thus like that great Conqueror, who thought the World too little to contain him whilst he liv'd, but being dead could scarce obtain so much Earth as to cover his naked Corps; it was accounted no small part of his, as of the others happiness, that he met with a Grave at last.

Sufficit & magna pars Domui Domini.

A little Dormitory, it seems, sufficed; and well had it been if it had not proved too little: for being frighten'd so much that they were fain to compression his Body in letting it in; they thereby let out such a stench, as made every Body leave him again the third time; so that it was not known who covered the Corps with Earth, at least it was better known who uncov'd it: the frowardness of his Destiny being such, that it would not permit this to be the last indignity offer'd to him, but as if it had been decreed in Heaven, that he who disturb'd so many living, should himself have no rest in death; his Bones, 156 years after he was buried, were taken up and cast into the Streets, by certain dissolute Soulers, that in the year 1562 rifed his Tomb, in hopes of finding Treasure, with like Avarice as he before had rifed all his Neighbours Countries, in hopes of finding Glory.
The Conqueror having three Sons, and but two Will Principalities, took such care in framing his Will, that each might have cause to acknowledge his Bounty, if not confess his Justice: To Robert, the first-born, whilst he was a Duke, he left his Dutchy: To this William the second (who yet was the third Son) but eldest born after he was King, he gave his Kingdom, thinking it most fit to join the honour of his Conquest to that of his Name: to Henry the youngest, he gave a good Sword and a good Purse; with the first to defend himself against his Enemies, with the last against his Friends; either of them good Earnests for a Scepter, expeditious upon the death of either of his Brothers, and of good use to him whilst they were living; for with the first he might cut all the knots that he found at any time to be intangled beyond hope of untying; and with the last turn the Scale, as oft as he perceived Might to overcome Right: And to say truth, he did so well manage either, keeping the unequal Interests of his two potent Brothers evenly poled, that neither being able to get much the better of other, himself got the better of both; and without a Title to either, became at last Lord (as his Father prophecy'd) of both their Estates.

These three brave Sons standing thus, as it were in a Triangle, at the death of their Father, equidistant one from the other, without any visible disproportion in Power, Parts, or Reputation; the first representing him as he was a King, the other as Duke, and the third as Conqueror, which made them alike Obstinate, Ambitious, and Emulous of each others Glory, 'tis no marvel that the Feuds betwixt themselves only took up all the action of their time, and left no room for any other Competitors to come in betwixt them: But that which seems more rare, is the vicissitude of their love and hate, each of them, as his squint-eyed interest mov'd him to change his ground, retaining still the affections of a Brother, even whilst he acted as an Enemy. For first the younger assisted the elder against the middle Brother; then the middle compounded with the elder, to be reveng'd on the younger Brother; after this again the younger reconciles himself to his middle Brother in order to obtaining satisfaction from the elder, who after this agreed with the middle (as he before with him) to fall both upon the younger Brother; in the last place they all united and agreed, but upon such terms, that their Union set them worse at variance then before; so that every one of them stood off, and acted singly for himself, each against other, and each against two: In conclusion, the elder was disposset'sd by the middle Brother, and he forc'd by death to yield up all to the younger; and so they inherited their Fathers Lands, he only his Fortune; but all were a-
like Inheritors of his Troubles, who has this Remark upon him, That he never had rest living or dead; his Bones being divided, as well as his Children; each part of his Dominions claiming a share of them, as each of his Sons of these.

Having viewed them thus together, let us look upon this King single; who, however he is drawn but with an half face, like one of the Cæsar's, appears to have been the most like his Father of all the Brothers, there being no other difference betwixt them but this, that the one was always a Conqueror, t'other never conquer'd: For as he had his Fathers Courage to encounter Dangers, so he had his wisdom and readiness of mind to extricate himself out of them, and ever fell like a Cube upon his bottom, let Fortune hurl him whither she would, making his Enemies glad to be his Friends, when all the Friends he had, almost were become his Enemies; standing so firmly, even while he was forced to take in the points of as many Swords as had been before drawn upon his Father, that nothing could move him. The first that set upon him was his Brother Robert, who (as if afraid to look him in the face) tamper'd with those nearest in Trust about him, to wound him in the back, before he came to close grapple with him; or rather tried, if possible, to spring a Mine under his Throne, whilst he began his Battery at farther distance: Principal Engineer in this Plot was his discontented Uncle Odo Bishop of Bayeulx, who designing to oblige both Normans and English to confpire with him, took in the first by declaring to set up their beloved Duke Robert for life; and deceived the last by promising to settle the Reversion of the Sovereignty on their Darling Prince Edgar, whom therefore he put into the hands of Duke Robert, for the Security (as he pretended) of both: Roberts receiving him as his Homer, and Edgar looking on him as his Protector; whilst Odo pleas'd himself with having both within his own reach, whenever he saw cause to declare for himself.

This Storm spread itself very wide; for Odo fortify'd in Kent, where he might be assist'd by the King of France if need were: William Bishop of Durham ingaged all the Northern Countries, where they might expect help from the King of Scots: others secure'd Herefordshire, Shropshire, and Worcestershire, where they might readily have aid from the Welch; whilst Roger Montgomery rais'd up Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, and Hugh de Grandmenill rais'd up those of Leicester and Northamptonshire to face him. This as it was the best formed, so it was the most formidable Rebellion we meet with in all our Story, founded on such sure grounds, and managed by such sure men, that King Williams Counsell could not tell where to begin, nor whither to turn them: but he himself being as quick of apprehension as of action, takes the measure of his hopes from that of their fears, and whilst they judg'd it hard to repress them, because they were thus divided, he took that advantage to break them like single sticks, as he found them lie scatter'd one from the other; who, had they been united under one Bond, could not have been so easily confounded. After which he heal'd the wounds he gave them, by gentle Lenitives, relaxing their Tributes, remitting their Priviledges, and indulging them to that degree, as never any King before him did; by which means he prevail'd with the very fame men to carry the War into Normandy, whereby wounding his Brother Robert with the very Arrows taken out of his own Quiver, and the fame which he had directed against him, it appears how much he had the better of him in point of Understanding, as well as of Power. This breach with the elder, gave him the first occasion of breaking with his younger Brother; for having a strong Army
Army on foot, Duke Robert after his having concluded a dishonourable Peace with him, desir'd his aid in reducing the Castle of Mount St. Michael, detain'd from him by Prince Henry, who being not paid the money he had lent him to carry on the War against King William (for Robert had pawn'd to him the Country of Constantinople, but afterwards took it away again) seiz'd upon this Castle, in hope, by the help of some Britains he had hire'd to serve him for his Money, to have done himself right; but Robert made this advantage of the disadvantage King William had brought upon him, to ingage him in reducing another unhappy Prince, that doing a kindness to one, lost both his Brothers; the one taking offence at his demand, the other at the Occasion, whereby both set upon him at once, and besieging him forty days, brought him to the point of yielding; but the same evil Spirit that first divided them to do more mischief, did this good to unite them again, working upon the good Nature of Duke Robert, and the ill Nature of King William, the same effect: for upon his Submission, William to be revenged on Robert, for having entertain'd his Competitor Atheling, judg'd Henry to be satisfied his Debt by a day certain, out of those very Lands which the other had assign'd to Atheling for a Pension; upon which Robert's pity turn'd immediately into spite, and when Henry came for his Money, he clap'd him up in Prison, and kept him in Duress till he releas'd the Debt.

Henry complaining of this Injustice to the King of France (his Brother William being then return'd into England) was by him put into Arms again, and by the surprizing the Castle of Damfront, recover'd back most of his Security, with all the Country of Passais besides. Robert hereupon pleads that King William had fail'd of paying him in certain Sums of Money, due by promise to satisfie him, and that by reason of this failure he could not perform with him; and to satisfie himself for the Damages done him by this pretended breach of Williams, he fell upon King William's Castles. This drew him over the second time, whether to right Prince Henry or himself, was not declar'd; who putting on a Vizard of Indignation to affright Duke Robert, as if he had intended nothing less than the Conquest of all Normandy, sends back into England for an Army of 30000 to join with those Forces he had there; by the same whereof having done more than perhaps any body could with the men themselves, if they had arriv'd, he sent private Orders to his Generals, being then at the Water-side, to dismiss every man that would lay down ten shillings: by which quaint trick of State, never practis'd before, he rais'd so great a Sum, as not only serv'd to pay the King of France his Bribe, for not affiliating his Brother Robert, and to defray his own present charge, but in effect to purchase all Normandy, which thereupon was Mortgaged to him by Robert, to furnish himself for that great Expedition of recovering the Holy Land from the Infidels: An Undertaking politickly recommended by Urban the Second, to all such Princes as he fear'd, or had a mind to foil, as so meritorious a work, that it was indeed (as he represented the matter) a kind of taking Heaven by Violence, whereby he so wrought upon the easy Faith of that Active and Ignorant Age, that without any great difficulty he prevail'd with them to call themselves under a voluntary Ofetracisme, whilst himself, and those that were Parties in that holy Cheat (imbaraz'd in a Contest with the Emperor about Superiority) were deliver'd from the men of Power and Credit they most suspected to take part with him; and by the purchase of their Estates and Seigniories, greatly enrich'd the Church afterward.

King William thus happily rid of his elder Brother (who as I said before had pawn'd his own Land, to recover that for the Church) was at leisure to return...
return home to make even all reckonings with his elder Enemy the King of Scots, by whose death and his Sons (both kill'd in the act of Invasion) he made himself so far Master of their Country, as to compel them to accept a King from him, who having serv'd him in his Wars, and being for that Service prefer'd by him, they durst not yet refuse, though they might reasonably expect he would be alwayes at his Devotion. This made the King of France so jealous of his growing Greatness, that to prevent his coming over Sea again, he tamper'd with the discontented Norman Nobility to set up Stephen E. of Albemarle, his Father's Sistars Son, upon what pretence of Right appears not, but he whose manner 'twas to meet danger, and not tarry till it found him out, prevented the Conspiracy by seizing on the chief Conspirators, Mowbray, d'Ou, and d'Alveric, who being the first Examples of his Severity, were so cruelly treated, that if any men could be said to be murther'd by the Sword of Justice they were; but the ill of this Severity had that good effect, that this first Instance of his Cruelty made it the last occasion to him to shew it, so that from that time all War ceasing, he betook himself to the pleasures of Peace.

And now deeming himself most secure, he met with an unavoidable (I cannot say unexpected) Fate, for, like Caesar his Parallel, he had sufficient warning of it both by his own and his Friends Dreams the night before; the Nature whereof was such as he could not but contemn it, because he could not understand it; and having never been daunted by his Enemies, he was ashamed to seem now afraid of himself; however, the perplexity of his thoughts disorder'd him so far, that in despite of his natural Courage (which was perhaps as great as ever any mans was) he could not find in his heart to go out all the morning of that day he was kill'd: and at Dinner (which argued some failure of his Spirits) he drank more freely than his usual custom was, that accelerated his Fate by taking off his Caution: so that after Dinner he would needs go hunt in the New Forest, and taking his Bow to shoot a Deer in that ominous place, where before a * Brother and a † Brothers Son of his had both met with violent Deaths; Tyrel his Bow-bearer being plac'd right against him, as the best Marks-man, let fly an Arrow, that glancing against a Bough, mifs'd the Deer, and found out him;
It was observed, that there was something in the Fate of this king, as well as in his Education, that had fitted him for Majesty, long before Majesty was fitted for him: For besides that he had the reputation of being a good Scholar, and a good Sword-man, which spoke his Wit and his Courage, and made every body conclude he would be as fortunate as forward, he had no small advantage, by that which is commonly a loss to other Princes, to wit, his Juniority; whilst being born after his Father was King in England, he not only intitled himself to the possession of the Soil, as his Native Country, but to the affections of the People, as their Country-man, who therefore was to be prefer'd before a Stranger: and being fortunately upon the place, at the time of the unfortunate Death of his Brother William, could not but be more acceptable than one so far distant out of sight as his Brother Robert: Neither was he slow in taking his advantage, finding his way made plain, and prepar'd by a more than ordinary respect of the superstitious Rabble, upon the account of a Prophecy his Father utter'd on his Death-bed, the time when men are most inspired, and their words (as being their last) the most regarded, who observing him discontented, because his Portion was much less than that of either of his Brothers, and that only a transitory Estate in Money, without House or Land; said to him, Harry be content, Robert must have Normandy, and Will England, but thou in due time wilt have both. Which considered, as it pre-occupied the Opinion of the Vulgar, so the Judicious were so apt to believe it, that the bare possession of England insufficiently intituled him to Normandy of course: and to confirm their Expectations, he caus'd it to be bruited abroad that Duke Robert had no intention to return out of Palestine, but tarried to be made King of Jerusalem.

Being thus quietly stated, he sweetened his Government by taking off all Taxes, to shew his Beneficence; and some of the principal Taxers, to shew his Justice: By the first he pleas'd the Multitude, in point of Relief; by the other the better fort, in point of Envy and Revenge; gratifying their spleen, by sacrificing the griping Bishop of Durham; a man, who being rais'd from a base Condition by base means, had attained to the honour of being Chief Minister to his Brother King William, and was grown learn'd, in the Science of selling Justice; by the distribution of whose Bribes, he brib'd those whom he thought fit to make his own Ministers; neither thought it he enough to be an English man himself, without affurting the State.
State that he intended all his Posterity should be so too: and therefore, to the end to make sure the wise men, that were as apt to be jealous, as the weaker fort to be querulous, he married Maud, Sister to the Scotch King, and Daughter to Margaret, Sister to Edgar Atheling, the right Heir of the English Blood: a Lady that brought him an Inheritance of Goodness from her Mother, and a good Title of Inheritance from her Uncle.

Thus firmly did he intrench himself before his Brother (whom he had made a King in name only, that he might the easier make himself a real one) returned home, who arriving unlook’d for, was welcome by the Nobility of Normandy with more than ordinary Joy; by whom being inform’d of what was done in England, he made the business of the first year, to provide an Army, and in the second landed it at Portsmouth, in order to the recovery of his lost Right: whereof he was the more assure’d, in respect of those of the Norman Nobility here, as he thought inclin’d to him, who, by his revenge or discontent, would be glad of any Occasion to revolt. This, as it was a storm King Henry far at a distance, so he provided for it, by cutting off all Assurances, that Duke Robert and those with him, doubting the success, and seeing themselves certainly lost, if they prevail’d not (it being in his power to fight them where he pleas’d, and when) upon his desire to save the effusion of Christian Blood, yielded to Articles of Peace; the Substance whereof was this, That Henry being after his Father was rightfully King, and being now invested in the Crown by act of the Kingdom, should enjoy the same during life, and pay 3000 Marks per Annum, as an Earnest of the Reversion after his Death, in case Robert our liv’d him.

With these Conditions Robert rather blinded then satisfied, returns back again into his own Country; and it had been well if he had never been blinded otherwise: But such is the frenzy of Ambition, that it suffers not unhappy Princes to consider either what they ought to do, or what to suffer, whilst like the Superior Orbs, they are hurried with restless Motion, without understanding by what Intelligences they are actuated. Finding himself fallen from the height of his Expectation, into some degree of Contempt with his own Subjects, he was a’d by Profusion (which some call Liberality,) to raise his Reputation, at least to disguise his Impotency, spending to freely, that the Nobility fearing the Revenues of the Duchy would not suffice to support his vanity, complain’d thereof to King Henry; who, seeing his own power and others weakness, sent for him over to elude him, and fiercely reprehended him so sharply, as if he had been his Father, and not his Brother; and as if he would have him to know, he rather expected the Reversion of the Dukedom after his death, than to be accountable to him for the Kingdom after his own: and whether it were that he threaten’d him with a Detention of his Pension, or drew him, being of a yielding Nature (as most indigent men are) to give him a release for some inconsiderable Sum of ready Money, is not certain: but to it was, that upon his return, he could no longer conceal the indignation he had conceived at it, but took the very first Occasion to shew it by joining himself with some mutinous Lords, who having before begun an unsuccessful Combustion in England, had fled over thither, to commit what Outrages they could there.

King Henry for a while pretended himself touch’d in Conscience with the foulness of a Fraternal War, but was indeed apprehensive that such trival Injuries, as the taking a few Castles, was not worthy the trouble of drawing him over in Person, at least not worth the charge of entering into such
such a War as might justify the requiring his Dukeedom for a satisfaction; but having let them alone till he believe'd his sufferance had elevated them beyond the temper of hearkning to any conditions, he then took his time to chastise their folly, and by one single Battle, upon the very same day, and in the very same manner (as 'tis reported) that his Father just forty years before was England, he won Normandy: and having made his brother prisoner, depriv'd him first of his liberty, after of his country, and lastly of that which was dearer than either, the light of his Eyes; requiring his attempt (which was but natural) to escape out of prison, with a punishment that was of all other most unnatural, and as much beyond death, as it was short of it; which inhumanity to his brother, though it was perhaps but a just judgment from Heaven upon him for his inhumanity to his Father, whose life he had twice attempted, being wilfully blund'd by the King of France; yet 'twas such as was altogether undeserv'd, as from him: for the other had him fast enough within his power, circumstanc'd by all the rules of Hostility, besieged within a Fort, and half starv'd; he was so far from pressing upon him, that he pitied him, and broke with his brother Friend to save his brother Enemy.

Poor Prince Robert, how was he betray'd by the goodness of his own Nature, and tempted like a Child to save the bird which was to pick out his Eyes? How did he live to see himself bury'd before he was dead, involv'd in dark and dismal thoughts, whilst he contemplated false losses with more affliction than his own:—a forward Prince born to two Crowns, but now reduc'd to that necessity to borrow one to buy him bread. So long as it serv'd the King of France his turn to serve him, he entertain'd him in that Court (adversity knows no other Friends, nor upon other Terms;) but King Henry by his mony quickly took him off; and Heaven to requite the good turn not long after took off him, for whom all this was done; punishing his unjust detaining the livelihood of his innocent Nephew William, with taking away the life of his own innocent Son William, the only hope of his Family, who being shipwrackt in his return out of Normandy with a hundred and fifty Passengers more, amongst whom was his beloved Sister the Countess of Perch, endeavouring to save her, lost himself.

This Clap of Judgment coming in a Calm of glory, when all the fling of his Ambition seem'd to be past over, so overwhelmed the Joys of his past successes, that as if his Conscience had shrunk at the horror of seeing his oppression and supplantation so repaid, with the extinction of that for which he drew all this guilt upon himself; 'tis said that from that time he never was seen to laugh more: and however he struggles with Delfiny for more Illus Male, marrying not long after a most virtuous and beautiful young Lady, yet all was in vain: The invemom'd Arrow stuck still in his Liver, and for want of other Heirs, he was forced to fasten the succession on his Daughter Maud, who being intangled in his fate, and as apparently Planet-struck as himself, could never attain to be a Queen, however a Dutches, and an Empress; being disappointed by one, that had left right, and not so good pretence, as her own Father. And as the main Line of Normandy fail'd in him, that was but the third Inheritor, so the succession ever since proved so brittle, that it never held to the third Heir in a right descent, without being put by, or receiving some alteration by usurpation, or extinction of the Male blood, which (faith mine Author) may teach Princes to let men alone with their Rights, and God with his Providence.
But such is the unhappiness of Kings that they either understand not Destiny so well as private Men, or cannot so readily submit to it, and as Ambition is a restless passion, which however it may be sometimes weary, never tires; so it urges them to be still pressing upon Fortune with hopes to compel or corrupt her; hoping that if she will not be serviceable to them, she may at least not oppose them. He found that this rent at home had crack'd all the chain of his courses in France (whose King took part with his Nephew William) whilst his two great Friends, Foulk Earl of Anjou, and Robert Earl of Mellent declared against him. Yet urg'd by his natural diligence or desire of Rule he could not but still push on, till by the death of that unfortunate youth before mention'd, all the hopes of his Brother Robert perished, and came to be entirely his: yet neither then could he take any Rest, though he had no body to give him any disquiet, his Conscience keeping him waking with continual Alarums, without any kind of sleep but what was so disturbed and disorderly, as declared to the whole World all was not well within. Often did he rise out of his Bed in the Night, and catching up his Sword put himself into a Posture of Defence as against some Personal assault: and sometimes in company he would catch hold of his Servants hands, as apprehending they were about to draw upon him. Thus was he dog'd with continued fears, and those such as perhaps were Prophetical of what follow'd: that some body should start up (as immediately after there did) who taking Example from himself, should Spurn his ashes, and usurp as much upon his Innocent Daughter and her Son, as he himself had done upon his innocent Brother and his Son.

SUCH
Such is the curse of usurpation that the boldness of one commonly makes way for another intruder. No sooner hath Henry (who took place of his elder brother) quit the throne, but this Stephen his sisters son, without consideration of his elder brother, Theobald earl of Beaufort the supposed heir, or the empress Maud the declared heir, the first before him by a natural, the last by a judicial right, and that to which himself had sworn; kept up to fill the place as heir to the people; and it happen'd so, that boldness in this case gave him a better title than blood; the contest being betwixt him, who being a stranger was become a native, and her who being a native was become a stranger: for to say truth the people did not so much elect him as reject her, and that for divers reasons. 1. For the defect of her sex, the English being no more willing to tie their crown to a disaff from the French, though it were not forbid by any pretended law. 2. For the change of her interest, being twice married to aliens, to whom she was so subject as to become herself one. 3. Out of dislike of her temper, being very proud and implacable, and which spoke her to be king Henry's own daughter, very covetous and griping; and had there not been such objections against her, yet there were reasons enough to justify the wisdom of the state in the preference of this Stephen. 1. In respect of his person, as being nobly descended, rich, bold, wise, and magnificent: 2. In respect to his allies, as being brother to two princes, the eldest a man of so great possessions and power abroad, that he thought the crown here scarce worth the fetching, at least not worth the contesting for; the younger very popular and potent here at home, who being bishop of Winchester, and the pope's legate was ready to undertake betwixt God and the people; for whatever his brother Stephen engaged to either by his coronation oath. 3. 'Twas the least reason that if they took not him they knew not where to find another of the blood, so fit for the trust of his elder brother (as I observed before) being so indifferent in the point, that he chose rather to accept a pension which look'd more like a New-years-gift than the price of a scepter. 4. And lastly, the obligation laid on him was thought to be so much the stronger, by how much his title was the weaker; there being a debitum beneficentia, or particular tie of gratitude to bind him to them, which those that presume on hereditary successions seldom or never own; wherein they were not deceived, for his performances exceeded his promises so much, that he may be said to purchase what they gave, buying their love and fidelity by the relaxation of his taxes, and the grant of many privileges.
Priviledges and Immunities, which none of his Predecessors could be brought to part with; this Bounty of his being joyn'd with that Moderation, that not only his Friends, but many of his Adversaries were persuaded to acknowledge him: insomuch that the King of France, his greatest, 
David King of Scots his nearest, and even Castray Earl of Anjou his most inveterate Enemy; the first being Cousin Guian, the second Uncle, and the third Husband to her that had the competition with him, came all in, and closed upon such Terms with him, that they quit all their former pretensions, and left the unfortunate Lady to trie for herself; who though she had no other ground to hope she might get the better of him in publick, but that she had (if the were not bely'd) worsted him oftentimes before in private, yet her resolutions were so well fixt, that she set upon him single. However guarded as well as Power, Policy, and a great Purse could do it, having not above a hundred and fifty Persons in her Train at her first landing, and believing she had matter enough prepared to set their whole Kingdom in a flame (the Castles of Bridg, Hereford, Ludlow, Shrewsbury &c. declaring for her) in that Confidence she began a War, which for the variety of success, surprizing, and recursings is not less pleasant in the relation than it was perplex'd in the Action.

The Breach at which she first entred was made by King Stephen himself, who foreseeing the approaching mischief, drew on the evil he would avoid by the same way he thought to prevent it: for suspending the Castles he had permitted to be new built, with purpose to have broken the force of any over-running Invasion, might now as well become receptacles to the adverse Party; he commanded them to be deliver'd up into his hands for securing the publick Peace. This begat a general murmure, that a dispute among the proprietors, whereof those of most note being Clergy-men, and Lords of great power and stomach, presuming upon the Obligation he had to the Church, which (as they said) advanced him so the Crown without any military help, refused to give up their Keys into the hands of Laymen, upon whom as they thought he had not the like tie of honour nor honesty as upon themselves. Hereupon the Legate interpos'd, who holding himself nearer allied to his Brother Prelates than to his Brother King, urg'd the question of priviledg so far, that 'twas thought there wanted nothing but an opportunitie to shew they could more willingly quit their Allegiance (as they had done their Liberty) than their possessions; for King Stephen upon their refusal to obey his Order, clapt up several of them in prison. This opportunitie Maud by her arrival rather gave than took, when she made up the Crie, and joyn'd her claim with theirs, and thereby made the War to be felt before it was perceiv'd: which spread it self like a burning Fever through all the veins of the body politick, but raged by Fits only; it so happening that they were not seldom parted by the said new built Castles they contefted for; many of which standing neuter gave stops to their Fury, as if intended by Providence to allay their heat till it were temperate enough to admit of some Parley: but that proving ineffectual, like Game-cocks, after taking breath they fell to it a second with equal force and equal confidence, the whole Nation being divided betwixt them according to their several interests or affections, some taking part with her, others with him; these to discharge their Consciences, those their honour, some to advance their fortunes, others to secure their advancements.

King Stephen gave every where proof of his courage; the of her wisdom; both of their diligence, either perhaps worthy a greater Empire than they contended for; but whilst the Body politick thus miserably tormented with
with the convulsions of Might and Right languish’d under the growing
distemper, behold a sudden change which seem’d the more mortal, for that
the grief seiz’d upon the head: The King is taken prisoner, with whose li-
berty one would have thought all the hopes of that side had been lost; but
it so happened that the Feminine Victor found her self ingag’d in a more
equal Contest with one of her own Sex, and as of the same spirit, so of the
same name. King Stephen’s Wife takes up the Sword whilst her husband
continues a prisoner, who not looking that Fortune should fall into her lap,
was so industrious to catch it, and heading her husbands Forces, she
brought the Title to a second trial with so much better success than he, that
the victorious Empress was forc’d to give place to the more victorious
Queen, and so hardly escaped that to save her life she was content to be
reckon’d amongst the dead, being carried off in a Coffin as if she had
been kill’d, and so forc’d to leave him a prisoner behind, that was indeed
the life of her Cause, the Earl of Gloucester her Brother, and her General,
whose liberty being set against that of the Kings, both sides became even
again in the list of their fatal Contention.

And now the Kings Party labours to recover what they had lost: those of
the Empress her Faction strove only to keep what they had gain’d, till both
having tired out and almost baffled the Courage of their partakers at home
sought for recruits abroad: Maud sends into Normandy, the King into
Flanders; each side seems to fight from this time forward, not so much for
Victory as Revenge. But whilst they fright the people with a noise of their
great preparations the bubble of expectation (swollen to its full height)
breaks, and the hopes of either side funk so low by the death of Prince
Eustace Son and Heir to the King, and that of the Earl of Gloucester the on-
ly pillar which supported the Empress; that the party by whom, that
party for whom the War was first begun, not to say maintained, that they
concluded a Peace for want of strength rather than of stomach, all things
ending as they began, by determination of the free vote of the people;
who in an open Parliament at Winchester parted the Stakes as evenly as they
could, giving to King Stephen the Crown during life, to Henry Son of Maud
(and as some think by him) the reversion expectant after his death, who if
he were not his Natural was thereupon made his adopted Son; and so ended
the troubles of this King, which seem to have been so agreeable to his na-
ture that as soon as they ceased, he ceased to live; surviving the War no
longer than just to take leave of his Friends, being evicted by an Ejection
brought against him by Fate to let in the Son of his Enemy, after he
had held the possession (notwithstanding the continual Interruption given
him) nineteen years with great prosperity though little or no peace: wit-
ness those many works of Piety done by himself or others in his time, there
being more Instances of that Nature during his short Raign, than had been
in many years before.
KING Stephen being dead who was the worthiest, this Henry succeeded who was the greatest King this Nation ever knew: for he was in the Right of his Father Earl of Anjou, in Right of his Mother Duke of Normandy and Britain, in the Right of his Wife Duke of Guern and Aquitaine, Earl of Touraine, Tholosse and Poitou, and now in his own Right King of England, and not long after by Right of Conquest, absolute Lord of Ireland. He was a Prince whose Dominions were so equally divided by the Sea, that it may be said to have run as a great River between them; his Poffessions on the other side of the Water being so great, that the State here doubted nothing so much as that he might prove too mighty a Master at home, and the next Scruple was which side he would make his home; it being in his own choice whether he would carry England thither, or bring those mighty States hither: wherein he carried himself so indifferently, that receiving the News of King Stephen's death, at the Siege of a Castle the French had taken from him, he declared he would not move away till he had recover'd it back again; neither was he worse than his word though they tried him Six weeks, before they yielded it up: a longer time than might have been convenient to have defer'd his Claim here, had he not been (as he was) high and presuming that King Stephen had tired out all the stirring and turbulent spirits, and that he was neither unexpected nor undesir'd.

He was the first King of the Plantaginets and began his Reign, as the Great Solomon (who was near about his Age) did his, with the choice of wise Counsellors, to take off all objections against his youth; with the expulsion of all Strangers, to take off all objections against his being a foreigner; with the re-sumption of all aliened Crown Lands, to take off the fear as well as the necessity of Taxes; which as it increased his reputation no less than his revenue, so he pleas'd many with disputing but a few. After this he pluck'd down all those Castles which being erected by King Stephen's permission, had proved the nurseries of the late rebellion, and he did it with the least clamour, in respect the people thought it contributed as much to their quiet, as to his own. Lastly by expelling those false Lords, that contrary to their oath given to his Mother, took part with the Usurper Stephen, he at once satisfy'd his Revenge, and confirm'd the opinion conceive'd of his Justice and Piety.

Thus having got the start in point of honour, as well as of Riches, of all the neighbour Princes his Contemporaries, one would have thought so prosperous a beginning must have concluded with as prosperous an ending; but it fell out quite other-wise; for to the rest of his Greatness was added that of having great troubles, and troubles of that durance as ended not but
but with his life. Nor could it well be otherwise, for he was of a restless
spirit, seldom without an Army, seldom without an Enemy, but never
without an Occasion to provoke one; for he was a great ingroster of glory,
whereby being necessitated to set himself against every one, every one set
themselves against him; and the confederations against him were so well
timed that in one day they invaded him in England, Normandy, Aquitaine,
and Britain: but that which made his unhappiness seem singular was, that
the greatest part of his Enemies were those of his greatest Friends; I
mean not such as were of remoter relations, as subjects, servants, confedera-
tes, or allies, &c. but those of nearest propinquity; his brother, his
wife, his own children, such as were flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone;
so that he could not possibly fight for himself without fighting against him-
self; like those who to preserve life are constraint to dismember them-
selves: wherein the malice of his Fate seem'd to exceed that of his Foes,
whiles it drew more crost lines over his Actions than Nature had drawn over
his Face: rending all his undertakings so disfavourous, that even when he
had the best on't, he seem'd yet to have the worst on it, and lost his honour
though he got his enterprise. Thus when he recover'd the Earlom of
Northumberland from David King of Scots, and the Dukedom of Anjou
from his brother Geoffrey, the first by the power of his Wisdom, the last
by the wise management of his power (both which contests ended not
without giving to each of them full satisfaction for their pretentions) yet
one brought upon him the clamor of injustice, t'other the scandal of Avail-
ce: two vices ill befleming any man, worse a King. So in the dispute
he had with the Earl of St. Giles about the County of Tholus, which was
his Right, though t'other's Poffession, he was fain to ask peace of one that
he knew was unable to carry on the War; and after he brought him to his
own terms, was himself so hamper'd with the same Fetter's he put upon
him, that in conclusion he suffer'd no less in the opinion of his Wisdom
than he had before in that of his power. So when he married his Son Henry to
the daughter of his great Enemy, the King of France, with a prudent de-
sign of being reconcil'd to him in a nearer combination, he found that in-
stead of keeping him out of his Territories (which was all he had to care
for before the March) he had now let him into his House, to do him more
mischief with less difficulty (there being more danger by his undermining
than battering) whilsts himself permitted the pit to be made in which the
foundation of his Sons greatness was to be laid; to whom having given too
too early an expectation of his Kingdom (by allowing him the title of King)
without being able to give him the Grace to carry for his death, he found
(when 'twas too late) that a Crown was no estate to be made over in Trust:
yet this he did not by chance, neither as one transported by any Fatherly
fondness, but out of a provident care to settle the Succession, and as rea-
sonably to fix his Sons Ambition. Neither was his severity to his younger
Sons fatal to him than his indulgence to his Elder; whilsts thinking to
recover the power he lost there, by keeping a stricter hand over those
here, he was bereft of them too by the same way he thought to make them
more servile to him: for as the eldest by having so much, was easily per-
waded there was more due to him; so the younger brothers believing they
ought to have had something more than they had, because their elder bro-
ther had so much more than he should, press'd him out of necessity, as
much as t'other out of wantonness. This looking so like a judgment from
heaven, gave both the world and himself so full a view of his fate and his
failings, that from this time he began sensibly to languish under the grief and
flame of being so affronted; the rancor of his thoughts so festring inwardly, that though he asswaged it by all the Lenitives imaginable, yet the wound broke out as fast as it was heal'd, till the Caufe was taken away by the death of those that were the two most unnatural Sons (whose ends prov'd to be as violent as their natures) after which yet he was no less affli'd by the no less unnatural obstinacy of the two surviving Brothers, Richard and John.

But that which made the troubles of his own house more insupportable, was the meeting with as great troubles in Gods house; where the disobedience of his Children was out-vied by the contempt of a servant; who advanced by destiny to make a mock of Majesty, finding a purpose in him to curtail the growing greatness of the Clergy (that was arriv'd to that height, that they were able to make a King without a Title, and might (as he suspected) by tampering with Posterity be able in time to set up a Title without a King) resolv'd to wrestle both single, and to compare authority: and however he knew the design to be so well back'd by the envy of the Laity, that the Pope himself and all the Conclave despair'd of weathering it; yet such was his obstinacy, having got the help of opinion, and the belief of Integrity on his fide, that he flood the breach of this unhappy Kings Indignation, and defied his Thunderbolt, till the very minute it blasted him; by whose death every one thought the King had got the better of it, in that he had the satisfaction of a full Revenge, without being touch'd with the guilt (since those that murder'd him however they did it to please the King, did it yet without his knowledge or privy.) But such was the Tyranny of Fate, that he who in his life time only made him bow, being dead brought him upon his knees, and forced him to acknowledg him as much above his faith after, as be was above his will before: and (then which no thing could be more unfortunate) for the very fame cause he prosecuted him in his life time as a Traitor, being dead, he ador'd him as a Saint.

It were too troublesome to tell of all the troubles of this great Prince, much more to bring them into any method, which coming from himself, and norending (as I said before) but with himself, however they seem'd to vary in the Lines, kept still in the circle of his Family, mov'd by the fame Caufes though not by the fame Perfons: for as his Son Henry before, so his Son Richard afterwards, was tempted to capitulate with him, and to shew the world he was his Brothers successor, in point of disobedience as well as of right, he did with as great ambition, but greater passion, require an assurance of the fame Kingdom and the fame Wife: both equally dear to the Father, both alike fatal to the Sons; wherein meeting with a denial, the present fit of Love that was upon him heighten'd into an extream of hatred; with the contagion whereof (for it ran in a blood) his brother John was not long after infected: and his brother John being dead, they made the last Effort upon their now almoft tird fathers patience, besieging him in the beloved Town where his Father was buried and himself born; which he not long after took from him, and in it her that was dearer to him than his life, the fair Lady Adela (now become the old Kings avowed Mistress, however affiance'd before to his Son Richard. ) This as it was an indignity that flaw'd his great heart at one single stroke, and wounded his spirit beyond all recovery, so the losfs of the City provok'd him to blaspheme God, and the losfs of the Lady to curse all his poterity, and what fence nature retain'd of the losfs of his life (that took away the fence of all other losses) appears by the intelligence it held with his revenge after death; which over-acting its part (if I may so fay) to charge the guilt upon the unnatural offender, forced the blood out of his nostrils as he lay bare-fac'd upon his hearfe, as soon as his Son Richard (the murtherer) approach'd with dissembled reverence to kifs his hand. Thus
Thus as he had constant troubles whilst he liv’d, so it seems he had no great rest when he was dead, being ordain’d by Destiny to be an Example of unparalleled Desolation; and which made this unhappiness a kind of Riddle, that which renders all other men happy undid him, viz. great Wisdom, great Power, and great Possessions, either of which makes great Friends, at least great numbers of those that profess themselves to be so; whiles he liv’d to see himself forsaken of Wife, Children, Family, Friends, and (if he were not himself, as in Charity we ought to think, when he blasphemed God for the loss of Mentz) we may say forsaken of himself too, then which there could be no sadder Epilogue to humane Glory.

This King, as he was the first, so I take him to be the worst of all the Richards we had; and however Posterity has forborne to blur his Memory out of the partiality and affection this Nation hath alwayes born to their fighting Princes (wherein he had not the better of any of his name, for they were all valiant as well as himself) yet the present Age had no such cause to admire him; considering the unevenness of his temper, being never well full nor fasting, as we say, and the unsteadiness of his Judgment, making his Government very uneasy and distasteful to almost all sorts of men. That he was an ill Son, needs no other proof than the preternatural Resentment of his dead Father, whose Corps so abhor’d his presence, as I said before the blood gush’d out of his Nostrils when he came near it, as by the touch of its Murderer. That he was an ill Father, appears by the disposal he made of his three Imaginary Daughters, Pride, Covetousness, and Leachery, which a scoffing Priest of France upbraided him with. That he was an ill Brother, is manifest by the ill usage of his Brothers John and Treffy; the first of whom, without any just cause of suspicion, he would have forc’d to have abjur’d the Realm; the last to quit his Bishoprick: and whether his unkindness or his injustice was the greater, I know not. What kind of Husband he was like to prove appeared by his deportment to her that should have been his Wife, the fair Lady Adela before mention’d, Sister to the French King, whom he did not more desire when he could not have her, then he flighted her when he could, sending her home unexpectedly, that is hard to say whether he more disregarded her, his Father (who was her Paramour) or himself, making the business the worse by the same way he thought to make it better: for giving her many Jewels, seemingly to do her honour, he dishonour’d her the most that might be, giving the World cause to think it a recompence of that one Jewel, A a
she had left behind: whereupon 'twas reported, and perhaps as truly as maliciously, that the Father had his pleasure on her, and the Son paid the Charges. Lastly, as he was an ill man, so he was a worse King, behaving himself more like a Projector then a Prince: for after he had raked up as much Money preparatory to his Voyage into the Holy Land, as if he had intended to have spent all his own Dominions in recovering those, he found out so many tricks to cozen and cheat the People of more, that at length in deceiving them, he deceived himself too. For those whom he compel'd to make new Fines for the Lands they had bought of him, upon pretence of having lost his old Seal, slipt in such new Conditions unperceiv'd into their new Patents, as made them gainers by the loss, whilst his Covetousness suffer'd him not to perceive, or his Necessity to prevent the Inconvenience: but that which renders him most unworthy the affectionsof his Subjects was the not only making himself a Stranger to them, as he was (for during his whole Reign, which lasted nine years and nine months, he was not above eight months in all with them) but leaving them to be govern'd by a Stranger, who, however a man of the Church (for serving the Church, he was so wise as to serve himself by it) had so little regard to Justice, Honour, or Religion, that he observ'd no other Law but that of his own Will: but to make his Injustice yet more insupportable after he return'd home, he refund all the Crown Lands he had aliened for the parrying his holy design, without giving the least satisfaction to those who had furnish'd him with Money upon them, which nothing could have excus'd, had any body else suffer'd by it but the Clergy-men that put him first upon the Project. Lastly, to shew he had as little sense of Honour as of Equity, he pitifully and meanly did depose himself, and deliver up his Kingdom into the hands of the Emperor, after he was taken Prisoner in Germany, being not ashamed to attempt to make his People slaves on condition he might be free himself. And wherefore was all this toy and charge, imbarasing himself and his Subjects, but only to hold up the vain-glorious reputation of his Courage, and make good that Bestial Adjunct of Chivalry, which was not improperly given to him, if we consider that the same Creature is as much noted for his Voracity as Courage; yet was the excess of his Valour mostly spent in private quarrels; the King of France, who was engag'd with like Devotion, and he falling together by the Ears as soon as they met in Sicily; and after he came into the Holy Land he had the like quarrel with the Arch-Duke of Austria, with both upon the same point of Precedence, though not with like reason: the other having out-brav'd him in the common Cause, and planted his Colours upon the Walls of Acre before him, which he plucking down in scorn, t'other made him vail Bonnet to it, that is, surrender up his Cap of Maintenance (as 'twas then call'd) as a Pledge of his Homage to the Emperor when he acknowledged him his Suprem Lord. And what was the end of this great Enterprize, after having tarried above a year there, but the taking only one Town, and besieging another, which upon notice of the Disorders at home (that a wise man might easily have foreseen and prevented) he quit with no less disorder, leaving the whole Action with as much precipitation as he took it up; insomuch that his Wife and Sister that accompanied him, and all their Attendants and Officers were forc'd to shift for themselves, and get home as they could; which Inconsideration of his met with that pitiful Event before mention'd, to redeem him from which, his People were faint to strain themselves beyond their abilities, Lay-men and Clergy parting with a fourth part of their Real, and a tenth of their Personal Estate, all not being sufficient to make up his Ransome, till they pawn'd
pav'n'd and sold their very Chalices and Church Ornaments.

Being thus as it were un-king'd, and expos'd naked to the Vulgar, stript of his Honour as well as Treasure, he thought himself not secure of the faith and reverence due to his birth by any other way but a Recoronation, which being as extraordinary as the rest of his Actions (for he's the first we meet with twice crown'd) was notwithstanding the poverty of the Nation, that had paid in two years time no less then 1j hundred thousand Marks of Silver (the vastness of which Sum may be guess'd at by the Standard of those Times, when twenty pence was more then a Crown now) perform'd with that solemnity, as shew'd he had the same mind, though not the same purfe, as when he began his great Adventures. After this he fitted out a Fleet of 100 Sail of Ships to carry him into Normandy, to chastize the Rebellions of his Brother John, who incouraged by the King of France (the constant Enemy of England) had, during his absence, depo'sd his Vice-roy Longchamp, and forc'd him to lay down his Legatine Cross, to take up that of the holy War, and had put himself in so good forwardnes to depose him too (having brought the People to swear a Conditional Fealty to him) that there wanted nothing to give him possession of the Crown which was before secure'd in Reversion but the consent of the Emperor, to whom there was offer'd a Bribe of 150 thousand Marks to detain him, or 1000 pounds a Month, as long as he kept him Prisoner. But such was the power of the Mother, who was always a fast Friend to the younger Brother, and had indeed a greater share in the Government of the elder, then consisted with the weakness of her own, or the dignity of his Sex, that she made them Friends, and obtained an Indempnity for all the Faults committed during Longchamp's Reign (who indeed was more a King then his Master) so that his Indignation being wholly diverted upon the French King, he began a new War that was like to prove more chargeable then the old, which he had so lately ended. To maintain which he had new Projections for raising Money; but Providence having determin'd to put an end to his Ambition and Avarice, offer'd a fatal Occasion by the discovery of some Treasure-trove, out of which the Discoverer, the Viscount Lymoges, voluntarily tendering him a part, tempted him to claim the whole; and so eager was he of the Prey, that being deny'd, he besieg'd the Castle of Chalons, where he conceiv'd 'twas hid, from whence by a fatal Arrow shot from the hand of one whose Father and two Brothers he had kill'd with his own hand, he was unexpe'dly slain, leaving no Issue either of his Body or Mind; that the World took notice of, excepting his three Daughters before mention'd, father'd on him by the Priest, by the disposal of which, though it were but in jest, we may see what he was in earnest: For he bestow'd his daughter Pride on the Knights Templars; his daughter Drunkenness on the Celestian Monks, and his Daughter Leachery he left to the Clergy in general, which quicknes of his, as it favour'd of Irreligion, so it made good that in him, which makes all things else ill, the comprehensive Vice of Ingratitude, the Clergy being the only men to whom he was indebted for his Honour, Wealth, and Liberty; but the unkindness he shew'd to them living, was sufficiently requited to him dead by one of the same function, who reflecting upon the Place where he received his fatal wound, thore an Arrow at him that pierc'd deeper then that which flew him.

Chri'ste sui Calici Prado si prada Caluci.
King Richard being dead, who was the third Son and Successor to his Father Henry, his fifth and only Brother living, Prince John became his Successor, though he were not his Heir; the legal Right vesting in Arthur the only Son of Jeoffry the fourth Brother; of whom, as he had the start in Age and Interest, in point of Power as well as pretensions, being the Son and Brother of a King, whereas another was neither, better known to the English Nobility, and which was more then all, in possession of his Brother Richard's Army and Treasure at the time of his Death, so he easily supplanted the Friendless Youth; however he could not so draw the consent or obedience of the People to him, but that it was easy to perceive their coldness to be such, that it might be said they did rather not reject then neglect him to be King, the solemnity of his Inauguration so much exceeding the measures of their joy, that he himself taking notice of it, had so great a distrust of their Faith, that he held himself necessitated to suffer all the affronts given him by the French King for a long time, who being his great Enemy, by pretence of doing Prince Arthur Right, did him all imaginable wrong, but could not draw him out of the Circle of his Power to any kind of Engagement, till provoked by his own wantonnes (having usurped a Wife as well as a Crown) he was put upon that for the vindication of his Honour, which he would not have done for the justification of his Right, to answer a more unequal Adversary, the Earl of March, who being the person to whom she was first affianced, and stung with the apprehension of the Indignity, to have her ravish'd from him (a wrong of the most sensible touch in Nature) conspire'd with the discontented Barons of England and Britain to set up Arthur against him, whom to make their Party the stronger, they married up to the youngest Daughter of the French King, who joining with them, they press'd upon him all at once; but the attempt being perform'd with more heat then consideration, instead of foiling him they put a notable Victory into his hands, and such an one as made him Master of his two great Enemies, the Earl of March, and Arthur himself; the one the Person by whom, and the other the Person for whom the War was begun, so that there needed not a Second to settle his Mind or State.

This mounted him on the wings of Fame, but that unexpected height was attended with a fatal Giddiness, which turn'd to such a kind of Frenzy as render'd him incapable of all advice: So that intoxicated with the fumes of his Power, he committed many outrages, not sparing his own Brother Jeoffry,
Feoffy Arch-bishop of York, who using the freedom of a Brother in repre-
bending his Exorbitances, had all his Estate taken from him and confis-
cated a whole year, before he could recover it again by the help of all his
Friends: The Earl of Chester fair'd yet worse, who was banish'd upon
the like account of being too faithful a Counsellor: Neither did the Lord
Walter suffer less then either, because he would not consent to pro-
stitute his fair Daughter Matilda to his Lust: And whether he shew'd any
soul play to his Nephew Arthur, after he was his Prisoner, is not certain,
who surviving his imprisonment but a few days, gave the World cause to
think he was not treated as so near a Kinsman; and that which confirm'd this Opinion was the Judgment from Heaven that at-
tended it, for from that time he grew very visibly unprosperous, loosing
not only his ancient Patrimony, the Duchi of *Normandy, and that as
strangely as t'other did his life, but with it all the rest of his Possessions on
that side the Water, all taken from him in less then a years space, not so
much by force of Arms as by process of Law, while the King of France
proceeded against him as an Offender, rather then as an Enemy: And to
aggravate that by other Losses seeming less, but perhaps greater, he near
about the same time not only lost his two great Supporters, Hubert Arch-
bishop of Canterbury, and Fitz-Peter his Lord Chief Justice as wise and
faithful Councilors as any Prince ever had; but her that was the Bridle of
his Intemperance, his Indulgent Mother Elinor, a prudent Woman, of a
high and waking Spirit, and therefore a most affectionate Promoter of his,
because it tended to the supporting of her own Greatness.

These staves being gone, he prov'd like a mounted Paper Kite when the
string breaks which holds it down; for taking an extravagant flight, he fell
afterwards (as that usually doth) for want of due weight to keep it steady:
and being no less sensible of the shame then the loss, Instead of taking
revenge on his Foes, he fell upon his Friends, charging all his misfortunes
upon disloyalty of the Earls and Barons that resists him aid, whom there-
fore he fin'd first the seventh part of their Goods, after that the thirteenth
part of all their Moveables: and not content with the aid of their Purse,
forced them at last with the hazard of their Persons, to attend him in the
prosecution of a no less chargeable then disadvantageous War, where the
recovery of part of his own indangered the total loss of their own Estates.
This, as it was grievous to the Subject in general, so more particularly to
the Nobility (being most of them descended out of Normandy, and by his
ill management shut out of their ancient Inheritances there), had no other
satisfaction for their Losses, but by improving what was left here; who finding
themselves thus doubly dammified, were enraged to that degree, that ufing
a Martial freedom suitable to the necessity of that stimulation by which they
were urg'd, they began to recollect all the wrongs done them by his Grand-
father, Father, and Brother, and to shew they were in earnest, insisted up
on renewing the great Charter of their Liberties, neither were they un-
provided of Arguments or Arms; this contumacy of theirs being coun-
temnced by the full Retirements of his own Brother Feoffy the Arch-
bishop, who chose rather to cast himself into voluntary Exilement, then
submit any longer to his Tyranny: In vain now demands he Pledges of
their Faith, whilst they believed him himself to have none. Sending to the
Lord Bruce for his Son to be deliver'd as an Hostage to him, he receiv'd an
answer from the Mother, which it seems express the affections, if not the
ruse of the Father, That they would not commit their Son to his keeping,
who was so ill a keeper of his own Brothers Son; which rash return coilt
him
him afterward his Estate, her her life, with the loss of two for the saving one only Child, a Revenge so fully executed, that it could meet with no counterbuff and what must come from Heaven.

Here began the breach that disjoyned the whole frame of his Government; the King resolving to keep what by advantage of time and sufferance he had got; the Barons continuing as obstinately bent to recover what their Predecessors had so tamely lost. Both sides prepare for War; and whilst they face and parle like men loath to engage, yet scorning to quit their Cause, either alike confident to hope the beast and not unlike active to prevent the worst, a new accident parted them by presenting a new Enemy, which made the War give place as it were to a single Combat. The Pope not allowing the King the Privilege of Nominating a Successor to the deceased Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, he makes a Truce (I cannot call it a Peace) with his Domestick Adversaries, to try his Fortune with his Foreign Foe. The Contest was not like that of Jacob and Esau, who should be born first, but like that of Caesar and Pompey, who should be uppermost. Now as desire of Rule brought these two great Champions into the List, so the confidence each other had in his strength and skill to handle his Weapon, made them unreconcilable: The Pope made the first Pass, who threatening to interdict the Kingdom, was answered with a Menace of confiscating all the Lands of the Clergy, and banishing their Persons: The second Thrust given by his Holiness was a Threat of Excommunication of the Kings Person; To this he returned that he would utterly disavow his Authority. Thus far they were upon the even Terms, and as it were for hit: upon the next Pass they closed, and as men desperately bent, either made good his Charge. The Pope shuts up the Church doors; the King those of the Cloysters: the first took away all the Sacraments, leaving the dead to bury the dead, without Priest, Prayer, or Processions: The last seized on all the Ecclesiastical Revenues, and disposed them into Lay-hands. Whilst they were thus in close grapple, the King of France appeared as second to the Triple Crown: Had the Barons then slept in as second to their King, they had not only made good their own Honour, as well as his, but probably had secured the Liberties they contended for without any force, there being more to be hoped for from this Kings Generosity than his Justice; but (which was most degenerose, and leaves a stain upon their memory never to be washed off,) they finding him thus overlaid, turned all their points upon his back, poisoned with the venom of the most opprobrious Calumnies that ever Majesty suffer'd under, the Infamy of being not only a Tyrant, but an Infidel, all which he was fain to bear with more Confinancy of Mind than Fortune: But as we fee a wild Boar, when beaten out of breath, chuses rather to die upon the Spears of the Hunters, than to be wearied by the Dogs; so his Rancor turning into disdain, he yielded to his Nobler Enemies, and chose rather not have his Revenge upon them, whom he thought God and Nature had put under his dispose, to humble himself to the Church, hoping, as 'tis thought, by their Keys to unock the Rebels Power; but over-acting his Revenge, he stoop'd so low that the Crown fell from his Head, which the Papes Legate taking up, kept three dayes before he thought fit to restore it, verifying thereby the Prediction of a poor innocent Hermite, who foretold that there should be no King of England; which however it was true, yet being in some sense untrue too, 'twas in the Preterogative of him who never spared where he could shed Blood, to make his own Inerpretation, which cost the poor Prophet his Life.
The Barons finding him thus incens'd, and seeing how to make good his Revenge, they resolved to quit their Allegiance to make good their Security, intending to call in the Dolphin of France, and swear Fealty to him, whilst the Common People were left to their Election, whether to take the wrong King that promised to do them Right, or the right King that persisted to do them so much wrong; who as little understanding the Principles of Religion as the dictates of Reason, the Bonds of Command and Obedience that should hold them together seem'd so wholly hackneyed, that there was upon the Matter no other Tie on them than that of their Interest, which swayed them variously, according to the divers Measures they took of it. But as there are many Ligaments in a State that bind it so fast together, that 'tis a hard thing to dissolve them altogether, unless by an universal concurrence of Causes, that produce a general alteration thereof, it being seldom seen of what temper soever Kings are, but that they find under the greatest defection imaginable a very considerable Party to stand by them upon the account of Affection or Ambition, Honour or Conscience; so this King (the first of England we find put to this strait) had yet many Members of Note and Power besides his chief Officers (whose places confirm'd) that stuck close to him, and serv'd him to the last; by whose Affiance he not only recover'd Ireland, reduced Wales, and kept those of Scotland to their good behaviour, but notwithstanding all the Troubles he had at home, fore'd the Chief men of either Place to give him (as the manner was in those days) their Children to be pledges of their future Subjection: by which may be guess how far he had gone in the Recovery of his Transmarine Dominions, had not the cross-grain'd Barons stood it out as they did, who refusing to aid or attend him, until he was absolv'd by the Pope, and after he was absolv'd, slop'd until he had ratified their Priviledges, and after they had the Grant of their Priviledges, declined him yet, until they had back the Castles he had taken from them; resolv'd it seems to have both Livery and Seisin of their ancient Rights: but whilst they thus over-bent the Bow, they made it weak and unserviceable: the visible force us'd upon him in bringing him to that Concession, unloosing the Deed, and taking so much from the validity of so solemn an Act by the bare illegality of their Coercion, that his new Friend the Pope (to whom themselves forced him to reconcile himself) thought it but a reasonable recompence of his Humility towards him, to discharge him from all his Condivestions towards them, dispensing with his Oath by which all the Agreement was bound, and by definitive Sentence declaring the whole Compact null, which was confirm'd by the Excommunication of the Barons till they submitted to the Sentence.

Here the Scene chang'd again: and now the Pope being ingag'd on the King's side, the French King on the Rebels, behold the whole Kingdom in Arms; but because there were so few to be trusted at home, the King sends for Forces abroad, whereof he had so great Supplies, that had there not been (which is almost incredible to relate) no less than forty thousand Men, Women, and Children drown'd, coming over Sea out of Flanders, he had even eat his way out to a Conquest of his own People as universal, but more miserable than that of the Norman; for with those he had left he marched over most of the Kingdom in less than half a years space, reduced all the Barons Castles to the very Forders of Scotland, and made himself once more absolute Master of all the Cities of note, London only excepted, which in regard of their united Power, being so desperate...
sperate as they were, he thought not safe to attack. This Extremity of the Barons drew over the French King in person to their relief, who making incredible speed to land at Sandwich, as quickly became Master of all Kent, Dover only excepted (which never would yield) through which marching up to London, he was there received with such universal joy, that several great Lords quitting King John, came to render themselves to him: In the mean time the Pope pursued him with an Excommunication to please King John, who all this while acted the part of a General so well beyond that of a King, that many who never obeyed him in Peace, were content to follow him through the War.

It was near a year that this unhappy Kingdom continued thus the Theatre of Rapine and Cruelty, enduring the oppression and horror of two great Armies, headed by two great Kings; each chasing the other with alternate Successes through the most fertile parts of the Isle, till it pleased Providence in Mercy to the innocent People, to take off this Indomitable Prince, whose heart (long flaw'd with continual Crosses) broke at last by the flight stroke of a small loss, the miscarriage of some few of his Carriages, which in passing the Washes between Lynn and Boston, were it seems overtaken by the Tyde: a misfortune, which though of no great Consideration, yet falling out in such a juncture of time, when the Indisposition of his Body added not a little to that of his Mind, carried him out of the World with no less Violence than he forced into it; who, however born to make himself Enemies, had yet perhaps been happy enough, had not himself been the very greatest Enemy himself had.
NORMANS.

KING John though he were Naturally dead, did yet Morally survive in his Son Henry, in whose dispositions there was much less difference then in their Fortunes, yet perhaps less in their Fortitude; this having more of Craft, t'other more of Courage: however he were the Son and Father of as Valiant Kings as any we had. That which to other Princes commonly proves most fatal (their Nonage) was to him most fortunate; for by reason of his tender years, being left under the protection of his Uncle William Earl-Marshall, who was so famous for Counsel and Conduct, the most considerable part of the Barons were thereby drawn to quit the French Party, and submit to him: whereby the Monsieur was forced, after almost two years possession, to fell a better hope of Conquest than ever the Norman had, departing with little more Treasure (notwithstanding the great Rape of his People) then would serve to defray his Charge home again: after whose Return the Feverish State recovered itself again out of the fatal Calenture under which it had so long languished, and enjoyed some peace, though little quiet; but that Felicity determin'd with the life of that great man, who having delivered the Son from the curse of his Fathers Violations, and the People from the desperation that attended it, as one that had done all which his Loyalty and the Love to his Country obliged him to, gave up his Charge with his Breath.

Upon his Death, the King was crown'd (as his unfortunate Father and Uncle before him) the second time, being willing the World should know he was now arriv'd at a degree of understanding to rule by himself: which occasion the jealous Barons took hold of, to press again for the Confirmation of their Liberties, the Denial whereof had cost his Father so dear. This put him to a pause, and that discover'd his inclination, though not his intent; for by not denying, he hop'd to be thought willing to grant, and yet not granting, he had the vanity to be thought not to yield. But this cunctation of his, which shew'd him to be his Fathers own Son, plunged him into such a Gulf of mistrust before he was aware of it, that it was nothing less then a Miracle he had not perish'd in it: for as he could never get clear out of it all his Reign, the longest that ever any King of England had; if he was necessitated, as all shifting men are that entertain little designs they are ashamed or afraid to own, to make use from that time, of such Ministers only, as in serving him, would be sure to serve their own turns upon him; which reduced him to that indigence, that had he not found out a way to prey upon them,
them, as they upon the People, he had undoubtedly perished as never King
did; being at one time come so near to Eggery that for want of Provisions
at his own, he was forc'd to invite himself shamefully to other mens Tables, his
Credit being brought so low, that he could not take up an hundred Marks;
and his Spirit so much lower, that he told one that deny'd him that Sum,
that it was more Alms to give him, than to a Beggar that went from Door to
Door: A Speech betraying so strange abjection, that it takes off the won-
der of those affronts put upon him afterwards, when a weak Woman durst
tax him to his face with breach of faith and honour, and a pitiful Priest
threatened him with being no King, when a private Lord durst give him the
Lie publicly, and tell him he was no Christian: and (which is undecent
to tell had it not been so well known) one of his own servants call'd him
Squint-ey'd Fool and Leaper.

The first great action he was engaged in was the recovery of the Ground
his Father lost in France, into which he was drawn not so much out of
affection of Glory, as by the Solicitation of his Father in Law Hugh Earl
of March; who having a quarrel with the Queen Dowager of France, upon
the account of some dispute that had pass'd between her and his Wife, the
Queen Dowager of England, call'd in the King her Son to take advantage
of the present discontent; Divers of the great men of Poitou, Britain,
and Normandy, being offended that the Regency of the young King
should be committed to a Woman, and a Spaniard: But this design ending
with like precipitation, as it was begun, after the Expence of some
Blood and more Treasure (neither of which he could: well spare) he
return'd home, attended with a petty Army of those Poitouins and
Britians; who by taking his part, had forfeited their own Estates at
home. These therefore he conceiv'd himself obliged in point of honour to
provide for, and which way to do it, but by displacing such of his prin-
cipal Officers, who were in places of greatest benefit he knew not. These
were his Chief Jushticiary, his High Treasurer, and the Marshal of his
Houishold; upon whom therefore he permitted the envious Rabble to dis-
charge a volly of accusations, to the end that driving them out with shame
and loss, he might fill up their places with those strangers. These great Pil-
lars (for they were men whose wisdom he had more need of, then they of
his favour) being thus thrown down, and broken to pieces by their fall,
shook the whole frame of his Throne, that every body expected when lie
would have fallen himself too, divers of the Nobility that were nearest to
him, removing themselves for fear of the worst. Amongst the rest was that
famous Richard, who after the death of his brother William, was Earl Mar-
shal: a man questionless of great honour and Probity, who finding his vi-
olences to increase, being heightened by the ill advice of the two Peters, De
Rupibus, and De Rivallia, the one a Britain the other a Poitouin, now be-
come the two great Ministers of State, combined with the rest of the Eng-
lish Nobility to fetch him off from these Rocks; first intreating and after
threatening him, that unless he would put these and all other strangers from
him, they would remove both him and them, and chuse another King.
Upon this bold menace, the plainest and boldest that Subjects could give
a Prince, De Rupibus advised him to require pledges for their Allegi-
ance; which they refusing to give, without any Process of Law, he
causes them to be Proclaym'd Out-laws, and Seizes on all their Lands,
with the profits whereof he rewards the Poitouins. This brought
both Parties to Arm again, with like animosity, but more Cruelty, then
in his Fathers time. So that for two years together, there was no ceffation
from
from all the violences, and depredations that usually attend a civil War, till the Bishops finding by the much blood had been shed; that the heat on either side was much abated, interposed with the King to do the Barons reason, and forced him to yield, though he could not consent, to a restoration of their Lands and Liberties, and to the banishment of all strangers. This however proved to be but a temporary shift, which the present necessity of his affairs drove him to: for not long after the two great Incendiaries were admitted again to Grace; and so near came he to the example of his Father, as to endeavour a revocation of his Grants by the Popes Authority, being done, as he alleadged, beyond his Power, and without consent of the Church; by which harsh Intention (though it took not effect) it is scarce imagiable how much he added to the conceived displeasure of the People, to whom however he had no regard, till he had wafted himself so far by his profusion and supine Stupidity, that he was reduc’d through extremity of want, to truckle under his Parliaments: who knowing their own Power, and his dependence on them for money (for as a modern writer observes; his taxations were so many they may be reckon’d amongst his annual revenues, scarce any year passing without a Parliament, but no Parliament breaking up without a Tax) as to many Tyrants press’d no less upon him one way, then he upon them the other, till at last he became as weary of asking, as they of giving him supplies; and having no other means to maintain his Riot, after he had canvass’d his Officers, by chopping and changing of places, and rais’d what he could without right or reason, he fell to selling his Lands, mortgaged Gafcoin, pawn’d his Jewels, and after his Crown: and when he had neither Credit nor pawns of his own left, he expos’d the Jewels and Ornaments of Saint Edwards Shrine, to whoever would lay down most for them. After this he prey’d upon the Jews (the People that always felt the weight of his necessities.) Neither were his Christian Subjects so free, but that he found means to squeeze them by Loans, Benevolences, and New-years gifts: all which not sufficing, he fell at last to down-right Beggary, and sent to the Clergy men for several Sums to be given him as Alms. And being reduc’d to this incredible lowness, when he found he could not prevail upon their Charity, he try’d how far he could work upon their piety, by pretending to undertake the Cross; but that Project failing him too, the last and most fatal shift he had, was to resign to the King of France whatever right he had in the Dutchy of Normandy, the Earldoms of Anjou, Poitou, Touraine, and Maine, and all for no more then three hundred Crowns, and that of Anjouin money too: a pitiful Summ to redeem a half lost Crown. The Prince likewise, unfortunately participating in the wants of his Father, was driven to Mortgage several pieces of his Lands too, to supply his Particular Necessities.

And now all things being gone that were valuable or vendible, the Barons finding him naked and disarm’d thought not fit to delay the matter longer; but being call’d to that fatal Parliament at Oxford, in a hot season of the year, when all their bloods were boyling, and out of temper, without more debate they first secur’d London, the onely Magazine to begin a Rebellion, by shutting up the Gates; and after secur’d the Kingdom, by shutting up the Ports, to prevent the inlet of Strangers; appointing twenty four Conservators (as they call’d them) to manage the Government; whereof twelve were to be nam’d by the King,
King, twelve by themselves. But he thinking it too great a Diminution of his Majesty, to consent to any nomination of his own, left their twelve, call'd the Douze Peers, to take the Reformation into their hands; who displacing all whom they pleas'd to call Evil Counsellors, left none about him that were able, or perhaps willing to give him advice, and grew so insolent at last, as to banish (amongst other Strangers) some of his nearest Relations. Out of these (as it happens upon all Changes, where the People are to be amus'd with Novelty) there was chosen afterwards a Triumvirate, to be Super-intendent over the Twelve. These were the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Gloucester, and the Lord Spencer, to whom the three great Ministers of State, the Chancellor, the High-Treasurer, and the Chief Justiciar were appointed humble assistants. And because 'twas believ'd that the Liberty of the People depended on the maintenance of their Authority, the King himself was compell'd by Oath (as he was a Man, a Christian, a Knight, a King Crown'd and anointed) to uphold them, and acquit them of their Legal Obedience, whenever he went about to infringe the great Charter by which they held this Prerogative.

Here they had him bound up hand and foot, with that Curse upon him which his Father of all others most dreaded, and with which his Flatterers most terrified him whenever the Dispute of Liberty came in question, of being a King without a Kingdom, a Lord without a Dominion, a Subject to his Subjects (for they had invaded his Majesty, usurp'd his Authority, and made themselves so far Masters of his Person, that they might feize it, whenever they pleas'd to declare for a Common-wealth.) And now to make the Affront more notable, as if they had forgotten what was the Fundamental Grievance, on which their Usurpation was grounded (the Entertainment of Strangers) they take a Stranger to head them, making Monford (who was a Frenchman by Birth and Descent) their Chief, who having designs of his own different from theirs (as the Earl of Gloucester his Compeer found when 'twas too late) he would so to widen all Differences betwixt King and People, that if possible there might never be a right Understanding betwixt them.

The King therefore well knowing his Malice, and not being ignorant of his Ambition, fell first upon him, causing the Lord Mortimer to break in amongst his Tenants, who quickly righted himself upon those of Mortimer's, with whom the Prince thereupon took part, as Llewlin Prince of Wales with 'other. The Prince takes Brecknock-Castle; Monford that of Gloucester, and after that, those of Worcester and Shrewsbury; from whence he marched directly to the Isle of Ely without Refinance. The King fearing his approach to London (like those, who to save their Lives in a Storm, are content to fling their Goods overboard) demanded a Peace, and willingly yielded up all his Castles into the hands of the Barons, to the intent they might be as a publick Security for the inviolable Observation of the Provisions of Oxford, conceding to the banishment of all the Strangers that were left: This Condescension of his however occasion'd rather a Truce then a Peace, of which he had this benefit, to gain time till he could be better provided. A Parliament being hereupon call'd at London, the freedom of Debate there renew'd the Quarrel, and each side confident of the Justice of their Arms, at Northampton they came to Battel, which however it was well fought, yet the worst Cause had the worst Success. The Barons were beaten, and amongst other Prisoners of note that were then taken was the young Monford, the Heir and Hope of his Father Leicester; and Fortune thus uniting with Authority, made the Barons floop, though they
they could not submit, to beg the Peace they had before refus'd, wherein
being rejected with scorn, they became desperate, who were before but
doubtful: which Leicester perceiving, and being a man skilful in such ad-
vantages, took that opportunity to bring them to a second Battel, in which
he supply'd his want of Hands with a Stratagem that he would have no want
of Wit, placing certain Ensigns without Men on the side of a Hill, not far
from the place where he gave the onset; whereby he so fortunately amaz'd
the Enemy, that he easily obtain'd a Victory, and such an one as seem'd to
turn the Scale beyond all possibility of Recovery: For in it were taken the
King himself, his Brother the late King of the Romans, the Prince, and
most of the principal Lords, and by killing Five thousand of the com-
mon People on the place, he so terrified all the rest of the Royal Party;
that for a year and an half afterwards no body durst look him in the Face;
all which time he spent in reducing the Kingdom under his own dispose,
putting in and out whom he pleas'd, and filling up all places Military and
Civil with Creatures of his own, carrying the King about with him (as
a skilful Rebel) to countenance the Surrender of Towns and Castles to
him; continuing thus the infinence of his Triumph, till it swell'd to that
disproportionate Greatnes, that his Confederate Gloucester began to be
jealous, if not afraid of it; and out of that Dist rift quarter'd with him,
upon pretence of not having made equal distribution of the Spoil nor Pris-
oners, charging him to have releas'd whom he pleas'd, and at what rate,
without the consent of the rest of the Confederacy; urging further, that
he did not suffer a Parliament to be conven'd, as was agreed between them,
to the end such might be Arbitary: Lastly, objected that his Sons
were grown In solent by his Example, and had affronted several of the ad-
hering Barons, who would have satisfaction of him.

During this Dispute, the Prince (by connivance of some of the discon-
tented Faction) broke Prison, to whom Gloucester joyn'd himself; and
rallying together the scatter'd Parties that had long attended the ad-
vantage of such a turn, they made themselves so considerable, that in short time
they were able to bring the business to a poise. Leicester put it to the De-
cision of another Battel, but not without apparent dispondency, as ap-
pears by what he said, when they were going to give the first Charge, for
he told those Lords that were nearest him, That they would do well to com-
mits their Souls to God, for that their Bodies were the Enemies. However
he omitted nothing that might speak him (as he was) a brave and valiant
General, till his Son first, and after himself were slain; at the instant of
who knew that there happen'd such a Clap of Thunder, as if Heaven itself
had fought against him, and that none could have given him his death, but
that power to which he owed his life. And to the King was rid of him,
whom he once declar'd to have been more afraid of than of Lightning and
Thunder: a Person too great for a Subject, and something too little to be
a King. But had he (as he was defended from the stock of * Kings )
matter'd the Fate of this day, he had undoubtedly made himself one, and
broke off the Norman Line to begin a new Race not less noble.

This happy Victory gave the King some ease, but 'twas not in the pow-
er of any Force to give him perfect rest, whilst the distemperature of the
Time was such, that the Wound which seem'd perfectly heal'd, broke
out afresh. Gloucester himself, though he had deserted his old Competi-
tor Leicester, would not yet quit the good old Cause, but embracing the
very first Occasion of Discontent he met with, retired three years after
from Court, and having got new Forces, finds out new Evil Counsellors
* His Father was Simon, youngest Son of Simon Earl of Essex, descenced
from *merick bafe Son of Robert Gir-
* and the Bri-
t, King of
*

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to remove. Mortimer, the great Man of merit with the King, is now become the Object of his Envy, and rather then not have his Head, he resolves once more to venture his own. In the mean time those of the Isle of Ely, the remainder of Leicester's Party, that had held out from the time of his death, with incredible courage and patience, taking new life and hope from this Revolt, make many extirpations and spoils, to the great charge and vexation of the King and the Publick. Neither could the Pope's Legate prevail with him to come in, though upon terms safe and honourable, tendering the Publick Faith of the Kingdom, and which was then thought greater, that of the Church to them: So much were they transported with the Opinion of their Cause, or by the falsehood of their hopes, till this stubbornness of theirs provok'd the King to raise a new Army, the Command whereof was given to his Son Edward, that prosperous Prince, whose Fortune then being not able to resist, he had the honour to conclude that War, and consequently to put a Period to all his Fathers tumults, who being shaken at the Root, did not long survive the happiness of that tranquillity; the end of whose Troubles were the beginning of his own, ingaging upon the conclusion of that, in a War so much more dangerous, by how much more distant, the benefit whereof was to be expected only in the other World: this was that Undertaking in the Holy Land, which separating him from his Father, beyond all hope of ever seeing him again, gave some occasion to question the old King's Understanding, others his good Nature. But as the great concerns of Religion are as much above Reason, as that is beyond Sense, so we must impose that to the resolute Zeal of the Son, which we cannot allow for Devotion in the Father; who, had he had any thoughts of going into the other World (as his great Age might have prompted him to) would rather have taken care for a Grave for himself, then for so hopeful a Successor, who only by seeking Death escap'd it.
HOW much this Prince EDW. I. Edward (the first in order of that name, and excelling all of them, as much as they did all the rest of any other name) being ripened by years and experience for Government beyond any of his predecessors got the start in point of honour and estimation of all his Successors, may appear by the choice made of him after his Father was dead, before it was certainly known whether himself was alive (being if not out of the World) yet buried as it were in the remotest parts of it, under a design so fatal to all the Princes that were engaged in it, that few of them ever return’d but such as quit their Glory before they got half way, at its his absence (for five years) being continued so long beyond what was thought safe that had not his claim been rivetted by a double Title (that is to say of vertue as well as of blood) the irregularities of his Father (so fresh in every ones mind) might have been a sufficient Bar betwixt him and any that would have usurp’d the Throne with but indifferent Merit. But he had this happiness beyond all expectation, to wear out during that space of time, the greatest part of those who had oppos’d his Father, Heaven having fought for him, whilst he was fighting for it, rewarding his unparallel’d resolution in taking up the Crofs, when he was so near the possession of a Crown (his Father having then one foot in the Grave, as we may say, when he left him) with that rare blessing of disposing the unsettled minds of his people to a firmer obedience, then probably he had found, if he had continued at home, to have given them the opportunity of capitulating with him: for it was not long after he return’d, before that some heat appear’d to remain in those embers, that had so long been rak’d up; and though the fire burst not out, yet there were not wanting some Botefanes both of the Spiritual and temporal Nobility, who blew the coal of dissention, and took all occasion to renew those disputes, which were previous to another Civil War. Now whether it were that they had been so rung, that they could not endure the Saddle, or were grown so wretsy, that they would not endure the Spur, I know not: But so it was that they were ever mutinous, and maintain’d their pretend-ed liberties with so much pertinacy, not to say perversities (the one refusing to serve them with their Perfons, the other with their Puries) that had he not been as wise as he was Valiant, and no lefs patient then Prudent, taking them off, whilst he was in the exaltation of his Opinion and Repute, he might have met with the same measure that his unfortunate son did, who (all things considered) may perhaps be said to have bled for his Fathers fine, rather then for his own.
Now whether the ingratitude of the Clergy, or the Ambition of the temporal Lords were a greater tryal of his wisdom or Power, I know not: but the course he took to reduce either to terms of modesty and submission shows the world he had no want of understanding, however he was forc'd to put up the front of his Lay-peers in order to the facilitating his Revenge upon the other, whom he mortified by a strain of State which none of his Ancestors durst venture upon: Whilft he not only put them out of his Protection, but all men out of theirs; denying them not only his favour, but his Justice, not only the benefit of his ordinary Courts, but the priviledge of sitting in that higher Court of Parliament. A severity (not to give any worse name to it) of so acrimonious a nature, that it not only expos'd them to all the injuries and affronts, triumphant malice and scorn could put upon them, but was made more intollerable and grievous by his docking their Revenues, as after he did by severall Statute Laws amongst which I cannot but take notice (though by the By) of the particular contempt express'd in that old Statute against ravishment, where it is declared a Felony to use force to any Lay-Woman, and only a trespass to ravish a Nun. Neither was it thought enough to make what abscission he thought fit, without their greatnes were rendered incapable of any further growth: to which intent he cautery'd (if I may so say) the wounds he had given them by that Statute of Mort-mains; which as it was the most fatal of all others to them, so it might have prov'd so to himself, had he not at the same time this disoblige d them, obliged the Laity by another suppos'd to be the wisest Law that ever was made, to wit that of Westminster the second, entitled De Donis Conditionibus, which tending so much to the preservation of particular Families, and adding to their greatnes no less then their continuance, is by some Historians call'd Gentilitium Municipal; and had this good effect, that it brought the temporal Nobility firmly to adhere to him against the Pope, when amongst many others, that intituled themselves to the Soveraignty of Scotland (a Kingdom too near to be lost for want of putting a claim) his Holiness became his Rival, and thought to carry it as part of St. Peter's Patronomy.

This Victory at home (which brought the proud Prelates to purchase his Justice at a dearer rate, then probably they might have paid for his mercy, had their submissioun been as early as it was afterwards earnest) I take to be much greater than all those he had got abroad, for fortune had no share in it; and fame was the least part of his gains, extending to give him not long after, as great an advantage over the Lay Nobility; whom having first discomposed of their Patronage wholly, and of their other priviledges in a very great part, he did as it were cudgel them into Submission, by the authority of his Trail Boston; a commission,which however it were directed to the Majors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Escheators, &c. and so seem'd to have been aim'd at those of the lower rank only, which were guilty of those Enormities of Champerty, Exertion, Bribery, and intursion (crimes much in fashion in those days) yet by a back blow it knockt down several of the great Men, who either countenanc'd or comply'd with the offenders; and which was more terrible, this writ was kept as a Weapon in the Kings hands, to use as he saw occasion. And to say truth, he was so expert at it, and indeed at all other points of skill, that brought him in any profit, that he was too hard at last for the Lawyers themselves, those great masters of defence, canvassing his Judges, as well as his Bishops, when he found both alike rich, both alike corrupt. Beyond these he could not descend to the consideration of any Criminal, save the Jews only,
only, for whom perhaps it had been no great Injustice to have taken their Estates, if at least he could have been prevai'd with to have spair'd their Lives: but as so great Courage as he had, would not be without some mixture of Cruelty, so 'tis the less wonder to see, that Cruelty heighted by Covetousness, as that Avarice by Ambition; the adding to his Treasure by these Exactions being in order to the adding to his Dominions, which were not yet so entire as consistent with his safety, much less had the Glory he aim'd at: Wales being then as a Canton of the same Piece, divided by a small seam, which yet had a Prince of their own blood, descend'd from the antient Stock of the unconquer'd Britains, which if it seem'd had so little sense of the inequality of Power betwixt them, that he had given this King great provocations, as often as any advantage was offer'd to him, during the Barons War, playing fast and loose sometimes as an Enemy, other-while as a Friend, as it made for his turn; and having it always in his Power by being in Conjunction with Scotland (without which he had been inconsiderable): to disturb the Peace of England at his pleasure, never neglect'd any occasion, where he might gain Repute to himself, or booty for his People. Upon him therefore he fastened the first Domestick War he had, enter'd his Country like Jove in a storm, with Lightning and Thunder: the Terror whereof was so resistless, that that poor Prince was forc'd to accept whatsoever terms he would put upon him, to obtain a temporary Peace, without any other hope or comfort, then what he deriv'd from the mental reservation he had of breaking it again as soon as he return'd; whereunto he was not long after tempt'd by the delusion of a mistaken Prophecy of that false Prophet Merlin, who having foretold that he should be crown'd with the Diadem of Brute, fatally heighted his Ambition to the utter destruction both of himself and Country; with whom, his innocent Brother, the laft of that Race, partaking in Life and Death, concluded the Glory of the ancient Britifh Empire, which by a kind of Miracle had held out so many hundred years without the help of Shipping, Alliance, or Confederation with any Foreign Princes, by the side of so many potent Kings their next Neighbours, who from the time of the first entrance of the English, suffer'd them not to enjoy any quiet, though they vouchfack them sometimes Peace.

Wales being thus totally reduced by the irrecoverable fall of Llewellen and David, the laft of their Princes; both were ever able to make resistance, and those ignorant People made thereby happier then they with'd themselves to be, by being partakers of the fame Law and Liberty with those that conquer'd them: he settled that Title on his eldest Son, and so passe'd over into France to spend as many years abroad in Peace as he had done before in War; in which time he renew'd his League with that Crown, accommodated the Differences betwixt the Crowns of Sicily and Aragon, and they'd himself so excellent an Arbitrator, that when the right of the Crown of Scotland, upon his return home, came to be disput'd with Six, some say Ten Competitors, after the death of Alexander the Third, the Umpirage was given to him: who order'd the matter so wisely, that he kept off the final Decision of the main Question, as many years as there were Rivals put in for it, deferring Judgment till all, but two only, were disput'd out of their Pretensions. These were Baliol and Bruce; the first descend'd from the elder Daughter of the right Heir, the laft from the Son of the younger, who having as 'twas thought the weaker Title, but the most Friends, King Edward privately offer'd him the Crown; the greatness of his Mind (which
(which bespoke him to be a King before he was one) suffer'd him not to accept the terms; whereupon King Edward makes the same Proposition to Baliol, who better content it seems with the outside of Majesty, accepted the Condition. But see the Curse of ill-got Glory: shewing himself satisfied with so little, he was thought unworthy of any, being so abhor'd of his People for it, that upon the first occasion they had to quarrel with his Justice (as who should say, they would wound him with his own Weapon) they appeal'd to King Edward, who thereupon summoned him to appear in England, and was so rigid to him upon his appearance, he would permit none else to plead his Cause, but compell'd him in open Parliament to answer for himself as well as he could. This being an Indignity so much beneath the sufferance of any private Person, much more a King, sunk so deep into his Breast, that meditating nothing after but Revenge, as soon as he return'd home (securing himself first by a League and Alliance with the King of France, to whose Brothers Daughter he married his Son) he renounced his Allegiance, and defied King Edward's Power, no less then he did his Justice. This begat a War betwixt the two Nations, that continued much longer than themselves, being held up by alternate Successes near three hundred years; a longer dated difference perhaps than is to be found in any other Story of the World, that Rancor which the Sword bred increasing continually by the desire of Revenge, till the one side was almost wholly wasted, the other wholly wearied. Baliol, the same time King Edward required him to do Homage for Scotland here, prevailed with the French King to require the like from him for his Territories there: this began the Quarrel, that the Division, by which King Edward, which may seem strange, parting his Greatness, made it appear much greater, whilst himself advance'd against Baliol, and sent his Brother the Earl of Lancaster to answer the King of France. Baliol finding himself overmatch'd, as well as over-reach'd, renew'd his Homage, in hopes to preserve his Honour. But King Edward resolving to bind him with stronger Fetters than Oaths, sent him Prisoner into England: whereby those of that Country wanting not only a Head, but a Heart, to make any further resistance, he turn'd his Fury upon the King of France, hastening over what Forces he could to continue that War, till himself could follow after. But Fortune being privyengaged on the other side, dispos'd that whole Affair to so many mistakes, that nothing answered Expectation; and which was worse, the Fame of his Male-Adventures spirited a private person (worthy a greater Name then he had) to rise in Scotland, who rallying together as many as durst by scorning Misery adventure upon it, defied all the Forces of England; fortunately, that he was once very near the redeeming his despairing Country-men; and had he had less Virtue, might possibly have had more Success: For scorning to take the Crown when he had won it (a Modesty not less fatal to the whole Nation then himself) by leaving room for Ambition he made way for King Edward to Re-enter the second time, who by one single Battel (but fought with redoubled Courage) made himself one more Lord of that miserable Kingdom; all the principal Opposers (Wallis and Exempted) crowding in upon Summons, to swear Fealty the third time to him. This had been an easie Penance, had they not, together with their Faith, resigned up their Laws and Liberties, and that so fervently, that King Edward himself judging them unworthy to be continued any longer a Nation, was perfwaded to take from them all the Records and Monuments, whereby their Ancestors had recommended any of Glory to their Imitation. Amongst other of the Regalia's then lost, was that famous Marble
Marble Stone (now lodg'd in Westminster-Abb) wherein their Kings were crown'd, in which (as the Vulgar were perfwaded) the Fate of their Country lay, for that there was an ancient Prophefie Ingraven on it, which denoted that wherever that Stone shou'd be placed, there shou'd the Scotch Dominion take place; a Prediction verified in our days in the Person of King James the Sixth, the first of their Kings ever crowned here. With this he took away likewise all their Books and Bookmen, as if resolved to rob them of all lence of Liberty as well as of Liberty it self: only the brave Wallace continued yet Lord of himself, and being free, kept up their Spirits by the Elixir of his Personal Courage, mixt with an Invincible Constancy and Patience, till being betray'd by one of his Companions (a Villain fit to be canoniz'd in Hell) he was forc'd to yield (though he would never submit) first to the King, after to the Laws of England, which judging him to dye as a Traytor, eterniz'd the Memory of his Fidelity and Fortitudo, and made him (what he could never have made himself) the most glorious Martyr that Country ever had. No sooner was he dead but Robert Bruce, Son to that Robert Earl of Carrie, who was Competitor with Baliol, appeared as a new Vindictor, who escaping out of the English Court (where he had long liv'd unsuspected) headed the confused Body, which wanted only a King to unite them in Counsel, Power, and Affection; but unfortunately laying the Foundation of his Security in Blood, murthering his Co-Sin Cumin, who had been one of the Competitors, upon pretense he held correspondence with King Edvard (the horror of which fact was aggavated by the manner and place, for he took him whilst he was at his Prayers in the Church) it cost him no less blood to wipe off that single stain then to defend his Title; the Partakers with the Family of Cumin, who were many, mighty and eager of Revenge, joyning thereupon with the English against him.

This drew King Edvard the fourth time personally into Scotland, who had he suffered his Revenge to have given place so far to his Justice, as to have pursu'd Bruce as an Offender, rather than as an Enemy, he might possibly have done more in doing less then he did, but he not only sacrific'd the two innocent Brothers of Bruce, making them, after they became his Prisoners, answer with their lives the penalty of their Brother's Guilt, but declar'd he would give no Quarter to any of his Party, whereby he not only drove them closer together, but arm'd them with Desperation; which as it hath a keener edge then hope, so it wounded so deep, and injur'd them to that degree of Courage, as not only to give the greatest Overthrow to the greatest Army that ever the English brought thither, but to repay the measure of Blood in as full manner as it was given, or intended, and in the end broke the great Chain of his well laid Design, which was to have in larg'd his Power, by reducing the whole Isle (Wales being taken in a little before) under one Scepter, with no less respect to the quiet then the greatness of England: but managed all his Power or Policy they let in a Race of Kings there, that found a way to conquer his Successors here without a Stroke, of which he seems to have had some Prophetick knowledge upon his Death-bed, when he took so much care to make his Revenge out upon himself, by commanding his Son Edvard to carry his Bones round about that Country (having just begun his fifth Expedition as he ended his life) and not suffer them to be buried till he had vanquish'd it wholly.

Thus this great King, who spent most of his time in shedding others Blood, was taken off by the excessive shedding of his own (for he dyed of a Diffentercy) and, like Caesar (who terrify'd his Enemies with his Ghost) seem'd not willing to make an end with the World after he had done with
it; but (which never came into any King's thoughts before or since) resolve'd to reign after his Dominion was determined, being confident that his very Name (like a Loadstone which attracts Iron to it) would draw all the English Swords to follow its fate, till they had made good that Union, which he with so much harshness and horror had accelerated: but as Providence, which more respects the unity of Affections, then the Unity of Nations, did by the Place where he dyed, shew the frailty of that Foundation he laid whilst he liv'd (all his Glory expiring with himself) to Nature (as in abhorrence to the violation of her Laws, by the effusion of so much blood as he had shed, the most that any Christian King of this Isle ever did) turn'd the Blessing he gave him into a Curse, whilst she took from him before his Eyes, three of his four Sons, and the only worthy to have surviv'd him, and left him only to survive, who only was worthy never to have been born.

* Burrough on the Sands in the Bishoprick of Durham.

GREAT were the hopes conceiv'd of this Prince, not only from the good Omen of his Fathers Name and Courage, by both which he was intituled to his Reputation, but from the advantage of his Experience and Years, now aged twenty three, having seen many Parliaments, and some Battles, and by several great Actions both in Peace and War, sufficiently instruct'd to make good whatever the Virtue or Ambition of his Ancestors had entail'd upon him: but great Heights make weak Heads giddy, and unable to look downward, so fell it out in this crasse King's Story, whose Reputation lessen'd as he rose: notwithstanding (which is strange to tell) the greatest Crime ever objected against him, was that which one would have thought might have past for the greatest Virtue, his excess of kindness to those he thought worthy to be his Friends; a real effect of good Nature, and perhaps all circumstances considered, not otherwise ill, then as is meet with ill-natur'd Interpreters: now whether it were that Opinion which had mounted above his Greatness, as it rose before it, broke like a Bubble when it came to its height, leaving him so much more a Bankrupt in his Credit with the People, by how much the estimation of his worth and parts had in his younger years soar'd above the usual pitch of Expectation; or what else may be the Cause, is not certain: but so it was, that like the Emperor Galba (of whom 'tis said that he was Omnium Consensu Capax Imperii nisi imperaverat) he lost himself so much, that many who had allow'd him to be a brave Man before he was a King, being so, would not allow him worthy to be a Prince.

And
And possibly it might be a Judgment from Heaven upon him, to be put beside the Reverence due to him as the Father of his Country, for the disrespect he shewed to him that was his own Father, whose last Commands he broke in the first place, beginning his Government with a double dyed Sacrilege, whiles he rob'd him not only of the honour he had reserved to himself, but of the Treasure which he had dedicated to God; for as he neither carried his Bones through the Country of his Christian Enemies, nor his Heart through that of his Pagan, both which were his dying desires, so neither did he disposte the Money appointed for pious uses as he was directed, but bestowed it upon the very same Person, who for debauching him was by the same Will condemned to perpetual Banishment; a fatal Boon both to the Giver and Taker: to him, as being the Occasion of such an Affront to himself, as was never put upon any King before, all the Nobility refusing to attend the Solemnity of his Coronation, till he had promised to make good the Will: to the other much more, in that it eat through the Bowels of his Fortune, and stopp'd not till it came to his Heart.

And now whether it was his Fault or his Fate, to dote thus upon Gaudium, who being only a Minister to his Wantonness, could not have gain'd that Power he had over him to make himself so great by lessening him, without something like an Infatuation, the matter of fact must declare. For before his Coronation he made him Earl of Cornwall, and Lord of Man, both Honours belonging to the Crown: at his Coronation (notwithstanding the Exceptions taken against him by all the Nobility) he gave him the honour to carry King Edward's Crown before him, which of right belonged to a Prince of the Blood to have done: and after the Coronation, he married him up to his own Niece, the Daughter of his second Sister, Joan de Ares, by Gilbert Clare Earl of Gloucester: having indeed rais'd him to this pitch of Greatness, as tempted him to raise himself higher, being not content with the Power, without he might also share in the Glory of Sovereignty, most vainly affecting the Title of King; and if he were not King of Man (as he desired) he was at least King in Man, ruling both there and in Ireland like an absolute Prince, not without hopes of a fair possibility of being (if the King's Issue had fail'd) King of England after him; which Hope made him Infidel, and that Infidel Insupportable, so that the Lords finding it bootless to expect Justice from the King against him, resolve'd to do themselves right, and without more ado let fly a whole volley of Accusations at him. This first forced him to part from the King, and being separated, they found it easy to make him part from himself; for it was not long before he fell into their hands, being taken Prisoner by the Earl of Pembroke, who chop'd off his Head: a death however esteem'd to be the most honourable of any other, was to him questionless the most grievous, in that it made him stoop, who never could endure to submit.

This violent proceeding of the Lords, as it shew'd a roughness of the Times suitable to that of their own Natures, so it was the first occasion of the second Civil War of England, which broke out like a Fire, that being long another'd, was all in a Flame as soon as it was perceiv'd; and however Fate for some time seem'd to make a Pause, whether she should begin the Tragedy which she could not end, turning the Storm another way, by several Invasions from Scotland; which held long enough to have diverted the virulent humour, and let out blood enough to have cool'd all their heat, allaying it so far, that easy Intercessions prevail'd to keep them a-
funder for some years; yet nothing could stop the Course of Nature, but that the monstrous Issue, when it was come to its birth, forc'd its way: the Discontents that had been so long ripening (even from the time of this King's Great-grand-father) breaking out like a Boyl, charg'd with Aquatif and Corruption, which was no sooner emptied by the death of one, but it was fille'd with Rancor and Envy, by the Entertainment of New Favourites. As Gaweston before, so the two Spencers afterward, the Farther and the Son, took upon them to Monopolize his Grace, and were thereupon generally charg'd with the odious design of bringing in an Arbitrary Government, with imbezeling the Treasure of the Nation, and doing severall ill Offices betwixt the King and Queen, maintaining their own by apparent wrong to the Estates of other Lords, particularly of the Earls of Hereford and Mortimer: out of whose hands it seems they had bought some Lands, which lying convenient to their Estates, was in the first place offer'd to them. These, though they were such Objections as relating but to particular Persons, perhaps not without particular Reasons, might be excus'd, if not justified; yet being heaped up together, made a general grievance, and the Earl of Lancaster the Bell-weather of Rebellion at that time, thought it worthy the Barons taking up of Arms to punish them. The King answer'd for them, and undertook they should come and answer for themselves; the Father, he said, was imployed by him beyond the Seas, and the Son was guarding the Cinque Ports according to his Duty, and therefore he thought it was against Law and Custome to condemn them unheard. But nothing would satisfy their Accusers without a Declaration of Banishment, and though the President was such as might as well affect themselves as their Posterity, yet Hatred being no less blind then Love, they prefer'd their present Revenge before the Fears of a future inconvenience.

All differences being thus compos'd, I cannot say calm'd, an accidental affront given to the Queen by one that was over-wise in his Office, put all again out of order beyond recovery. A Castelan of the Lord Badlismers at Leeds (denying her Majesty Lodging there as she was passing by in her Progress, out of a Distrust she might possess herself of the Cattle, and keep it for the King) the exasperated the King to that degree, that he besieged the place, took it, and in it the politic Governour, whom without legal Process he hang'd up presently, and seizing all the Goods and Treasure of his Lord, sent his Wife and Children to the Tower. This was taken for so great a violation of the Liberty of the Subject, that being done by the King himself, nothing could determine the Right, but the Sword; and accordingly they met the second time in Arms, where Fortune was pleas'd to confirm the Sentence given by the King, by giving up into his hands many more considerable Lives, than that for which they were hazarded; amongst the rest was that of the Earl of Lancaster himself (the first Prince of the Blood that ever was brought to the Block here in England) and with him fourteen of the Principal Barons, none of which were spare'd, but forc'd to give up their Lives and Estates as a Reward to the Victors. And not long after the Spencers were recall'd and re-stated, who finding the publick Treasure wholly exhausted, and a chargeable War yet continued with Scotland, thought it but necessary to make such Retrenchments as might enable his Majesty to carry on that great Work, wherein he had been so unlucky, without oppressing the People. Amongst the rest, they presum'd unfortunately to abridge the Queen, lessening hers, as they had done the Kings Houffhold-Train, by which Improvident Providence they
so irritated her (being a Woman of a proud vindictive Spirit) that she privately complain'd thereof to the King of France her Brother, who took that occasion to quarrel with the King about his Homage for Gascoignes, and upon his Refusal, pooffed himself of several Pieces there; and notwithstanding all that Edmund Earl of Kent could do, whom his Brother the King sent over with sufficient Strength, as was thought, to repel him by force, continued his Depredations there; this bringing a Necessity that either the King must go over himself, or the Queen; the first to compel, or the other (being his beloved Sister) to mediate with him for a Truce, each equally inconvenient to the Spencers, who thought not fit that the King should go in respect of the general, and were as loath the Queen should, in respect of her particular discontent. They chose the least of the Evils, as they judged, and sent over her, who having a great Stomach, and but a small Train, meditated more upon her own, than her Husband's Vindication, and accordingly put an end to the difference betwixt her Brother and him, but on such terms, as afterward made a wider difference betwixt him and herself. The Conditions were these; that King Edward should give to the Prince his Son the Dutchy of Aquitain and Earldom of Pembus, and send him over to do the King of France Homage for the same, which was to excuse that Homage before demanded from himself; and thus she pretended to have found out an expedient to save the honour of both Kings, in allowing each his end: But having by this fine she got her Son into her own power, she gave her self so wholly up to her Revenge, that she suffered her self to be led by a hand she saw not, through the dark Paths of dangerous Intreagues, managed by them, who having other ends than hers, did work beyond, though under her Authority. Principal in her Council, as being so in her Affections, was young Mortimer, a Servant fit for such a Mistress, and such a Master, as this Queen and her Husband; who having escaped out of the Tower where he had been long a Prisoner (and as he thought very injuriously, in respect he render'd himself to Mercy before the great Battle with the Barons, and by his Submission contributed much to the Kings gaining that Victory) contriv'd with her how to set up the Prince, and with him himself; and because the Earl of Kent was upon the place, they made it their first business to work off him to the Party.

Here began that fatal breach from whence the World concluded that this unhappy King having lost one half of himself, could not long hold out before he loft the whole, it not being reasonable to expect that his Subjects should be truer to him then his Wife, especially since the right Heir took the wrong side. Upon the first apprehension he recall'd them home, but upon second thoughts he forbids their Return: at first he seem'd impatient of their absence, as the only Friends he could confide in; but on a sudden he dreads their approach as the most Mortal Enemies he had, forbids their landing by Proclamation, and sets out no less than three Admirals to prevent it: they in like manner, whilst he press for their Company, delay'd their Recce; but when they found themselves baffled, grew a impatient of being kept out. The King of France not owning so vile a design, so as to give any ready assistance to it, they withdrew into Holland, whose Earl being a rich and politic Prince, upon the contradicting Prince Edward to his Daughter he furnished them with Money and Shipping to transport them.

Landing at Harwich, they were so welcome'd by the discontented Nobility, that the poor King foreseeing the ensuing danger, and not finding that
that Faith in the Londoners which he expected, withdrew into the West, in order to passing over into Ireland; but meeting with a Storm at Sea that threatened as eminent danger as that by Land, he was forced to comply with the contrary Winds, and directed his Course towards Wales, where destitute of Council as well as Courage, he lay obscurely, till his Majesty extinguisht like a Torch held downwards.

His Son (though he was as yet under Wardship himself) was made Guardian of the Kingdom, a Title so much greater then that of King, by how much he had the Superiority over both: readily was he prevail'd with to take away the lives of the two fatal Favourites, the Spencers; so that 'twas thought he would not be over-modest in taking the Crown after: it being so ease to Temptation to consent to depose him, who had already upon the matter depos'd himself. However, Nature prevail'd so much over Ambition, contrary to all their Expectations, or Grace rather over Nature, that he refused to accept it, till his Father might be prevail'd with to give it him as a Blessing; who thereupon resign'd it, but with such a moving Meekness, as for the present time melted the very Queen herself, and seemingly touch'd her with so much Regret at the Renunciation, that the Bishop of Hereford (the great Engineer of this prosperous Treason) doubting her Constancy in point of Malice, to be as uncertain as her Faith in point of Affection; or perhaps rather dreading the young King's Piety, back'd with the old King's power, hasten'd his Death by all means possible: but finding himself for some time disappointed by the force of Providence, or the strength of his Nature, which neither ill Air, ill Diet, nor want of Rest could impair, he put him into the hands of two Miscreants, fit to be implo'd in to black a Purpose; to whom he inclos'd in a Letter one only Line, which was so twist up, as might serve to strangle any Prince whatever, comprehending a double sense to warrant them, and excuse himself if need were: the words were these,

Edv*rdum regem occidere molite timere bonum est.

This being not pointed, the Devil who invented it, instructed them in the true meaning of the damnable Oracle, which accordingly they put in execution with so much cruelty and horror, that never King died as this poor Planet-struck Prince did, having a Pipe thrust up into his Fundament (to the intent that the Marks of their Violence might not be perceiv'd outwardly) and through that, with a red hot Iron they penetrated his Bowels to his Heart: yet was not this Death possibly more miserable or grievous to him then his Life, after he became forsaken of all his Subjects, Friends, and Allies in general, and particularly of his own Wife, Son, and Brother, not to say of himself too (if so be we do not reckon them a part of himself) considering with what strange abjection he resign'd first his Crown, after his Life: For to say truth, never was King turn'd out of a Kingdom, or out of the World, as he was. Many Kingdoms have been lost by the chance of War, but this Kingdom (as one observes) was lost before any Dy was cast for it: no blow struck, no Battel fought, lost before it was taken from him; whilst by betraying himself first, he taught others to do it after: strange Riddle of State, that a Crown should be gain'd forcibly, yet without force; violently, yet with consent; both Parties agreed, yet neither pleas'd; for he was not willing to leave his Kingdom, and he that was to have it as unwilling to take it without he gave it him; the Queen was not pleas'd he should part with it without he parted with his Life too, judging
judging that by having a part he might recover the whole; or that her self
having parted with the whole, could not intitle her self to any part, but by
his Death, and therefore having taken the Kingdom from him openly, there
was a kind of necessity of taking away his Life secretly.

Poor Prince, how unkindly was he treated upon no other account but
that of his own over-great kindness. Other Princes are blam'd for not be
ing ru'd by their Counsellors, he for being so: who whilst he liv'd they
would have thought to be a Sot, but being dead, they could have found in
their hearts to have made him a Saint. How far he wrong'd his People doth
not appear, there being very few or no Taxations laid upon them all his
time: but how rude and unjust they were towards him, is but too manifest.
But their Violence was severely repaid by Divine Vengeance, not only up
on the whole Kingdom, when every Vein in the Body Politick was after
ward opened to the endangering the letting out of the Life-blood of the
Monarchy in the Age following; but upon every particular Person con
senting to, or concern'd in his Death. For as the Throne of his Son that
was thus set in blood (though without his own guilt) continued to be im
br'd all his Reign, which lasted above fifty years, with frequent Execu
tions, Battrels, or Slaughters; the Sword of Justice, or his own, being hardly
ever fath'rd all his time: So 'tis said that the Queen her self dy'd mad
upon the apprehension of her own in Mortimer's disgrace, who was exe
cuted at Tyburn, and hung there two dayes to be a spectacle of Scorn. His
Brother Edmund had this punishment of his Disloyalty to be condemn'd to
lose his Head for his Loyalty, it being suggested (and happy it had been
for him if it had been prov'd) that he endeavoured the Restorati of his
Brother; his death being imbitter'd by the mockery of Fortune, whilst by
keeping him upon the Scaffold five hours together before any Body could
be found that would execute him, he was deluded with a vain hope of be
ing fav'd. The Fiend Tarlton, Bishop of Hereford, who invented the cur
sed Oracle that justified the murtherer, dy'd with the very same Torture as if
the hot Iron that fear'd his Conscience had been thrust into his Bowels. Of
the two Murtherers one was taken and butcher'd at Sea, t'other dy'd in Ex
ile perhaps more miserable: And for the Nobility in general that were A
ctors in the Tragedy, they had this Curse upon them, that most of their
Race were cut off by those Civil Discords of their divided Families, to
which this strange violation gave the first beginning not long after.
The minority of this Prince (being but fourteen years old when he was crown'd) however it may palliate, cannot so take off the scandal of not preventing his death who gave him life, but that there remains a greater blemish upon his Memory, than in Charity we can think there was in his Conscience, and such as could not be purg'd away by any thing he did after he came to be himself: For however he was at the time of committing that horrid fact (the most unnatural we find in any Story, and not less odious for the Circumstance, than the boldness of the Cruelty) under the Government of his Mother, as she under that of her Minion Mortimer; yet being Master of so much reason as to pause as he did, upon the first motion, it cannot be presum'd but he was Master of so much power, as to have prevented the hast of the Execution, especially since it was a violation of the Law of Nature, that besides other mischiefs that attended it, taught the People by the ill Example what to do to himself, in case he outliv'd (as after he did) their Affections, or his own discretion. The best construction can be made of his Piety, rises from the early Revenge he took upon Mortimer, which truly lookt more like a piece of Revenge then Justice; but being perform'd with the hazard of his own Person in apprehending him, it shews he either was really Innocent, or abhor'd that the World should think otherwise: and he so far reconcil'd himself thereby to the Opinion of the Vulgar, that he seldom wanted Friends during his long Reign, as never an Occasion to make use of them.

He was a Prince of that admirable composure of Body and Mind, that Fortune seem'd to have fallen in Love with him; and as she contributed much to the making him a King, and yet more to the preserving him so, so she elevated him so far above the reach of Envy or Treachery, that all the Neighbour Princes, dazzled with the splendor of his Glory, gave place to him, not so much out of any feafe of their own defects, as of his power, whereof they could not but have some glimpe as well as himself, who from his very first Ascent unto the Throne, had a prospect of two Crowns more then
then he was born to; the one placed within his reach (which was that of Scotland) to which there needed no more but an imaginary Right to gain him the Possession; the other more remote (which was that of France) but better secured in respect of a reputable Title, which however opposed, could not be denied. To the attaining the first, there was an easy Opportunity offer'd by the unreconcilable contest of two well-matched Rivals, whose Right and Interest were so evenly poys'd, that the least grain of his Power might turn the Scale either way: to the Recovery of the other, there was yet a fairer Opportunity given him by the Revolt of Philip of Artois, one of the first Princes of the Blood of that Kingdom, and Brother in Law to the present King Philip de Valois; who being incensed by a Judgment given against him for the County of Artois, recover'd by his Aunt the Duchess of Burgoyne, came over into England, with a Resolution to set aside his Title who had before set aside his: Neither wanted he a Power suitable to his desired Revenge; for being well acquainted with the secrets of that King's Council, all which he reveal'd to King Edward, and being able to give him good security for the affections of several of the chief Governors there that depended on him, 'tis no marvel he so quickly blew that spark of Glory which he found wrapped up in the Embers of King Edward's ambitious Thoughts, into such a Flame, as threatening the Destruction of that goodly Country, made all Christendom afraid of the Consequence.

The great Question of Right betwixt the two greatest Kings of Europe being thus set up, which in effect was no more then this, Whether the French King should take place as Heir Male of the Collateral, and more remote Line, or the English King as Heir of the Female, but direct Line, and one degree nearer. Those of the other side the Water obstinately refused to tie their Crown (as they said) to a Distaff; to which King Edward reply'd, he would then tie it to his Sword. Upon this they join'd Issue, and both sides prepar'd for the decision by Arms. King Philip had a double advantage of the English; first in the Loyalty and Affections of the French, as being their Natural Prince; secondly by the authority of the Salique Law, which however it was not so clear, but that it might admit of much dispute, yet being back'd with a Possession, which made up eleven of the twelve Points controvertible (there having been a Succession of three Sons of Philip le Bell (Queen Isabel's Father, by whom King Edward claim'd each inheriting Successively as the next Heir Male, notwithstanding each of them left Daughters by which the present King Philip came now in as Heir Masculine) it seem'd so like an adjudged Cafe, that King Edward thinking it better to cut the Knot, then lose time in trying to untie it, resolv'd to put it to the Determination of a Fattel. This Resolution of his was so loudly proclaimed every where abroad, as well as at home, that like Thunder before a Storm, the very noise of his Preparations made all Christendom shake, and so shake, that it fell into Parties: the Princes of each Country round about, like Herds before a Tempest, flying some to one side, some to another; all seeking rather to shelter themselves, then to add any thing to the Party they flew to.

With the English King took part the Emperor, and all the Princes of Germany of the first Rank; (the Arch-Duke of Austria, and the Earl of Flanders only excepted, whose People yet were on this side for their Trades fake) the Earl of Holland, the Dukes of Brabant and Gelders, the Marques of Juliers, the Arch-bishop of Cologne, and Valeran his Brother, and divers of the more Northern Princes: With the French were the King of Bohemia.
Bohemia, the two Dukes of Austria, and the Earl of Flanders before mention'd, the Bishop of Metz, the Marquis of Montferrat, the Earl of Geneva, the Duke of Savoy, and divers of the Princes of Italy, to the number (after Du Hailan) of 10000 Persons; and which perhaps was more considerable; by how much he was nearer then all the rest, was his enraged Brother in Law David Bruce King of Scots, a weak, but a restless Enemy; who had reason to take part with the other side, for that he, as 't other fought against a Competitor too; King Edward having fet up Baliol to vie with him. What the number of the English Forces were is not certain, unless we may guess at them by the Charges of their Entertainment, which (as Walsingham tells us) cost us not so little as One hundred thousand pounds Sterling in less then a years time; a vast Sum for those days, but very well repaid with the Glory of the two Confederate Kings Ransoms, who being both taken Prisoners and brought into England; the first, to wit, the King of Scots redeem'd himself for 10000 Marks; the last, to wit, the King of France, pay'd for his Liberty Three millions of Crowns of Gold, whereof Six hundred thousand were laid down presently, and Four hundred thousand more the Year after, and the Remainder the next two years following.

The Captivity of these two Kings at one time, shews at once the Power and Glory of this great King, who riding triumphant on the wings of Fortune, never wanted the means to make or continue himself Victorious, and prevailing no less over his own Subjects then over his Enemies, these subdued by his Will, as those by his Courage. Some have made it a doubt whether he got more by his Scepter or his Sword; the benefit of Ransoms abroad (notwithstanding the many Princes taken Prisoners) being much short of the Aids given him at home; so that they that have taken the pains to state his Accompts, reckon that out of that one single Imposition upon Wool (which continued Six years) he was able to dispence a thousand Marks a day; which I have the rather noted, to shew how the Kingdom flourish'd as well as the King, gaining (as all wise States do) by their layings out: for the whole Revenues of the Crown in his Grand-fathers days were esteem'd to be not much above a hundred thousand Marks a year.

Five years the French King continued Prisoner here in England, time enough to have determin'd the Fortune of that great Kingdom, and dissolv'd their Canton'd Government into parts, had it not been a Body consisting of so many strong Limbs, and so abounding with Spirits, that it never faint'd notwithstanding all its loss of Blood, but soon'd to yield though King Edward came very near their heart, having wounded them in the most mortal part, their Head. The Scotch King could not recover his Liberty in double the time, being the less able to redeem himself, for that he was upon the matter but half a King, the other half being in the possession of Baliol, who to secure a Moyety to himself, surrender'd the whole to King Edward, whose Magnificence vying with his Justice, he gave it back again upon Terms more befitting a Brother then a Conqueror, shewing therein a Wantonness, that no King perhaps besides himself would have been guilty of, nor probably he neither, had either his People been less bountiful to him, or Fortune less constant, which, to say truth, never forsook him, till he (like his Father) forsook himself, leaving all Action, and bidding adieu to the World ten years before he went out of it, declining to fast from the fortieth year of his Government, that it may rather be said, his famous Son Prince Edward (commonly call'd the Black Prince) reign'd then he; and happy 'twas for him that when his own Understanding fail'd him, he had so good a Supporter, who having it in his power to dispose of Kingdoms whilst he liv'd,
liv'd, ought not to be denied, after he dyed, the honour of being esteem'd equal to Kings in the Prerogative of a distinct Character.

Begin we then the Date of his Government from the Battel of Crauffy, which happening in the Sixteenth year of his Age, makes the Computation of his Glory to commence near about the same time his Fathers did (who however he was King at fourteen, rul'd not till after Mortimer's death) by which Battel he so topt the Fortune of France (as his Father had that of England) that he may be said to have taken thereby Livery in order to the Seisin of that Kingdom: And after the Recovery of Calais, it may be said the Keys of the Kingdom, rather then of that Town, were deliver'd into his hand; for that he therewith open'd all the Gates of almost every Town he came to, till the King of France incompo'd him like a Lion in a Toil, with no less then 60000 of the best Men of France, and brought him to that fright, that it seem'd alike disadvantageous to fight or yield, and (which made the danger more considerable as things then stood) England it self was in some hazard of being lost with him: here he seem'd to have been as well accountable to his Country as to his Father for his Courage and Discretion; and how well he acquitted himself appears by the Sequel: when forcing Hope out of Despair (like fire out of a Flint) he necessitated his Men to try for Conquest, by showing them how impossible 'twas for him to yield; and by that incomparable Obstinacy of his, made Fortune so enamour'd of his Courage, that she follow'd him wherever he went, while his Sword made its way to Victory, and his Courtesie to the Affections of the Conquer'd, whom he treated with that regard and generosity, that many of them were gainers by the los's, being dismissed with honourable Presents, that made his second Conquest over them greater then the first; the King of France himself being so well pleas'd with his Bondage, that he return'd voluntarily into England after he was redeem'd, to meet two Kings more that might be Witness of his Respect and Gratitude: In short, he was as King of England on the other side the Water, as his Father was on this side, keeping so splendid a Court in Aquitaine, that no less then three Kings came to visit him too all at once; these were the King of Majorque, Navar, and Castile: the last of which craving Aid of him against an Usurper, who was back'd by an Army consisting of no less then One hundred thousand men (if the Writers of those times say true) was re-instated accordingly by his single power, to the World that he could as well make Kings as unmake them. His second Brother, who had the Title of King by marrying with the King of Castile's Daughter and Heir, being principally indebted to him for the honour of that Title, and it prov'd a fatal Debt both to him and his Son Richard the Second, coining the one his Life, the other both Life and Kingdom too: for as himself never recover'd the health he lost in undertaking that Expedition, so his Son never recover'd the disadvantage put upon him afterward by his Uncle Lancaster, who by that means having got the Regency of his drooping Father King Edward, who tyred with Action rather then Age, fatally submitted to the los's of more years of his Government, then he got by his unnatural Anticipation from his own Father, and suffer'd himself to be buried alive (as we may say) under his Cradle, put fair for setting his Nephew aside, but wanting a Colour for so apparent an Injustice (his jealous Father the Black Prince, having declar'd him his Successor in his life time, to prevent all tricks) he thought it enough to make way for his Son to do it, and accordingly put such an impression of dislike upon the innocent Youth at his very first Edition, as prov'd Indelible in his riperyears: for the very same day he was prefented to take his Grand-fathers
fathers Seat in Parliament, as Heir apparent to the Crown (being then but eleven years old) he taught him to demand a Subsidy, purposely to turn the Peoples blood, who were then big with their Complaint of Taxes. But possibly he is made more spleenick, as well as more politick, than he was; for it was scarce possible to make the Youth more odious then he had made himself before, by disguisting those two potent Factions of the Church and the City of London, who, to shew how weary they were of his governing the old Child his Father, would not after his Death let him longer Rule the young Child his Nephew, but purposely depos'd him, to the end (as they said) that he might not depose the other.

Thus this great King ended as ingloriously as he began, who having stept into the Throne a little before he should, 'tis the less wonder he left it a little before it was expected he would: especially if we consider, that in out-living the best Wife, and the best Son in the World, he had a little out-liv'd himself; being so unfortunate, notwithstanding his great good Fortunes, as to see his Glory unravel'd, as well as his Happiness, in great part: there being nothing left him of all his great Gettings abroad, purchased with so much Travel, Expense, and Bloodshed, but only the poor Town of Calais, which signified no more than a Gate of a City left open, when all the rest is possess'd by too potent an Enemy: But we must look on't as a Curse that he inherited with his Crown, not to be permitted to dye till he saw himself (as his Father was) forsaken of every Body, but a poor Priest, that only tarried to torment him with the remembrance of his Sins, and left him last as he left the World, in such a state of uncertainty, that our Historians are yet to seek whether to place him amongst the rank of our fortunate or unfortunate Princes; the fatal divisions of his Posterity (which took their first rise from his weakness) being so pernicious to the whole Kingdom, as well as to themselves, that if the Dead know any thing of what is done amongst the Living, he needed no other Hell to torture his guilty Spirit then the vision of those murdered Princes of his own Blood, whose Ghosts justly fill one another where ere they met.

THE
THE Black Prince, this Kings Father (whose Wisdom doubtless was no way short of his Courage) knowing how apt they are who stand nearest to a Throne to step first into it, was so intent to prevent any disorder of that kind, that might be feared from the well-known Ambition of his aspiring Brothers (the eldest of which having the Title of King, but without any Kingdom, in the right of his Wife, might reasonably be suspected to affect one so much the more, in his own Right, and probably to take the same advantage (if he could) of his Nephew Richard's weakness, as King John his Ancestor had heretofore done of that of his Nephew Prince Arthur) made it his dying Request to his declining Father, to inaugurate his Son whiles he was yet alive, that by being committed to the Parliaments care, he might have publick Security against all private Supplantations, and without further dispute enjoy all those Prerogatives which either his own Right or his Fathers Merit intitled him to: whereupon (as I noted before) he was set upon the Throne at Eleven years old, and in the lifetime of his Grandfather, began his Reign with this Happiness, that at the same time he took upon him to govern them, the Parliament entered into Consultation about the Persons fittest to govern him: And because the safety of the Kingdom, as well as of the King consisted in the Multitude of Councellors, they were of Opinion to add to his Uncle Lancaster (who put in to be Protector) the two other Brothers, Edmond Earl of Cambridge, and Thomas of Woodstock, afterwards Duke of Gloucester, with whom they conjoin'd several Temporal and Spiritual Lords of known Wisdom and Integrity. This so offended the Duke, as thinking it a dangerous reflex on his Ambition, not to be trusted solely, he refus'd the Charge, and retiring into the Country, so plaid the King at his own House, that a poor well-meaning Friar thought himself obliged in point of Allegiance, to accuse him of an intention to Surp the Kingdom, and consequently to destroy the King: neither wanted he matter enough (as 'tis thought) to make out that Charge; but what he wanted
wanted of Innocence was so made up by Power; the unseconed Accusation
was easily turn'd upon the Friendles Accuser, who being thereupon cast in-
to Prison, was afterwards inhumanly made away by those that had him in
Custody, who tying one end of a Cord about his Neck, the other to his
Privy Members, hung him up on a Pin, and with the weight of a Stone laid
upon his Belly, burst his back, and so all further Crimination deceased
with him. The Impunity of this Treason derogated so much from the
Kings Justice and Wisdom, that it less'ned him apparently in the Opinion
of the People, who not being able to distinguish betwixt his want of skill
or power to punish, began from thenceforth to worship the Duke (as the
Indians doth the Devil) out of fear, whiles he in the mean time omitted no
occasion to propagate Tumults and encourage Faction, and in a little time,
by feeming to make the Peoples Discontents the ground of his own (who
so hated and vexed with needless Taxes, were like mad Oxen, ready to break
the Yoke of Authority from off their Necks) got the opinion of being their
great Patriot.

Now as it is easie to kindle a great Fire with very little blowing, when
the matter is fitly dispos'd to burn, so it happen'd very unluckily, that from
the casual Rudeness of an inconsiderable Tax-gatherer, that came into the
House of a poor Tiler of Deptford, and would have turn'd up the Coats of
his young Daughter, to see whether she were of Age to pay her Poll-mony,
there was occasion'd so over-grown a Riot, as bearing down all respect of
Laws, Order, or Government, was not to be appeas'd with the Blood of
three of the principal Ministers of State, that is to say, the Chancellor
(although he were Arch-bishop of Canterbury) the Treasurer, and the Lord
Chief Justice, and came at last so near to Majesty it self (for some of the
Rebels were little less rude with the Kings own Mother, then his Officer
had been with their Captains Daughter) that 'twas thought nothing could
deliver the King himself from the approaching Danger, but meeting it half
way: which he did with so well temper'd a Courage, as never King before
him creat'd, except Cæsar, and he but once; or his own Father at the Battle
of Poitiers, when begirt with as many perhaps, but not so insolent nor
unworthy Foes. This being as much beyond the expectation of his Years,
as of his Enemies, charmed them into a Submission for a while; but the
Distemper being universal and raging, and the Contagion spread insensibly
through so many parts of the Kingdom, it was not possible to heal the E-
vil with a Touch only. However, one would have thought so hopeful a
Prince as this was, the Son of so brave a Father, and fortified with so un-
pregnable a Title, could not likely have miscarried, but must have stood
firm as a Mountain, whose top was above all Storms; but the same Stars
ruling at his Birth that govern'd his Great-grand-fathers Nativity, 'tis no
marvail, being of the same temper, he should fall under the same state, to
be kept by Flatterers from the knowledge of himself, till being not him-
selt, he too late saw his Error in the experience of their Falsliood.

The first ten years of his Government (which were the better, though
not the longer part of it) he reign'd with great Splendor, if so be we may
properly say he reign'd whiles he was under the dispose of others, taking
all occasions to let those that attempted to disturb him both at home and
abroad, especially his right and left-hand Enemies, the French and Scots,
feel the sharpness of his Sword, and the weight of his Power, forcing the
first to quit their chief Defign, having prepar'd a Navy of 1257 Ships to
invade him; the other to quit their chief City, which he thereupon redu-
ced into Ashes, to make a Bonefire that might give the whole Kingdom no
notice
tice of his Victory. But after he came to be of Age to do all himself, he began very visibly to undo himself, hastening the slow pace of his Destiny, by quarrelling with his Parliaments; who being actuated by the subtility of his emulous Uncles, gather'd strength by the discovery of his weaknesses, and taking all advantages against him in point of Right or Reputation, urged their Privileges so far in derogation of his Prerogative, that he could not forbear telling them the very next Sessions after, he was out of his Wardship (as he was wont to call it) that he perceived they had a mind to rebel, and therefore thought he could do no better then to ask Aid of his Cousin the King of France, into whose hands (he said) he had rather fall, being a Prince, than submit to his own Subjects. A rash and unadvised Reply, which however it seem'd to be the Result of a proud and vindictive Stomach, was in truth so abject and low, so unlike himself, and so like his little Great-Grand sire Henry the Third, that they taking Example from the Nobility of that time, as he from that King, immediately put the Government into the hands of thirteen Lords, of whom his turbulent Uncle Gloucester was the Chief, who having Divisum imperium, lookt like a great Wench upon the Face of the State, that drew all the illhumours of the Body Politick to it. The Duke of Ireland, that was the principal Councillor of his party, and his Uncle by Marriage, was so amaz'd at the sudden birth of this Oligarchy, that not daring to give any Opinion of his own in the Cafe (although he were a man of sufficient Courage and Authority) he put him upon advising with all the Judges, possibly that what himself should think fit, might pass for Law out of their mouths: and accordingly Questions, were fram'd to be propos'd to them, by which, it was easier understood what the King would have to be Law, than what in truth was so. To all which having receiv'd positive Resolves on the Kings side, the next Consultation was how to frame such a House of Commons as might be brought to take part with the King against the Lords: and forthwith Letters were directed to all the Sheriffs and Justices of Peace in every County, to interpose their Credit and Authority, for the choosing of such Persons, Knights and Burgessefs for the next Sessions, as the King and his Council had nam'd in a Lift sent to them.

This look'd like so dangerous an Industry, that the Regency took the Alarm at it, and trusting to no other remedy, flew to Arms. The King thereupon demanded Aid of the City of London; but they failing his Expectation, the Lords grew so bold as to send to him to deliver up his ill Councillors, whom they call'd Tray tors and Seducers. Upon this there were very great and grave Deliberations, each man being to advise at the Price of his own Head: the Arch bishop of York, like a man of great Faith, was of Opinion to fight them with such present Strength as the King had, trusting to the Justice of the Cause: the Dukes of Ireland and Suffolk, men of Action, but wanting the means, were for delivering up Caesar to the French King, to purchase his Assistance. But the Majority of Voices coming from such men, whose Fears made them rather wise then honest, were for appealing the Enemy with fair promises, till there were a fit opportunity to suppress them: the first Proposal was thought very hazardous: the second much more: besides, there was such a bitterness in the Pill, that no preparation could make the King to swallow it, who not knowing what effect it might have when it was done, utterly rejected it: upon which they secretly withdrew that gave the Counsel, and left him to himself. Whereupon the Lords Regent found an opportunity to be admitted to a Parley with him; who producing to him Letters from the King of France, which they
had intercepted, pursuant to the Design of bringing in a Foreign Enemy, they mov'd him no less by shame then dread of the Consequence, to consent to the calling another Parliament.

Upon the day of the Convention, the King came not to the House, being infinitely troubled in his mind at News he had just then received of the Earl of Derby's Intercepting the Duke of Ireland (who being gone as far as Chester, and totally defeated, who hardly escaping fled into the Low- countries, where not long after he dyed.) The Lords heightened with this Success, sent a very harsh Message to him, letting him know that they attended him there, and if he would not come to the House according to promise, they would choose another King that should hearken to their faithful advice. This though it were in effect no other, but to tell him they would depose him without his consent, if he would not come and consent to be depos'd; yet having no Retreat from it, but down a steep Precipice, he chose rather to comply, and put himself under the mercy of Providence, then under the uncertainty of their Mercy. Upon his first appearance they presented him with a black Roll of those whom he call'd his Friends, they his Enemies, some to be prescrib'd, some to be imprison'd, and others banish'd; and in this last List there were not only Lords but Ladies found Delinquents: Some were accus'd of imbeziling his Treasure; others of purloining his Affection; all for robbing him of his Honour; whereupon some were to be try'd for their Lives; others for their Fortunes, and all for their Liberties; but in respect of their other great Affairs which were in order to what followed, they referred it to the succeeding Parliament, not unfitly call'd the Parliament that wrought wonders; which contrary to all other Parliaments that used to swear Obedience to the King, requir'd an Oath of him himself, to observe such Rules and Orders as they should prescribe to him.

Here now we have this unfortunate Prince brought to the last year of his Rule, though not of his Reign, beginning then to enter into his Wardship (as he call'd it) when he thought he was just got out of it. All power was put into the hands of the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, who managed all Treaties abroad, concluded War and Peace as they thought fit, and were indeed absolute in every point, but the Command of their own Passions, and uncontroulable by any but themselves. The Duke of Lancaster having now digested the Kingdom in his thoughts, procures the Dutchy of Acquitaine to be set on him, as an earnest of what was to follow, being the Inheritance of the Crown, and descended on the King from Prince Edward his Father; and having married up the King to a Child of eight years old, by whom 'twas impossible he could have Issue, with a Portion that scarce defraied the Charge of the Solemnity, he secure'd his own Pretensions, by Legitimating three of his Bastard Sons, in case his lawful Issue should fail. The Duke of Gloucester had the same Ambition in his heart, as well as the same Blood in his Veins, but Nature having put a disadvantage upon him by placing him so far behind (being the sixth Son of King Edward the Third) he was forc'd to gratifie his Envy, instead of his Ambition, and rest content with the hopes of doing his Brother a Mischief when time serv'd, without any great probability of doing himself good. Accordingly he made a Faction, who conspir'd with him to seize the King, his two Brothers Lancaster and York, and to put them all up in Prison, and after to execute divers Lords whom he thought to be more his Enemies, then their Friends; but the end of his Treason being to be himself betray'd by those
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he made use of. Lancaster came thereby to stand single, like a great Tree, which being at its full height, spread his Limbs the wider, and grew to be so conspicuous, that the succeeding Parliament desired to shelter themselves under the shadow of his power: hereupon he reduced the number of the thirteen Regents to seven only, which being all his Confidents, he with them concluded beforehand all Affairs of moment, and directed how they should pass in Parliament: An Example not less mischievous to the Kingdom then the King: so that now there wanted no more to make him the Sovereign but the putting on the Crown.

But see the uncertainty of humane Glory: Having just finished the great work of his Usurpation, an unexpected blow from that invisible hand that turns about the great Wheel of Causes, broke the frame of his projection in pieces. His Son Henry Duke of Hereford accused by the Duke of Norfolk of Treason, was forc'd to purge himself by the Tryal of Combat: a Law that might condemn, but never acquit him, since it was only possible to discharge himself of the danger, but never of the suspicion of the Crime. This being urg'd so far, that they were both brought into the Lift, there was no way left to avoid the uncertainty of the Fight, but banishment of both; wherein though the Duke of Lancaster got the favour to make the Exile of his Son but temporary, when the others was perpetual, yet the afront that Fortune seem'd to give him by this accidental Disgrace, came so near his heart, that his Son had no sooner taken leave of his Country, but he bid adieu to the World, and so left the King once more.

Thus Time and Fortune seem to have conspir'd in vindicating the wrongs of this abused Prince, ridding him at once of those two great Corrivals in Power, whose Authority had so far outweighed his, that they kept him in the condition of a Minor, till they had made the People believe him insufficient for Government; the one being remov'd beyond all possibility, the other beyond all probability of Return: whereby he became so much at ease in his own thoughts, that being upon the wing again, he thought himself not only Master of himself, but of every body else; and now despising all after-claps, he seiz'd upon all the Dukes Estate to his own use, which as it look'd like a Revenge now he was dead, that might have past for a piece of justice if he had been living, so it gave many cause to pity the Duke his Son, who otherwise could have been well enough content never to have seen him more. Neither was this the worst on't, but apprehending from what the King did to him, what possibly he might do to any of them, they made his particular suffering the ground of their Publick Resentment, which the first bound, and made that good use of it, that when he came after to claim the Crown, that it appear'd the best colour of Right he had was from this wrong, whereof yet the King was no way sensib! of, who (as I laid before) despising all dangers at home, directed all his Caution to those abroad only, taking with him young Henry of Monmouth, the Duke of Hereford's, and since his Fathers Death, Duke of Lancaster's Son and Heir, into Ireland, whither he went to suppress some Rebels. This however it seem'd to be an occasion of Glory which the Bravery of his Youth could not suffer him to pretermit, whilst those petty Kings, who were eye witnesses of his disproportinate Power, taugh their undisciplin'd People Obedience, by the Example of their own Submission; yet it prov'd an empty Afection, and much more fatal in the Consequence, by how much it was scarce possible to conceal, much less recover his Error, till the Exil'd Duke of Lancaster took his advantage of it, who, finding him out of his Circle, return'd into England with that speed, as if he had been afraid...
left Fortune should change her mind before he could change his condition.

Great was the concourse of People that congratulated his Arrival, neither was their confluence less considerable for Quality than Number: the Archbishop of Canterbury (banish'd for being one of the Confederates with the Duke of Gloucester) the Earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Darby, and Warwick, the Lords Willoughby, Rees, Darcy, Beaumont, and divers others, besides Knights and Esquires of great Repute in their Countries, who offer'd to serve him with their Lives and Fortunes: and as they mov'd they increas'd so fast, that the Duke of York (left Regent during the Kings absence) thought it convenient to attend him at Berkeley Castle, and from thence to Bristol, where the first Tragedy began; for there finding the Earl of Wiltshire the Lord High Treasurer, with Sir Henry Wriothesley, Sir Henry Bough, both men of great note of the Kings party, they arraign'd them there for misgoverning of the King, and having smote off their Heads, proceeded to imprison the Bishop of Norwich, Sir William Elmhurst, Sir Walter Burleigh, and divers others upon the same account, setting up a direct Tyranny, which continued fix Weeks before the King (by reason of contrary winds) heard any thing of it.

Upon the first notice given him, he made a shew of being so little concern'd at it, that he declar'd he would not stir out of Dublin, till all things fitting for his Royal Equipage were made ready: but understanding afterward that they had seiz'd several of his Castles, he sent over the Earl of Salisbury to make ready an Army against his landing, promising to follow him in fix days after; but the Wind, or rather his Mind, changing, the Earls Forces (believing he might be dead) disbanded again, and left their unfortunate General to himself. Eighteen dayes after this the King arrived, who finding how things stood, for they had taken off the Heads of several of his chief Councillors, imprison'd the principallest of his Friends, and gotten the possession of many of his strong Forts and Castles, his Heart so fail'd him on the sudden, that he immediately gave Command to the Army that was with him to Disband: and so degenerate were his Fears, that when he could not prevail with them to quit him (for they all resolv'd to dye in his Defence, and being mov'd with no less Pity then Duty to spare him so depos'd, solemnly vow'd never to leave him) he most wretchedly gave them the Temptation to break their Faith, by leaving them first, withdrawing himself by night unknown to Conwy Castle, where he understood the Earl of Salisbury was. But as a King can no more hide himself then the Sun, which however eclipsed, cannot be lost, so it was not long ere the Duke of Hereford found him out, and drawing his Forces to Chester, sent from thence the Earl of Northumberland to assure him of his Faith and Homage, upon Condition he would call a free Parliament, and there permit Justice to be done to him.

Here Fortune seems to have made one stand more, to give him time, if possible, to recover himself; but he instead of giving an Answer worthy the Dignity of a King, did what was indeed unworthy a Private man, begging of the Earl to interpose with the Duke for him, that he might only have an honorable Allowance to lead a private life, depos'd unexpectedly before t'other could have the time and opportunity, however he might have the thought to do it solemnly. The notice hereof did not a little surprise the Duke, when he heard of it, who doubting least there was something more in it then he perceiv'd, wisely kept himself within the bounds of seeming Obedience, and treated his Majesty with all imaginable respect, till they arrived at London: then under pretence of securing him, he lodg'd him
in the Tower, where he made him the Instrument of his own destruction, by calling a Parliament that had no other business but to arraign his Government, and impeach him; and accordingly Articles were drawn up against him, which shew how small a matter turns the Scale when Power is put into the Ballance against Justice. The chief of them were as followeth;

1. That he had been very profuse [a very grievous Crime in a King so young.]
2. That he had put some to death [that conspired to depose him.]
3. That he had borrowed more money then he was well able to pay [the first King that ever lost his Crown for being in Debt, and yet was not to be said he was altogether a Bankrupt, that had in his Coffers when he dyed the value of Seven hundred thousand pounds.]
4. That he said the Law was in his Breast and Head [and perhaps the Lawyers would have made it good if they durst, who have given it for an Axiome of the Law, that the King is Caput, Principium, & Finita Justitiae.]
5. That he chang'd Knights and Burgesses of Parliament at his pleasure [by making those Peers of the Realm whom he thought worthy the honour.]
6. That he said the Lives and Goods of his Subjects were under his power [which shews what confidence he had in their Loyalty and good Affections.]
7. That he order'd an Impeachment against those Lords that took upon them the Government by Authority of Parliament [Indeavouring to reduce those under the Law that had so apparently broken through all Law.]
8. That in the management of that Affair he consulted with all the Judges [Whereas it had been fitter perhaps to have consulted with all the Sword-men of his Kingdom.]
9. That he caus'd his Uncle Gloucester to be made away privately at Calais [When he found he had not power to take him off publicly at home.]
10. That he took off the Earl of Arundel's Head, notwithstanding a Charter of Pardon given him but a little before [Finding that he continued to abuse his Favour by carrying on the old Conspiracy.]
11. That he defended himself with Force [When the Lords assail'd him with Force.]
12. That though he had made Proclamation that the Lords whom he Arrested, were not Arrested for any Crime of Treason, yet [when he was better inform'd by his Council] he laid Treason to their Charge [and prov'd it.]
13. That he grievously Fined those that took part with the Lords against him [Which being paid out of the Estates forfeited to him, was a great Discouragement to all honest men that should ever have a mind to turn Rebels afterwards.]
14. That when he went over into Ireland, he carried with him the Plate and Jewels of the Kingdom [Without asking any body leave, that he might appear as like a King there as he did here, which could not but be very displeasing to them that would have him like one no where.]

Upon these scarce grievous Articles he was depos'd, or rather he depos'd himself (for the Duke who had laid the Foundation of his Hypocrisie lower then to fear any under-mining, refusing (by the Example of his Grandfather) to accept the Crown, unless he would tender it to him) he became so humble,
Normans.

oble, not only to do so, but which was yet viler, made it his Suit to the Usurper to accept of it from his hand, and as it were brib'd him with the Signet on his own Finger, which he deliver'd as a Seal, to ratifie his voluntary Resignation.

Strange Metamorphosis! When the Lion, instead of endeavouring to take that noble Revenge, which makes all the Herd to tremble, as often as they see him offended, crouches and fawns like a Dog on him that beat him. Who was not tempted to quit his Allegiance, that saw their King thus turn Traitor to himself, making good the dismal Prefage of that River, which but a little before, to the amazement of all men, turn'd its natural Course, and left the Channel dry; forgetting the miserable Example of his Great-grandfather, who hoping to save his Life by not struggling for it, left it with more horror, and less pity.

Who knows not that the Prisons of Princes are their Graves, from whence they ne're return, till the general Resurrection. The Usurper could not sleep at all after the Resignation, till the depos'd King slept his last, the Wrong that he had done him beating a continual Alarm upon his Conscience: neither could he eat his meat with alacrity, but sighing as he fate at Table, bemoan'd his having no Friend so faithful, or rather so faithless, as to deliver him from his Fears, leaving those about him to guess what he meant. And no sooner did these Thoughts of his take vent, but a ready Paracide taking his Cue to be the Executioner of his black purpose, hailed unbidden to the place where the Captive King was, and tim'd his Treason so near to that of his Order, as to take him off just as he was at meat, affihling him with eight Ruffians arm'd with Holberts, four of which this wretched King kill'd before he funk, and possibly had deliver'd himself from the rest, had not their Captain Paracide, Sir Pierce Exon (whose Name for Infamy fake must never be forgotten) come behind him and beat out his Brains with a Pole-Axe.

Thus fell Richard the Second as his Great-grand-father Edward the Second, and both as unhappily as their Ancestors William and Henry the Second long before: neither of whom dyed a dry death; the first being kill'd by his own Servant, the other by his own Sons. And whether there was any thing fatal in that Number, I know not, but so it was that the Seconds of those Kings amongst the Danes were not much more fortunate. Eric the Second, Anlaff the Second, and Canute the Second, all came, as well as those amongst the Normans, to untimely Ends: the first being butcher'd by the hands of his own Sons; the second kill'd upon a mistake by one of his own Domensticks; and the last made as it were Feo de fe, having drunk himself to dead, that he fell down with the Cup at his Nose. And as amongst the Normans and Danes, so 'tis observable amongst the English Monarchs, that Edward the Second, thereupon furm'd the Martyr, was murther'd by his Mother in Law; and Ethelred the Second, though he dyed not a violent, scarce dyed a timely death, being perfectly worn out with continual Troubles, whilst he found himself unable to recover the Consumption either of his Body or his Estate.

However, none of these were yet so unfortunate as this King, who being so unwilling and unfit to dye, yet contributed most to his own Death.
IT hath been observed of Usurers in General, that most of them have
indeavour'd, but all desir'd, to lay the Foundation of their Great-
ness in Religion. But we have no particular Example more remark-
able then that of this King, who though he were so confessed an Usurer, that
tho' that speak most for him, make it rather a matter of Convenience
than Right, that he was admitted to the Crown, and that for his Countries
fake (as they say) rather then his own; not being able to serve it so well,
being a Subject, as when he was a King: Yet, as if Heaven it self had
declared for him, as the only King that came in by Predestination, he rose
up in Parliament, and Crossing himself with great shew of Devotion, be-
gan to make his Claim In Nomine Domini, &c. as if he had been about to
Conjure, saying, In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,
I Henry of Lancaster Claim the Crown of England, as descended by the
Right Line from Henry the Third.

And 'tis observable that he claim'd in the name of the Father, not of his
Father; for thereby hung a Tale, his own Father being but the fourth Son,
whereas King Richard's Father was the first Son of Edward the Third. Se-
condly, he claim'd in the name of the Son, forgetting whose Son he put by
(for King Richard deriv'd himself from Edward the First, the eldest Son of
Henry the Third, &c. but from Edmund Earl of Lancaster, the second Son
of that Henry the Third.) Lastly, he claim'd in the Name of the Holy
Ghost, smothering that check of Conscience which he was afterwards forc'd
to reveal, when he came to give up the Ghost. But this we may the least
wonder at, if we consider that 'twas in a time when the Devil was seen in
the likenes of a Friar (as our Histories tells us) and therefore an Usurer
might as well appear in the likenes of a Saint, although he had no more
Morality, then what *Tacitus observ'd in the Emperor Calba, whom he de-
scribes to be Magis extra vitia quam cum viribus.
Such was his power that no man contradicted him; Heaven having decreed that he should contradict himself: for at the same time he made cut his Title by Descent, he acknowledged that he came in by Conquest, assuring the People that every one should enjoy his own, as freely as in times of Lawful Succession (they are his own words); but when he came to treat with Foreign Princes, that were as well vers'd in the nature of Politick Treacheries as himself, he pretended then to be chosen by the unanimous Consent and Election of the People; to whom, that he might appear refined as by Divine Providence, he appointed the day of his Coronation to be upon the very same day, wherein the year before he had been Banished: and to hold up the Cheat, he was anointed with an Oyl, which (as 'twas pretended) was deliver'd to his Father, together with this Prophesie, That all the Kings that received their Chrifme from it should be Champions of the Church; which (as the Legend holds forth) coming by chance to the hands of King Richard, as he was going for Ireland, he would have been anointed therewith, had not the Arch-bishop of Canterbury dissuaded him from it, as not being lawful to be anointed twice; however, he was resolv'd to intitle himself so far to the vertue of it, as to title himself Defenfer Fidei.

The only man that withstood this Kings Usurpation, and would not be persuaded to swim down the Stream with the rest of the Time-serving Nobility, was the bold Bishop of Carlisle, who having so frankly discharged himself upon the occasion of Debating in Parliament, what should be done with King Richard (for as yet they had not taken away his Life, though they had taken his Crown) and by a Speech as eloquent as pious, shew'd what was the Composition and Face of those Jugling Times, and what was expected, from what was done, and what was done upon the found of the present Expectations. I have thought it a respect due to the honour of his singular Merit, to set it down explicitly as he spoke it, to the end the Reader may judge whether he had not Reason enough to justify his Passion (and pity 'twas he had not power enough to justify that Reason) when combining with others of the same Judgment to Restore his true Sovereign, he gloriously lost himself in the Attempt, and with himself the unfortunate King he would have saved: The words of his Speech were as followeth:

My Lords,

The matter now propounded is of marvellous weight and consequence, wherein there are two Points chiefly to be considered: the first, Whether King Richard be sufficiently put out of his Throne: the second, Whether the Duke of Lancaster be lawfully taken in. For the first; How can that be sufficiently done, where there is no Power sufficient to do it? The Parliament cannot do it, for the King is Head of the Parliament: and can the Body pull down the Head. You will say, but the Head may bow it self down, and so may the King resign. It is true; but of what Force is that that is done by Force; and who knows not that King Richard's Resignation was no other, But suppose he be lawfully out, yet how comes the Duke of Lancaster to be lawfully in? If you say by Conquest, you speak Treason: for what Conquest without Arms; and after Subjects take Arms against his lawful Sovereign, and not be Treason: if so, then whatever Arms against him successfully, does it rightfully, and what hope of Peace at this rate. If you say by Election of State, you speak not Reason no: for what power hath the State to Elect; while any is living that hath Right to succeed? But such a Successor is not the Earl of Lancaster, as descended from Edmund Crouchback, the elder Son of Henry the Third,
Third, put by the Crown for deformity of Body; for who knows not the falseness of this Allegation, seeing it is a thing notorious that this Edmund was neither the elder Son, nor yet Crook-back (though call’d so for some other Reason) but a goodly Personage, and without any Deformity; and your selves cannot forget a thing so lately done, * who it was that in the fourth year of King Richard was declar’d by Parliament to be Heir of the Crown, in case King Richard should die without issue: but why then is not that Claim made good? because that Inter Anna silent Leges; what disputing of Titles against the stream of Power. But howsoever, * in extrem Justice that King Richard should be condemned without being heard, or once allowed to make his Defence: and what can we Subjects expect when our King is thus abuse’d. My Lords, I have spoken this at this time, that you may consider of it before it is too late, for as yet ’twas in your power to undo that justly, which you have unjustly done.

Those last words express’d a Zeal that seem’d to have something of the same effect as that of Lightning, which is said to melt the Sword without so much as singeing the Scabard: For however no body that heard him, appear’d to be warm by what he said, yet a secret Fire was shot into many of their breasts, that after it came to be thoroughly kindled in their Consciences, could not be extinguish’d, no not with Blood: so that they continued their Resentments not for their own Lives only, but entail’d the Quarrel upon their Posterity, even until the House of Clarence recover’d their Right in the third Generation after.

Now as a Clergy-man first declar’d against this King, so a Clergy-man first Engaged against him, without considering his holy Unction, which made him the great Champion of the Church (for however the Church-men are willing that others should believe their Miracles, themselves do not) this was the politick Abbot of Westminster, a great Book-flates-man, who invited several of the Chief Nobility into a Combination to take away his Life (so that Killing no Murther, is no Modern Tenets and admitting what he suspected only, there might be some reason for it; for who would not dispatch an Enemy to God, the King, and the Church, one that therefore had unduly made himself King, that he might rob the great King of Kings of his due: the ground of this Jealousie was upon certain words utter’d in the Abbots hearing, whilst he was Duke of Hereford: viz. That Princes had too little, and Clergy men too much: upon which he concluded he would be a Persecutor of the Church, rather than a Patron. Neither it seems was the Abbot only of that Opinion, but the Nation in general; otherwise the House of Commons would not (as they did afterward) frame a Bill for selling the Church Lands in the Crown, as believing it would be an acceptable Oblation to him: Upon which this Abbot, and the Bishop before nam’d, and five Temporal Lords, to wit, the Dukes of Exeter, Surrey, and Albemarle, and the two Earls of Salisbury and Gloucester, with many Knights and Gentlemen their Friends, complotted to dispatch him at a publick Just or Tournament to be held at Oxford, where they hop’d, coming arm’d (as the fashion was upon such Occasions) they might as easily take him off, as the Roman Senate did Caesar: neither indeed was the Plot ill laid, had not the same Power that set him up, protected him against all their Machinations, diverting the Destiny upon themselves by such a strange and unexpected discovery, as shews that Secrecie in Treason signifies nothing, unless it could be hid from the All-seeing Eye of Providence. The Duke of Albemarle in his way to Oxford, gave a needless visit to his Father the
Duke of York, who sitting at the Table, chanced to spy something like a Scrofle or Parchment in his Son's Breast, whereupon he demanded what it was, and being not satisfied, suddenly he snatched it out with some passion: and upon view, finding it to be a Counterpart of the Indenture of Confederacy, he ordered his Horses to be immediately made ready, with intention to go to the King, then at Windsor, to discover the Plot to him: but Youth being more alive than Age, the Son got before him, and being himself the first Accuser of himself, obtain'd his Pardon before his Father could come to prove him Guilty. The rest of the Lords suspecting by his not keeping time with them, that all was discover'd, fly to Arms, and setting up a Counterfeit Richard, who they pretended was escaped out of Prison, they advanced to Windsor, where not finding the King (for he disturbing his Cause no less than his Power, had posted before to London) they fell upon desperate Counsels: Some were of Opinion to march to Leeds in Kent, where King Richard till then was, and rescue him out of Prison, before their Property was found out: Others thought it best to march directly up to London, and set upon the Usurper before he were ready for his Defence: Some again advised to make a defensive War, till they might have Aid from the King of France; which last Proposal took place, as being most agreeable to that Irresolution which their Guilt had brought upon them: and accordingly they retreated to Reading, and from thence marched down to Leicester, led by the hand of Destiny to receive there their fatal Doom, accelerated by an Accident not less unexpected then the former: For it so happen'd that the Grand Conspirators coming out of their Camp to repose themselves in the Town, the Duke of Surrey and Earl of Salisbury lying in one Inn, the Duke of Exeter and the Earl of Gloucester in another, the Bailiff of the Town (by what occasion provoked, or by what Spirit directed is not known) with a Party of his Fellow Townes-men, set upon the two first, and stormed them in their Quarters, and without consideration that their Army was so near, press'd, so hard upon them, as to kill divers of their Retinue that defended the place, and endanger'd their Persons so far, that the other two Lords, to divert their Fury, fired the Town in several places; but this not prevailing to give any Relief, they retired to bring their Army to rescue them; but when they came there, they found the same means by which they desired to save them, was the occasion of their loss; for those in the Camp hearing the Noise of the Onse, and seeing the Town in Flames, believing it could be nothing less than the King's Forces that had done it, fled every one their several ways, and so left the dismasted Duke and Earl to mercy, who, like two Lions in a Toil baited with Dogs, dyed fighting, being rather wearied than vanquished. And so King Henry, that never could get their Hearts living, had the good Fortune to recover their Heads being dead; and not long after found a way to reduce the other two under the same Fate, the Abbot suddenly dying upon the apprehension of their being dissipated.

This last Insurrection cost so much of the best English Blood, that those of the Welch Blood thought the State so much weakened by it, that they might venture torapper it with them; and accordingly they put in for the recovery of their ancient Liberties, being encouraged by one Owen Glendower, a private Gentleman of more than ordinary Reputation amongst them, who mov'd with the sense of a particular Grievance of his own, incited them to a general Defence of the English: And first setting upon the Lord Grey of Ruthin, who had recover'd certain Lands from him.
him at Law, took him Prisoner, and repos'd himself of them: after this storming the Castle of Wigmore, he took the great Earl of March Prisoner (the true Heir of the Crown after the death of King Richard) and prevail'd so far, that had he been as skilful in keeping, as he was in getting of Victories, he might have made himself Master of that Greatness, as would have been as much above his Enemies Prevention as his own Ambition.

King Henry hearing that Mortimer was taken, caus'd it to be bruted abroad that it was done with his own Consent, and thereupon refus'd to redeem him; which so incens'd Henry, surnamed Hotspur, Son of the first Earl of Northumberland of the Family of the Peircys, who had married his Daughter, that he, together with his Uncle the Earl of Worcester went over to Glendour, and entering into a Tripartite League with him, agreed to Depose the Deposer, and divide the whole Kingdom betwixt them. Wales (that is, all the Land beyond Severn Westward) was to be the Principality of Glendour. The Countries from Trent Northward, was the Lot of the Peircys; in memory whereof (the same being in the Geographical Form of a half Moon) they have since given the Crescent for the Cognizance. All the rest betwixt Severn and Trent Eastward and Southward, was confign'd to Mortimer as his Portion. Thus the Dragon, the Lion, and the Wolf conspired against the Antelope, as he before against the Hart, his Sovereign; and taught by himself, they assaüléd him with Arms and Articles; the last perhaps more dangerous then the first, by how much they fought him at his own Weapons. The first Article was, That he had by his Letters procured Burgesses and Knights of Parliament to be chosen unduly; which being one of the Arrows out of his own Quiver, with which he had wounded King Richard before, troubled him not a little to see it return'd back upon himself. The second Article was, That he had falsify'd the Oath made at his first landing, when he swore he came over for no other end but to recover his Inheritance. The third was, That he had not only taken Arms against his Sovereign, but having imprison'd him, took first his Crown away, and after his Life. And lastly, That ever since his death, he had detain'd the Crown from the true Heir, Edmund Earl of March their Ally; for which Causes they defied him, and vowed his Destruction.

This was the second Earth-quake in this King's Reign, and so much more terrible then the former, in that it shuck the very Foundation of all his Greatness, by the noise of their Calumniation, wherewith as they batter'd him several ways, so they left him the prospect of nothing but dismal Confusion to ensue. The Welch goaded him on the one side, the Scots on the other, those English of Mortimer's party, allarm'd him every way. But he that wanted not Confidence (whilst he wanted a Title) to aspire to the Crown, when it was uncertain whether he should ever get it or no; having got it, could not want Courage to keep it; and if he were able (being but a private man) to get it from a King, why should he not believe himself more able (being now a King) to keep it from private men, especially since he that had the Right in the first place had resign'd it up to him; and he that had it in the second place, had so far joynd in the final recovery of it, as to swear Allegiance to him, at the time of that Resignation.

These Considerations were of that weight, that taking warning by King Richard, never to tempt any to forsake him, by forsaking himself, he resolved to fall upon them before they united. At Shrewsbury the F f 2 Peircys
Peiry's and he met, they being back'd by divers Scots, he by as many English: himself lead up that Wing which was against the Earl of Worcester; his Son Henry, the Prince of Wales, that against Hotspur: this, as it was the first Battle the Prince was ever in, so here his Father taught him how to Rule, by shewing him how to fight. In either of which noble qualities there was never any Prince proud to be an after Scholar than he, for he flew no less then thirty six men that day with his own hand, as those who followed him observ'd; and as one that resolved to be anointed with Blood before he came to be anointed with Oyl, he press into the midst of the Battle, where he receiv'd several wounds, but one more remarkable then the rest, by an Arrow in his Face, which either he had not time or patience to pluck out, till he had dispatch'd his Rival Hotspur, who was the only Enemy that vied with him for heat of Youth and Courage. After this Worcester and the Douglas submitted to be his Prisoners; the Day being so clearly gain'd by his single Conduct, that Fortune seems to have given it to him as an earnest of those greater Victories he was to have afterward. The fame of this signal overthrow made all Glendour's Forces scatter ere the King could arrive upon the place to fight them, leaving him so much more a Victor, by having no Victory: For that in truth to have beaten him upon a fair dispute, might have been understood to have been the effect of unequal Power; whereas the making him fly before he came near him, shews what apprehension the other had of his invincible Courage. After this there was some trouble, but no great disturbance given this King, by the French, the Attempts they made being either so faint or successless, that they rather gave his Successor an Invitation then a Provocation to invade them afterward. The Refentments the Earl of Northumberland had of the death of his Son and Brother, put him upon renewing the Rebellion, being back'd by the Arch-bishop of York, Mowbray Earl-Marshel, and others: but their Forces being disbanded by a trick, the two last were taken, and having justly forfeited their Heads, for that they had no more Brains in them then to believe the King would send a General against them of their own Faction; they were executed accordingly: but Northumberland himself escap'd into Scotland, being reserv'd it seems by Destiny for a Nobler Death, he and the Lord Bardolph being both slain afterwards at Branham-Moor, the last Battel that was fought in this King's time; who being born to live no longer then whiles he was in Turmoys, and being inclin'd to make some expiation for all the Noble Blood he had shed to make good his Usurpation, design'd at last to join Valour and Devotion in one Action together, which before he had used but fingly, and accordingly took upon him the Crusado, intending to submit to the Decree of Destiny, which had appointed (as he was told by a Figure-Caster) that he should dye in Jerusalem. Neither could he want a sufficient Train of Voluntiers, there being so many in that Ignorant Age who were of the same Opinion with him that it was happier to perish in that Holy War, then escabe. This made the Prince his Son, who till this time had given himself the Liberty to commit such Extravagancies as ill became any man, but least a Prince, dishonouring himself no less by the dissolute Company he kept, then by the Debaucheries they ingaged him in, begin to take up, in expectation of the Succession, and submitting to his Father and the Laws, so govern'd himself, that the People might perceive he was at length become fit to govern them: but whiles preparations were making for the King's great Voyage to his long home at Jerusalem, as he thought, the Journey prov'd neither so long nor chargeable as was...
was expected; an Apoplexick fit seizing him whilsts he was at his Devotion in the Abbey of Westminster, whereupon he was carried in immediately into the Abbots House, and there unwittingly put to Bed in that Chamber which they call'd Jerusalem; which, as soon as he understood, and came thereby to unriddle the place of his Death, he was so wounded with the context, that he never recover'd it, but languishing, dyed not long after; having first had a taste of Divine vengeance, in seeing himself deposited in a manner by his own Son, before he was dead; who finding him in one of his Fits, and (as 'twas thought) breathless, took the Crown from off his Pillow (where he kept it all his Sickness, as that the very sight whereof was a kind of restorative to him) which however it was return'd again with unfeigned humility, yet the mis' of it but for that moment only, gave such a check to his Conscience, that before he could bequeath it to his Son for good and all, as we say, he could not but acknowledge how little Right he had to it; and dying, submitted his Title to him that is the only Judge of injured Kings.

THOSE that have taken the Height of this King, have parallel'd HEN. V: with no less than three of the Nine Worthies of the World, comparing him with David the Prophet for Piety, being therefore call'd the Prince of Priests: with Cæsar the Invincible, for affection of Glory: and with Alexander the Great, for Magnanimity. But those that place him side by side with them, will see he was much above them all: for as he was not so lascivious as David, having never had any other Mistress besides her he made his Wife (although Fortune being his Handmaid, gave him greater temptations that way then ever t'other had) So neither was he so vain-glorious as Cæsar, or so intemperate as Alexander, who were indeed great Conquerors, but short of him in this, that conquering others, they could not conquer themselves, but even when they were Lords of the World became Slaves to their own Passions. And as he had the better of them
them in his parts, so he fell not short of any of them in his Fortune: for neither was he so mortified as David; nor so much envied as Cæsar; much less so much feared as Alexander; it being his good hap never to be disdained, distrusted, or despised. Two Instances remain upon Record of the Respect the People shewed to him beyond any of his Predecessors: the first given by the Nobility, who swore Allegiance to him before he was crown’d, I cannot say before he had the Crown (for as I said before, he took it from his Fathers Pillow as soon as he thought him dead, but restor’d it again as soon as he appear’d alive;) the other from the Commonalty, who gave him a Subsidy before ever he ask’d it: a President as rare as the other, and more to be wondered at, since the first might be an Act of Security, or perhaps Fear, but this last could be nothing but a pure effect of Duty and Affection.

The only men that were jealous of him, as of his Father before him, were the Clergy, who suspecting he had a mind to turn Priest, that is, to assume all Spiritual Power into his own hands (as questionless his Father设计’d) and become (as Henry the Eighth afterwards) Papa Patriae; or that at least he would take some of the choicest Jewels out of their Mitres to place in his Crown (there being a Bill then depending in Parliament for devesting them of their Temporalities) they consulted how they might divert so impendent a mischief, which seem’d easier to prevent then resist: and knowing by the Temperament of their own Constitutions, that there was no more powerful a Temptation then that which at once gratifies a mans Ambition, Avarice, and Revenge, they found a way to divert him from the wrong they feared to be done to them by engaging him in a projecton that was to do himself right: The principal manager of this commendable Projecton was the politic Arch-bishop of Canterbury, who held the Rudder of State at that time, and could turn the Vessel as he pleas’d, he taking occasion in the very first Parliament that was call’d by this King, to start the Right of England to the Crown of France, set forth his own Eloquence and the Kings Title so well, deducing his Descent in a direct Line from the Lady Isabel, Daughter to Philip the Fourth, and Wife to his Grandfather Edward the Second, and refuting all the old beaten Arguments brought from the Salique Law to oppose it (as being neither consistent with Divinity, Reason, or Example) he at once pleas’d and convinced all his Hearers, but most especially the King himself, who seem’d to be inspired with a Prophetick confidence of that success, which after he had scorn’d to steal any Advantage, or wrong the Justice of his Title so much, as to seem to doubt it would be denied, before he would make any kind of preparation for the Conquest, he sent Ambassadors to Charles the Sixth, to demand a peaceable surrender of the Crown to him, offering to accept his Daughter with the Kingdom, and to expect no other pawn for his Possession till after his death. This Message as it was the highest that ever was sent to any free Prince, so he intrusted it to those of highest Credit and Truth about him: these were his Uncle the Duke of Exeter, a man of great esteem as well as of great Name, the Arch-bishop of Dublin, a very politic Arch-bishop, the Lord Gray, a man at Arms, the Lord High Admiral, and the Bishop of Norwich; the first as much renown’d for his Courage, as the last for his Contrivances, to whom for the greater State there was appointed a Guard of five hundred Horse to attend them.

The Report of this great Embassy as it arriv’d before them, so it made such a Report throughout all this side of the World, that all the Neighbour Princes, like lissening Deer when they hear the noyse of Huntsmen in the Woods,
NORMANS.

Woods, began to take the Alarm, and consider which side to fly to; it being so that England and France never made any long War upon one another, but they engaged all Christendom with them: However, the Court of France pretending themselves ignorant of the Occasion of their coming, diffimbled their disdain, and treated them with that magnificence, as if they had design'd to Complement them out of their business: but after the Message was delivered with that faithful boldness that became so great an Affair, they were all in that confusion, that it was hard to judge whether they were more ashamed, incensed, or afraid; giving such a return as seemed neither compatible with the honour, wisdom, or courage of so renowned a People as they are: For first, as they did neither deny nor allow the Kings Title, but said they would make Answer by Ambassadors of their own: So in the next place they were so hasty in their Counsels, and the dispatch of their Ambassadors hither, that they arriv'd in England almost as soon as those sent hence. And lastly, at the same time they desired Peace, and offered to buy it with the tender of some Towns, they gave the King an Affront which was a greater Provocation than the denial of ten such Kingdoms: for the Dauphin, who in respect of the King his Fathers sickness (I might rather say weakness managed the State, affecting the honour to give the first Box, or perhaps desiring to make any other Quarrel the ground of the approaching War, which he forewore was not to be prevented, rather then that of the Title which had been already so fatally band'd, scornfully sent the King a Present of Tennis-balls, which being of no value, nor reckoning, worthy so great a Princes acceptance, or his recommendation, could have no other meaning or interpretation, but, as one should say, he knew better how to use them then Bullets. The King, whose Wit was as keen as others Sword, return'd him this Answer, That in requital of his fine Present of Tennis-balls, he would send him such Balls, as he should not dare to hold up his Racket against them. Neither was he worse then his word, however his preparations seem'd very disproportionate for so great a Work. For the Army he landed was no more but six thousand Horse and twenty four thousand Foot: a Train so inconsiderable, and by the Dauphin judg'd to be so despicable, that he thought not fit to come down himself in Person to take any view of them, for fear he should fright them out of the Country too soon, but sent some rude Peasants to attend their Motion, who, encouraged by some of the Troops of the nearest Garrisons, as little understanding the danger they were engaged in, as they did the language of the Enemy they were engaged with, fell in upon the Rear of his Camp: but as Villagers, which fiercely set upon all Strangers, having the least Rebuke with a Stone or a Club, retreat home whining with their Tails between their Legs, so they having a Repulse given them ran away, and made such Outcries as disheartened the Soldiers that were to second them so much, that after that he marched without any Resistance as far as Calais: Neither indeed saw he any Enemy till he came to give Battel to the united Forces of France at that famous Field of Agincourt, where, notwithstanding he was out-numbered by the French above five for one, he fought them with that Resolution, as made himself Master of more Prisoners then he had men in his Camp to keep them; an Occasion Fortune gave him to shew at once her Cruelty and his Mercy: who, whilst he might have kill'd did not; but when he should not, was forc'd to be cruel, beyond almost all Example: for as he gave Quarter in the beginning of the Battel to all that ask'd it, his Clemency and Gentleness being such that (as he was then pleas'd to declare) he consider'd them as his Subjects, not as his Captives.
Captives. So being over-charged with their Prisoners Numbers, upon a sudden and unexpected accident (however of no great Consequence, if it had been rightfully understood) he was forced to write the small Fate of France in cold Blood, and in order to the saving life, destroy it. For as he was seeing his wounded men drift, having gotten an in-sire Victory, as he thought, and as afterward it proved, a sudden out-cry alarm'd his Camp, occasion'd by a new Assault of some French Troops, who being the first had quit the Field, were the first return'd into it again, in hopes by fighting with Boyes, to regain the honour they lost in refusing to fight with men: these under the Leading of the Captain of Agencourt, set upon the Pages, Sutlers, and Laundresses, following the pursuit with that wonted noyse, as if they would have the English think the whole Army was rally'd again, and chaising them: Upon this the King caus'd all the scatter'd Arms and Arrows to be recollected, and his stakes to be new pitched, and put himself into a posture of Defence: neither were the English only deceived by the Shreiks and Cries of those miserable People that fell into these mens hands, but all those of the French likewise that were within hearing; insomuch that the Earls of Marlle and Falconbridge, who with six hundred men at Arms had all the while stood conceal'd to take the first advantage offer'd them, advanced upon the same mistake, to reinforce the Battle, who seeming in the Night more then they were (for indeed the English supposed it the whole Body of the French Army return'd again upon them) the King not knowing how to disperse them, commanded all the Prisoners to be forthwith slain, save some few Persons of Note, who for common security were bound back to back. This made it a bloody Victory indeed, that look'd more like a Miracle before, there being ten thousand of the Enemy slain, and (if we may believe Caxton) not above twenty six of the English side. P. Aemilios, their own Historian, faith not above ten private Soldiers, two Knights, and two Lords, which were the Duke of York and the Duke of Suffolk, that bore no proportion to the five hundred Knights and twenty six Lords lost on the other side, amongst whom the Dauphin himself may be reckon'd for one, though he died not on the place; for struck with the apprehensions of this loss, he survived it a very little time after. However, the English got only the glory of being Victors, but not a foot of ground more then they had before; Providence having so ordained that King Henry should only gain a Name in Arms by his first Expedition, that upon his next Arrival they might the more contentedly give him up the Crown, and with it, that dazzled his Eyes more then all the Jewels he found there, the incomparable Lady Katherine, to whose Excellency of Beauty was added that of Innocence, which made her yet more desirable for a Wife, then the other made her for a Mistress.

Not long after this Battel he return'd home, as if to give and take breath; and during the time of his stay here, the Emperour Sigismund, attended by the Arch-bishop of Rheimes, gave him a personal Visit, in hope to have made a Peace betwixt the two Kings, at least 'twas so pretended: but time that is the best Expositor of all great Actions, shews his coming to have had some further design in it; otherwise his Mediation had not ended (as it did) in a League Offensive and Defensive, leaving King Henry to follow Providence in the pursuit of his predestin'd Conquest, who, upon his second Expedition invaded Normandy, and having in a short time taken in the City of Caen, with most of the lesser Villas, came at last to that proud Town of Rouen, which spent him some time longer then...
he expected in taking it: But it prov'd not time lost, for the Essay
they made of their own Strength and Courage (being at the beginning
of the Seige no less than two thousand Persons in it, most able to make
Defence) gave the World such proof of his, that he gain'd much more
in Interest than he loft, in recovering the Principal, there being surren-
dred to him upon the Fame of taking in that great City, Hanseum, Mun-
ster, Devilliers, Ewe, Newcasle, Vernon, Mant, La Roch, Guvon,
and indeed the best, if not the most part of that rich Province, the anci-
ent Inheritance of his Progenitors.

That which contributed much to his Success, was the difference be-
twixt the new Dauphin, and the old Duke of Burgundy. The first, as
much disdaining that the other should have the Government of the King,
who was taken with a frenzy that made him incapable of Business, as
the other that he should have the Government of the Kingdom, either
thinking himself immediately concerned in the danger of the others Pow-
er, neglected the Publick to abet their Private Factions. The Queen
Mother, who could not be a Neuter, took part with the Duke, into
whose hands the put the King, purposely to curb the Dauphins pride,
(that bad most insolently seiz'd and detain'd her Jewels, Plate and Mo-
ney) contesting for the Superiority without regard to him that put fair
for subduing both. But the noise of King Henry's unexpected Succes,
in subduing almost all Normandy, awaken'd them; and now, when 'twas
too late, they reconcil'd to each other in hopes to drive back the Eng-
lish: But finding that they had taken rooting in too many places to be
suddenly over-turn'd, the Duke of Burgundy proposeth a Personal Treaty
betwixt the two Kings: whither came King Henry, attended by his
Brothers the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, his Cousin the Duke of
Exeter, his Uncle the Cardinal Beauford, the Earls of March and Sa-
lbury, and a thousand Men at Arms; being met by the Queen Regent
and her Governour, the Duke of Burgundy, the Earl of St. Paul, and
several other Persons of the greatest Quality, as well Ladies as Lords,
who were obliged to attend her. Amongst the rest (and therefore indeed
did the rest come that they might be as Foyls to her) appear'd the Prin-
ces Katherine, design'd (as it fell out after) to conquer the Conqueror:
A Lady of that Perfection both of Body and Mind, that had she not
been the Daughter of a King, she had yet been fit to be the Wife of one.
No sooner did King Henry look upon her, but his Heart seem'd to melt
within his Breast, no Arms being proof against the Darts she shot; yet
his Wisdom had so much the better of his Affection, that he conceal'd his
Passion both from her, and the Observation of the French Lords, till the
Duke of Burgundy trifling with him, upon presumption of her Charms,
provok'd him to give a Reply more like an English then a French King,
and created such a Dislaft as broke off the present Treaty.

Happy had it been for that Duke if he had clost with him, although
his Enemy, rather then agree (as he did) with his Friend the Dauphin,
who finding his turn serv'd by him in breaking off the Treaty, having no
further use of his Authority, rewarded his Service with a Poniard;
which Butcherly being perform'd in the view of all the Peers of France,
was look'd on like a piece of Justice rather then of Tyranny, in respect
the Duke himself had but a little before caus'd Lewis Duke of Orlance
to be taken off in the like barbarous manner. Succesor to this Ill
Duke both in his Estate and Authority was his Son Philip Earl of Carldois:
a Politick Prince and Temperate, who finding it would be an unequal

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Contest
Contest between him and the Dauphin, if he should avowedly endeavour to revenge his Father's blood; wisely promoted Overtures of Peace between the two Crowns, in order to the doing that Execution by another Hand, which his own was too weak to perform. Ambassadors were thereupon sent to King Henry, who having been all this while a Martyr to Love, was no longer able to indure the Flames within his Breast, but giving it vent, told the Ambassadors he would not credit their Propositions, unless the Lady Katherine would join with them, whose Innocency he knew would never abuse him. Notice hereof being given to the Queen, the Bishop of Arras was dispatch'd away to signify to him, that if he would come to Troyes, the Lord should be there, to be espoused to him; and with her, he should have the Assurance of the Crown of France, after the Death of her Father: and to gain the more Credit, the Bishop secretly delivered him a Letter from the Princess her own hand, which contained in it so much sweetness, as had been enough to have made any other man but himself have surfeited with Joy, his happiness being now so full and compleat, that he had nothing beyond what he enjoyed to hope for.

Upon his Marriage with her, he was published Regent of the Kingdom, and Heir apparent to the Crown, the Articles being published in both Realms, and the two Kings and all their Nobility Sworn to the observance of them; only the Dauphin stood out in utter Defiance both of his Right and Power. Against him therefore the two Kings, his Father and Brother, together with the King of Scots (who was newly arrived) the young Duke of Burgundy, and the Prince of Orange, the Dukes of Clarence, Gloucester, and Bedford, and twenty one Earls, forty five Barons, and Knights and Esquires sans nombre, advanced with an Army of French, English, Scotch and Irish, to the number of six hundred thousand, if the Historians of that time may be credited; and having taken in all the Towns and Places that denied to yield, they return'd to Paris, where King Henry (the Articles being ratified the second time, and a Counterpart sent into England) began to exercise his Regency, by Coining of Money with the Arms of England and France on it; placing and displacing of Officers; making new Laws and Edicts; and lastly, awarding Process against the Dauphin to appear at the Marble Table, to answer for the Murder of the Duke of Burgundy. But being willing to shew his Queen how great a King he was before she brought him that Kingdom, he left his Brother Clarence his Lieutenant General there, and brought her over into England, where he spent some time in the Administration of Justice, and performing such Acts of Peace, as spoke him no less expert in the knowledge of governing, than in that of getting a Kingdom.

But he had not been long here, before he received the sad News of the death of his Brother Clarence, who betrayed by the Duke of Alphonso Conovicance into an Ambuscade, was slain, together with the Earls of Tankerville, Somerset, Suffolk, and Percy, and about two thousand Common Soldiers: whereupon he deputed the Earl of Mortaine in his room, and not long after went back again himself with his Brother Bedford; to reinforce the War, taking in all the Fortresses in the Isle of France, in Loraine, Bay, and Champagne: during which time the Dauphin was not idle, but industrious to regain Fortunes favour, if it were possible, made many bold Attempts upon several places in possession of the English. But finding the Genius of our Nation to have the Predominancy
nancy over that of his own, he diverted his Fury upon the Duke of Burgundy; betwixt whom and King Henry he put this difference, That as he dreaded the one, so he hated the other. Accordingly he laid Siege to Cosney, a Place not very considerable in itself; but as it was a Town of the Duke of Burgundy's. King Henry was so concern'd to relieve it, beyond any of his own, that he marched Night and Day to get up to the Enemy, and making over-hasty Journeys, over-heat himself with unusual Travel, and fell so sick, that he was fain to rest himself at Senlis, and trust to the Care of his Brother the Duke of Bedford to prosecute the Design; who relieved the Town, and forced the Dauphin to retreat, as he thought a great Looser by the Siege, but it prov'd quite otherwise: For the loss of the Town was nothing in comparison of the loss of King Henry, who died not long after; and which made his Death the more deplorable was, That he no sooner left the World, but Fortune left the English, whereof having some Prophetick Revelation, 'tis thought the knowledge thereof might not be the least reason of shortening his Days, by adding to the violence of his Distemper: For 'tis credibly reported, that at the News of the Birth of his Son Henry, born at Windsor, himself being then in France, even wearied with continual Victories, he cryed out in a Prophetick Rapture, Good Lord, Henry of Monmouth shall small time Reign and get much, and Henry of Windsor shall long time Reign and lose all; but God's will be done. Which saying has given occasion to some to magnifie his Memory above all the Kings that were before him, not to say all that came after him, in that he was in some sense both King, Priest, and Prophet.
For the three last generations, England was so happy in a race of valiant and wise princes, as none of the neighbour nations had ever the like good fortune: All the sons of King Edward the third, and in truth the sons of their sons (though one, and he the chief, miscarried) being men of an extraordinary strain, Henry the fourth had four sons all so valiant, that, as a modern historian observes, each might have been known to be his son, and Henry the fifth to have been the eldest. But now (as if nature had quite wasted itself, and spent all its spirits, or rather as if it had been tired in following providence, that called still for a supply of the bravest men) it shrank off the sudden into such a degeneracy, that had it not been that the virtues of his mother were so well known as they were, the virtues of his father would have rendered this king justly suspected not to have been his son: but as philosophers tell us that women oftentimes conceive by the strength of their own inclinations, with a very little help of man; so we may conclude that his mother begat him of herself by herself, being a woman so devout, that if ever any one may be said to be the child of prayer, he was: and he being the daughter of so crazy a prince as Charles the sixth of France, 'tis the less wonder he should bring forth such a crazy son as this Henry the sixth of England.

A prince of excellent parts in their kind, though not of kindly parts for a prince; being such as were neither fit for the warlike age he was born in, nor agreeable to the glory he was born to, but such rather as better became a priest than a prince: so that the title which was sometimes given to his father with relation to his piety, might better have been applied to the son with reference to his, that he was the prince of priests: Herein only was the difference between them, that the religion of the one made him bold as a lion, that of the other made him as meek as a lamb. A temper neither happy for the times nor himself;
for had be had left Phlegme and more Cholar, less of the Dove-like Innocence, and more of the Serpentine subtilty, 'tis probable he had not only been happier whilst he liv'd, but more respected after he was dead: whereas now, notwithstanding all his Indulgence to the Church and Church-men, there was none of them so grateful as to give him (after he was murther'd) Christian Burial, but left him to be inter'r'd without Priest or Prayer, without Torch or Taper, Mafs or Mourn'r; indeed so without any regard to his Person and Pre-eminence, that if his Obsequies were any wht better then that which holy Writ calls the Burial of an Afs, yet were they such, that his very Competitor Edward the Fourth, who denied him the Rights of Majesty living, thought him too much wronged being dead, that to him (some kind of satisfaction) he was himself at the charge of building him a Monument.

The beginning of his Reign, which every Body expected to have been the worst, and like to prove the most unsuccessful part in respect of his Minority (being but Nine Months old when he was crown'd) happen'd to be the best and most prosperous, there being a plentiful stock of brave men left to spend upon, who behaved themselves so uprightly and carefully, that it appear'd the Trust repos'd in them by the Father, had made a strong Impression of Love and Loyalty to the Son. The Duke of Bedford had the Regency of France; the Duke of Gloucester the Government of England; the Duke of Exeter and the Cardinal Beauford had the Charge of his Person: and each of these, whilst they stood as free Agents, and counterpoiz'd each others Greatness, kept the Scale even, maintaining by the Sword what was got by the Sword. But after the King came to be declar'd Major, and at his own dispose, having not the Judgment to conceal his own Weakness, much less to controul their Potency, Faction and Ambition broke in upon the Government, and made such a Rupture in the Reputation of their former Successe, that the French King back'd by many Seconds (who yet were not so much his Friends, as Enemies to the English) took that advantage to reinforce his Credit, and press'd so hard upon them, that all the well-built Frame of their Fortune crack'd from top to bottom.

However there were three fatal Breaches made in it before all fell to pieces: The first Flaw was occasion'd by the Rupture betwixt the Duke of Bedford and the Duke of Burgundy, who divided about a meer Punctilio of Honour, who should first come to the place where they had appointed to treat of the Differences betwixt them. The Duke of Bedford thought the other ought to attend his coming, in respect he was Regent of France; the other thought he ought rather to expect him, it being in his own Dominions where he was absolute Soveraign: upon which they parted, the Duke of Burgundy left the English, and the Duke of Bedford not long after the World. And this unhappy King became so much the greater Sufferer, by how much the reparation of that loss prov'd more fatal then the loss it self; for as it was as difficult, as necessary, to find out a good Successor to that great Truft, so he was not a little opprest by the Importunity of two Competitors, who being men of like Anger and Ambition, caus'd a more fatal Breach then the former. These were the Dukes of Somerset and York: the first Grandson to John of Gaunt, and Grandfather to Henry the Seventh; the last, yet greater, in respect of his Descent from Lyonel Duke of Clarence, being Head of the White-rose Faction; both equal in Blood and Merit, either too Great to be displeas'd, much more too Ambitious to be pleas'd.
In this Contest the Duke of York got the Fall, and from his Success concluded 'twas possible (as he did afterward) to get the Scepter too, being by the Mothers side the right Heir to Richard the Second: but the Duke of Somerset resolving to revenge his loss by the hazard of loosing the whole, gave him so many Interruptions in his Dispatch of that great Charge, that before he could arrive in France, the Parissians had shuck off their Yoke, and by their Example, the Revolt became so general, that even the Normans themselves (ever before firm to the English) were upon the point also of changing their Allegiance.

The third and most fatal Breach, was that betwixt the Uncle and Nephew, the Cardinal Beauford and the Duke of Gloucester. The Duke charg'd the Cardinal with Affectation of Pre-eminence, even to the Degradation of the Kings Prerogative and Contempt of his Laws: the Cardinal not finding Matter to recriminate so Personally upon him himself, accus'd his other self, to wit, his Wife, to be a Sorceress, and one that by Witchcraft attempted to take away the Kings Life: Which whether it were true or no, was so well managed, that her pretended Crime was in effect made his; for by the help of the Queen (to whom the King had been espoused by advice of the Cardinal, and the Marquises, after made Duke of Suffolk, his Creature, against the advice of this good Duke (for so the People call'd him) they prevailed with the weak King, first to exclude him the Council, after to deprive him of all Commands, and lastly to take away his Life too; not foreseeing (so improvident was their Malice) that as long as he liv'd, his Primogeniture (being descended from the Fourth Son of Edward the Third) would have kept back the Duke of York's Claim, that came from the Fifth Son. For his Death gave the first Occasion of beginning that desperate War betwixt the two alike cruel Houses of York and Lancaster, who so wasted themselves by Alternate Successes, like Plants which cut in the Spring, bleed themselves to death, that they lest no Issue to inherit their dear-bought Titles; and were thereby necessitated for the same Reason to unite in the last, as they divided in the first place, to entail that fatal Glory upon their Posterity, which they found to wither (do what they could) as the Roses they gave for their Cognizances, which by being so often cut down, came at last to be over-topt by the Thistle of Scotland.

The Dukes of Somerset and Suffolk being the two principal Counsellors that govern'd the Queen, who govern'd the King, and managed the whole Prosecution of the Duke of Gloucester. The People after the Death of the Cardinal, who did not long Survive the Execution of that good Duke, for so they commonly call'd him, they fixed their Mark on Evil Counsellors; and were thereby necessitated for the same Reason to unite in the last, as they divided in the first place, to entail that fatal Glory upon their Posterity, which they found to wither (do what they could) as the Roses they gave for their Cognizances, which by being so often cut down, came at last to be over-topt by the Thistle of Scotland.
berlain, and grew so terrible that the King himself was constrained to retire and give place: but before he could reach the Duke of Somerset, he fell himself. Whereupon the Duke of Tork was forced to take off his Vizard, and own the Justice of his Complaint barefaced, who having an Army ready to second them, prevailed so far with the Parliament as to get the Duke twice arrested, but finding him to be still secta'd as soon as they were up, who therefore were difpy'd to the end that he might be discharge'd; he advanced towards London to do himself, as he said, and the King dom Right: But before he could pass St. Albans the King met him and gave him battle, wherein the unfortunate Duke of Somerset gave the last testimony of his loyalty to the King, in the loss of his Life, and the unhappy King the last Tact of his Affection to him, by the loss of his Liberty, being forced to render himself a Prisoner to the Vizor, who was so modest as not to declare his Title to the Crown, but contented himself to be by the good favour of the next Parliament, declared Protector only, and so moderate as to permit his two great Supporters, the Earl of Salisbury then Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of Warwick, Captain of Callicome, to share with him a while in the power, who making up a kind of Triumvirate for the time being, placed and displaced whom they pleased. Upon which, the King foreseeing the evil Consequence, was moved with a condescension beneath his Majesty, to offer an Accommodation, which not taking effect, both sides prepared to begin the War again, which ended not with themselves.

The principal Persons of Quality, Power, and Interest that fought to the King, were the young Duke of Somerset, the Duke of Exeter and Buckingham, the Earls of Oxford, Northumberland, Shrewsbury, Pembroke, Ormond and Wiltshire, the Lords Clifford, Grey, Egremont, Dare, Beaumont, Scales, Awdley, Wells, &c. who having mustered all the Forces they could make, incamped near Northampton: Thither came the Earl of March, Son and Heir to the Duke of York (his Father being then in Ireland) to give them battle, assisted by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Warwick, Salisbury, Huntingdon, Devon, Essex, Kent, Lincoln, &c. all men of great Name and Power, with whom were the Lords Faulcbridge, Scroop, Stamford, Stanley, &c. and so fierce was the Encounter betwixt them, that in less than two hours above ten thousand men lost their Lives: amongst whom the principal on the Kings side were the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lords Egremont and Beaumont; the unfortunate King being made Prisoner the second time, who by the Earl of Warwick was conveyed to the Tower. Upon which the Queen, taking with her the Prince and the young Duke of Somerset, fled: The rumour of which Victory brought the Duke of York over, who laying aside all disguises, in the next Parliament (called for that purpose) placed himself on the Throne, and with great Assurance laid open his claim to the Crown, as Son and Heir to the Lady Anne, Daughter and Heir to Roger Mortimer, Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lords Egremont and Beaumont; the unfortunate King being made Prisoner the second time, who by the Earl of Warwick was conveyed to the Tower. Upon which the Queen, taking with her the Prince and the young Duke of Somerset, fled: The rumour of which Victory brought the Duke of York over, who laying aside all disguises, in the next Parliament (called for that purpose) placed himself on the Throne, and with great Assurance laid open his claim to the Crown, as Son and Heir to the Lady Anne, Daughter and Heir to Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, Son and Heir of Philip, sole Daughter and Heir of Lionel Duke of Clarence, third Son of Edward the Third, and elder Brother to John of Gaunt, Father of Henry the Fourth, who was Grandfather to him that (as he said) now untruly stiled himself King by the Name of Henry the Sixth: This, though it was no feign'd Title, but known to all the Lords, yet such was their prudence, that they left the King de facto to enjoy his Royalty during his Life, and declare'd t'other only Heir apparent, with this Caution for the Peace of the Kingdom, That if King Henry's Friends should attempt the dissanulling of that, that then the Duke should have the present Possession. But this nothing daunted
daunted the Queen, who having raised eighteen thousand men in Scotland, resolved to urge Fortune once more, and accordingly they met the Yorkists at Wakefield, where to mock her with a present Victory, Fortune gave her the Duke of York's life, who vainly had stiil'd himself Protector of the Kingdom, being not able it seems to protect himself; but pity it was he could not save his innocent Son, the Earl of Rutland, a hopeful Youth of not above Twelve years old, who being brought into the Army only to see fashions, was inhumanly murth'd by the Lord Clifford, kneeling upon his knees, and begging for his life; that angry Lord making him a Sacrifice (as he said) to appease the injured Ghost of his Father, murdered by the other Father, which Cruelty was fully and suddenly repaid by the Earl of March, who in the Battle at Mortimer's Cross flew three thousand eight hundred of the Lancastrian Forces, and having put the Earl of Ormond to flight, cut off the head of Owen Tudhor, who had married King Henry's Mother; which it seems did not so weaken or dishearten them, but that they recover'd themselves, and took their full revenge at the Battle of Barnet-heath, where the Queen was again Victorious. But such was the activity of the Earl of March, that before she could recover London, he came up to her, and passing by, entered the City in Triumph before her, whereby he had so far the Start in point of Opinion, that he was forthwith elected King by the Name of Edward the Fourth, leaving King Henry so much more miserable, in that he lost not his Life with his Majesty. But herein consisted his happiness, That he was the only Prince perhaps of the World that never distinguished between Adversity and Prosperity, being so intent upon his Devotion, as to think nothing Adversity that did not interrupt that: Nature having rather fitted him for a Priest then a King, and perhaps rather for a Sacrifice then a Priest, that he might not otherwise dye, then as a Martyr, that had lived all his time so like a Confessor.
THE rare unhappiness of the last King (surviving his Royalty so long as he did) made the happiness of this no less rare and singular: for as he by only deposing King Henry, was instrumental after to the deposing himself too, so by shewing the World such an Example of the inconstancy of humane Greatness, he had this advantage to leave some matter of hope to his Friends, after he was forc'd to retire, upon which to expect his Restauration, who reserv'd their Faith, though they were forc'd to withdraw their Allegiance, and return'd to him almost as soon as he return'd to them. Neither had it an ill effect upon his very Enemies, to whose affection it may be reasonable to impute that in the last place, which in the first place was to be ascribed to their Fear: for as the terror of that great slaughter by which he made his way to the Crown, with the loss of no less than thirty eight thousand Lives at the Battle of Tewton, had prompt'd them to a dread that his Will might be as boundless as his Power: so the happy disappointment of that Jealousie (after they saw his inclinations to quit all partialities, coming constantly in Person to his Council Board to see Justice done, and not seldom to his Courts at Westminster to prevent the doing Injustice) drew them not only to a Submission to his Laws, but indeed to so affectionate a Subjection to him, that it rests a Question, whether the Men at last were more in Love with his Government, or the Women at first with his Person; having such a Majesty in both, that it seemed to become the Crown as well as it became him. To say truth, Nature did as much for him as Fortune, in refining the temperament of his Mind, no less than that of his Body, taking away all the dregs and corrupted part, to place with his Brother Richard Duke of Gloucester. So that never were two Brothers so unlike: the other having such a disproportionate mixture of Spleen with his Valor, as made his Courage degenerate into Cruelty, such a compound of Falshood with his Wisdom, as made him no less apt to flatter than deceive; whereas King Edward was no less haughty, but more Majestick, every white
as magnificent, but less proud; of a Complexion more Sanguine, but not so Bloody: In fine, as he was one of the handomest men in the World, so he affected above all things handsome Women: And it stood him in good stead; for as the City of London had the greatest stroke in dispossing of the Scepter all the time of that unhappy War, so had he the greatest stroke in governing those that govern’d it, keeping the Citizens true to him, by making their Wives false to them: which Providence afterwards punished severely, when he came to take a Wife for himself; directing his Fancy to the choice of a Lady, who, however she was rich in Vertues (as having Goodness enough to be a Wife for any Prince) was yet so unfit for him in many respects, and indeed so inferior to her in all that was at the same time offer’d to him for a Wife, to wit, the Lady Bona, Daughter of the King of France; the one being a Princess, to other a private Subject; the one a Virgin, to other a Widow; the one in possibility of uniting him to a Kingdom he had not, to other like to hazard the Title to that he had; that it gave occasion to the World to pass some hard Censures upon his Understanding, and to deem his Conduct more prevalent than his Head-piece: having thereby to cross all publick Reasons of State and Interest, not to say some private ones too, given him by his own Mother (to which he answer’d rather wittily than wisely) That it was no marvel his great Friend the Earl of Warwick, who was made the Stake to negotiate the French match, should not only fall so off from him, but draw off also (as after he did) his two Brothers the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and the Marquiss of Montague, and with them his own Brother the Duke of Clarence, with whom afterward he so prevailed, as to make him instrumental by another Marriage, to requite the affront put upon him by this, marrying him up to one of his Daughters, whereby they became so strictly united, that without consideration of being against his own Family, the Duke afterward join’d with him to set upon the King his Brother; the Matter being so subtilely managed, that they took him prisoner: before he was aware of them; and had they been as careful to keep him as they were skillful to get him into their hands, he had doubtless paid dear for his Liberty. But Fortune blinded with the Love of him, as he with the Brightness of Love, assisted him so far, as to help him up upon his Wing, after which he mounted to that height, that the Earl of Warwick fearing the fame, took water presently, and so escap’d into France; where he continued not long, before Fortune guilded his Adversity with one of the most glorious Proposals that could be made to him, to wit, a Marriage of his Second Daughter to Prince Edward, Son and Heir to Henry the Sixth, which by the prudence of the Queen Mother took effect; upon the concluding whereof he fixt the Red-rose (the Badges the House of Lancaster) upon his white Saltire, as resolv’d to be their homager for ever after. Six Months he continued there, in all which time he was treated as a King, because they knew ‘twas in his power to make Kings, and returning home, he was received with that Applause of the People, that King Edward with his Brother the Duke of Gloucester, and his Chamberlain the Lord Hastings (who continu’d true to him, notwithstanding his Wife was Warwick’s own Sister) not thinking it safe to abide the trial of his Forces, quit London; and taking Shipping, with much ado recovered Burgundy. No sooner came he to London, but he set King Henry at Liberty, proclaim’d Edward an Usurper, and to confirm his Brother Clarence, which unnaturally took part against his own House, they seal’d the Duchy of York by Act of Parliament on him, and his Heirs for ever, notwithstanding the primogeniture of Edward, with an Entail of the Crown, in case that the Heirs Male fail’d of the Body of
of King Henry. Here again the Lancastrians took their turn to reign for nearly five months, under the protection of this Duke and Earl. At the beginning of the Spring following, King Edward appeared like the Sun (that he gave for his badge) which at that time of the year, we know, is of no great height, but mounts apace: so he being so low both in his own hopes, and the opinion of the world, that he was fain to dissemble his design with an oath, swearing he came not to disturb King Henry, but only to recover his inheritance, which whether it were the kingdom he meant, or his Dutchy only, he durst not explain; finding that the common people were willing to take all things in the best sense, got to that height of reputation insensibly, that it was not long ere he was put into a condition to speak plainer at last; and having made his way to London, was there received with that universal submission, as if all the time of his absence had been but spent in a progress only. King Henry, without further consideration of his redemption, being delivered up into his hands, to be made the mockery of majesty, whom wisely he detained in prison without any show of cruelty or revenge, till he had subdued Warwick and the queen, both then out of his reach, preparing to reinforce the Lancastrian interest: but no sooner had he cut off the first, and got the last into his possession, with the hopeful prince her son, but he took timely care to secure himself for the future, by taking away the lives both of the unfortunate father and son; of both which innocent princes his bloody brother Gloucester became the cruel executioner, by the same hand and the same dagger, being just in his revenge upon all the enemies of the white rose, that he spared not his own brother Clarence, when he got him into his power, but took him off by a death as singular as was his crime, causing him to be drowned in a butt of malmesey.

The sudden end of these his competitors gave K. Edward as sudden an end to all his troubles, though not to his wars. For having set peace at home, he was provoked to take revenge upon his enemies abroad, falling first upon the king of France, after upon the king of Scots; but they thinking themselves as unable to grapple with him, as two foxes with the lion, bought their peace, and avoided the ill consequences of his fury: till death (the common foe of mankind) made him turn another way, forcing him to end the race of his fortune as he began it, like the great Augustus Caesar, who at the same age succeeded his slaughter'd predecessor, and by a like fate was disappointed of his intended successor.
EDW. V. I T was a rare felicity, and not to have been hoped for by any (if by himself) that the last King, who was raised by Rebellion, and maintain'd his Grandeur by Tumults, and had been the Cause of so many private and publick Butcheries, should set at last in peace, and after the effusion of so much Christian Blood as was shed in defence of his Title, should himself dye a dry death. But dissatisfied Heaven reserv'd it seems its Vengeance to fall with double Horrour upon the heads of his two Innocent Sons, this present King and the Prince his Brother, two proper Lambs for such a Sacrifice: and that which made it appear to be a Judgment, was, that as they were not to be offer'd up by the hand of an Enemy, but by one of their own House, so neither was it to be by way of Expiation for any of the Offences past, but rather for the aggravation of those to come; that by so signal and extraordinary a punishment of Ambition by Ambition, the World might see as well as feel, the vanity and impiety of that Civil Discord which had distracted so many Minds, confounded so many Estates, and by the various mischiefs that attended it, so fullied the Chronicles of this Nation, that none can read the History of those times with delight, few without horror, whiles Fortune, like an inconstant Mistriss, is reported to have dispos'd her favours with that indifferency to either House, that flanders by (if any there were) could not reasonably judge which had the better on't (the Globe of Majesty being toss'd and tumbled up and down like a Foot-ball, from one side to the other, without any kind of fixation, till it came to be lodg'd at last in a Bush) much less determine which side to take: whilst they saw the red Rose of Lancaster blushing with a deeper Crimson than ordinary, as if it were double died with the Blood they had shed; and the white Rose of York grown so pale and wann, partly by the Blood they had lost, but chiefly by their desire of Revenge, the prickles of either Rose being so sharp and piercing, that as oft as they mixt, they gave one another wound for wound: but now on the sudden wheeling
wheeling about, she declar'd for those of this Family, by the almost total destruction of those of the House of Lancaster; to whom, having left no Heir Male alive of the whole blood (after the death of King Henry and his Son) to dispute the Right of this present King, he seem'd doubly rivited by Descent and Conquest, and made his Entry so much the more desirable, in that it brought such great probability of an universal Peace, no man suspecting the least occasion of inquietude but his own Father, who foreseeing the evil, that was to others invisible, and doubting perhaps his security more then his title, he thought it convenient to place him at such a distance from all danger, as being seemingly out of the World, he might at once hide his defects, and take off all occasions of Defections. And accordingly he left in Wales, with such a Guard of his Mothers Friends about him, as being nearest in Blood, but remotest in Title, might probably endeavour to keep off all others from ascending the Throne themselves had no pretence to.

This was as much as Humane Policy could do, but in vain doth he strive to preserve what Heaven had decreed to overthrow. Having by his Will declar'd his ambitious Brother Gloucester Protector of both the Children, he was resolv'd to let this act the part of King and no King no longer, then till his Tyranny could support it self by its own Authority: who having to do with the Mother, a weak Woman (for to her from whom they receiv'd their Lives, were these helpless Princes to owe their Deaths) he had that respect to her Frailty, as to keep time with her feeb'd fears, in deferring his intended Paracide, till she that was their Nurse thought it fit time to bring them to bed.

Unhappy Youths to whom the Tenderness of their Mother must prove no less fatal, than the Cruelty of their Uncle! Had she, in the first place, Infill'd upon the keeping them herself (as what fitter Guardian then their own Mother) or had she not, in the last place, Rashly consented to the taking off that Guard, which her Husband had so providently placed about them; or had, at least, suffer'd the King to have continued for a while longer, at that distance he was, when his Father dyed, where by his Education and Acquaintance he might have as well secured the Peoples Faith, as he was secur'd by it; or had the kept the Second Son, which she had in her own hands, after the saw what was like to become of the eldest, that was in his; 'tis possible the one might have been a security for the other, since without taking both, the Treason had not been worth the hazard, much less the guilt of destroying t'other; and 'tis more than probable, the might have stop'd him upon the very last step to the Throne: But yet it is hard to call that the Mothers fault, which might be the Sons fate; design'd by Destiny, for ought we know, to a Death as private as his Birth (who was born whilst she was in a Cloyster, and his Father in Banishment.) Fain she would have recover'd her Error, when it was too late, craving Protection for her self, and the younger Children in a Sanctuary; but in vain seek they Refuge from the Treachery of others, who have been of the Plot to betray themselves. The Protector resolv'd to have them all into his hands, to effect which he makes the Effect become a Cause: for finding the young King more than usally melancholy with the Apprehensions he had of the danger of his present condition, he made that Melancholly an important reason, for his brother to be brought to keep him company; and because, this could not be done, without the Queens consent, but by offering some Violation to the rights of Sanctuary; it being reasonably to be suppos'd, that she would never let the Child go without apparent force upon her; he fingle'd out a Clergyman
Clergy-man to be the Picklock of Privileedge, a grave State-drudge, and by his degree no worse a man then an Arch bishop, who having only so much Divinity as to know that Obedience was better then Sacrifice, so far perverted, or rather terrified the disconfolate Queen into a Complyance, that the (consulting with her Fears only) gave up the innocent Infant to his Grace, who thereby had the honour to be the third great Instrument in that great Treason that followed.

The Monster having thus got his desired Prey within his own Den, did not yet think fit to devour them immediately, but before he entred upon so solemn an act of horror, as the plunging himself into that fathomless Gulf of Cruelty, he thought fit to wade in blood by degrees, that sounding the depth of the danger as well as of the guilt he was to enter into, he might at the same time harden and secure himself. First then he cut off all their Friends, beheading the Lord Rivers, Sir Anthony Woodvill, and the principal persons of the Queens Relations, upon pretence of treachery against his Perfon and Government, which being in some sense true (for doubting they meant to oppose his intended Usurpation) he thought it a reasonable justification for taking their Lives. In the next place he charged the Queen herself with Sorcery, making the poor Innocent Jane Shore to be her Hand-mate in the Inchantation; with whom the Lord Hastings having had a known Familiarity from the time of the death of King Edward, he most maliciously design'd him to be their Accuser, who scorning to assist him in such dark purposes, was himself made a Conspirator with them, being deftly executed as a Traitor, because he refused to be one: his Execution following so close upon his Sentence, and the Proclamation of his Treason so close upon that, that at the reading of it in the Street, a slander by observing how fairly they had drawn the foul Charge against him, being ingrossed at large in Parchment, he cried out aloud, That it was written by Prophecy.

Thus having clear'd the Foundation, and sufficiently tamper'd his Mortar with blood, to make it more strong and binding, he laid the Groundwork of his Usurpation upon the Illegitimacy of the two young Princes; pretending that the King their Father was never lawfully married to the Queen their Mother, but was before God, Husband to the Lady Elizabeth Lucy. This, as it had something of Truth in point of Fact (for 'tis said he was betrothed to her) so being matter of Divinity in point of Right, it was agreed that a Chaplain to the Duke of Buckingham (who was his great Confident, and bound to him by the stipulation of a Match between their Children, and a promise of equal partition of the Treasure of the Kingdom) should open the Case at large in a Sermon at Paul's Cross; who taking his Text from that place, where 'tis said, that Bastard Plants shall not Inherit, so over-acted his part, that he not only made King Edward's Children, but he himself a Bastard too, and all the Children of his Father the Duke of York, the Protector only excepted, who he said was the express Image of his Father, and pre-ordained by God to the great Charge of the Kingly Office. But all this was delivered with so apparent flattery and dissimulation, that not believing himself, 'tis no wonder the People gave so little credit to him, who instead of crying out thereupon (as 'twas expected they should) God save King Richard, cried out, the Devil take the shameless Preacher.

This scorn put upon the Priest, or rather upon him, did not yet so detter him, but that two days after he sent the Duke himself into the City, to see whether his Authority might move any thing more then the Doctor's Eloquence,
Eloquence, who confidently affirm'd to the Citizens at Guildhall, That all the Nobility judging the Issue of King Edward spurious, had chosen him to succeed, and only expected a Declaration of their Consents: But as it was not likely, that they who but two days before, could not be moved when they were told, the Lord from Heaven had made choice of him, should now concur in the Election with any Lords on Earth, so neither could the Rhetoric of his Greatness prevail for any other confirmation than what was couched sub alto inentio. This gave little satisfaction to his Lordship, for that he knew it would give none to his Master; and therefore rather then depart without something like a Vote, he secretly ordered some few of his own Servants at the lower end of the Hall to cast up their Caps, and cry, King Richard, King Richard: which impudence of theirs, though it apparently assaited the greatest part of the Company there, yet his Grace's Grace taking it up at the first bound for an unanimous consent, said it was a goodly Cry, and such as shew'd their universal approbation; requiring thereupon the Mayor and his Fraternity to meet him the next day at the Protector's Court in Baysward's Castle, in order to Petition him to accept their freely offer'd Subjection.

And here I cannot but think it worth the notice (although we that have lived in these latter times have seen perhaps more exquisite Scenes of Hypocrisy) to observe the instability and mutiny of the common People's Faith, who (like the Sea to which they are compared) have their fluxes and refluxes of Loyalty. It was not two days since they shew'd as great Affections to the Son, as ever their Wives had to the Father, in attempting to beat down the Pulpit about that Stone-Trithe's ears, that as said to beat down his Title; answering his potent Patron, the Duke of Buckingham, with a Sullenness that shew'd no less contempt of his Dignity, then of the others Divinity. Yet after all this hard obstinacy, the very next day after they Apostatized into that Compliance, as to suffer themselves to be made meer Properties in that most ridiculous Pageantry of State, when the aforesaid Duke made it a thing of such great difficulty to get the Protector to shew himself to them out of a high Gallery, for nearer he was not to come, not knowing (as it was to be supposed) what the intent of their Address was, until his Grace saluted his Highness with the tender of their Allegiance; and in a long Oration (by which speaking for them, he rather spoke to them) declared that they were abundantly satisfied, not only in the Justice, but Necessity of his taking the Royal Authority upon him. At which the Usurper startet, being struck dumb with passion for a while, but after he had conquer'd his Anger and Amusement, he, good Man, return'd to his wonted Clemency, and gently reproached the Duke his Co-conspirator of Unkindness, telling him he little thought that he of all men would have moved him to the thing, that he knew of all things in the World he most declin'd, protesting it was far from him to do such wrong to his deceased Brother, and his sweet Children, and to his own upright Conscience: this he spoke trembling, as doubting the Multitude might close with him, and cry Amen. But scarce were the words out of his Mouth, before the Duke, seemingly out of his Senses, transported with a just indignation to see their present'd Love scorn'd, reply'd like a truly Loyal Traitor; Sir, I must further add, that since it is so well known that your Brothers Children are Ballards, they shall never be admitted to the Crown of England; and therefore if your Highness shall neither regard your self nor us, so much, as to accept the Trust, We are directly determined to confer it upon some one of the House of Lancaster, that will have respect to the
the general Good. This made the Crocodile weep; and now acknowledging he was not born for himself, he so far deny'd himself, as to accept the honour thrust upon him by the giddy Multitude, who echoing to the Duke their Speaker, cry'd out all (as if it had been with one voice) God save King Richard, God save King Richard. This made him descend (the only way to ascend) and like that Raven at Rome, which flying over the Market-place when a great shout was given, fell down amongst the People, he condescended, and very formally to salute all the Rout; becoming on the sudden so gracious, so debonair, so obliging a Prince, that they forgot all their former Exceptions; their discontent vanishing in an instant, like a Fogg upon the Sun's Rising, dispell'd by the rays of the present Grace he did them.

And now being King, who would not but have him so: It was high time (as the Vulgar Proverb hath it) to put the Children to bed, and lay the Goose to the fire. For after having seen them thus undrest and strip'd naked, there remains no more but to draw the Curtains, and leave them to their rest, like Lambs in the Lions Den, who could not sleep at all, till he was certain they had flept their last. For which black purpose he call'd a bloody Villain out of his Bed to smother them in theirs, who perform'd that horrid deed of Darkness with so much secrecy, that the truth of his falsehood could not be detected, till within these very few weeks, when some occasionally digging in the Tower, at the place where it seems that poor Priest buried them, who afterwards dyed for his Piety, they found the Coffin, and in it the Bones of both the Princes, as well his whom Perkin Werbeck personated, as the King his Brother; which (I take it) are yet to be seen, or were very lately, in the Custody of Sir Thomas Chicheley the Master of the Ordnance, to whom his Majesty has intrusted the making a fitting Monument for them in the Abbey of Westminster.
The Imaginary Reign of the last King (if so be we may call him properly a King, who was in so much subjection all his life) lasted not many Weeks, before this Usurper his Uncle, as I shew'd before, not content to have the Government, without he had the Rule of the Kingdom, quit his abhor'd Stile of PROTECTOR, to take upon him, contrary to his dissembled Motto of LOVALTO MELIE, the better known Title of KING, to which (finding it guarded by the Law) he made his way as a wild Boar (which therefore he gave not improperly for his Cognizance) breaks through a Fence, bearing down all regard of Allegiance, Affinity, Friendship, Honour, Humanity, or any respect Moral, Civil, or Divine, excited by Cruelty (as other men by Ambition) to seize on the Crown, to the intent he might have the Power as well as the Pleasure to kill whom he pleas'd: The Butcheries he was guilty of before he could fix himself in the Throne (not to mention those afterward) being so many, that we may conclude, as other Kings were anointed with Oyl, he was befarm'd with Blood. His Sovereign and the Prince his Son, his Brother, and his Brothers Children, his Friend, his Servant, may the very best of his Friends and Servants, her that was part of himself, fell all by his own hand, or at least by his own contrivance, and all sacrificed to the short-liv'd Glory of being a King, which prov'd as transitory almost as his from whom he took it: For the one reigned two moneths and two weeks, and the other not longer then two years and two moneths: too short a time to make even that great Accomp't he was to give of his Usurpation. Neither could there better be hoped from him, who having a continued Fever in his Consciente, was ever so blood-thirsty, that every little provocation quicken'd his Cruelty; in so much that we find one Calkingborn, a harmless Country Gentleman, hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, for only reproaching the ill Natures of his ill Ministers, with a silly Quibble upon their bestial Names, in that pitiful Rhyme,

THE

RICH.III,
1483.
Neither suffer'd he more then Sir Thomas Saintleger did, for breaking
a Jefl only, whose Wit forfeit'd his Head, notwithstanding he had mar-
rried to his own Sifter: which made him appear fo fordid as well as fo sa-
vage to all Forreign Princes, that they refufed to have any Commerce
with him, Lewis the French King (to whom he sent to conclude a League)
fo abhor'rd his Amity, that he would by no means fee or heard his Ambas-
fadors, but sent them away with disgrace. The King of Scots who
had fo lately submitted to his Brother, defy'd him and all his power, as
a Beaf. What scorn the Duke of Britain put upon him, needs no o-
ther proof then the hanging his chief Minifter for holding Intelligence
with him. Neither doth it appear that he was in much better efteem at
home then abroad. However, he has the repute of having been an excel-
lent Law-maker: For 'tis faid, never any King made better Ordinances
then he. Amongst the reft, thofe that favour his Memory, cry up that
popular Law, whereby it was Enafted, That the Commonally of the Realm
foould in no wife be charg'd with any Impofition,called the Benevolence:
but as that feem'd to be an Act fitted to the time he liv'd in, as well as to the
perfons he liv'd with; fo 'tis more then probable it had never pafs'd,
had not he known himfelf to be fo generally hated, that he defpar'd of e-
ever having any Freewill Offerings. 'Tis poifible he, as moft Usurpers,
might endeavour to fortifie himfelf with good Conftitutions, being as
much afraid of the People, as they were of him; but 'tis not likely fo
wicked a man could make fo good a King: and whether it were that the
people found he made thofe good Laws of his, more for his own fake,
than theirs; or whether it were that he took no further care, then only to
have them made, not obferved; or what other caufe it were I know not:
but certain it is, the Subjects held not themfelves fo obliged by any of his
good Acts, as to make him any Return of Gratitude or Affection, but
taking example from himfelf to be dilloyal, many of them revolted to
the Earl of Richmond; others pretending to stay with him, did not yet
affift him; and fuch as defir'd not defte him by an open Hoftility, did
him more mischief by their concealed piety, praying againft him as heart-
tily as the reft fought againft him; in fo much that his Competitor
Prince Henry, when he came to close dispute with him, found little or
no difficulty to conquer him, notwithstanding his Army wanted not
Conduft, nor himfelf Courage. But that which contributed most to his
ruin, was the Self-condemnation which appear'd within his own Con-
fiience, which as he could not fmother or conceal, fo the terrour of it
being fo manifel, as well by the caufel's jealousies he conceiv'd of thofe
of neareft Trust about him, making the Duke of Buckingham, and the
Lord Stanley his two greatest Friends his Enemies, by only fufpefing
them to be fo, as by the poof shifts he made to support his touering
Title, firft marrying the Widdow of Prince Edward, the Son of Henry
the Sixth (both whom he had murder'd) to gain the Earl of Warwick
on his fide, and after making her away in hopes to marry his niece Eli-
zabeth, eldest Daughter to his Brother King Edward, and strengthen
himfelf with her Title (notwithstanding he had but a little before cau'd
her and all her Fathers Children to be declar'd Illegitimate) fooping
to di honoured Truces to keep his crazy Frame unshaken as long as he
could;
could; sending most base and dishonorable Conditions to the Duke of
Britain, in hope the young Earl his Competitor (then under his prote-
gion) might be betray'd by him; I say, these vile and low shufflings,
as they shew'd him rather politick then wise, so they gave his own Party
such an Umbrage, and so shockt their Confidence, that as if they had
foreseen his downfall by instinct, ere there were any visible Symptoms of
decay in his power, every man seem'd Crest-fall'n in his Court, a long
time before they had any Allarm from abroad: but after they heard of the
arrival of the Earl of Richmond, he himself saw the presages of his Desti-
ny in their Countenances, and found that they followed him as a Ty-
rant rather then a King, drawn by a principle of Fear, not Affection,
which so stung him within, that instead of being courageous, he grew
desperate; and to shew he trusted no body but himself, after the Armies
came to joyn Battel, he acted things even beyond himself, adventuring
his person without any reasonable provocation given him, against whole
Troops, to make himself Master (if possible) of his Competitors life,
but in the Attempt he lost his own; gaining only this point of Glory by
it, That he dyed more honourably then he lived, and by his early Death,
secr'd those that remain'd alive, who having not stain'd their Swords
with innocent blood, did confidently, because timely, submit to the
mercy of the gentle Conqueror.
No sooner had Fortune, by the late fatal Victory, declared for the Antiquated Stock of the Tudors, against the illustrious Name and Progeny of Plantaginet, that had continued near four hundred years, but to shew her partiality to the parts of this Prince, she offer'd the Crown to him before he was ready to offer any Title to it. For being by his Fathers side a Stranger to both the Royal Houses of York and Lancaster, and by his Mothers side descended out of that Line, which by the same Law it was made capable of Inheriting any Estate, was made incapable of the Succession to the Crown. 'twas not enough to be declared by himself King de Facto, without the Law declared him so de Jure. To the intent therefore to dazzle the Eyes of those who look'd too intently upon his Title, he made his first Appearance to the People with a trine aspect of Descent, Consent, and Conquest, setting forth a Proclamation, by which he declared himself King, Jure Divino, Humane, & Militari. The first (which was prov'd by the Union of the two Nations, the Britains and Normans) was said to have been written in the Stars, and reveal'd from Heaven (if we may credit Tradition) near eight hundred years before, to his great Ancestor Cadwallader, the last of the British Kings, who having lost almost all that little was left him, is reported to have rejoiced in this Assurance, That one of his Posterity should recover back the Imperial Diadem of the Isle. Which Prophesie King Henry the Sixth (who had the repute of being an illuminated man too) apply'd to this King, being then but a Child, fifty years at least before 'twas accomplish'd, saying to some Lords that were present when the Youth was playing by him, This is he that shall quietly enjoy what we now contest for: which saying of his, as it was not much unlike that Prediction of Augustus,

---hic Vir, hic est tibi quem promitti Sapius audis,

himself
himself having then a hopeful Heir alive, and those of the other House several; so that being justified by no less than two so notable Predictions of two Kings, 'twas not to be doubted, but that he was Rex, Jure Divino. The second was confirm'd by the Union of the two Houses: himself, that was Heir of the House of Lancaster, marrying the eldest Daughter of Edward the Fourth, the undoubted Heir of those of York; whereby he brought all Hearts to bow to his Title, as before all knees to his Fortune; the People generally believing, that the Roses which sprang from this happy Conjonction, would never more have any Prickles; so that there remained no further Scruple Demure Humane. And now having stifled all secret Murmuring, as well as all open Contradictions, having conquer'd all Difficulties and Perplexities of State, charm'd all opposite Inclinations, and made his way with his Sword, over the Head of one of equal Stars and Parts with himself, having conquer'd Force with Force, and back'd Right with Might, having taken possession of the Crown of Thortes, or rather of the Crown amongst the Thorns, receiving it as a Trophy in confectio Militium, who durst deny him to be King de Jure Belli: especially since there was nothing wanting to make up the glory of his Triumph, but what himself deny'd himself; who rather affecting Power then Pomp, despised those outward Formalities of State, which draw most Reverence from the gaping Multitude, applying himself only to the fixation of that real part of Majestye, which consist'd in making good his Safety, his Honour, and his Wealth, which were to give him his Reputation with those of the Wiser sort. In order whereunto he pass'd two notable Acts (and they were the very first he pass'd) either respecting the publick no less than his private good; to wit, The Act of Repeal of the Attainder against his Party and himself; whereby the Adversary had cast so much blood and dirt upon them, as left an eternal blemish upon Record to sully their Memory, as well as invalidate their Interest: For however the Lawyers had assured him, that the possession of the Crown took of all Defects, yet in respect they were not able to give him like assurance of the continuing that possession, his Jealousie of the worst prompted him to provide for the best, by obliterating the reproach as well as taking off the force of the Statute. The second was the Law in favour of Possession, whereby it was ordained, That no person attainting the King for the time being, by Arms or otherwise, should ever after be impeached for it, or attainted, either by Course of Law, or by Act of Parliament; and that if any such Act of Attainder did happen to be made, it should be void in itself, and of no effect: which Law, though it were like a two edg'd Weapon, that (if not wisely managed) might as well wound him in whose hand it was, as those against whom it was directed; yet it serving his turn for that present, and securing the Subject no less then the Prince, ever since it had the repute of a wise Ordinance, and so has continued ever since. Another Act there was, if so be we may call it his, or rather the Act of Pope Alexander the Sixth, obtain'd by his procurement; to wit, A Prohibition of the benefit of Sanctuary to all such as fled thereto for any offence of Treason, as Enemies to the Christian Faith, as well as to the Crown; with a Prohibition likewise of all Privilege to any that came a second time to ask the benefits of Sanctuary for any Offence whatsoever. This made him so much more a King than any of his Predecessors, by how much he had render'd it impossible almost for any of his Subjects to start out of their Allegiance, well knowing Quod aliud est Regem esse, aliud Regnare.

Yet
Yet after all this great care of his to secure his Greatness, he run a risk of losing it the very same way he got it; his antipathy to the House of York being such (for though he were but of the half blood of Lancaster, he retain'd their whole hatred) even after the consummation of his Nuptials, that the other Faction perceiving his Marriage to be an act of Necessity rather than Choice, wherein his Nature strove with his Interest, and his Ambition with his Affection, which should jostle the other out; they took that umbrage at his coldness, that doubting their own, they invaded his Security, counteracting his Greatness with something that so amazed the Common People, that not being well able to judge whom they ought to oppose (like those at Barnet-Field that fatally mistook the Earl of Oxford's Stars for King Edward the Fourth his Sons) they knew not whom to obey, blinding their Eyes by continual false Lights. Amongst which there were no Apparitions terrified them more than those of Typhons, Lambert, Perkin, and Wilford; the two first of which adventur'd on such Permutations, as wanted only Belief, to have charm'd all his Forces without further Incantation, and would doubtless have unravel'd his felicity, had not the parts which were found in his Virtue, as well as those in his Fortune, been such, as were no less matchless then their Villany. But there are some, who conclude from their being so silently vanquish'd as they were, that all (except only those two walking Ghosts of Edward Plantagenet Earl of Warwick, and Richard Duke of York) were Spirits of his own raising, and nourish'd by himself, because he would have the more reason not to reign in the Right of his Wife, the Glory of whose House he purposed to extinguish as they do Torches, which being hold downward, are put out by the superfluity of their own matter. But this, as all other his great Acts of State, is rather guest at then understood, as it was his desire it should; giving therefore (and not improperly) the Emblem of Fastness for his Device, to forbid all approaches to his Secrets, no less than to his Power; it being natural to him to keep himself at such a distance, and his Heart (as that of Kings ought to be) so inscrutable, that he might render himself thereby more awful to his Counsellors at home, and more reverend of his Confederates abroad; to whom he appear'd like one with a dark Lanthorn, keeping them always in the Light, towards him, whilst he himself was not perceived by them. In which great point of Glory the great King of France would have been his Co-Val, but notwithstanding he was the wife Son of a wiser Father, and had had as many Tutors in the Art of Government (that is of Dissimulation) as any Prince whatever, yet he fell short of him, and was therefore forc'd to be still on the Defensive side, both he, and the King of Scots his Colleague, being like two great Iriph Greyhounds worried by an English Mastiff, which fighting by Snaps, run as soon as they could get loose of him. To say truth, he not only brought the War they rais'd upon him home to their own Doors, but brought them to a stand at his, departing content with such Conditions as he would put upon them: and however they both seem'd to have had the better of him, the first by getting away his Mistress; the last by getting his Daughter; yet it appears that he gain'd the point from them, which was to him most important, and which indeed he valued above all things else, a Peace with Money. That Match of the King of France with the Heir of Britain, may rather be said to be a wrong to Maximilian King of the Romans, which had been espous'd to her before, than any affront to him afterward; notwithstanding he had that Sentiment of the battle, that he would not be pacifi'd, till the King
of France laid him down Seven thousand four hundred and fifty Ducats in present to defray the Charge he had been at in vindicating his Honour, and Two thousand five hundred Crowns yearly, as a price for his Amity, which being duly paid all his Reign, and all the time of his Son after him, this did so far exceed any computation of Charge that could be pretended, that considering his Title to France, was by particular Agreement referred to him, at the same time, we may rather call it (as the English did then) a Tribute, then (as the French did) a Pension, since being always demanded as a Tribute, it was never deny’d for the Names sake.

The King of Scots his Case, as it was different from that of the King of France, so he went a different way to compass his satisfaction from him, choosing to be the Giver rather then the Taker, to buy rather then sell Peace. And to say truth, he gave him such a Jewel for it, as (her Birth, Beauty, and Parts considered) ’twas not in the World besides, viz. the Princess Margaret his eldest Daughter: but herein he dealt like a wife Purchasor, who was resolv’d not to let go an Estate that lay so near and convenient to his own, for want of a little out-bidding the ordinary rate, foreseeing (as he told his Council at the match-making) that the lesser Kingdom, if ever it came to be united to the greater, as in all probability it would (unles, which was a blessing scarce to be hoped for, that the Issue of his own Body should never fail) must insensibly be reduced without a Conquest (as since we have seen it hath been) if not under the same Laws, yet under the same Allegiance; which, he said, would be a yse sufficient to bind them to the observation of the same Interest, without the same advantage by it, and to bring them, who never could be subdued by Arms, though often overcome, to submit willingly to the good pleasure of Providence, when they should find themselves (like Ivy that grows up by some great Oak) rais’d up to a height they could never have attain’d to by themselves, and partaking the benefit of our strength, with the comfort of our heat, without contributing any thing to our Nourishment.

The only Enemy indeed that ever match’d this great King, was one of the Feminine Gender, if so be we may not rather call her his Superiour then Equal, as having the Malice of a Woman join’d to the Spirit of a Man, and both elevated by the greatness of her Fortune, no les than of her Force. This was the Lady Margaret, second Wife to that famous Charles the Hardy, Duke of Burgundy, and second Sister to King Edward the Fourth, who was so surcharg’d with Envy to the House of Lancaster, that she even hated her own Niece, for consenting to marry him: but after she found the same aversion in him to the House of York (who in all Probability, if he could have had the Heir of Britain, had conten’d all the grave Considerations of the Union) and that it was predominant not only over his Wars and Councils, but took place even in his Chamber and Bed; so that however he had made her his Wife, he still refused her to be his Queen, denying her the Rites of Majesty by Coronation, as other Queens usually had, though she had borne him a Son to be a pledge of her Faith and Affection to him: I say, when the law that Marriage, which makes all persons equal, had subjected her Niece to this inequality, the indignation she conceiv’d at it, did so rankle within her Breast, that she never could have any rest within her thoughts, as long as he had any within his Dominions: and therefore she made it the whole labour of her thoughts to contrive all the ways and means imaginable to dethrone him, becoming the avow’d Foster-mother of almost all the Rebellions during
ring his Reign; conjuring up so many Spirits as could not possibly have been allay'd by the Magick of any Prince less wise or cautious than himself; who not only countermin'd all her Plots, but happily beat her at her own Weapon, by placing so many Flies and Familiars about her, that by frequent varying of their shapes and disguises, rigged themselves into the knowledge of all her Secrets, and by turning picklocks to so many of her Plots, to the overthrow of all those that were engag'd in the Conspiracy with her, that at last the very Eame and suspicion of them prevented all her designs, no man daring to adventure himself, for fear of being blown up by he knew not whom, whiles he himself continued still and quiet (like those that catch Moles) till he saw the manner of their working, and then he took them without striking a stroke, overcoming so easily as well as so wisely, that Cæsars VENI, VIDI, VICI, was not more terrible nor sudden in its execution then his. And herein he was more particularly like that great Emperour, in that he still oppos'd his own Person to all those dangers which were visible (especially Domestick) which however some (taking from the Reputation of his Fortitude to add to that of his Wildome) ascribe not to his natural forwardness, so much as to the distrust he had of his Lieutenants; yet by how much it rendred him victorious, we ought to understand it in the best sense, and believe him very bold, if not very valiant, in that he chose rather to see than to hear of danger. In fine, look what description an Athenian once gave of God, may be given of him that was his Lieutenant, That he was neither Bowman nor Horseman, Pikeman nor Footman, but one that knew well how to command all these, perhaps no man better.

Neither was he less fortunate then forward in Peace, as well as in War. So that as upon the one side he look'd like Cæsar, or Augustus rather, both of whom as they were armed with Lightning, so their Pardons went ever before and after their Swords; so on the other side he was not unlike those two famous Legislators, Solon and Licurgus, who principally regarding the People, were yet so wise for themselves, as with the publick safety to secure their own Authority: for he was an excellent Judge of times and reasons, and knew when to strain up the Laws to his Prerogative, and when to let down his Prerogative to the Tend of the Law. And though 'twas observ'd never any man lov'd his own way nor his own will better then he, nor perhaps ever had so much Reason to do it, being as another Solomon, wiser then his Counsellors (and yet they perhaps as well chose as ever any Kings Counsellors were) yet we find he was sometimes content to part with both, for the more orderly administration of Justice, leaving the disposition of his Mint, his Wars, and his Martial Justice (things of absolute power) not to pay the Concerns of his unsettled Title, which was yet of higher and tenderer consideration, to the wisdom of his Parliaments. And leant the thing called Propriety (which is the same to the Subject, as the Prerogative to Majesty) should be thought to tuffer in the least, he gave himself the trouble of hearing many Causes at his Counsel-board, where sitting at the Fountain of Justice, assisted by the most learned, as well as the most reverend Professors of Law and Conscience, it was not to be supposed that any Cause could lose any thing of its due weight and allowance: yet it seems the Common Lawyers, unwilling the determination of Meum and Tuum should go besides their own Courts, traduc'd him with distrusting his Judges in matters of Common Right, as the Souldiers complain'd of his not trusting his Generals in point of common Secu-

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And some there were who would have aggravated it to a Grievance; however 'twas apparent to be rather their own then the People, who are apter to complain of the chargeableness, then the due Administration of the Laws. But these Causes being for the most part heard in the Vacation time, 'tis possible he had in his Thoughts something beyond their reach, with respect to the Splendor of his Court, and the profit of the City: to which as he was always a Friend, so by this dispatch of Justice, while there was no other Courts sitting, he drew such a concourse of Clients to Town, as kept up a kind of Term all the Year round, and so quickned Trade, that by adding to theirs, it increased his own Wealth to that degree, that amongst other Reasons given of his neglecting the benefit of the Discovery of the Indies (first offer'd to him by Columbus) 'twas not the least that he had no want of Money; and having made himself a Member of the City, that by the benefit of that Community he might find his account as well in their Chamber as his own Exchequer, and prove (as after he did) the only Dragon that kept their Golden Fleece, sharing with Solomon himself in those two great points of Glory, to be reputed the wisest and richest King of his time: 'tis no wonder he should by Works Immortal (as he did) make his way to Immortality, leaving his Son Henry nothing to do but to inherit his envied Felicity.
THOSE that take a view of this Prince and his Father, will find no other difference betwixt them, than what is betwixt Youth and Age, the one affecting Contemplation, the other Action, which may be the Cause perhaps why he prefer’d Martial Men to be of his Council, rather than those of any other Profession, as loving them best, who having given him good advice, were in capacity to put it in Execution. The Father is celebrated for his Wisdom, the Son for his Wit; either alike Magnificent, though perhaps not alike Majestick: the difference consisting in this, That the Father always appear’d as a King, the Son but sometimes: the one hating any thing that look’d like Ostentation, as knowing that Majesty makes the People bow, but Vain-glory bowes to them; the other affecting Pomp and Gaiety, as young Men and Souldiers do light Colours and Feathers: wherein he was the more to be excus’d, in that it became him, and he it. In the last place, the Father had little or no Appetite to Pleasure, unless it were to do as great Princes usually do, when they come to Banquers, look on a while, and so depart without scarce tasting: but the Son was so inclin’d to gratifie his Sence, as well as his Intelle&cent, that he still sweetned the Sowerness of Businefs with some reflection of delight, refreshing himself by Dances, Revels, Tiltings, &c. his Court being martial’d like a Camp, and his Camp set out like his Court; so that Mars and Venus seem’d to be in Conjunction all his Reign, and Honour and Love still in fashion. Neither needed there any other Load-stone then that of his own Example to draw all the young Nobility after him, who were not less considerable at that time for their Number, then their Quality; so that France was afraid, Spain jealous, and all the other Neighbour Princes envious at his growing Greatness.

Now as he began his Reign at the time when every thing begins to grow and blosom (it being in the Spring of the Year, as well as of his Age) so the Season complying with his Constitution, made it hard for him to re-
lift the heat of his blood: yet we do not find that he engaged in any War abroad, till he had secured Peace at home; making his Justice as renowned amongst his People by revenging their wrongs, as he made his power afterward, when he came to revenge his own, executing Emphion and Dudley as a terror to all Promoters, to shew he did not esteem them faithful Servants to his Father, that had so betrayed their Country. Which Act of Justice being clos'd with another of Universal Grace, in restraining his Prerogative, to enlarge the Subjects' Confidence and Affection, made him so clear a Conquest over all Discontents, arising by the Oppression of his Predecessors; that having nothing more to do at home, he bethought himself of what was to be done abroad: Providence offering him a Prospect suitable to the greatness of his mind, to render the esteem of his Piety no less famous than that of his Justice, by undertaking to rescue the Pope out of the hands of the King of France, as a Dove deliver'd out of the Talons of a Vulture, who having already drove him to Covet, as we say, (that is, besieged him in his City of Bononia;) and having his Confederates, the Emperor and King of Spain, ready at hand to make a retreat, doubted not but to devour him in a very short time. This, as it was a Design of Super-errogating Merit, so it carried in it no less of Advantages than Glory, giving him a fit occasion to shew at once his Zeal and Power, and in serving him to serve himself upon him, in the promotion of his Title to France; it being no small addition of Credit to his Claim, that his Holiness, as an Earnest of his Spiritual Benediction, had bestowed upon his Majesty the forfeited Stile of Christianissimus. However, before he would move himself in Person out of England, he thought it necessary to prevent any Motion of the King of Scots into England, who he knew would be ready to bruise his Heel, as soon as he advanced to break the Serpents Head, and accordingly he got not only a confirmation of that Excommunication which Julius the Second had formerly granted against the said Scotch King, in case he broke his League with him (the Curse whereof followed him to his Grave for violating his Faith, he died in the attempt) but obtain'd a plenary Indulgence for all that should assist him. Thus arm'd as it were with the Sword of God and Gideon, he entered that goodly Kingdom, and long it was not ere he got the Maiden-head of that Virgin City Lorraine, who having repuls'd Cæsar, had the Testimony of her Pucillage written upon its Gates, as the only Town had kept her self unconquer'd from that time, but now was forced to yield to him, by the Name and Title of Roy tres Christiæ, as appears by the Original Contract yet extant. The same day he receiv'd the News of the Scotch Kings death, who attempting (as I said before) to divert the War, lost his Life, and 'twas happy he lost not his Kingdom too: a Victory so reasonable and super-successful, that Fortune, as enamor'd of him, seem'd to prostitute her self to him, and rais'd the Expectations of his future Successes to that height, that the Emperor Maximilian, who had before submitted (though Lord of no less then eight Kingdoms) to serve him in the condition of a private Souldier for the wages of One hundred Crowns a day, now (as some report) profer'd to surrender his Empire and Duchy of Milan to him: and the King of France resolving to purchase his Friendship at any rate, condition'd to pay yearly to him, and his Successors Kings of England, for ever, Forty six thousand Crowns de Soleile, and twenty four Sols Tournois, with One thousand five hundred Crowns more as a Tribute, out of the Salt of Breuge, as may appear by the Agreement Anno 1527. the confirmation of which Treaty cost his Son Charles, after the death of his Father (who
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did not long survive the Composition) a Million of Crowns more. Now if his Enemies had such dread of him, what esteem must we imagine the Pope had, who owed his Deliverance to him. Silver and Gold he had none to tender, but such as he had, Glorious and Grateful Titles he was very prodigal of: For besides that of Liberato Urbis, & Orbis (the Stile of his Ancestor Constantine the Great, and therefore though only fit for Henry the Great) it being occasional and temporary; the Conclave had under consideration such as might be perpetuated to all Ages. Some mov'd to have him call'd Defensor Romanae Ecclesiae: others propos'd Protector Sedis Apostolicae: others again lik'd better to have him still'd Rex Apostolicus, as some Rex Orthodoxus: but at last all agreed in that of Defensor Fidei. After this he was made Head of the Holy League, out of belief That there could no Authority Superior to his, be interes'd either for the Conservation of good men in Peace, or repressing those that are ill by War (for so are the words of the Fourteenth Article of the League.) This shews that he was so much greater than any of the Kings were before him, by how much they only gave Laws at home, but he throughout all Christendom, disposing War and Peace as made most to the advantage of his own People, who were thereupon so well satisfied with the Conduct of his Government, that his Will seems to have been the Supreme Law. For as he needed to have said no more to his Parliaments, then as one of the Roman Emperors (cited by Suetonius) was used to say to the Senate, Scito quid velim & quibus Opus habeo: So they could say no more to him, nor indeed any Parliament to any King, then was declar'd by their giving up themselves and their Liberties wholly to him, in that Act of highest Trust and Confidence, that ever Subjects pass'd, when they consented that he should (in case he had no Issue of his own) dispose the Imperial Diadem of this Realm as his Highness pleas'd, by Will or Patent.

Thus great was this King whiles he continued to be himself, keeping the Rains of Government in his own hands: but after he suffer'd himself to be govern'd by others (who took advantage of his to serve their own Lusts) like one drawn from his Center, his motions were so irregular, and the intrigues of States so perplex'd, that we cannot wonder at those Disorders which followed, to the great interruption of his Peoples peace and prosperity, but much more of his own, whilst that which private men esteem their greatest happiness, fell out to be his greatest curse, the enjoyment of a most vertuous, discreet, and loving Wife; who being a Lady of that quick-sight, that she look'd thorough all his great Ministers Ambitions, and occasionally detected their Designs, was undone by the same way she hoped to preserve her self and him. For the jealous Cardinal Wolfey, his great Minister, doubting that she might interpose her self between the King and him, as the Moon betwixt the Sun and the Earth, and thereby deprive him of those warm influences of Grace from whence his power took life, he design'd to blast her as it were by Lightning from Heaven, or rather by a Spark from Hell, casting a Scruple into the Kings Conscience, which quickly set it on fire, upon the apprehension of being guilty of the incestuous Sin of knowing his Brothers Wife. This was so craftily managed, that it was not known for a while out of what Quiver the Arrow came: but a Treaty being had about a Marriage of the King of France with the Lady Mary, the Kings Daughter by her, it was so order'd that the Bishop of Tarbe (the principal Commissioner on that side) should make some doubt of the legitimacy of the Princess, thereby to bring on the Question of Incest. This though it was urged with somewhat more then usual vehemency, yet his Authority
authority not being such as to move the King much at that time. The Cardinal secretly engaged the Bishop of Lincoln, his Majesty's Confessor, to press him farther upon it, knowing well (as he acknowledged afterward) that whatever was once put into the King's head, would hardly ever be got out again; nothing doubting withal, but that it was in his power at any time to conjure the Devil down again as soon as he had done his Service; and after he had tumbled the Queen down (or at least) brought her into a necessity of making use of his Friendship, wherein he had two great ends. First, to flatter his great Patron the French King, with the hopes (in case of a Divorce) of marrying his fair Sister, the Duchess of Alençon, to the King, whose Alliance was then of great importance to that Crown. Secondly, to perform a very real Service to his distressed Chief the Pope, who being now more persecuted by the Emperor, then before by the King of France, and at that present in Duref, might possibly be released by the very menace of such a Divorce as this; the Emperor, both as Uncle to the Queen, and as Competitor with the French King for the Universal Monarchy, being moved by Affection and Interest to prevent so violent a breach in his Alliance.

But as a Mine when it is sprung, doth oftentimes other kind of Execution then they who fire it intended it should, so happen'd it in this Case: For instead of making a small breach upon the King's Peace, that might amount to no more but the causing a temporary abstinence from the Queen's Bed; to which 'twas hop'd (he her self might give occasion, by a voluntary Retirement into some Cloyster, where she might remain civilly dead, till his Excellency the Cardinal made up the breach again) it begat such a rupture in his Thoughts, that he could have no rest: and as one lick at heart, thought himself not safe in the hands of any one Physician, neither indeed of all those that he had at home, till he had the Opinions of those in all the Universities abroad; which made the business so publick, that Luther (who had a little before set up for himself; finding there might be a good Conclusion from so bad a Beginning, by making way for some Protestant Lady of that Country, that might advance the Reformation begun by him there, he vexed the Question a long while: and finding that the Pope, over-aw'd by the Emperor, durst not consent to a Divorce, he to scandalize him the more, set forth, by many learned Arguments, the unlawfulness of the Marriage; and so nettled King Henry, that the Pope doubting the effects of his Impatience, propos'd by way of Expedient (though but faintly) to Gregory Gaffalio, the English Refusent, then at Rome, that he would permit him ad tuam descend Hacrem, which in plain English was, That if the King pleased, he would allow him to have two Wives at once. Now whether it were that the King doubted his power, and thought he could not make good what he promised, for that he could not make that Marriage out, which he had already, to be either lawful or unlawful, so as to relieve him or dismiss it: Or whether he had (as is more probable) a clear Sentiment of the Pope's flight Opinion of him, in making so unusual, not to say unlawful a Proposal to him, is not certain; but certain it is, he never forgave the Affront, till by virtue of his own proper power he had divorced himself from his Authority: which the Cardinal labouring to uphold by his Legatine power, out of hope of being himself Pope, not only left himself in the attempt, but drew all the Clergy who took part with him into a Premunire: Of whose Error his wife Servant Cromwel took the advantage, making his Masters fall the occasion of his own rising, by whom the thoroughly humbled Convocation were perswaded.
swayed to petition the King for their pardon, under the Title and Stile of Ecclesia & Cleri Anglicani Protecor, & supremum Caput; which rais'd a greater dispute upon the Supremacy not long after, then was before upon the point of Divorce. For the Bishop of Rochester, who by reason of his great learning and sanctity of Life, was a leading man, refusing to subscribe the aforesaid Petition, unless some words might be added by way of explanation of the Kings Supremacy; Cromwel took the Defence thereof upon himself, and by advice with Bishop Cranmer, there were many Arguments brought to justify the same, both from the Authority of Kingship in general, de Communi Jure, by virtue of that Divine Law that has given the title of a Royal Priesthood to all anointed Kings (and to which by a parallel Case the Pope himself did not long after give more then a seeming allowance:) For Clement the Seventh, at the interview of Marjelles, when he was urged by some that desired Reformation, and preft for the liberty of receiving the Sacrament in both kinds, by an Argument taken from the custome of the Kings of France, who always received both Elements; he answered, That it was a peculiar priviledge by which Kings were differenced from other men, as being anointed with the Unction of Priesthood, as likewise from the particular Prerogative of the Kings of this life, de proprio jure, or by the Common Law of this Land, which was of ancienter date then any prescription made by the Pope, having been ratified by the Sanction of several Acts of Parliament, that had declared all Spiritual Jurisdiction to be inherent in the Crown. This Doctrine of his wanted not its Use, for the King had this immediate benefit of the Dispute, to be restored to the Annates and First-fruits of the Bishopricks: and now the Bond of his Holiness Authority being thus loosed, one priviledge dropped out after another, till at length they not only divested him of the profit, but of the honour of his Fatherhood, forbidding any to call him any more * Papa or Pater, for that there could be but one Lord and Father, but only Bishop of Rome.

These Annates, as they were some of the principal Flowers of the Triple Crown, and could not well be pluck'd off without defacing the Sacred Tyara, so the whole Conclave took such an alarm at the los of them, that apprehending no less then a total defection to follow, they most peremptorily cited the King himself to appear at Rome under pain of Excommunication. This was thought to be so unreasonable an Indignity offered to his Majesty (in respect it was neither convenient for him to abandon his Kingdom, by going so far in Person, nor any way decent to trust the Secrets of his Conscience to a pragmatical Proctor) that the Parliament, who were conven'd to consider of the matter, thought it but necessary to put a stop to all Appeals to be made out of the Realm, under the penalty of Premunire; and pray'd his Majesty without more ado to appoint a Court of Delegates here at home, to determine the Cause. Upon which the Marriage being not long after declared void, Cromwell hastened on the Match with the Lady Anne Bulloigne; but the Court of Rome judging the first Marriage good, and the last void, anathematiz'd all that were assistant in the Divorce: and to shew how much they were incens'd by the precipitation of their Sentence, they concluded it in one only, which by the usual Form could not be finish'd in less then three Consistories. This began that Fiery tryal which followed not long after, wherein we may say his Holiness himself prov'd to be the very first Martyr, dying immediately after the pronunciation of that great Curse, as one blasted by the Lightning of his own Thunder, whereby the Church Universal being without a Head,
The Reformists here took that opportunity to provide for their own, by declaring the King Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England: for the support of which Dignity, they vested in the Crown the first-fruits of all Benefices (as they had before of all Bishopricks) Dignities: and Offices whatever spiritual. Setting forth in what manner Bishops Suffragans should be nominated and appointed, and what their Priviledges and Authorities should be. In defence of which their proceedings, the King himself wrote an excellent Book (or at least it pass'd for his) De Potestate Christianorum Regum in suis Ecclesiis, contra Pontificis Tyrannidem, &c.

But there were many however, and those of no small note, who continued so obstinate in their Popish Principles, that they could neither be moved by his Pen nor his Penalties to submit, chusing rather to part with their Blood then their Blessing: And whether they were real or mistaken Martyrs, or not rather Sufferers then Martyrs, I will not take upon me to say, for it being as hard for others to judge them, as for themselves to judge the thing they died for; Truth and Treason being in those dayes Qualities, so like one another, that they were scarcely to be discern'd, as appears by the nice Cases of those two, I think the most eminent persons of all that were so unhappy as to suffer for setting up the Papal above the Regal Authority, the Learned Bishop of Rochester, and the Judicious Chancellor Sir Thomas Moore; whose Contradiction could no way determine the Point, though it was the occasion of determining their Lives; their Cases being made worse by the fame way they thought to have made their Causes better: The first being found Guilty of saying too much for himself; the other of saying too little. The Bishop deferring to add to his Oath those words by way of Explanation, Quantum per Chriæi Legem liceret, had this Interpretation, that the addition amounted to a flat denial and depriving the King of his Title and Dignity, within the Statute of 26. being in effect, that per Chriæi Legem non liceret. The wife Chancellor (admonished as he thought sufficiently by the Bishops error) to avoid the danger of any Interpretation, ran into a worse: for answering nothing when the Kings Council asked his Opinion of the Supremacy, his Silence was interpreted Misprisition of Treason within the Statute aforesaid, for that (as the Indictment runn) Malitiaœ Silletat.

Paul the third being in the Chair at the time when these two eminent men suffered, hearing the King had seal'd his new Title in Blood, thought it in vain to expect longer his Return to the Apostolick Obedience (as he call'd it) and therefore peremptorily summoned him by a terrible Bull to appear within Ninety dayes, and make his submission; otherwise he and all that assisted him, should be given up to utter Damnation, as judged Hereticks. The King depriv'd of his Realm, the Realm depriv'd of his Benefidion, all the Iffue by the last Match declar'd illegitimate, all Ties of Allegiance discharged, all Commerce with other States forbidden, the Leagues made by other Princes with him nullified, the Nobility commanded to take up Arms against him, and the Clergy to depart the Kingdom: Now because this last seem'd to be the greatest Menace, at least the Pope would have it thought so; both in respect of his power over them, and theirs over the Conscience: the King took the first advantage of it and sent away many of them against their wills, dissolving no less then Six hundred forty five of their Societies, which much forwarded his Designs with the Conferate Princes of Germany, whose Friendship now he seem'd to have some need of, they believing by this he would wholly renounce all Papistry: to which his late Queen was highly disaffected, and against which his great Minister
Minister Cromwell was deeply ingaged, and from which himself was sufficiently discharged by the Popes declaring him (as he did) a Heretick: for how could he be no further bound to Paul the Third, then his Ancestor Henry the Second was to Alexander the Third (the first Pope that was ever acknowledged here) to whom he made only a Conditional Oath, quod ab Alexandro summo Pontifice, & ab Catholico ejus Successoribus non recercer, quemdiu ipsum Erat Regem Catholicum habuerint. Gen. Dowbern. Col. 1422. 18. Then thereupon dispa't'd an Ambassador to him to define him to accept the Title of Patron and Defender of their League. But the News of Queen Anne's Execution, which for the suddenness and severity of it, not to say any thing of the Injustice (because some were of Opinion that the least Caufe of Jealousie in Queens is equivalent to guilt in private Women) begat such an abhorrence of his dire Inconstancy (for she was flourishing, accused, condemned, beheaded, and another placed in her room at Bed and Board, and all within a Months space) that they fell off again from the Treaty they had entertain'd, almost as soon as they began it, believing it a Scandal to their Cause (as some of them said) to need the protection of the Devil: However the great Ministers here gave it out that the Discrepancy of Interest was the only caufe of the Breach, they requiring Money of him, without being able to answer the Reciprocal on their part. But the true State of Reason was, that some of the wiser sort conceiv'd they could not safely admit his Supremacy, for fear they should be oblig'd by the same rule to set up a Title for their own Sovereign the Emperor, in his Dominions, which would be more inconvenient then to leave it where it was in the Pope, who being at further distance, could not so easily reach them. But long it was not ere the unexpected caufe of that Innocent Queens sufferings was made manifest by the unexpected Labour of Queen Jane her Secessor, who made so good speed to bring the King a Son and Heir (which was the thing he defir'd above all things in the World) that being married on the Twentieth of May she fell in Labour the Twelfth of October following. But Providence that had decreed the should only Conceive, but not bring forth, to signalize the Revenge of Queen Anne's Death, by that of hers, put it into the Kings heart to turn himself Man-Midwife, rather then lose the hopes of a Kingdom; who accordingly commanded the Child to be rip'd untimely out of her Womb: an act of great horror, and so much more unwillingly perform'd, for that he was unprovided of another Wife for the present. In this Condition Bishop Gardner found him at his Return out of Germany, who putting him out of all hopes of any Closure with the Protestant Princes, unless he would come under the Standard of their Faith, and allow of the Augustan Confession; easilyperswaded him to purge himself of the scandal of Heresie, by shewing the World he had only shook off the Pope, but not the Religion. Here the Scene chang'd again, and the first thing appear'd was that bloody Statute containing the Six Articles, which being discharg'd as a Murthering Piece amongst the new Reformists, cut off most of those who stood in its way: the Report whereof was so loud and terrible, that the two great Prelates, Latimer Bishop of Worcester, and Shaxton Bishop of Salisbury, were frightned out of their Bishopricks; who not being willing to have any hand in the approbation or execution of them, suffer'd as patiently under his Title of Defender of the Faith as the Bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas Moore had before under that of his Supremacy. And now Conscience being revolted from its ancient way of resolving Doubts, to an abrupt Decision of the Common Law, that did not instruct but force the Offenders, 'tis not to much a wonder how so many came to suffer
suffer death under his Reign, as how 50 many surviv'd it; all Papists being in danger to be hang'd, and all Anti-papists to be burn'd. Yet in this great Storm *Cromwell* behav'd himself like a wise Pilot, who finding he could not prevent the running of the Vessel in a contrary Course to his mind, thought it enough that he kept it from being quite over-set: and accordingly with great dexterity he brought on the Treaty once more with the Confederate Princes, who were it seems alarum'd by the Counter-League which the Roman Catholicks set up under the Title of *The Holy League*; the consequences of which being justly to be suspected, he made use of their present apprehensions to renew the Treaty, and by his contrivance there came a Letter to the King from *Melanthon* (to whom the King seem'd always to have great regard) exhorting him to perfect the Reformation begun, as well in the Doctrinal as the Ceremonial part of Worship. To which the King, by advice of *Gardiner*, gave this Answer, *That he would make a League with them in honest Causes, as he had done with the Duke of Juliers*, and after that *he would treat of an Accord in Religion*. This being no way satisfactory to them, much less to *Cromwell*, who had flatter'd them with hopes of a better Accommodation, he call'd about another way to compass his end, and knowing very well that the King did always prefer his Pleasure before his Revenge (as those that mean to take great Fishes bait their Hooks with flesh) so he held up the Treaty with the Proposal of a new Match, that he believ'd could not but be very acceptable, not only in respect of the Kings having been near three Years a Widower, but for that it was such as (he said) would at once anger and curb the Emperor, the Popes only Executioner, to make good his late Fulmination: *This was a Daughter to the Duke of Cleve*, who being a Protestant, and Father in Law to the Duke of *Saxony*, and next Neighbour to the Emperors Dominions in the Low Countries: there seem'd to be in the Proposal great Considerations of State, besides that of Riches and Beauty; the last being the first thing in the Kings Thoughts, wherein *Hans Holbin* the famous Painter contributed much to the deceiving him, which whether it prov'd more unfortunate to her, or *Cromwell*, I cannot say: but it so fell out, that the King disgusted her after he saw her, was easily prevail'd with to repudiate her, and consequently to reject the Match-maker, who having it in his Fate to be undone (as he was at first set up) by the Smock, was sacrificed to the Envy of the People rather then his Masters Displeasure, who let them lay the load of his Faults upon him, and being a Prince that drew upon all his great Ministers more blame than either they could bear, or durst answer, he left him to perish under the weight of it. And which made his Cafe more deplorable perhaps then that of most others that felt the weight of his Iron Rod, and therefore look'd more like a Judgment from Heaven then Earth, was, *First*, that he suffer'd him to be condemn'd, at the same time all other men, by a general and free pardon, were indemnified from the same Crimes, of which he stood accus'd. *Secondly*, in that he died like *Phalaris*, by an Instrument (as some say) of his own inventing. *Thirdly* and lastly, that after having been Vicegerent to the Defender of the Faith, he should dye for opposing the Faith, after having had the repute of a faithful Servant, indeed so faithful, that (as Cranmer's Letter to the King, yet to be seen, testifies) he cared not whom he displeas'd to serve his Majesty, he should dye like one that had merited no favour from him. That he who was so vigilant to detect all Treasons in their Embrio, should dye like a Traytor himself. That he that had no bounds set to his Authority, should dye for exceeding his Commission. *Lastly*,
Lastly, That he who was the only Master of Requests, and gave an answer to all men that made any Addresses to the King, should himself dye unheard as well as unpitied. But when we consider all this, we must conclude the end of some men's Rise is to keep others from Falling; Providence oftentimes upholding Justice even by Injustice, that so by correcting some men cau-

The King having thus rid himself of his new Wife, and his old Servant, both submitting to his Will; the first with the loss of her Estate and Dignity (for instead of being his Queen, she was adopted his Sister) the last with the loss of both his Estate and Life; he found the means to repair the want of the one (though he could not of the other) by taking to his Bed (perhaps with no disparity to his Greatness, if there had been none betwixt her own Vertue and Beauty) the fair Lady Katherine Howard, niece to the Duke of Norfolk, who seems to be born to be a Scourge of the Injustice shewed to his former Wives, whilst her Incontinence, under the veil of a clear and most modest behaviour, appear'd so notorious, that being confessed by her self, he himself was forc'd to suffer in the Shame with her: which he was so sensible of, that we find by a Law ex post facto, he labour'd to prevent the like for the future. And now being as it were weary of Pleasures of that kind, this being his fifth Wife that was executed, or suffer'd worse, his Love gave place once more to his Ambition, which he gratified with a new Title, or rather the Superfœtation of an old one, causing himself to be called King of Ireland, whereas none of his Predecessors were otherwise stiled then Lords thereof: which, as it was in the first place intended by him as an additional honour to that Nation, rather than to himself, so in the last place he did it to prevent James the Fifth of Scotland, who had an Invitation from some of the discontented Nobility there, to have taken it on him, having before affronted him by affixing the Title of Defender of the Faith, with the addition only of the word (Christian) as if there were any other Faith but what was in truth so: and because he was resolv'd to quarrel him upon it, he sent to require Homage to be paid him for that Kingdom, urging that the Kings of that Nation had for many Ages submitted themselves in a qualified Condition of Vassalage under the Kings his Ancestors, both before and since the Conquest.

This begat a War which ended not with the Life of that King, being struck to the heart with the melancholy apprehensions of being over-march'd: who dying, left a young Daughter to succeed, whom King Henry thought a fitting Wife for his Son Prince Edward; and accordingly afterward, in despair of all the tricks of the French Party, that then rul'd there, he brought it to such a Treaty, as amounted to a Contract, being under Hands and Seals of both sides. But the Scots shewing themselves by their wonted breach of Faith, to be true Scots, all ended in War, wherein though they were victorious, yet the main business was nothing advanced by the Success, there being more done then became a Suiter for Alliance, and too little for one pretending to Conquest. Hereupon he was forc'd to try the Fortune of another Treaty with the discontented Earl of Lenox, who having formerly been set up by the French, to be Governor of the young Queen and the Kingdom, but deserted by them when he had most need of their aid, he was thought the fittest Person to be tampered with for regaining the Point, or at least to keep all quiet there: whilst the King, assisted by the Emperour, with whom he had newly entered into a strict League, fought more considerable Glory in the Invasion of France, whither he resolved to go again in Person: where, notwithstanding that King out of dread of
of his power, had summoned all his Feites, and brought together his Arrerabane (as they call them) to oppose him; he took the Town of Bulloigne, and had undoubtedly enlarged his conquests to the very Walls of Paris, had not the Emperor privately patched up a Peace without him. Upon notice whereof he thought fit to return home to reinforce the War in Scotland: where, though he did not much, yet 'twas more perhaps than was expected at that time. For notwithstanding their conjunction with the French, who entered upon one side, whiles they pressed on the other, both fetting upon him, like two Mastiffs upon a Lion, yet he only rowsing himself, shook them off again, and pursuing them home to their own doors, did them so much more mischief then they were able to do to him, that they called for quarter, choosing rather to treat than fight: upon which there ensued a Peace, the Conditions whereof who're examine, will find that he knew how to yield, as well as how to conquer, giving them the reputation of having back their good Town of Bulloigne, but they were to pay him for it Eight hundred thousand Crowns, and the possession was to be his till the last payment were made.

And now having as it were tired himself with Victory, it was time to retire into the consideration of taking his eternal rest, having seen many of his brave men go before him; as the valiant Lord Poynings, the Hardy Duke of Suffolk, his constant Favorite, the Noble Lord Ferrers of Chartley, the brave Lord Grey, &c. And it being now the Eight and thirtyeth year of his Reign and the Six and fiftieth of his Age, labouring under an unutterable heaviness of Body, and perhaps a greater of Mind, having made Peace with all Enemies, but the Scots and the Pope, having disjoined the Frame of Religion, and drove away most of those that should put it in frame again, having by the Severity of his Justice taken off two Queens, two Cardinals (for Pooe stood condemn'd, though not apprehended) three Dukes, Marquisses, Earls, and Earls' Sons twelve, Barons and Knights eighteen, which could not but irritate much the Temporal Nobility; and of Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Monks, Friars (which as much incenst the Clergy) no les then Seventy seven, having offended his Roman Catholick Subjects, by disowning the See of Rome, and his Protestant Subjects, by rejecting the Reformation; he was brought at last to that unhappy period, to leave the Crown to a Child, whose condition was like to prove as uncertain, under the Government of a Protector, as the Kingdom under his; which in case of want of Issue of his Body, was to descend to his two Sisters successively; of whose Legitimacy, Religion, and Title, there were as many scruples before they parted from the Sovereignty, as ever their Father conceiv'd in point of State, Conscience, or Honour, before he parted from their Mothers. So from the Catastrophe of his whole Story we may bring this remark, That as no man could measure his Happiness by his Greatness, so neither can they take any scantling of his Greatness by any thing that the World calls Happiness; it being very true which the Marquiss of Dorset told him very plainly, and not unpleasingly, at a time when he was ill disposed to hear a jest, and not well prepared to be serious, to wit, That no man could be truly merry that had above one Wife in his Bed, one Friend in his Bosom, and one Faith in his Heart.
EDW. VI. 1546.

The Compleation of the Government of these three last Kings, Grandfather, Father, and Son, seems to have been as different as that of themselves. The first whereof may be said to have been Melancholy, the next Cholerick, and this last (inclining to Flegm) the weakest Constitution of all. His Father's Reign was like that under the Law, which being violent, fierce, and terrible, was typified under the form or figure of a Lion: His like that under the Gospel, being gentle, soft, and mild, was not unfitly compared to a Lamb; which in respect of the proportion of time it held, was as little in Stature, in comparison of the other, as a Lamb to a Lion, and not without as apparent imbecillity, and that upon a threefold Account: First, in respect of the tenderness of his own Age, being upon the matter a Child when he came to the Crown; and such an one, as was so much the weaker, by how much he received his Life by the Death of her that gave it him: which the Male-contents of that Age, interpreted a portent of his beginning, with the destruction of his Mother the Church. Secondly, in respect of the Nonage of the Reformation, which at the time of his Father's Decease, was scarce old enough to speak its Mother Tongue, at least not to be understood but by very few; there being no more permitted to be in English, but the Ave-Mary, the Pater-Noster, the Creed and the Ten Commandments. Thirdly and lastly, in respect to the unnatural Division between his two nearest Relations by his Mother's side, the Duke of Somerset, and the Lord Sadley his Uncles; the one Protector of his Person, and so absolute Lord by Land; the other Lord High Admiral, and so absolute Lord by Sea; which Quarrel, as it took up most of the time of his Reign, so it ended not till they ended themselves; and by their own, did in effect make way to his destruction. The Contest between them being not much unlike that between a Pilot and a Captain of a Ship in a storm, who disputing one another's Authority, the Weather-beaten Vessel driving upon the Sand, by first parting it self, parts them. The Protector seemed
seem'd to have a visible advantage of the Admiral in Years, Dignity, and Authority; however, all he could do, could not bring him (though the younger Brother) to stoop; but as he wrestled hard before he fell, so falling, he pluck'd t'other down with him: which shews there was something more in the Quarrel, then what is generally reported to have been the ground of it. For however it be imputed to the Emulation of their two proud Wives, whose Animosities (not much unlike that of Cæsarea the Wife of Commodus, and Lucilia the Relict of Lucius Verus) mixing with the Caule of Religion (the one being a Protestant, t'other a Papist) did at last divide the whole Kingdom, as well as their own Families: yet 'twas not in the power of Envy or Pride to have so divided them, had not Nature had its share in the Fewd, as well as Providence; that giving them different Constitutions, as t'other had created them different Interests: for the Protector was mild, affable, open, and well-meaning, and had he been as free from Covetousness as he was from Jealousie, must needs have had the better of his younger Brother; the other was fierce, turbulent, and ambitious, but withal very generous and Magnificent; and had not his resolution tended to raffiness, he must needs have had the better of his elder Brother. The one's Spirit was fitted to the King, t'other's more agreeable to the Time: both were active and stirring; both alike valiant, but not alike bold. The Duke had the odds in point of Dignity; the Admiral the advantage in point of Fortune. The first valued himself at the rate as he was set over a King; t'other look'd on himself as he was in some sense the Superior of a Queen: for he had married the Lady Katherine Fan, the last of King Henry's Wives, who challenging Precedence before the Protectors Wife, gave occasion to that Dispute, which after heightened the difference betwixt them. The elder Brother's Wife claiming the place in right of her Husband, the better man every way; the younger's Wife infiting on her own Right, as being as undoubtedly the better Woman. The first was a Lady of the higher Spirit; the last a Lady of the higher Place. This had been a Queen, but was in the wain of her Glory; the other was the present Wife of one that then represented a King, and was in the ascendent of his Glory. In this Feminine Quarrel (wherein for the most part the Dignity of the Man gives the rule of respect to that of the Woman) the Authority of the elder Brother so overwhelmed the younger, that he finding he could not be his Equal, till he became his Superiour, resolv'd to attempt to pluck him down, and vault into the empty Saddle; to seize on the King, and by having him, to get likewife the Power of the Kingdom. Neither wanted he Courage, Money, or Friends, to accomplish the Design: all the Roman Catholic Nobility being well-wishers to him; but particularly he had ingaged the Earl of Warwick (after Duke of Northumberland) the greatest man of Power, and the Marquis of Dorset, after Duke of Suffolk, the greatest Man of Interests: the one drawn in by the hopes of advancing his Son, t'other his Daughter. For the Admiral was so insolent as to promise them, that the first should marry one of the Kings Sisters, and t'other the King himself. Whereby 'twas apparent he intended to make the Consequences of his Success no less fatal to the whole Kingdom, than to his Brother.

Now whether his Lady, that had been the Wife of a King before, did (while she was alive) put him upon any hopes of being so now (for ambitious Men, like faith Doves, mount the higher for being blinded) is not certain; but certain it is, that as soon as she died (which was not long after), he refus'd the confidence to approach so near the Throne, as to Court the Lady Elizabeth the second time, now grown a little riper for consent, then
then when he first mov'd the Question to her. Neither was it carried so
secretly, but that his Brother had an insight into the whole Practice, and at
least discover'd the whole Plot; but conceal'd his knowledge of it, either
out of pity or prudence, as loath to ruin him with the hazard of losing
himself; or as doubting perhaps that the Sword of Justice was not long e-
ough to reach him, at least not sharp enough to cut thorough the knot of
the whole Conspiracy. But as Fate never fails undoing the man she has de-
termin'd to destroy, and when the falls upon him, makes the first stroke at
his head: so happen'd it in this unhappy Lord's case, who being unexpe-
dectedly undermînd, was blown up by a Train that seems to have taken fire as
it were by Lightning from Heaven, his Treason being first detected out of
the Pulpit; and the Protector his Brother so prest, by an eloquent Sermon
of Bishop Latimer, to Impeach him, that he being not able to clear him,
was in some fence obliged to clear himself by a Speech which prov'd as o-
minous as it was obvious, saying at the same time he caus'd him to be ap-
prehended, That he would do and suffer Justice. And fo he did, when he sign'd
the Warrant for his Execution (after the Parliament found him Guilty) with
his own hand. A singular piece of Self-denial, and such as is rarely found
in Story (there being very few that so much prefer the publick before their
own private Interest, as not to spare their own flesh and blood.) However,
looking fo like Revenge, it was by most men judged unnatural, and taking
no less from the honour of his Justice, than that intended to have taken
from the Prerogative of his Honour, fo shook the frame of his Authority,
that it broke in pieces presently after; and both Factions of Papists and
Protestants falling off from him, he was expos'd to the cunning of Warwick,
and the scorn of the Marquis of Dorset, his most unreconcilable Enemies.
The Papists quit him as believing the Obligation cease'd by which, when he
cease'd by whom they were held in, having been true to him no otherwise,
but for his Brothers sake only. The Protestants fail'd him, because they
doubted he might fail them: For how could they think he would give them
any Affittance, that had given to his own Brother so little. Thus when two
great Trees grow up together out of one and the same Stock, we see that
the cutting down of the one commonly indangers the blowing down of the
other; which remaining single and expos'd to every storm, cannot stand
unless it have a firm ground, as well as a spreading Root. Neither was it
long that the Protector bore up after his Brothers Fall: the great care he
took to build his House, being no less fatal to him, then the little care
he had to support his Family, whiles the Stones of those Churches, Chap-
els, and other Religious Houses that he demolish'd for it, made the cry of
the Walls so loud, that himself was not able to endure the noise; the Peo-
pole echoing to the defamation, and charging him with the guilt of Sacri-
ledge so furiously, that he was forced to quit the place, and retire with the
King to Windsor, leaving his Enemies in possession of the strength of the Ci-
ty, as well as the affections of the Citizens, who by the reputation of their
power, rather then the power of their repute, prevail'd with the King as eas-
ily to give him up to publick Justice, as he was before prevail'd with to
give up his Brother: it being no small temptation to the young King to for-
fake him, when he forsook himself so far, as to submit to the acknowledge-
ment of that Guilt he was not conscious of. The Lawyers charged
him with removing Westminster-hall to Somerset-house. The Souldiers with
detaining their Pay, and betraying their Garrisons. The States-men with
ingrossing all Power, and endeavouring to alter the Fundamental Laws, and
the ancient Religion. But he himself charg'd himself with all these Crimes,
when he humbled himself so far, as to ask the King's pardon publickly, which
his Adversaries were content he should have, having first strip'd him of his
Protectorship, Treasurership, Marshalship, and two thousand pound a year
Land of Inheritance. But that which made his Fate yet harder was, that
after having acquitted himself from all Treason against his Prince, he should
come at last to be condemn'd as a Traitor against his Fellow-Subject, whilst
the Innocent King labouring to preserve him, became the principal Insti-
tute of his Destruction: who by reconciling him to his great Adversaries,
made the Enmity so much the more incompatible; who at the same time he
gave the Duke his Liberty, gave the Earl of Warwick and his Friends the
Complement of some new Titles, which adding to their Greatness, he rea-
sonably judge might take from their Envy. The Earl himself he created
Duke of Northumberland, and Lord High Admiral of England; and to ob-
lige him yet more, married up his eldest Son the Lord Dudley, to his own
Coffin, the second Daughter of the Duke of Somerset, whom he gave to him
for the more honour with his own hand: and made Sir Robert Dudley, his
fourth and his beloved Son (the fame that was after made by Queen El-
izabeth Earl of Leicester) one of the Gentlemen of his Bedchamber. And
to gratifie the whole Faction, he made the Marquiss of Dorset, Duke of Suf-
folk, the Lord Sir John, Earl of Wiltz, and afterwards Marquiss of Winshefter,
Sir John Kaffel, who was Northumberland's Confident, he created Earl of
Bedford, Sir William Page, another of his Tools, he made Lord Page. This
the good natur'd King did out of sincere Affection to his Uncle, in hopes to
reconcile him so thoroughly to Northumberland, so that there might be no
more room left for Envy or Suspect betwixt them. But as there is an invi-
sible Erinnis that attends all Great men, to do the drudgery of their Ambi-
tion, in serving their Revenge, and observing the Dictates of their power
and pride; so it was demonstrable by the most unfortunate issue of this so
well intended purpoze,that by the fame way the King hoped to please both
he pleas'd neither: Somerset thinking he had done too much; Northum-
berland thinking that he had done too little; who having drunk so deep a
Draught of Honour, grew hot and dry, and like one fall'n into a State-Drop-
sie, swelled so fast, that Somerset perceiving the Fever that was upon him,
resolv'd to let him blood with his own hand. And coming one day to his
Chamber under the colour of a Visit, privately armd, and well attended
with Seconds, that waited him in an outward Chamber, found him naked in
his Bed, and supposing he had him wholly in his power, began to expostu-
late his wrongs with him, before he would give him the fatal stroke:
whereby another perceiving his intent, and being armd with a Weapon that
Somerset had not a ready fence for, (an Eloquent Tongue) he acquitted him-
self so well, and string'd upon him with so many indearing protestations, as
kept the point of his Revenge down, till it was too lateto make any Thrust
at him. Whereby Northumberland got an advantage he never hop'd for, to
frame a second Accusation against him, so much more effectual then the for-
mer, by how much he brought him under the forfeiture of Felony, as being
guilty of imagining to kill a Privy Counsellor, for which he was the more
worthily condemn'd to lose his Head, in that he so unworthily lost his Re-
solution, at the very iniant of time when he was to vindicate his too much
abus'd Patience, thereby betraying those of his Friends that came to second
him, into the Scandal of a Crime, which (had it succeeded) would have pa-
s'd for a managinious piece of Justice, in cutting off one, whom however
he was content to spare, Providence it seems was not, referring him
to die a more ignoble death, and by a worse hand.

The
The sorrow for his ignominious fall, as it much affected the Consumptive King his Nephew, who was now left as a Lamb in the keeping of the Wolf, the Duke of Northumberland, having got as high in Power as Title, by ruining the Family of the Seymours; so his end, which was not long after, put an end to the Reformation, and made way for the Dudley's to aspire with incredible Ambition, and not without hope of setting the Succession of the Crown in themselves. For the Duke finding that the King languished under a Hectical Distemper, and having better assurance, than perhaps any one else could, from his Son that always attended in his Bedchamber, that it was impossible for him to hold out long, for Reasons best known to him, he cast about how to introduce the far fetch'd Title of his other Son, who had married the Lady Jane Gray, eldest Daughter to the Duke of Suffolk by the Lady Frances, one of the Daughters and Heirs of Charles Brandon, by his Wife Mary Queen of France, the second Daughter of Henry the Seventh. And however this seem'd to be a very remote pretention, yet making way to other great Families to come in by the same Line, in case her Issue fail'd, to the Earl of Cumberland, who had married the other Daughter of Charles Brandon, and to the Earl of Darby that had married a Daughter of that Daughter, and to the Earl of Pembroke, that had married the Lady Jane's second Sister; it was back'd with so many well-wishers, that it was become not only terrible to the Kingdom, but to the King himself. However, there were two Objections lay in the way, the one the preference that ought to be to the Dutchess Dowager of Suffolk before the Lady Jane her Daughter, in case the right of Inheritance was set up. The other was that of the two next Heirs Females, in case the right of Immediate Succession should take place. There was a third also, but he thought it not worth the consideration, being so far off, to wit, the Title of the Queen of Scots, from the Lady Margaret eldest Daughter to the Duke of Henry the Seventh, which being in the French, seem'd to be of less weight than if it had been in the Scots, to neither of whom he believ'd the English would ever be brought to submit: but all these Difficulties were quickly digested in his ambitious Thoughts. The first, which was the pretention of the Lady Jane's Mother, he hop'd to set aside, by introducing her as the next Successor, and not as the next Heir, by right of Descent; and because the King's Sisters were before her in the Succession, so that nothing could be available to set aside their Right, but a plain Disseisure, he made use of the Interest of the one, as a Wedge to drive out the other. And finding that the King their Brother, by the Equity of a Law made in his Fathers time, had the power to nominate who he thought fit to come after him; he made it his great business to work upon his weakness, and to persuade him to set both aside, and admit the Lady Jane; taking his first Argument from his Piety and Care of the Church, under the present establishment made by himself: shewing him what danger 'twas like to be in, if so obstinate a Papist as his Sister Mary succeeded, who having been convict before all the Lords of the Council, had most passionately justified her Popish Principles, saying, She would never change her Faith, much less dissemble it: Urging thereupon that Gods Glory ought to be dearer to him than his own Flesh and Blood, that this was his last and greatest Act, of which he knew not how soon he might be call'd to give an Account to the King of Kings; and therefore desired him for Gods sake, as well as for the Kingdom, and his own sake, not to let her take place. Then for the Lady Elizabeth, whom he could not deny to be a Protestant, he said if she should be prefer'd before her elder Sister, it might possibly give an occasion to inconceivable Troubles, and revive
revive the Disputes about their Legitimacy, which had cost too much blood already: besides the hazard that would be of the Churches, no less than their own Peace, and the possibility of bringing the whole Nation under the Yoke of some stranger Prince, to whose Tyranny the People would never submit; concluding, that as the three Daughters of the Duke of Suffolk were nearest in Blood, and being married, took off all fears of introducing Forreigners; so having with their Natural, suck'd in the Sincere Milk of the Word, they could not but maintain the Truth of the Reformed Religion, as well as the Dignity of the Succession, with universal good liking. And whereas the eldest of them (to wit, the Lady Jane before mention'd) was his own Son's Wife, he could be content they should be bound by Oath to perform whatever his Majesty should Decree, for that he had no such regard to his own as to the general good. Which plausible pretences so prevail'd over the weak King, whose Zeal had eaten up his Understanding, that he made his Will, and accordingly excluded both his own Sisters to let in the other. After doing of which weak act, having nothing more to do, but to dye, 'tis thought the Duke was so grateful, as to contribute much to the delivering him out of his pains, as soon as might be, and with as much ease: for he slept away with that meekness, that those that could not find in theif hearts to pray for him living, perform'd that Charity to him when he was dead. However, some there were who sower'd with a Religious Leaven, took occasion to raise as great a scandal on the untimeliness of his death, as others had before upon that of his Birth, putting this remark upon it, to make it look like a judgment, that it was in the same Moneth, and in the very same day of the same Moneth that Sir Tho Moor was put to death by his Father. Wherein whilst they maliciously reflected upon the Evil that was past, they consider'd not how (like another Josiah) he was taken from the Evil to come; departing with this Justification before Men and Angels, That he had done as much as could be reasonably expected from the tenderness of his Years or his Power.
To take that advantage the Duke of Northumberland did of the imbecillity of the late King, and to over-reach him so in the making his Will, having intil'd into him as great a dislike of the Relation of his younger, as of the Religion of his elder Sister, seems not so strange, as arrogant: but to get that conquest he did over the judgment of his grave Counsellors, and to impose so far upon their honour and honesty, as to have that Will after ratified, as it was, by a solemn Act of State, and so far to over-awe the Cautious, not to say Cautelous, representatives of the City of London (which was a kind of Common-wealth within it self) so far as to make them confirm again the said Act of Counsel by their submision to it, shews not only his Power but his Policy to have been such, that he had nothing further for him to hope or fear, since the vertue of his Daughter, the Lady Jane, could not but be as sufficient a Security for the Affections, as his Wisdom for the Obedience of the People; she being indeed so like the King who declar'd her his Heir, in all the extraordinary, not to say miraculous qualificacions of his Mind, that being the true Inheritrix of his Graces, every one thought her fit to be so of his Kingdoms. But Heaven having fitted her to be a Saint, rather then a Queen, made use of her Exaltation, to haften her ambitious Father in Laws Fall; and to punish his Treachery to a King that did not fulpeft him, by making him too late faithful to a Queen that could not trufl him: which shews that his Courage held no proportion with his Wir, nor either with his Ambition. For no sooner heard he of the revolt of the Lord Hastings by Land, and only fix great Officers by Sea, but he himself turn'd about, and was so forward in his Apostacy, that he basely quit his being General for Queen Jane, to make himself a Herald to Queen Mary, proclaiming her Title at Cambridge, as soon almost as the other Lords had done it at London: so apprehensive are those (who have such an Enemy as Guilt within them) of the terror of those Enemies without them.
And now it appear'd how ominous it was for the Innocent Lady Jane to have been brought as she was in state to the Tower. But as she offer'd Violence to her own Inclinations, out of Obedience to those of her Father and Mother, so the assumption of that temporary was in order to the intituling her to a more laffing Glory; being taught the vanity of all humane Greatness by the brevity of that of her own, which liest not so long as 'tis reported a Dream of one did but a little before; (for there is a Story of one Foxley, a Pot-maker to the Mint in Henry the Eight's time, that slept fourteen dayes together, and no body could wake him, no not with pinching or burning) whereas she came to her self in less then ten dayes, and then, poor Lady, found herself (where he was too) in the Tower ready to be translated (as after she was) from a Kingdom to a Scaffold, and from the Scaffold to a Kingdom again. Happy had it been for her if it had prov'd a Dream only: suffering not so much for any Crime of her own Ambition, as for not refiting that of others; having this aggravation of her affliction, to see her Husband and the Duke his Father executed before her, who both died for the same Fault, but not with the same Faith that she did: The Duke that had therefore importuned King Edward to give her this fatal honour, to the intent Popery might be utterly abolisht, declaring when he came to suffer, that he himself was a Roman Catholick, which most think he had not done, had not some Promises of Life upon condition of turning, deceiv'd him at the very instant time of his Death; whereby Queen Mary was quit with him at the last, though she could not deal with him in the first place. For as he was reputed to have had no Faith whilst he lived, so by this abrupt Apostacy he was judged to have no Religion when he dyed. There is this further Remark upon him, That as he suffer'd under the same Fate, and upon the very same Block, the late Duke of Somerset did; so 'twas his hap to be laid under the same Stone, in the same Grave, where they now lyse side by side as good Friends, that living were unreconcilable Enemies: Two headless Dukes, betwixt two headless Queens, either as far divided in Religion, as they were in their Affections.

Eight dayes and upwards past between the proclaiming of this Queen and the calling her first Parliament; during which time the two Religions were publickly permitted with equal Indulgence. The Divine Service being so blended with Superstition, that (as one observes) the State of England before her Persecution, was not much unlike that of the Jews after theirs, who presently upon the Captivity, took a mid way between Hebrew and Arabick: on the same day that Maf's was sung in the Quire at Westminster, the English Service was sung in the Body of the Church. And the two Religions (if divided Opinions may deserve that Name) being thus brought to confront each other, no marvel if the Demagogues of each Perswation, julfied for Precedence; the Protestants being back'd by the present Laws, the Papists by the Prerogative: these encouraged by the Queens Opinion, thosse by her Promises. But as in the clofe of Day, light and darkness contesting for Superiority, seem equally march'd, till in the end the latter prevails: So happen'd it now upon the death of the late King, whose Religion being different to that of his Successor, the Question was which must take place, and become the Religion of the State: She her self being not so forward to declare after the came to be Queen, as the was before. But to palliate the matter in discharge of her Obligations to the Loyal Protestant Gentry of Suffolk and Norfolk, that were the first set her up, she seem'd content to call a Parliament, that might ake off the Odium from her, making way to it by a general pardon, which had so many Exceptions.
tions in it, as shew'd there would be more found at the Convention.

And now being fearless of any more danger by Rival's, happy in the single possession of her self and Throne, there wanted nothing to compleat her felicity, save that she knew it not. Whereby it fell out so unluckily, that she brought upon her self very great hatred and clamor, by that whereby most Princes secure the love of their People to them: whilst being wholly guided by those of her Council, she submitted her Reason to their Passions, who under the pretence of Religion, ingaged her in the greatest Persecution that ever was known under any Christian Government, causing her to shed more Blood, although she reign'd on y five years, four months, and some odd days, then was spilt by those two great Tyrants, Richard the Third, and her own Father, putting both together, there dy'd for Religion only (not to mention what suffer'd on Civil Accompts) no less then Three hundred; whereof there was one Arch-bishop, four Bishops, and twenty one Divines of note. But that which made it the more supportable was, that however she was prodigal of her Subjects Lives, she was yet more sparing of their Livelihoods: For she began with a rare Example in pardoning the very first Subsidy which had, and she never had but one more. So that putting that which was remitted, against that which was received, she had upon the matter none at all all her time. And yet we find she was in continual Action at home or abroad, having always (as her Father before her) occasion to make use of men at Arms, either to defend or enlarge her Dominions. For as she was obstinate in the Resolution she had taken of restoring the Popes Authority, contrary to the promise she made to those who first set her up, being perswaded by the Priest's that rul'd there, that she had no such way to manifest her Faith as by the breach of it: So she cut out so much matter for Rebellion, by the Violence she offer'd both to Conscience and Interest, that she had little Rest, but no Peace all her dayes.

Now whether it were a natural Distrust of her weaknesses she was a Woman, or a Feminine Diffidence of her Wisdom, as she was a Maid, or that in truth she desir'd a help meet for satisfaction of her Affections, as well as for support of her Affairs, is not otherwise to be judged, then by the choice she made: But for it was, that finding she could nor stand by her self without a Husband, no more then an Adjective without a substantive, she propos'd it as the first thing to her Council, directing them to make choice of such an one for her, as might be as fit to give Laws to her, as she to them. Three there were in Proposal for her; Philip Infant of Spain, Son to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, the old Cardinal Pool, and the young Marquis of Exeter: to each of which, as there were some Motives to draw her Affections, so there were many Arguments to dissuade her from them. Tho' that had respect to the settlement of the Kingdom, thought Philip the fittest match, as being a Puissant King, strengthened with many great Allies, and who had as great an Enmity to the French (the only Enemy England ought to fear) as they themselves. But against him the first Objection was, That he was a Stranger. The second, That being Native of Spain, he probably might by this Match bring England into some danger of Subjection to that Kingdom. And lastly, That there was somewhat of undecency, not to say inequality, in respect to his Person, for that it seem'd strange that she should be the Wife of the Son now, who thirty years before should have been Wife to the Father. Tho' that stood for the Cardinal urg'd his Love to his Country, and the Love the Country had for him, in respect of his great Sandimony and Wifdom, which render'd him particularly acceptable to the Queen: then for his Dignity, he was not much inferior
ferior to Kings, and by his Mother descended from Kings; and for his Age, it was more agreeable to that of the Queens, than that of either of the other two. But the principal end of Marriage being Procreation, he fell under an exception not to be answer’d, as being a Bachelor of near Sixty-four years old, and so needed a Nurse rather than a Wife. The Youth of the Lord Courtney, being a brisk Cavalier, and by Birth, as well as the best Blood of England and France could make him, gave him the preference above the Cardinal. But some of the Junto objecting, That he loved Popularity more then ever he could be brought to love the Queen, and that he needed too ranck of Lutheranism to be her Bed-fellow, they carried it by a general Vote against him, for King Philip: as well to take off all Exceptions by the Disparagement of marrying a Subject, as for those reasonable and most Incredible Advantages it brought to England, which were express’d in the Instrument of Marriage yet extant, whereof if he had any Issue betwixt them. All this notwithstanding, such was the unsettledness of the Times, or of mens Minds rather, whilst some were led by Conscience, others by their Temporal Concerns, some out of Love to Reformation, and others out of fear of Superstition; some again out of desire of Change, but most out of dread of Forreign Service, that the Conclusion of this Match gave beginning to a desperate Rebellion, which, though at first it seem’d despicable enough, being headed by no better a man then Sir Thomas Wyatt, a private Knight of Kent (the Duke of Suffolk, who was in the Conspiracy, being apprehended almost as soon as he appear’d) yet before it could be suppress’d, the wife Match-makers found they had met with their March in that Rebel, who was so fortunate as to rout the Queens General, and take all their Ordnance and Ammunition. Upon which he march’d up with full Assurance of taking the chief City; in which though he brought but five Ensigns, it’s probable he might have carried it, had not Heaven taken part against him (as usually it doth against Rebels, first arming them with Impudence, and then disarming them with Fear) making the Arch-Trayer a terrible Example of unparallel’d Insolence; who, whiles he was at large, continued bold as a Lion, but being once apprehended, proved so base a Coward, that brib’d with the hopes of Life, he made himself guilty of a greater Treachery then he was to dye for; accusing Edward Earl of Devon, and the Prince’s Elizabeth, the Queens Sister, to have been privy to his Conspiracy: which gain’d Credit no so much from the Suspicion of any private Affection betwixt them two (although he allleged they were to be married) as from the secret Disaffection either of them had, he to the King that should be, as being his Rival; she to the Queen that was, as being her Differior (the two Sisters as little agreeing in point of Right of Succession, as their two Mothers in point of Right of Marriage) but since he would have acquitted them, when he found he could not be acquitted himself by it; for having serv’d their turn of him, the Statesmen gave the fatal turn to him. However, the malitious Chancellor Gardner, revolving to take the Truth at the wrong end, and believe it as he pleas’d, secure’ them in several Prisons, till he were at leisure to examine the matter; being then deeply engaged in providing Fire and Faggots for those Learned Hereticks, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, &c. who were to make a Holocaust preparatory to the Queens Nuptials: which having been defer’d by this unexpected Rising, was now propos’d
in Parliament. For the greater confirmation, the three States of the Kingdom affenting thereto upon the Conditions following: First, That King Philip should admit no Stranger into any Office, but only Natives. Secondly, That he should Innovate nothing in the Laws and Customes of the Realm. Thirdly, That he should not carry the Queen out of the Realm without her consent, nor any of her Children without consent of the Council. Fourthly, That surviving the Queen, he should challenge no Right in the Kingdom, but suffer it to descend to the next Heir. Fifthly, That he should carry away none of the Crown Jewels, nor remove any Shipping or Ordnance. Sixthly and lastly, That he should neither directly nor indirectly intangle the Realm of England with the Wars between Spain and France. Upon which Terms 'twas hop'd by those affected not the Match, that Philip would knock off, there being neither Youth or Beauty to tempt him. But as the House of Austria did ever prefer their Ambition before their Love, so designing the universal Monarchy, he thought he made a great flép to it, by being put in possession of England, and so near intituled to France.

And now the most Catholick King being joy'n'd with the Faith defending Queen, it cannot be imagin'd, but that they must begin with Religion: In order to the Regulation whereof, Cardinal Pole (being first restored again in blood and reputation) was sent for over ; who arm'd with his Legatine Power, and a natural Force of Eloquence, press'd hard upon the Parliament, and shewed them the danger they were in, by their late Schism; being become (as he said) Exiles from Heaven, and in no capacity to have been ever readmitted, had he not brought from Rome the Keys, that open'd the gates of Life: and thereupon he advis'd them to abrogate those Laws, which lay, as blocks, in their way, urging them thereto from the Example of their good King and Queen; who (he said) had resigned their Title of Supream Head, to shew themselves true Members of the Mystical Body, and had made Restitution of those Lands, which had been sacrilegiously taken from the Church by their Predecessor. Which Speech of his being very Methodically digested, and delivered with great gravity, start'd many of the Lords, who reflected upon their Fore fathers Devotion to the holy See: but those of the lower House, having it seems lower thoughts, and deeming it a rare Felicity, to have shak'n off that heavy Yoke, that had so long gall'd their Fore-fathers necks, did not so readily assent to receive his profer'd Bénédiction, at so dear a rate, as to part with their Lands, which having been divided by the Queens father amongst them, were by several Settlements and Alienations, so translated from one Family to another, that, without great Inconvenience, they could not be sever'd from their Temporal Proprieties. However, they so far comply'd, as to agree, that the first Fruits and Tenths granted, by the Clergy, to King Henry, Anno 1534, should be remitted. But after they came to consider the Poverty of the Treasure, the reason of the several Pensions, that had been granted in Lieu thereof, by the said King to divers Religious Persons, that were still living, they revok'd their Decree again. Upon which the Legate (not skilful enough to deal with a Multitude, as appear'd afterward by his loosing the papal dignity) desisted; content it seems with the honour of having prevail'd over the more devout Queen, the heat of whose Zeal, had so sov'n'd her heart, that it was fit for any Impression. Now as he had a better Faculty in Canvassing of the Feminine Sex (which Cardinal Caraffa afterward Pope Paul IV. upbraided him withal in the open Conclave) so he prevail'd with her, to give up all that she had in her own possession; who to move others to imitate her piety did it, with that detestation of the Sacrifice...
led of her Predecessors, that when one of her wife Counsellors (yet of the same Religion) told her it would be a great Diminution to the Revenues of her Crown, she answered proudly, and as she thought prudently, that she had another Crown to look after, that she valued a thousand times more than that.

But while she is thus careful for the eternal, King Philip, her Husband, was no less busy to secure his Temporal Crown. In order to which, he went over to receive the Blessing of the Emperor, his Father, then in Flan-
ders; who, upon his Arrival delivered up to him the possession of the Low
Countries, having given him the Kingdoms of Naples and Jerusalem before;
of the first of which the Pope (either envying or fearing the Emperor's Greatness) had made the French King some Affurance, purposely to ingage him thereby in a War, that might weaken them both. Great Preparations were made by either Party, to secure themselves both with Arms and Alliances; the Emperor leaving all his Dominions on this side to his Son, whilst himself retires into Spain, to arm the French on the other side, and by his Vicinity to Italy, whose petty Princes he suspected not to be firm to his Interest, makes himself as terrible to his Neighbours as his Enemies. But whilst this great design was in Prospect only, King Philip was suddenly called home by a Brute, that his Queen was with Child; the Joy whereof was so universal, that it is strange to tell how much it transported the whole Kingdom; raising them by the hopes of a young Prince to a degree of Infatuation: for they, not only, mocked God Almighty in the Church, with causeless Thanksgivings, but troubled the King and Queen every hour in Court, with as groundless Petitions for Places of Attendance on the unborn Child; and so far did the Delirium prevail to delude even the Parliament themselves with extravagant apprehensions of their future happiness by the enjoyment of such a Prince, who however he were like to be Lord of the greatest part of Christendom, would yet, in all probability, make England the Seat of his Empire, that they humbly besought the King, in case the Queen should dye in Travel, that he would be pleas'd to take up on him the rule and government of the Child and Kingdom: such ado have great Princes to be born as well as to dye in quiet. But this mistaken Embryo proving at length to be nothing else but a Mist-conception, whereof she could not be delivered so, as to make way for any better Conception, turning to such a fleshy inform Substance as Physitians call a Mole, and we vulgarly English a Moon-Calf, it put King Philip so out of Countenance, that he tarried not a Month here after her time of Reckoning was out, but passing into Flanders, put it out of his head (since he could not put it out of her belly) by beginning a War with France: whereof he had a good ground upon the account of the Five years Truce being broken, that had been made but a little before. The Queen (to requite him for her late Mis-carriage) broke with her People, and resolving not to stand Neuter whilst her Husband was engag'd, found occasion to make the French Aggressors upon the Crown of England. Whereupon the Earl of Pembroke was sent over with Ten thousand Horse, and Four thousand Foot, who joining with the Kings Forces (which were Thirty five thousand Foot, and Twelve thousand Horse before they came) they all of them sate down before St. Quintins, a Town of great importance, which the French in vain endeavoured to succour, lost Twenty five thousand upon the place; Amongst whom were divers of the greatest Quality, as John of Bourbon Duke of An-
guin, the Dukes of Monpenjier and Longevile, the Viscount Turein, &c.

The Lord Chadenier, the Mareschal St. Andrew, the Rhinegrave, the Con-
stable
stable Mount Morency and his Son, Brother to Count Lodowick Gonzaga, Brother to the Duke of Mantova, the Admiral Coligny and his Brother, with divers other Lords of no lesse eminence, who being all taken with the Town, made it look like the beginning of a War, which every Body judged could not end till the Rupture reach'd to the middle of France. The report of this Victory gave great matter of rejoicing to every Body, but most especially to the Queen her self: yet could it not divert that Melancholy occasioned by the conceit of her Misconception, which brought her into a Distemper that not long after kill'd her, by her Physicians mistaking her Malady: who giving her improper Medicines, without regard to the over-cooling of her Liver (which it seems is the mischief attends those Moles) found not their error till she was so far gone into that desperate kind of Dropse which they call A[etis], that there was no help for her now. That which added to her Distemper was, an over-nice resentment of the P[opes] displeaseure, who offended at her breach with the French, punish'd her (as Princes use to be by whipping their Favourites) with taking away the Legatine Power from her beloved Minifter Cardinal Peel; to whom, as she had ever a great regard, fo the opin'd that the disgrace put upon a Man of fo great Authority and Credit, who had been fo active in the Conversion of the Nation, would(as indeed it did) not only reflect something on her honour, but hazard much the reputation of the Catholick Cause, whiles the Roman Religion was not fo fully established as she design'd it should, and the Enemies of the Church no les dangerous to that of her State. This gave her great trouble of Mind; and that trouble being heightened by the absence of her beloved Husband, brought her into a burning Fever, that foretold a death, that might have proved a living one, had it not been hastened by the news of the revolt of Calais, which being lost in les, then fix dayes time, after it had continued English above Two hundred years, came so near her heart, that drying up all her Blood, brought her under such a fix'd sadness, as left her not till she left the World. Now to say truth, she had great reason to resent the loss, for as it was the only Key left to let her into France, so it was no small over-fight to hang it by her side with fo slender a String, as she did, there being not above Five hundred Souldiers in it when it was attach'd, which were much too few to defend a place of that Importance, where there was a kind of necessity to keep the Gates always open.
KING Philip and Queen Mary being both departed, he out of the Kingdom, she out of the World; this Lady, the only surviving Child of Henry the Eight, took possession as the next Heir: Providence having made way to her Exaltation thorow many troubles, as the Law had to her Title thorow many Dispuites. And happy it was for her that she was so unhappy for by being a Subject, she had learn'd to Rule, and from the fence of her own Sufferings, was much inclin'd to compassionate others. All that were Sword-men admir'd her Courage, as having a Spirit too great for any Woman, but such as was born to rule over Men: All that were Gown-men, as much magnified her Understanding, as having by her Wisdom, made her way thorow all the Snares made by her Sisters Ministers to intangle her. So that they could not hold her in that common Drag-net which had taken most of the great Fifer-men of the Church before: For when they put her to that puzzling Question of the Real Presence, she avoided it by an Answer every whit as doubtful, yet seemingly very plain, and comprehensive of the Words, *Hoc est Corpus meum.*

Christ was the Word that spake it.
He took the Bread and brake it.
And what the Word did make it,
That I believe and take it.

Which, however it seem'd an obscure and uncertain Solution, so baffled all her Adversaries, that the Priests themselves, who hop'd with like Success to have foil'd her, as the First Temiptor did the First Woman, upon the First great Question of *Take and Eat,* found themselves left in the dark, to grope after her meaning as well as they could, whilst she shut her self up from further Pressures, within the Closet of her own private Sense. But as Wisdom is perhaps the only Vertue that is distrustful of it self, so to shew
flew how little Confidence she had in the strength of her own Abilities, she made it her first business to fortify herself with able Counsellors. In the choice of whom, her Affections gave place to her Judgment, as her Fears to her Forethought: admitting divers of her Sisters great Ministers, who, having been privy to all the Secrets of State, were like sharp Tools, that are as dangerous as useful, if not skilfully hand'ed: Whom therefore she counterpoiz'd with as many of her own Religion, to the end, that holding the Ballance in her own hand, she might turn the Scale as she saw cause.

Neither was it a thing of small Moment that came first to be weigh'd by her, to wit, the great Business of Religion: The Materials whereof being prepared to her hand by her Brother, as the Foundation was laid to his by her Father, she resolv'd to proceed in Edification of the Church, as Solomon did in building of the Temple, with as little noise as might be. And accordingly, as she conform'd to take her Assumption from the hand of a Popish Bishop, who performed all the Ceremonies of her Inauguration *More Romana*; so being crown'd, she made choice (as I said) of such a mix'd Council, as might put her out of all doubt of over-setting the Vessel, by loading too much upon any one side, and out of all danger of Foundring, by steering their Course in too straight a Line across the Surges of the swelling Tide; and because she designed to shew her Moderation, as well as her Wisdom, she did not put out the Candle-light of Popery all at once, but let in the Sun-shine of the Gospel by such degrees, that the People might neither be left altogether in the Dark to grope after new Laws, nor yet expos'd to be dazled with the two sudden approach of the greater Light; refining the Mafs with such a temperate heat of Zcal, that first took off the Scum only, that is, the foulest and grossest part of Superstition; then proceeded to purge out the thinner Dross of scandalous Matter; and in the last place, she took away what appeared superfluous and unnecessary, retaining only the founder part; out of which she made up that Form of Service, which hath ever since continued to be used in the Church of England: Whose ground-work she laid upon the Holy Scriptures, making up the Superstructure of the Doctrine of the *Three Creeds* approv'd and confirm'd by those great Masters of Assemblies in the Four first General Councils; worthily esteem'd to be styled *Synodi Firmissimi*, and explain'd by several of the Orthodox Fathers in the several Ages following, to the intent that containing *Ecclesiarum omnium Fidem*, they might be a Rule without all Exception. But whiles she proceeded with this great tendereness, in hopes to have pleas'd both Parties, she displeas'd either: The first being no less griev'd by her Reforming so much, then the last by her Reforming no more. One would have thought that her Clemency would have silenced the Papists, for that she might have purg'd with Fire and Faggot, as her Sister did: And that her Honesty would have subdued the Protestants, when they found her to continue to be *Semper Eadem*, notwithstanding the warm Temptations wherewith the Pope ply'd her for a long time; offering To take away the Sin of her Father, notwithstanding the many injuries done to the Church, and confirming all his Alienations. 2. To take away the reproach of her Mother, by making Null the Sentence of Divorce, notwithstanding she never reconciled to the Church. 3. To honour the Memory of her Brother so far, as to allow the use of the Common-Prayer Book in English, according to his establishment. And lastly, to indulge this to the honour of her own Memory, that her Realm should for her sake only (which never was offer'd before) have the Privilege...
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ledge to receive the Sacrament in both kinds: A well compounded Bait, and such as if it had been large enough to have cover'd the Hook, might probably have taken any other Woman: but as her Conscience forbid her to close with the one, so Reason of State permitted not that she should come nearer the other then she did. For there was newly started up a Generation of Inlightned men, who took upon them to reform her Reformation, and make it more Suitable (they would not say Conformable) to Christ's Scepter and Kingdom, by rooting out those Representatives of Antichrist, the Bishops, who they thought to differ no otherwise from the Papish Prelates, then Rooks do from Ravens; defining instead of the Hierarchy, to set up a Gospel Ministry (so they phras'd it) that was certain Evangelicks, after the example of those Congregational Pastors of Geneva, who despi'ing all Order, Habit, or Title, were underpropr. assisted by two Lay-Elders chosen out of the gravest; though not the wis'est of the People, whose Office is only to bear themselves upright and hear what the Priater says, without any other Ecclesiastical priviledge, pretence, or power. This projection was under-hand carried on by some squint-eyed Lawyers, who having one eye upon the Jurisdiction of the Bishop, t'other upon her Prerogative, took all occasions to detect the nakedness of her Government, and to bespatter it with scurrilous Libels: Amongst which there could be nothing more bold and Seditious then those two notorious Books, the one intituled The Admonition to the Parliament; the other, The Defence of that Admonition: Not to mention those lewd Pamphlets, call'd by the Names of Martyr Morr Prelate; christ's Scepter and Kingdom, England's Gulph, &c. by the Oath Ex Officio was rendred Antichriftian's and the Oath of Supremacy not lawful, but in a qualified sense. This giving her sufficient warning to secure the State by fortifying the Church, she caused the Arch-bishop Whitgift to cast three Cannons, which were so plac'd, that Innovation could no way make its approaches to let in any of their Fac'tious: Teach'ers: For no man was to be admitted to the Cure of Souls that did not first recognize the Queens Supremacy: Secondly, submit to the use of the Book of Common-Prayer and Ordination of Bishops: and Thirdly, to the Articles pass'd at the last Synod at London, 1562: and Lastly, Declare that they believe either of them consonant and agreeable to the word of God. However it was no small Interruption that these brain-sick men gave to her intended Reformation: and the Mischiefs that attended it were so much more insupportable, by how much they proceeded from a Religious Madman's, that reign'd at that time over all Christendome; most of the Neighbour Nations, even as far as Italy itself (not excepting the very Dominions of the Pope) labou'ring under the same Disemper, which was a kind of Spiritual Fever, that caus'd such an Inflammation in their Consciences, as could be cured no other ways but by Blood-letting, the very worst of Remedies, whereof the King of France made the first experience, and no where so much; by whose Example the King of Spain afterwards did the like; and other Princes imitating them, it is since become a common pra'dice. This troubled her the more, in respect of the advantages taken by the adverse Party, the Papists; who being more strictly united by these Divisions amongst the Protestants, and deluded by the belief of certain groundless Predictions, that her Reign should be but short, were cas'rly drawn into many desperate Conspiracies, which ending with the Forfeiture of their own, brought her Life and Government into continual Jeopardy.
The next great thing that fell under her Consideration, was the point of Marriage and Singularity: For it being doubtful in what state the Kingdom would be left, if the Queen of Scots Title should ever take place (who besides that she was an avow'd Papist, had married the French Kings Son, who in her Right bore the Arms and Title of England as well as of Scotland) it was told her she would not shew her self a true Mother of her Country, without she consented to make her self a Mother of Children. Whereunto King Philip of Spain (as soon as he heard of Queen Mary his Wives death) gave her a fair Invitation by his Ambassador, the Conde Feria, whom he sent over publickly to Congratulate her as a Queen, but privately to Court her as a Mistress; assuring her that he much rather desired to have her to be his Wife, then his Sister: and as the Report of her being Successor to his Queen, had much allay'd the grief he conceiv'd for her death, so he said 'twas his desire she should take place in his Bed, as well as in his Throne, that so by giving herself to him, she might requite the kindness shew'd by him when he gave her to her self, after her Sistre left her exposed to the malice and power of her Enemies. In fine, he omitted no Arguments to gain his end that might be rais'd from the Consideration of her Gratitude, or his own Greatnes. But the being naturally Inflexible (not to say as some have said) Impenetrable, left it to her Counsell to return this grave Answer for her, That she could not consent to have him of all men for a Husband, without as great reflection on her Mother as her self, since it could not be more lawful for two Sisters to marry the same Husband, then for two Brothers to marry the same Wife. Secondly, That she could not consent to a Match that was like to prove so unfortunate as this would be, if without Issue; and yet so much more unfortunate with it, in respect her Kingdom of England must by the same Obligation become Subject to Spain, as she to him. Thirdly, That nothing could more conduct to the Establishing that Authority which had been so industriously abolish'd by her Father and Brother of blessed Memory, and conscientiously rejected by her self. Fourthly, That it could neither be satisfactory to her self or Subjects, to have such a King to her Husband, whose greatest Concerns being necessarily abroad, could neither regard her nor them, as he ought, much less as they desired. This Denial, though it seem'd reasonable enough, yet King Philip inferring that she dislik'd his Person rather then his Proposal, very temperately recommended his Suit to his more youthful Kinsman, Charles Duke of Austria, second Son to the Emperour Ferdinand, who was Rival'd by Eric, eldest Son of Gustave King of Sweden, as he by Adolph Duke of Holstein, Uncle to Frederick III. King of Denmark: But neither of these being more successful then his most Catholick Majesty, the whole Parliament became Suiters to her to think of Postiety, and to eternize her Memory not so much by a Successor, like her self, as by one descended from her self. Which serious address she answer'd with a Jest, telling them she was married already: And shewing them a Ring on her Finger, the same she had received at her Coronation, told them it was the Pledge of Love and Faith given her by her dear Spouse the Kingdom of England: which words she delivered with such an odd kind of Pleasantness, that all the Wise men amongst them thought she made Fools of them, and the Fools thought themselves made so much wiser by it, as to understand her meaning to be that she would not look abroad for a Husband, but take one of her own Subjects. Amongst the rest thus mistaken, was Leicester himself; who having the vanity to believe he might be the man, obstructed his own preferment, when he was propos'd as a fitting Husband for the Queen of Scots.
The Catholick King however he had been rejected, hoping that the Catholick Religion might find better acceptation, continued his Friendship a long time after his Courtship was ended, being fo respectful to the Nation (not to say to the Queen her self) that he would make no accord with the French at the Treaty of Cambray, without the restoration of Calais to the English: But when he understood how far the Queen had proceeded in point of Reformation, how she had as resolutely refus'd to be the Popes Daughter, as to be his Wife, how she had disallow'd the Council of Trent, and set up a Synod of her own at London, he not only left her as slightly as she left him, but made such a Conclusion with the French, as gave her more cause of Jealousie, being not his Wife, then she could possibly have had if he had been her Husband. For marrying the Lady Isabella, eldest Daughter to that King, it was suspected that the two Crowns might thereupon unite against England, upon the account of the Queen of Scots her Claim, who being the Dauphins Wife, and the next in Succession after Queen Elizabeth, or (as some will have it) in Right before her, as being the undoubted Heir of the Lady Margaret, eldest Daughter of Henry the Seventh, was therefore the only Person in the World to whom she could never be reconciled: holding her self oblig'd by the Impulse of Nature, Honour, and Religion, to oppose her (as after she did) to the death, where in perhaps there was no les of Envy then Reason of State, being as much offended with her Perfections, as her Pretensions: For that t'other was a Lady that equall'd her in all, surmounted her in some, and was inferior to her in no respects but Fortune only. This as it prov'd a Feud that puzzled that Age to unriddle the meaning of it, charging all the Misunderstanding betwixt them, upon the despite of Fate only (which to speak Impartially, was never more unkind, not to say unjust, all Circumstances of the Story considered, to any Sovereign Princes in the World, then to that poor Queen) so it was the wonder of this, till we saw by the no less fatal Example of that Queens Grandson, our late Soveraign, how the best of Princes may fall under the power of the worst of men: For it was Flattery and Feminine Disdain questionlessthat first divided them beyond what the difference of Nation, Interest, or Religion could have done, which heightning their mutual Jealousies insensibly, inengag'd them before they were aware, in such a Game of Wit and Faction, as brought all that either had at last to stake, and made them so wary in their Play on both sides, that the Set ended not as long as the one liv'd, or the other reign'd.

The Queen of Scots had the advantage of Queen Elizabeth by the Kings in her Stock, the Kings of France and Spain being her secret Friends and Well-wishers; not to mention the nearer Obligations of her own Son, being then but young; and the Pope ever ready to pack the Cards for her as occasion served. The advantage Queen Elizabeth had, was by the Knaves in her hand, all the factious Demagogues of Scotland being at her Devotion, and so dependant on her Power, that their disloyalty stood her the better stead, which the Loyalty of her own Subjects, whereof she made so good use, that her over-match't Rival being never able to fix their Obedience, much less recover their Affections, was fain to seek for help abroad. And after she became a Prisoner, finding none she could trust, was forc'd to attempt her Freedom singly, proceeding therein for want of due intelligence, by such indirect ways and means, as prov'd very unprosperous; for the more she stirr'd the more she intangled herself, faction the Bonds beyond all possibility of being shaken off again, which (had she fain fill') might possibly have loos'd of themselvess. Neither could it prove otherwise,
otherwise, while she was neither able to take right measures of her Adversaries strength, nor of her own weakness; Queen Elizabeth having more Subjects then she knew of, for she had got the Ascendant of her Neighbours so far, that like her Father Henry, where she made not Kings, she gave them Laws. The Protestants, 'tis true, the only useful Party to her, were few in comparison of the Papists, who were all inclin'd to the other side. But the Security of Princes rests not so much in the number, as in the affections of their People, of whom, whilst by extraordinary means of Love, she testified her self to have so great a care, they made to her as extraordinary Returns of Loyalty: witness that voluntary Association (as 'twas call'd) which the Protestants so solemnly enter'd into, as soon as they found her embarrass'd by the Queen of Scots Faction, binding themselves with mutual Oaths and Subscriptions to each other, to prosecute all those to death, who should attempt any thing against the Queens life. This was a gave her that high repute, without which she could not have given that protection she did to those of other Countries, who afterward applied themselves to her as the only Defender of the Faith: for though it were no more then what they were before bound to do by their Oath of Allegiance, yet being a voluntary Recognition resulting out of the Sense they had of their own in her danger, it made such a noise in all Christendom, that all those who chose rather to change their Country then their Religion, cast themselves at her feet, and where they could not come to her, she sent to them: witness the aid she gave to the persecuted Protestants of France, when they were overwhelmed by the unholy Confederates of the Holy League (that had set up a Priest to make way for a Cardinal, by the Murther of a King, and by the Murther of many Thousands more, afterward made may to set up themselves) to whom, as the sent no ordinary supply of Men, so she gave so extraordinary a supply of Money, that Henry the Fourth himself was pleas'd to acknowledge, he never saw so much Gold together at any one time in his whole life before. More notable yet was that aid given to the distressed Protestants of the Netherlands, when Duke D'Alva falling on them with like Fury as Vespasian upon the Jews, put them in as great a fear of being drown'd in a deluge of Blood, as they were but a little before of being overwhelm'd by that of Water; who, when their Courage was sink'd as low as their hopes, and that lay as low as their Country, for the put them into a Condition not only to defend their own Liberty, but to affer: her Sovereignty, their gratitude prompting them to swear Allegiance to her, for that she had (as they said) an indubitable Title to those Provinces by Philips, Wife of Edward the Third, who was one of the Daughters and Coheirs of Earl William the Third of Holland, a right precedent (as they alleged) to that of the King of Spain: But whether it were so that she rather approved the change of their Principles then of their Prince, or would have the World believe the rather favour'd their Religion then their Rebellion; or judged it would be hard to make good what was so ill got, or was unwilling to do any thing that might give King Philip cause to question her Gratitude, no less than her Justice, or what other motives moderated her Ambition is not known: but so it was, that she laid aside for the present the consideration of her own Right, and to shew she sincerely intended that Self-denial, she assist'd the Spaniard with men at the same time she supplied the Dutch with Money, thereby giving those cause to exalt her Generosity, whiles these magnified her Bounty; both alike deferring her Friendship, and admiring her Wisdom, whiles the one could not tell how she affected Peace, nor the other how far the inclined to War.

Thus
Thus she preserv'd herself by Arts as well as by Arms, which was the less easie for her to do, in respect of the many cross Designs that were then on foot in France, Spain, Germany, and Italy, in each of which she was deeply concern'd; not to say in Scotland, which being on the same Continent, was under her Eye, as their Queen under her keeping. But the King of Spain finding that whatever was pretended overtly, she did under-hand abet the Rebels of the Netherlands, he set his thoughts upon supporting the Rebels of Ireland; which how much she dreaded, appears by her ready acceptance of that feign'd Submission of the Earl of Tyrone, the first that gave her trouble, and the last that repented him of it: But before he made any Rupture upon her, there happen'd a lucky hit, which contributed much to defraying the Charge she foresaw she must be at, whenever he broke the Peace made with her. A mighty Mas of Money, which King Philip had taken up from the Genoveses, and other Italian Merchants, to be sent by Sea to the Duke D'Alva, for carrying on that War of the Low-Countries, was drove into one of her Ports by a French Man of War; which she seizing to her own use, and justifying her self by necessity of State (the only reason for all unreasonable actions) thought it enough to give the Proprietors Security for the Principal, without any consideration of Interest. This so incens'd D'Alva, that he forthwith laid an Embargo upon all the English Merchants in the Low-Countries: She to requite that, did the like upon the Dutch Merchants here, upon which Letters of Mart were granted on both sides, and so that War began which she liv'd not to fee an end of: For the King of Spain (as is said before) knowing the Irish to be naturally inclined to break out with the itch of Rebellion, resolv'd to inflame their Blood with the hopes of a new Change, combining with Gregory the Thirteenth to re-assume the Country into his hands, as one of the Kingdoms reputed parcel of Sr. Peter's Patrimony, and held of the Church (as he allledged) by the Kings of England, upon no other Condition but that of Fealty to the See of Rome, and therefore Porfeited by the Herefs of the Queen. His Holinefs, who has been ever very captious of all Advantages of this kind, was easily provok'd with to bellow it upon his Natural Son the Marquis of Vincula; to whom one Stukely an Englishman, being therefore dignified with the Title of Marquis of Lempster, and Earl of Wexford, was appointed General, having Eight hundred Italians under his Command: Before whom was sent as a Vant-Currier, one Fitz-Morris, with a Consecrated Banner, two Priests, and three Ships. These dull Rebels were to joyn with those more active ones, the Earl of Desmond and his Brothers, and were to take Livery and Seisin till the rest could come upon the Place. But as was the Cause so was the Success: and fitter it was that he should meet with a Cross than a Crown, that being but Christ's Vicar, should be fo ambitious of having a Kingdom in this World, when his Lord had none for himself. Stukely ended his Life before he began his Rebellion; Fitz-Morris was betray'd by his Fellow-Traitors before his own Treachery could take any effect: San Joseph that succeeded him (one that was half Jew and half Italian) was glad to secure his own with the losf of all their Lives that were under him, whiles Desmond the Great Rebel was forc'd to yield to lower Conditions then any of them; and the two Priests that attended the holy Banner were starved upon the Mountains.

But after these there started up yet several others; as the Mac Williams, since call'd the Burks, the Mac Connels in Connacht, the Mac Mahons and O Rorks in Monagan, the O Connors and O Mulveys in Ophaly, and some of-
of the O Briane and Cavenaghs in Lempster, who did what they could to raise Tumults, but so faintly, that we may rather call them Riots, than rebellions, signifying no more to her, than the bitings of Fleas to a Lion. However, doubting how she might be pestered with more such Vermine in the heat of the Summer following, she took timely care to prevent the worst: and having Intelligence given her that they intended to dispute her Sovereignty at Sea, as they had done her Right by Land, she muster'd up all her Naval Forces, determining to carry the War as far from home as possibly she could. These were commanded by the famous Drake, who resolving to fight them in the other World, as well as in this, advanced to the place where 'twas said the Golden Apples grew, where finding no Dragon to keep them, so fierce as himself, he made himself Master of so much Treasure as might have been a sufficient Found for a greater Empire then that he fought for, had either his Covetousness held any proportion with his Courage, or his Ambition with his Activity; for he brought home, besides what was imbezled and conceal'd, above two thousand pound weight of uncoyn'd Silver, and twelve Chefs of ready coyn'd, and no less then five hundred pound weight of Gold, besides Jewels of an inestimable value, having several Carcanets of Diamonds, Rubies, Topazes, Saphires, and Emeralds of an incredible Magnitude, tissued Silks, and other rich Commodities of the growth and manufacture of the Country, being thought not worth the Portage: This added no less to the Fame, then to the Wealth of this great Queen, who being before compar'd to Solomon for her Wisdom, seem'd now not unlike him for her Opulence. But not content with this single income of Glory, the commanded her Fortunate Admiral back again the second time, to brave them at Land as before at Sea; where, after having taken St. Jago, St. Domingo, and Cartagenas, three of the most considerable Towns they had, he return'd even surfeited with Victory, his Head being as giddy with new Contrivances, as his mens were with the Calenture, who, in the midst of all their Abundance, wanting health only, were forc'd to take leave of the place, being troubled that they could bring home no greater a booty, then what was esteem'd at One hundred thousand pounds Sterling, and Two hundred and forty pieces of brass Cannon to report their Victory.

But because this look'd like wounding that King in the hinder parts only, she was not satisfied till she gave him one blow in the Face and accordingly sent to defea him before his own Doors, entering his chief Port of Cales, in which they took and fired no less then One hundred Ships; and furnishing themselves with great Store of Ammunition and Victuals, made for the Cape of St. Vincent, where having demolish'd the Forts, they pass'd on to the Affores, under the great Meridian, where they took a great Carack returning from the East-Indies, which having the name of St. Philip, it was by the Superstitious Seamen, look'd on as an ominous Prefiguration of the Future ill Fortune of their King Philip by Sea. Whilst Drake was thus active to the Southward, Candib was no less busy to the Westward, who having destroy'd several Colonies in Chile, Peru, and Nova Hispania, return'd home Laden with the Spoils of Nineteen rich Ships, taken in his way.

And now King Philip provok'd no less by the flame, then the continued loss he had sustaine'd for above two years together, with redoubled diligence and charge got ready a mighty Fleet, hoping to perform some wonders suitable to the Expectation of the Time, as well as of the Importance of the Affair, it being by Astronomers call'd The wonderful Year, and being the great Climacterick of the World, they concluded it must produce some extraordinary...
extraordinary Effects. Neither indeed was there any thing then in the World so extraordinary and amazing as the sight of that moving Wood of his, consisting of no less then One hundred and fifty tall Ships, which carri'd in them besides all Habilements of War, Twenty thousand men, and expected Fifty thousand more to be joyn'd with them, that the Duke of Parma was to bring out of Flanders: all which were to be Landed in the Thames mouth, that so by seizing on the Head, they might the more easily command every Member of the whole Body of the Kingdom.

Well may we imagine that the report of such a Preparation as this (the work of no less then three years time) was heard further then the noise of their Cannon could (though 'tis incredible how far they were heard;) and one would have thought the Sound of that terrible Name they gave their Fleet, El Invincible Armado, might have been sufficient to have made an universal Earth-quake throughout Christendom: But it seems the Adamantine hearts of the Neighbour Princes were so impenetrable, that it did not much move them; for being satisfied in the Counterpoise of the Queens Power, they stood at Gaze seemingly unconcern'd. The Queen had prepar'd a double Guard, one for the Land, t'other for the Sea; that by Land was divided into two Armies, the one consisting of Two and twenty thousand Foot, and One thousand Horse, commanded by the Earl of Leicester, whose Post was at Tilbury: The other consisting of Four and twenty thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horse, which were the Guard of her Person, were Commanded by the Lord Howard; the Sea-ports being Garrison'd with Twenty thousand old Souldiers, who were seconded by the Train'd Bands in the respective Counties where they lay. The Guard by Sea consisted of One hundred and forty Ships, divided into three Squadrons: The two first consisting of Fifty, each under the Lord Howard the Admiral, and Sir Francis Drake the Vice-Admiral, waited the coming of the Enemy in Plymouth Road: The last Squadron of Forty, Commanded by the Rere-Admiral the Lord Henry Seymour, second Son to the Duke of Somerset, rode between Dunkirk and Calais, to prevent any Conjunction with the Prince of Parma. With this great Body she design'd to shew the World her Grandeur, but when she meant to shew her Power, she made use but of Fifteen of them.

Now as it happens oftentimes, that great Calmes precede great Storms; so the Catholick King hoping to out-wit the Heretick Queen, a little before his great Fleet was ready to come forth, dissembling a passionate desire of Peace, pres'd hard for a Treaty; but whilst he thought to deceive her, he was deceiv'd by her: For she, to return the trick upon him, contented to the Proposal, and by the sending her Commissioners to Offend, so possēs'ed him of the supposed Advantage he had gotten by it, that it's thought it made him appear a little sooner then he would; for before they could enter into the business, he was entred into the British Seas, and was no les' shock'd when he found her in readines, then he expected she should have been if he had taken her unawares. This made them resolve rather to make a Chafe fight, then lye by't, though they had the advantage of the Wind, their honour being preferv'd till they came to Callais, for that it was supposed all the haste they made away, tended only to the Conjunction with the Prince of Parma; but after they cut their Cables (having not the Courage to stay to weigh Anchor) and made all the Sail they could to fly from only eight Fire-ships, it then plainly appear'd they neither understood their own Strength nor hers. But these Ships being the first of that kind that ever were seen, we may allow them to be The Wonder that gave Name to that wonderful Year.
In this great Conflict were lost more than half of the Spanish Fleet, of the English only one Ship, and that of no great Consideration: so that 'twas believed, having sounded the danger of our Dark Seas, passing round by the North, they had taken their final Leave of England. However, the Queen was resolved not to leave them so, but after much mischief done them by several Privateers, whom she permitted to go forth upon their own Charge, she resolved to become herself the Aggressor, and repay to him the great dishonour of his Invasion; it being an Indignity not to be forgiven by Princes, because it cannot be forgotten by their People, who can never be discoigor'd from the Fears they have of him who has once set upon them, till there be some Confront given, that may assure them their own Prince is not so weak, as the Enemy, by seeking him out, would have the World believe.

The Fleet she set forth consisted of One hundred and fifty Sail, yet was not call'd the Invincible, though it prov'd so, being commanded by the Earl of Essex as General at Land, and the Lord Howard as General at Sea, who setting upon Calais the second time, took it, and in it, all the Wealth that may be imag'd to be lodg'd in such a Store-house as that is; and after having burn'd all the Ships they found there (for which they were offer'd Two Millions of Ducats if they would spare them) they spoil'd the whole Island, and demolish'd all the Forts, and did, as 'tis thought, as much Damage as amounted to Twenty Millions of Ducats more: To requite which, the King of Spain rigg'd up another Navy, and manned it with Irish Runnagado's, but either their Skill or their Courage failed them, at least the Winds did not so favour them, but that the Expedition came to nought.

And now when all the Storms at Sea seem'd to have been blown over and past, there rose a Cloud at Land which gave the Queen greater apprehensions of danger then ever she had before. The French King, who was join'd with her in a League Offensive and Defensive against Spain, and had reap'd this good Effect by it, to recover Amiens, which the Spaniards had surpris'd by the help of the English only, yeilding to the Importunities of the Pope and his own People, made his Peace without her, who quitting his Religion at the same time he quit her Friendship, 'twas believed they would all join to set upon her at once. Hereupon there were great Debates in Council upon the point of her closing with the Spaniard, who seem'd much to desire a Peace. Essex, the great Idol of the Sword-men, was for continuing the War; Burleigh, who was the great Patron of the Pen-men, was for the Peace. And it seems they argued the matter so warmly, that being scarce able to keep Peace amongst themselves, 'twas not likely they should obtain it abroad: For Essex could not forbear uneasily Reflections upon the old man, nor he from retorting them back as sharply, who 'tis said (being more witty in his Anger) call'd for a Bible at the Table, and shewing him that Verse in the Psalms, where 'tis said The bloody minded man shall not live out half his days, gave him grave warning by an ominous Prefiguration of that which follow'd: for we know how shortly after he swell'd and burst:) However the Queen mov'd with like Zeal to Religion, as Essex was with hatred to the Spaniard, inclin'd to his Opinion; whereupon Cecil submitted to her Judgment, but pray'd to have the Question put first to the States of Holland her Confederates, Whether they would agree to her making Peace: and knowing it to be against their Interest so to do, he took the Advantage of their Refusal to demand an Aid towards the carrying on of the War: out of whom, by that trick of State, he did her this good Service against her will, to screw Eight hundred thousand pounds, which being to be paid by
by Thirty thousand pounds yearly, for which the Queen had Cautionary
Towns given as Security, it look'd so like a Tribute, that after their having
offer'd her the Soveraignty (as they did) 'tis hard to prove it was not so.

And now casting up the Accompt betwixt her and the Spaniard, who
was her greatest, and not to say her only Enemy (for the Pope, however he
bore no less hatred to her, yet being at that distance as he was, he could not
come to close grapple with her, and as his quarrel was chiefly Spiritual, fo
his Machinations were for the most part invisible, proceeding by secret
under-hand Infatigations of such Persons, as having not credit enough for
raiding War, had recourse only to such Clancular Contrivances and darker
Treasons, which she easily enervated by the Spell of that Politick Motto of
hers, VIDEO & TACEO, which she took up by the Example of her sage
Grandfather Henry the Seventh, who though he was very wise, affected to
seem wiser than he was, by pretending to more intelligence then really he had,
whereby as he, fo she left that impression upon their Guilt who hated her, that
many of them durst not attempt the betraying her, for fear of being be-
tray'd themselves, and perhaps by themselves; as was that unfortunate Vil-
lain Squire, one of the Grooms of her Stable, who being tempted by an
English Jesuite in Spain, to poysion the Pommel of her Saddle, was by the
Temperer himself, when he found it took not effect, discover'd and accus'd,
and confettling the Fact, executed for it) casting up the Accompt betwixt
her and the Spaniard, it doth appear at the lowest rate set upon his Dam-
ages in contetting with her, that the con'sum'd him no less then Five hundred
Millions of Ducats, besides what he suffer'd by the Revolt of the United
Provinces, which he had unquestionably reduc'd, had not the interpos'd
with her Power to protect them, for which they paid her well at last. The
only Requital he made her was by upholding the Irish Rebellion, which
cost her not half the money she had of their Hogen-mogen-ships: for how-
ever she was induc'd to send over a greater Army then ever Ireland had
seen before, when Oneil feiz'd the Fort of Blackwater, and took his first
and last Revenge upon the English there, to wit, Twenty thousand Foot, and
One thousand three hundred Horse to reinforce the Governours there, after
the Landing of the Spaniards under Don Aquila, yet she had a suitable Re-
turn in opening several Passages, till then altogether unknown to the Eng-
lishe, whereby she found out convenient Scituations for several Colonies, that
have since Cultivated many thousands of (before unprofitable) Acres, and
made Seats fit for men to dwell in, which till then were the Receptacles of
Beasts only, or Men more Savage then they. So that what her great Enemy
took from her Peace, he added to her Glory, who in despite of the Love
and Hate of all those great Princes that courted or contemn'd her, dyed a
Virgin and Unconquer'd; having this happiness by coming to the Crown
so close after the Reign of her bussing Father, to be serv'd by a race of choice
Men, that having given him sufficient proof of their Loyalty, made them-
soever themselves yet more valuable to her by their Experience, having by the Gravity
and Grandeur of some of them, and by the Courage and Conduct of others,
so well feitl'd the Foundations of Government, that notwithstanding five se-
veral Changes in Religion, and the Interposition of a Woman, a Stranger,
and a Child, they deliver'd up the Scepter to her in Peace, and standing
round the Throne, with like Constancy defended her, as she defended their
Faith, which as it was not without great difficulty, so perhaps it had not
been without an impossibility of Success, had the not strengthen'd the Re-
putation of their Authority by the Authority of her own Example.

Quid Virtus, & quid Sapientia poffit,
Utile preposuit nobis Exemplar.
THE SIXTH

DYNASTY

OF

SCOTS.
OF

SCOTS.

HE Scots would be thought a Branch of the antique Scythian Stock, as well as all other cold Countries, and they have this colour above many others, that as their Ancestors are entitled to as ancient Barbarity as those of any other Nation whatever, so like those rude Scythes, they have always been given to prey upon their Neighbours, and live without themselves, the very sound of their Name giving some semblable Testimony to the certainty of their Genealogy; for the Scythians were heretofore commonly call'd (a) Stolots, which by contraction (not to say corruption) might easily be turn'd into Scots: wherein possibly they do not more abuse themselves, than they are abused by him, who supposing them to have been anciently part of the Terra Incognita, would have the word Scoti to be quasi (b) Scolii: I hope it was not Delos the Grecian, that came next into Ireland after Menethus the Scythian, that gave them that name. "Tis true that few Authentick Authors (if any) make any mention of them (at least by this Name) before the Year of Christ 276: however Boys, Buchanan, and some others of their own Writers would support the credit of the black Book of Poblue, that derives their Kings from the Royal Line of Egypt by the furer side, boasting of the Conquest of Ireland 800 Years before the Flood, at what time they would be thought so famous a People, that (c) Ptolemy Philadelph wrote to King Retylben to be inform'd of their State, to whom Claud. Ptolemy was after beholding for that Information we find in his Geography.

Whilst their own Archers shoot thus wide, that yet pretend themselves the true Descendants of the Scythians, who took their (d) denomination from their Excellency in Archery, 'tis no marvel that Strangers came no nearer the Mark: Some thinking them a By-flip of the (e) Germans; others of the (f) Scandians: some affirming them to be the Out-calls of some Mongrel (g) Spaniards, that were not permitted to live in Ireland; and others, yet fetching their Defeunt from the (h) Vandals, who being by divers Authors call'd Scythes, the broad-mouth'd Northern People call'd Scots. And some there are, that with no small probability take them to be a Miscel-
lany of all these Nations, driven by various Fortunes, at several times, into the Orcades and Hebrides, as the exiled Romans were heretofore into the defect Isles (i) of the Aegean Sea, where life was held to be a crueler Punishment than Death: from whence, as their number increased, 'tis thought, they disbursed themselves into the upper part of Albania, now call'd the High-lands, where they lived obscurely, unknown indeed to all the World, but those of Ireland, who call'd them in scorn Gayaethels, which was as much as to say, The mix'd People; and as the Irish to this day call the Scotch Tongue Gaeldack, which signifies a Language gather'd out of all Tongues. However, the Scotch Antiquaries would have the Name of Gayaethel to be with Relation rather to their Descendants, a noble Gaunt, who married Scotia King Pharaoh's Daughter, not considering that this is to derive themselves from a Monster by the Fathers side, and from a Gipfy on the Mothers side: But the name of Scot bearing the same signification with Gayaethel, we may more reasonably conclude it was first given them by the Saxons, either for the reason aforesaid, as the word (m) Scot (like the word Alman with them) signified a Body aggregat'd out of many Particulars into one, or else by contraction of the word Attaoco; for the inhabitants making their way into the Borders of the Low-lands inhabited by the Piets (who were the ancient Britains beat out by the Romans) the Piets thereupon removed into the West, and left the East part of the Country intire to them, which was near about Merlian's time, or a little after, made themselves known to the Romans by the Name before mentioned of Attaoco. The Piets and they made War upon each other for a long time, mov'd by want, as other Nations by wantonness; for the great Commodity they fought for was Bread, the want whereof brought them to accord a Cessation of Arms every Season during Seed-time, but the Corn being in ground they fought on till Harvest following after, which every Victor was known by his Garland of several sorts of Grain, as the Romans by their Garland of several sorts of Boughs: But when the Roman Empire began to decline, both of them united in one hope of recovering that part of the Isle which is since call'd England: And after the Romans totally quit it, they press'd so hard upon Vortigern the then Titular King, that he was forc'd, the Romans having deny'd him further Assistance, to call in the Saxons to his aid, who finding them then call'd by the Name of Attaoco, after their usual manner of abbreviation they term'd them Scots.

The first of all their Kings, at least the first worthy that Title, that broke over the great Clafora or Mount, then call'd the *Wia, was one Fergus, Sirnand the Fierce, a Prince descended from the ancient Kings of Ireland (for I take the first Fergus and his One hundred thirty seven Successors to be at too great a distance to have their height truly taken) who not induring that his Territories should be bounded, when his Ambition could not, that broke in like a Land-flood, and over-run all the adjacent Countries, making his Name so terrible, that the Romans themselves imputing that to his Fortune, which any other Nation would have ascrib'd to his Fortitude, made an honourable retreat, and left the poor Britains to defend themselves, who doubtless had been over-run by him, had not the Piets, emulous of his Glory, interrupted his Successors, by whose vicinity both he and his Successors were so much frighted, that they could not much Inhage their Territories till the Reign of Keneath the First, a wise Prince, who reducing his Kingdom under him, not so much by Puffance as Policy, made that the middle which was before but the bounds of his Dominions; deferring therefore to be esteemed tanquam alter Conditor. About Sixty years after him, another
another of the same Name, tenth in descent from him, rais'd the Throne a
step higher, having got as great a Conquest over the People, as the other
did over the i'lds, by turning the Optimacy into a direct Monarchy; for
he made the Succession Hereditary, that till then was but Elective: The
fittest and ablest (faith Buchanan) being till that time prefer'd before the
nearest or noblest; since which time the eldest Son of the King of Scots hath
been always iti'd the Prince of Scots. This King however gain'd not so
much upon the Nobility, in point of Maffesty, but that they gain'd much
more upon his Successors in point of Power; so that their Superiority
was scarce so distinguishable for a long time from a bare Precedency, but
that they might rather be call'd Regnantes than Reges, so long as the Thun-
nage lasted, who being a kind of Palatines, exercis'd an absolute Power
over their particlar Tenants and Vassals sum Jure Patriae.

Thus they continued, as it were under their good behaviour, absolute
Princes, but bounded with many Restriotions, till the time of James the
Fourth, whose Predecessors having clear'd their Title from all Incumbran-
ces by Competitors, leaving him sole Heir of the Peoples Affedions, as well
as of his Predecessors Glory, he married the Lady Margaret, eldhest Daugh-
ter, and at length Heir to our Henry the Seventh, by which Match their
Thistle being ingrafted into our Rose, mended both its colour and smell:
And their Kings, that had been a kind of Homagers to ours, from the be-
ginning almost of their Monarchy, became as it were manumitted, by the
expectation of the Title Paramount, and by the possibility of being Lords
of the Imperial Crown of this Realm: The primier Seizen of which hap-
piness, after the death of Queen Elizabeth without Issue, was in James the
Sixth, who Sirnam'd himself the Peaceable, to let the World know he came
not in by Conquest, but Consent; having this honour above all that were
before him, and probably beyond what any hath I have that come after him;
his way was made before him, not by any humane power, but by Divine
Providenc, long since reveal'd by a written Prophesie ingraved, though
not understood, in that fatal Stone which is placed within the Regal
Chair, where the Kings of Scots ancienly, and ours since, have been crown'd,
brought them out of Ireland in the first place, and by our King Edward
the First, transplanted hither afterwards, whose words, now they are fulfill'd;
seem plain enough:

\[ \text{Ni fallat fatum, Scott quoeunque locatum}
Inveniunt Lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem. \]

This by the Ancients was call'd Saxum Iacob, as for that (as Tradition
had deliver'd it) they believ'd this to be the Stone on which the Patriarch
Jacob rest'd his Head: But we of later times have found it to be Saxum Jac-
ob, with relation to him who was to take up his rest here, who being by a
Decree from Heaven declared Head of this Nation, may not improperly be
call'd our Patriarch Jacob, the first King of that People that ever was
crown'd in this Kingdom; by whom the Scots may be said to Reign here,
according to another Prophesie as ancient as the former, recorded by Hig-
den in his Polichronicon, and evidently fulfill'd at his coming in, when he
transplanted so many of his Country-men into our fat Soil, that they grew
up (like Weeds) to that degree of rankness, as in the Age following to
choke the best Flowers in our Garden; and taking advantage of us when we
were drunk with Prosperity, brought us like drunken men to quarrel one
with another, for what (since we came to our selves) we cannot find, or are
at least ashamed to tell; having by the corrupted Principles we first received from them, engaged our selves in so groundless a War, that after Ages will not believe so unreasonable a Story, or not be able to write it so plainly, as that it may be intelligible: How a King was made a Subject to his Vassals, and how they were made Slaves to one another: How every man, who had any honesty was afraid, and every one who had any honour, ashamed to own it: How they that had any Reason were forc'd to deny or disguise it, lest their Wisdom should bring them under Suspect, and that Suspect under Condemnation, whiles Loyalty was the only proper Subject for a Tragedy, and Religion for a Farce: Deus et mon Droit: For all which we have no excuse to give to Posterity, but must disclaim with the Poet, and say to each Reader,

\[\text{Defe in has tibi parte Fides, nec credite Factum.}
\text{Vel si credatus, faceti quoque Credite penam.}\]

But we have this to attenuate our dishonour, if the condemning them can any whit excuse us, that the Scots were not disinherited from us in point of Shame, more than in point of Guilt, who having the impudence to make their King their Prisoner, sold him back to their Brethren of the Covenant here, at a dearer rate than the Jews paid for Christ, and many of them would have given for him, had they not thought it the price of their own Freedom rather than his. But as the buyers found themselves not long after miserably disappointed by the Regicides, who took the Quarrel from them, so the sellers, who sold him to them, lived to see themselves sold at a lower rate than he was, and bought by those who bought him of them: The Genius of the whole Nation of Scotland feeling a just reverberation of Divine Vengeance, in being renounced afterward no Kingdom, I might say no People (if we consider the Aképhalífi that followed) but a miserable subjected Province to the Republicans of England, without any hope of Redemption; but what they must expect from the free Grace of his Son, against whom they had thus sinned. And however they have since recovered something of their ancient Glory, by the Merits of some great Persons amongst them, eminent for their Loyalty, but more particularly by the merits of the brave Monros, whose incomparable Example alone is enough to buoy up the dishonour of their lost Nation, as being more lasting; yet it is to be feared they, as well as we, yet suffer so much in their reputation abroad, that the very Pagan Princes of the other part of the World, how remote soever, have been alarmed at the report of so unpresidented an Impiety, and accounting themselves therefore more secure in the Faith of their Bruttish Subjects, that our King can be in ours, rejoice at the happiness of having no Commerce with us, exulting himself in the words of the Poet:

\[\text{Si tamen admissum fuit hoc Natura videri,}
\text{Gratular bonus terre, quod ubi Regnibus illius,}
\text{Quam sanctum fessere metus.}\]
THE ORDER AND SUCCESSION OF THEIR KINGS.

I. 1603. JAMES the Sixth of Scotland, and first of England, being after the death of Queen Elizabeth (the last of the direct Line) the next Heir, as only Son of Mary Queen of Scots, sole Daughter and Heir of James the Fifth, Son and Heir of James the Fourth, by Margaret eldest Daughter of Henry the Seventh of England, was on St. James's day, 1603, Crown'd King of Great Britain; and Prince Henry his eldest Son dying before him, the Crown descended to his second Son.

II. 1627. CHARLES the First, a Prince who deserving the best of any other, was the worst used by his People, that ever any King was, but Heaven has been pleased to avenge him for the indignities he suffer'd here on earth, by compelling all those who would not allow him the honour of a KING, whiles he was alive, to reverence him as a PROPHET, being dead, themselves being made the instruments in the accomplishment of his dying Prediction, That God would at last restore his Son.

III. CHARLES the Second, our present Soveraign, who (bless'd be Divine Providence for it) after twelve years rejection by those Sons of Zeviah that were too hard for him, was brought back triumphant, and placed upon the Throne by an invisible hand, which having now recorded his right as it were with the Beams of the Sun, unworthy are they of that light, who do not willingly submit to him; being (as he is) the undoubted Heir to his Fathers Virtues, as well as to his Kingdoms.
The Male Line of the English Kings having been spun out to an incredible length, it pleas'd the fatal Sistres to break it off at last, whereby the Imperial Right of this Realm vested in this James the Sixth of Scotland, in whom, by a rare event in the Pedigrees of Princes, all Titles concent'red, having in his Person the Blood of England, both by Fathers side and Mothers side, and (which some have thought worth the noting) both convey'd to him by a Margaret; by the first of which (being Sister and Heir to Edgar Atheling) he was both English and Saxon; by the last (the Daughter of Henry the Seventh) he was both Britain and Norman, Now as his Title, so was his Claim double-gilt, by Defcendent and by Confent; the last declar'd by the Will of Queen Elizabeth, which we may call the Will of the People (for living, she and they breath'd but one desire, and being dead, 'twas not like they should differ:) so that it is no wonder he was esteem'd a Stranger, though he were no Native, being like her in point of Wisdom, Clemency, Justice, Learning, and Religion, that there seem'd no difference betwixt them, but in Sex only: And hence it was that the grief convei'd for the loss of her, was so wholly swallow'd up with the joy of having him in her room, that (as one observes) sorrow was never so disappointed as at this time, all Exclamations being turn'd into Acclamations, and the Union with Scotland so extoll'd, as if beyond all humane possibility we might have hop'd to have gather'd Grapes of Thorns, or Figs of Thistles. Neither wanted there sever'al external Circumstances to give reputation to his Succession, but more especially for that it was taken to be the Divine Work of Providence. For as P. de Commines observeth of this Nation, that they were ever much mov'd by Prophecies, fo it being convei'd, that the notable Prophecy mention'd in the Polychronicon, and supposed to have been written above Six hundred years before, to wit, That the English should be first subject'd by the Danes, next the Normans, and lastly the Scots, was fulfill'd in his coming, so this gave him a Title as from Heaven,
Heaven, and made even Wise men conclude, he was the man designed by et-
ternal Decree, to take the first place upon the now Regal Seat of our Eng-
lishe, which was heretofore that of the Scotch Kings (as I before mention'd;) of which Honour no man could have been put in possestion with so universal Sulatfaction as he, both in respeet of the ripenes of his years, the dig-
nity of his great Alliances abroad, and the advantage of his hopeful Issue at home; being a Prince that was at Peace with all the World, but very e-
minently with himself, having from his Childhood been prachis'd in the
Regiment of such a Kingdom, that had not corrupted him with Affluence
and Vain-glory, but by variety of Accidents, enabled him to rule himself as
he ought, and consequently his Subjects, as they expected.

Now if it be one of the most desirable points of happiness (because the
most durable) to have such Subjects as with no other Soveraign but himself,
as himself desired no other Subjects but those he had; so we may believe
he had a large share of Joy with the People, and possibly more transcendent,
than many conceiv'd, in respect of the Reflections he could not but
make upon his past Troubles, which in some sort may be said to have taken
their beginning, even before he took his; there being such a Sympathy in
Nature, that he could not but have some Convulsion fits in his Mothers
Womb, at the time when that unhappy Prince received his death, to whom
he was indebted for his life; especially since the same men, by the same
Principle they were mov'd to deprive him of a Father, were obliged to de
prive him of his Soveraignty, as after they attempted to do, when they dis-
puted his Right of Succession. Thus far he suffer'd being yet un-
born.

Now being born, he seem'd to be in no less danger in his Cradle, than
that great Legislator of the Jews was, at the same Age, in his Bulrush Ark,
being tossed and tumbled by the agitation of several swelling Factions,
as mother by the motion of the troubled Waters, whilst they that made away
his Father, began with no less Audacity to fall upon his Mother: and as they
strangled the King first, and then blew up the House afterward, so now they
restrained the Queen under so strentgh a Confinement, that she could scarce
breath, and blew up her Power (which we may call her Castle) by a train
of Popularity, to which Buchanan gave Fire by that Invective he wrote a-
gainst the Monarchy of that Kingdom, intituled, De Jure Regni Aet Scotos:
wherein, as much as in him lay, he subjected Kingship to be trampled un
der foot by the Beastsof the People; affirming that they had the Right to
create or depose their Princes as they pleas'd; And accordingly they com-
pell'd his Mother to resign into their hands the Crown she had receiv'd
in her Cradle, to be given to him that was now lying in his. Thus far he suf-
fer'd being yet uncrown'd.

Five days after his Mothers Resignation he was Crown'd and Anoint
ed, and being but thirteen Months old, was acknowledged King by the
Name of James the Sixth. But at very same time they agizu'd his Right,
they admitted a Protestation for saving the Right of another to win,
the Duke of Chatel Hercul, who it seems had some Pretensions, in Right
of his Great-Grandmother, the Daughter and Heir of James the Second.
So that this was as yet but to make him a King in Name and shew, whilst he
must continue under the Pupillage of Ambitious Regents, that design'd ra-
ther to give Laws to him, then advise him how to give Laws to others.
'Tis true, whilst he was under the care of those two Patriots of known Ho-
nour and Loyalty, his Grandfather Matthew Earl of Lenox, and the old
Earl of Marre; the one his Governor by the right of Nature, 'tother by

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that of Culfot'; he had some Satisfadion, though no Security (for how
could they be able to protect him, that were not able to defend themselves,
the first of them being murth'r'd, the last heart-broke by the insupportable
Troubles he met with in his short breath'd Regency.) But how melancholy
a life he lead under his next Regent: the Earl of Morton, who, under pretence
of keeping all Papists and Factionous Persons from him, sufferr'd him to see al-
most no body, appears by that strict Order of his, by which every Earl
was forbid to approach his Presence with any more then two attending
him, every Baron with any above one, and all of lesser Quality were not
to come but single. Upon this, 'tis true, the offended Nobility (to affront
Morton) declar'd him Major, and made some shew of leaving him to his
own dispose, but in respect he was but twelve years old, they thought fit
to appoint him eleven Lords more to be assistant in Councel to him, three
and three by turns, which in effect was to put twelve Regents over him
instead of one, which was design'd by some that intended their own ad-
vancement more then his. Thus he suffer'd during the Nonage of his years:
How he suffer'd further during the Nonage of his Power, will appear in the
Sequel.

For Morton, notwithstanding the Prescript Form of Government, drew
to himself (being one of the twelve) the Administration of all Affairs, and
keeping the Power still within his own hands, as the King within his own
Power, admitted none to see or speak with him but whom he thought fit;
whereby he was now brought to loose his Liberty wholly, because t'other
had lost his Authority in part only. This Tyranny held till the Lords head-
ed by the Earl of A'tbole, freed him by force of Arms: After which, belie-
vieving himself clearly manumitted out of his Papillage, to shew himself ac-
countable to none but himself, he began to single out such Friends for his
Confidants, as by nearness of Blood, or the nobleness of their Natures,
he judg'd most worthy to be trusted. Two there were above the rest, on
whom he seem'd to cast a disproportionate Grace: these were Esme Lord
Aubigny, Grandson of the Lord John Stuart, his Grandfather's younger
Brother (whom he created first Earl, and after Duke of Lenox) and Charles
Earl of Arran, who being a Hamilton, was his near Kinman too: but both
of them being suspected to be of the French Faction, it gave fifth occasion
of offence to the chief of the factions there, and no less umbrage to the
jealous Queen here, who knew the former of the two to be much honoured
by the Guises. This new conceiv'd Envy heightened the old Rancor of the
murtherous Nobility, and made them have recourse to the same Remedy for
prevention of the same Mischief as before; whereunto there being a fair
opportunity given by the absence of these Lords (the one being in a Jour-
ney, t'other at Edenburgh) the Earl of Gower, with whom conferderated
the young Earl of Marre, and the Earl of Lindsey, finding the King alone
at St. Johnstons, invited him over to his Castle of Reuthen. As soon as they
had him there they made him Prisoner, and accusing the two Lords as Ene-
mies to the Protestant Religion, having first put all his trusty Servants from
him, they forc'd him by an Instrument under his Hand and Seal, to banish
the Lord Aubigny, and to imprison the Lord Arran; and which was yet
more insupportable, compel'd him to approve all that they did by Letters
to Queen Elizabeth. But it was not long ere the death of the Duke of Len-
ox in France (who, 'tis said, however dyed a Protestant) made the Con-
spirators to secure in the possession of him, that he found the means to make
his escape from them: And recovering himself now the second time, as one
that once more became Lord of himself, he recall'd his trusty Councillor
the
the Lord Arran, by whose advice he was guided in all his Concerns. This so provoked Gowry beyond all patience, that in defiance of all Reason as well as of all Right, he made a second attempt upon him: But as those who are fore-warn'd are fore-arm'd, so the King having an eye upon him, defeated his purpose, and made him what he should himself have been made by him, a Prisoner at Mercy, whilst his Complices escap'd into England, to seek Protecition from Q. Elizabeth: Who hoping to have prevented Gowry's Sentence, dispatch'd away her Secretary Walsingham to the King, to admonish him to take heed how he was led away by evil Counsellors, and to shew him how difficult a thing it was to distinguish betwixt good and bad Counsel, at his Age, being then but eighteen years old: to which the King return'd a sudden, not to say a sharp Answer, That he was an absolute Prince, and would not that others should appoint him Counsellors whom he liked not. Wherewith the testy Queen was so offended, that she set her Terriers upon encouraging the factious Ministry (whereof there was good store there, and those fit Tools for her purpose) to say those things which became not her to own, who clamoring upon his Government, and raising many slanders upon himself and Council, tending to the making them Popishly affected, were thereupon cited to Answer for their Seditious Practises: But they refused to appear, avowing that the Pulpit was exempt from all Regal Authority, and that no Ecclesiastical Persons were accountable for what they preach'd, to any but to God and their Consistory. In the meantime the Queen follow'd the blow, and furnishing the proscrib'd Lords with Money, secretly dismiss'd them home: Who as soon as they return'd, upon the Credit of declaring for the Confirmation of the Truth of the Gospel, for freeing the King from evil Counsellors, and maintaining Amity with the Protestant Interest of England, rais'd Eight thousand men in an Instant, with whom they marched up directly to Court, and so far surpriz'd the King, that he was forced to render himself to them, and to ingage to give up to their Mercy all their Adversaries, and who they were, was left to their own liberty to declare: Next, he was compell'd to put into their hands the four Keys of the Kingdom, Dumbritton, Edinburgh, Tantallon, and Sterling Castles. After which Glames, one of the principal Rebels, was made Captain of his Guard: All persons out-law'd for Treason had their Utalies revers'd: all the bad Subjects were declar'd good, and some of the best declar'd Traytors. A Treaty of Peace was concluded with England, upon Conditions that the Queen-Mother should never be releas'd, and in order to the bringing on her Tryal, as after it fell out: which Tryal of the Mother prov'd yet a greater tryal to the King her Son, who having before left his Father and Grandfather by a dismal Fate (both privately murther'd) was much more abash'd to appear so much a King, and no King, as to be a helpless Spectator now of his Mothers Tragedy, made away by such a publick Tryal, as seem'd to proclaim his weaknes and shame, more then her guilt. This seem'd to be the very dregs of that bitter Cup whereof he had drank so largely a little before, but being, as he hop'd, the last draught he was to take of Infelicity, he bore it with suitable patience, as became a Christian and a King: But his Destinies decreed that there must yet be one Throw more before the Birth of his Greatness. For however he had drank so largely a little before, but being, as he hop'd, the last draught he was to take of Infelicity, he bore it with suitable patience, as became a Christian and a King: But his Destinies decreed that there must yet be one Throw more before the Birth of his Greatness. For however his Majesty cleared up from the time of his Mothers departure, like the Sun after a stormy Morning, which becomes brighter and brighter, as it draws nearer its Meridian, yet there happen'd after all this an Eclipse, that lasting only half an hour, had like to have extinguish'd all his Light and Glory, if a Hand from Heaven had not rescued him. For the young Gowry, who at the time
time of his Father's death, and long after, continued in Italy (the Country
where they are learn'd in the Art of Revenge) having found an opportunity
to draw him again into that fatal Castle, where he was before Prisoner to
his Father, under pretence of shewing him some Chymical Rarities, got
him up into some higher Rooms, while his Servants were retired to eat
(it being presently after he had dined himself) where, by the help of his
younger Brother and another appointed to assist them, they intended to have
assassinated him, had not he that was to do the horrid Deed, not only re-
lected at the very instant when he drew his Sword upon him, but turn'd his
point upon his Fellow Regicide, and thereby gave him time to step to a
Window and call for help, which came so timely to him, as to rescue him
by the death of the two Gowris. This, though it was the last of Treasons,
was not yet the last of dangers he met with: For after this, mov'd by what
Obligations, besides that of Love, I know not (which commonly is not
so domineering a Passion over Princes as private men) he run as much
danger at Sea, as he had before at Land, exposing himself to the mercy of
that unruly Element, at the most dangerous Season of the year, to fetch over
his Queen, the Daughter of Frederick II. King of Denmark, who having
attempted several times to come to him, was drove back (and as 'tis said
by the power of Sorcery) into Norway, which hazard being afterward
recompenced by the satisfaction he had in the Vertue of his Wife, and the
hopes conceiv'd of the Children he had by her, two Sons and a Daughter,
as he had no further caufe to fear, so he had nothing further to wish, but
that lucky hit that came by the death of the late Queen Elizabeth, to have
the Glory of bringing this Isle, so long divided from all the Worl'd, to be at
Unity within it self.

And now to the end he might take the Inclinations of the People at the
first bound (wherein no man was ever more skilfull then he) he abrogated
the two names of Distinction, England and Scotland, and reconciled them
to each other, under the comprehensive Appellation of Great Britain, re-
storing England to its old Name, as he from whom he claim'd, had reftor'd
the Crown to its ancient stock. Fain he would have brought them under
the unity of the fame Laws, but finding neither Nation pleas'd with the
Propos'd, either being partial to their own Constitutions, as fitted with
due and different respects, to their different Tempers, Interests, and Pro-
proprieties, he quitted that Design as a Labour of too hard digestion. But
however the Reasons of State varied, he was resolv'd to reconcile the Po-
lity of the two Churches, as in an Union of Possession, so in an Uni-
sity of Government and Worship: Tho' he of his own Country having then
no other Form, but that imposed upon them by Boanerges Rex, without taking
Counsel of Prince or Prelate, which was not otherwise to be made good,
but by the fame Violence with which it was at the first introduced against
the Will of any of the Nobility, but such whose Ancestors were brib'd by
the Alienation of the Church Lands. But before he could impose any thing
upon them, understanding there were many here in England that followed
the Classical way, he resolv'd to have a free Conference with the ablest of
their Demagogues, to the end, that founding the depth of their Principles,
he might, if possible, fathom that of their Piety, which no man could bet-
er do then himself, being an universal Scholar, as well read in Men as
Books, and so transcendently versed in the last, that he was not improperly
stil'd Rex Platonicus. How confident he was of his skill in discussing all
points Theological, appears by his entering the List with Pope Pius the
Fourth, and making him give ground. Neither was he a little provok'd to
to this Spiritual Warfare by a clamorous Petition pretended from a thousand dissatisfied Ministers, who not having yet matter enough of just Complaint, made up the Cry by the number of Complainants. To whom, while he was considering what Answer to give, or rather how to make them answer themselves (as after he did, by taking each of them apart, and commanding him to set down in Writing, what it was he singly desired; which when compared altogether, proved so contradictory and absurd, that like men brought to cudgel one another in the dark, they withdrew with broken Pates; he was interrupted by the Discovery of a Treason, which (coming on so early in the Dawn of his Government) could not well be discovered what it was, nor whereto it tended. For whereas most other Conspiracies are hatch'd by men of the same Faction, Interest, and Judgment, this strangely involv'd People of all sorts and conditions, without respect to any Repugnancy of Quality or Concern; Priests and Laymen, Papists and Puritans, Noblemen and Ignoble, Citizens and Country-men, were all piec'd up together in the same Combination; but whether engag'd by Faction, Ambition, Covetousness, or Malice, was not known, or at least by the Kings Wisdom conceal'd: However by the well-known Names of the Principal Conspirators, the Lord Cobham, who was Lord-Warden of the Cinque Ports, the Lord Grey of Wilton, who had a great Post in the late Queens Government, Sir Walter Rawleigh Lord-Warden of the Stannaries, Sir John Fortescue Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Griffith Markham, Sir Edward Parham, and several others, all men of good Families, and of good Education, one would have thought it a soberer and deeper design then it proved to be. Some think their intention was to have seiz'd on the Persons of the King and Queen, and their Children, and so to have made Conditions with him for the Kingdom in general, and perhaps for themselves in particular; being perswaded by some cunning Casuist amongst them, that it could be no Treason, being enter'd into before the King was Crown'd and Anointed. And in case they could not bring the King to their terms, 'twas said they resolv'd to set up the Title of the Lady Arabella, as the next presumptive Heir to the Crown, being sole Daughter of Charles Earl of Lennox, younger Brother to the Kings Grandfather, whom the King, when her Father dyed, put besides that Title (as by Custom of Scotland he might, being a Donation during his Minority) to give it to his Cozen Esmé Lord Aubigny, the Heir Male of the Lord John, the other younger Brother. Now that which gave colour to this unreasonable Conjecture of setting up this Lady, was the particular respect Sir Walter Rawleigh profest to her: but if his enmity to Spain had not been a more unpardonable sin then his enmity with her, the Charge Count Gandamore brought against him could not have been so much more preffing upon him, then the Attorney Generals upon his Fellows, to make his much Merit no less criminal then their much Guilt: and which was more unlucky, to render him a greater Sufferer by the Kings Mercy, then divers of them were by his Justice; who, having freed him after Condemnation, was prevail'd with by the Spaniard to condemn him after that freedom, contrary to the opinion of divers learned Gown-men, who held that his Majesties Pardon lay inclusively in that Commission he gave him afterward upon his setting out to Sea; it being incongruous that he should have had the disposing of the lives of others, who was not clearly Master of his own. But herein those that were his particular Friends and Relations, were not more surpriz'd then all the World beside: For as they expected to have been indebted to his Sword for bringing home more Gold then would have paid the price of his forfeited Head,
so every Body else hoped to have been no less indebted to his Pen for finishting that most excellent Piece of his, The History of the Old World, which ended as untimely as himself, by attempting a Discovery of The New One.

Now as this Plot seems to have been as dark as the place it self where it was first hatch'd, so it was made yet darker by the wisdom of the King, who kept the Cause unknown, to the intent it might have no Seconds: However, some have concluded from the appointment of that Conference of Divines, which happened not long after at Hampton-Court, that whatever Reasons of State topt the Plot, Religion lay at the bottom of it, which being at all times a sure foundation for any treasonable practices, was at this time so much more reasonably pretended, by how much the King being as yet a stranger and unsetled, not knowing whom to suspeet, much les whom to trust, would necessarily be distracted with various apprehensions, and not think himself secure in the Glory of being Defender of the Kingdom, till he appeared to be The True Defender of the Faith here in England, as well as Defender of the True Faith (for so run his Title) in Scotland. Neither were they deceiv'd that took this measure of his Zeal or Fears; it being well known that he was as ambitious to shew the first, as other Princes were careful to conceal the last.Witness the pleasure he took in wresting (as I said before) with Pope Pius the Fourth, not as Jacob wrestled with the Angel to obtain his Blessing, but as he contented with Esau, to shew how little he regarded his Cursing. After which he entered the List to grapple with that more dreadful Monster the Presbytery, who professing to hate the pomp of Superstition, disdain'd to give Obedience to any kind of Order in the Church; being like the Chymara which the * Poets feign'd to have breathed Metamorphosis out of fire, having the head and breast of a Lyon (a bold voracious Creature but very dull) with the belly of a Goat, and therefore much followed by the Female Sex, and the tail of a Dragon to sting the Consciences of those that follow him, and make them spiritually mad. Betwixt him and the Pope, finding Religion to be placed, as his own Arms were betwixt the Lyon and the Unicorn, who trampled under their feet his Beasts Pacíficus, with as much icquyn as they have since Dieu & Man Droit: He thereupon deferred the matter no longer, but calling before him the ablest of those that took upon them to oppose the Monarchy of the Church, he resolv'd to preside himself in the Controversie betwixt them and the Bishops. He that was the Prolocutor of the Non-conformists, having to offer nothing that was altogether void of Form, beginning with a General Discourse of the Necessity of a thorough Reformation, he brought the Desires of his dissatisfied Brethren under four Heads, beseeching his Majesty that there might be, 1. An establishment of true Doctrine in the Church; as if that receiv'd from Christ and his Apostles had not been as yet sufficiently clear'd. 2. That there might be a settlement of true and faithful Pastors; meaning men of known simplicity and plainness, and if not Fishermen (as were the Apostles) yet of any other Trade or Occupation. 3. That there might be a sincere Administration in point of Government; meaning that the Presbyter might be joyn'd in Connion with the Bishop (as Calves-head and Bacon are better meat together then either of them alone) that by his letting in as many at the back door as the Bishop did at the fore door, great might be the multitude of Preachers. 4. That the Book of Common Prayer might be fitted to a more increase of Piety; by lengthen-
Jog the Prayers (which as one of the Fraternity, and doubt! tsi a Taylor, objected, were like short shreds, or ends of threds, that were too quick-
ly wrought off) and spiritualizing them with some less intelligible Phrases, to prevent praying by rote. These Proposals of his being inforced by a
not unlearned Discourse, however more like an Orator then a Divine, he concluded with fundy Objections: 1. Against Confirmation, as being al-
together needless and unnecessary, because it added nothing (as he said) to
the Validity and Sufficiency of the Sacrament. To which Ansver was gi-
ven, That the Church held it no essential part of the Sacrament, but judg’d
it a thing most reasonab e, that Children, who at their Baptism had made
Profession of their Faith by others, should so soon as they came to years of
understanding, do it by themselves before the Bishop. 2. They deem’d
it most laudable, as being warranted by the practice of the Primitive
Church, from the very Apostles time. Lastly, they judg’d it necessary
that the Children should receive Benediction by the Impoision of Hands,
after the Example of Chrift himself. This Answer being fo solid, that
it could not well admit of any Reply, he very dexterously grafte the De-
fire upon it. That every private Pastor might Confirm as well as the Bi-
shop: But Doctor Andrews challenging him to shew where ever it was
done by any but Bishops, he loft the Point for want of ready proof. Af-
fer this he objected in the second place against Abolution, as favouring too
much of Popery. To which was answ’red, That the Commission of Par-
doning Sins was originally given by Chrift himself, and allowed of by the
Church of England upon no other but Gospel Terms of sincere Repentance
and amendment of Life, which dierence’d it sufficiently from the Popes
Pardons and Indulgences granted upon far other and easier refpects; and
being agreeable to the practive of other Reformed Churches, particularly
that of Geneva (the pattern which they themselves desired to follow) it
was thought not only immodest and inconvenient, but farcely justifiable
before God or Man to condemn the practive of it. Which Answer, how it
satisfied him at that prezent time I know not, but I have been credibly in-
form’d, that when he was upon the point of Death, he earnestly desired
the Absolution of a Reverend Divine that came to pray with him, and ta-
kling his hands between his own, kiss’d them with all imaginary shew of
Devotion and Humility. The third Objection was against the ufe of the
Cross in Baptifm; but it appearing to have been ufed in Constantine’s time;
and prov’d out of several of the Fathers to have been ufed in Immortal La-
vacro (by which either side understood Baptifm) the King judg’d it Anti-
quity enough to justify the continuance of it still: Upon which, waving a-
ny further Objection to the Antiquity, he urged the scandal of it, for that
it had been Superflitiously abus’d (as he said) in the time of Popery: to
which the King himself gave Answ’er, That it should be ufed no otherw ise
then as it was before the time of that abuse, the Antiquity thereof being
imply’d in their own Objection. Hereupon one of the out-lying Obje-
cors fall’d forth impertinent enough, and desired to know how far an
Ordinance of the Church was binding without Impeachment of Christian
Liberty: Whom immediately the King took off with a sharp Reply, tel-
ing him, That as the Church taught him Faith, he would teach him Obe-
dience. Many other Objections there were against the 4. ufe of the Sur-
pile; 5. The King in Marriage; 6. The Ordination by Bishops; 7. Bapti-
zing by Women; 8. Predestination; 9. The Oath ex Ofiio; 10. The High
Commission Court, &c. to all which the King himself gave Anwers fo like
a Prince in reftect of Authority, and yet fo like a Priest in point of Divi-
Q 2

istry,
nity, that not knowing whether they less understood him, or themselves, as men at once affam’d, afraid, and confounded, they begg’d to be difmisl’d, and promis’d to Conform for the Future, now they knew it to be his Will to have it so.

However, there were some Gainsayers that rose up afterwards, taking upon them to speak evil of the things they understood not, men of perverse spirits, puff’d up with pride, rather then prick’d in Conscience, who found out an Engineer fi. for their purpose, a filthy Dreamer, more impudent then can be imagined (however he was by his Profession a Physician of Bodies, and not of Souls) took upon him to preach in his sleep; whose Story is not altogether unpleasant or impertinent, having render’d himself fo famous by his counterfeit Trances, that the King himself, curious to find out the cheat, had a desire to hear him. His manner was, after having paft through a Rapshdy of Prayers, to take some apt Text for his purpose, to inveigh against Pope, Prince, and Prelate, which he did so smartly, and yet so methodically, that the King clearly perceiv’d he was awake, although being call’d, stirr’d, or pull’d, he would make no shew of having any sense of hearing or feeling: Whereupon he commanded every Body out of the Room having two or three persons only, to whom (drawing near the Bed where the Fellow lay feemingly asleep) he said, I well perceive this Fellow is an irreconcilable Enemy to Church and State, and I believe it is the Devil speaks in him whilst he sleeps; now because I know not what effects his preaching may have amongst the ignorant Rabble, I command you (making secret Signs to them that he was not in earnest) to strangle him with the pillows before he awake, which (said he) cannot be perceiv’d to be other then a natural Death, and I think myself the rather obliged to take away his life, that I may not be forc’d to take away the lives of many innocent persons who will be seduced by his Doctrines: Therefore as soon as I am withdrawn into the next Room, be sure you satisfy him immediately. The Fellow surpris’d with the apprehension of this unexpected Judgment so near execution, imagining it might be too late to call for Mercy when the King was gone away, rose up, and pitching up on his knees, confess’d his Imposture, begging his Majesties pardon. Whose Wisdom by this Discovery was magnified to that degree, that all men look’d on him as another Solomon in point of King-craft; and had his bodily abilities born any proportion to those of his mind, doubtless the Women would have extoll’d him no less then the men.

Having now settled all things to his mind in the Church of England, he proceeded in the next place to the Reformation of the Kirk of Scotland, whither he sent divers grave and learned Divines upon an Apostolick Ambassy, to prepare the way for the establishment of a like Hierarchy there as here. Which Work prov’d so successful, that without any great Dispute they admitted as many Bishops as there had been ancient Sees in that Church, i.e. Thirteen of which number there were three that received their Consecration from the Arch-bishop of York, who was, it seems, accounted and obeyed as Metropolitan of that Kingdom till the Year 1478. all the rest being Consecrated at home by their own Prelates, whose Authority was not long after confirmed both by Synodical Acts, and Acts of Parliament. After which the Liturgy, and certain Books of Canons, extrated out of scatter’d Acts of their old Assemblies were likewise ratified and confirmed by Parliament: And at the Assembly of Perth (now call’d St. Johnstown) there past two years after (though not without great difficulty) those five notable Articles for 1. Episcopal Confirmation, 2. Kneeling at the Communion, 3. Private Baptisme, 4. the Celebration of

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the four great Anniversary Feasts of the Birth, Passion, and Resurrection of our Saviour, and the Pentecost, and 5. for the settling the Church Habits. All which were likewise confirm'd by Act of Parliament, the great Lords having as yet heard nothing of any Commission of Surrendries, which was that great Rock of Office against which his Successor King Charles the First did so unluckily dash himself to pieces.

Due care being thus taken for Establishment of Truth and Order in the Church, the next great Work was to establish quiet in the State, that Righteousness and Peace might kiss each other, which he judged to be a consideration not less necessary then prudent: the active Government of his Predecessor Queen Elizabeth, who led all the brave men in her time to hard duty, having tired out almost all the stirring Spirits of the Nation. However, though it did ease, it did not generally please the People, the humor of Fighting being not so wholly spent, but that it broke out afterward to worfe purpose; it being in our Fate, as has been observ'd by some Melancholy States-men, that whenever we are long kept from quarrelling with others, we are apt to quarrel with one another. But that which discontented the Men of Mars most was, to see the Faction of the Gown-men pricking up, and wholly predominant.

Upon this lower Orb, as in the Skie,
Sol constantly is nearest Mercury.

Neither did he take part with them so much out of the pleasure he had in Books, as out of an aversion to Arms, whereunto he seem'd to have such an Antipathy, that by his good will he did not care to see any Sword-man within his Palace; whereby the Court came by degrees to loose two points of its ancient Luster: one in the Exercise of Tilting, which was an Entertainment that added much to the Grandeur and Magnificence of the late Queen, and King Henry her Father: the other in the choice of the Gentlemen Pensioners; an Order which being set up by the Wisdom of her Grand-father Henry the Seventh (a Prince of severe Gravity) she was so fond of, and so curious in ordering the State of their attendance, that none could attain to that honour all her time, but who were men of very good Quality, and yet more goodly Stature, who by their graceful Personage might set forth the place as the design'd the place should set forth them, so that in time it became a kind of Nursery for Officers and Men of Command, who were sent abroad into France and the Low-Countries, to learn the Art of cutting Throats, if need were, and so return'd again. But this King, it seems, being taken with no such armed Pomp, neglected it so far, that some of the ruffling Gallants about the Town began to speak of it with more freedom then became their Duty or Discretion, taxing him downright with Pusillanimity and causal fears, saying that he trifled away more money in insignificant Embassies and Negotiations, for a dishonorable Peace, than would have maintain'd an honorable War. But he having before shut up the Gates of Janus, all his talk was (as we commonly say) without Doors, for he esteem'd it honour enough that he had conquer'd himself, according to that of the Poet:

Fortior est qui se, quam qui forisimma vincit

Peace
Peace he had at home without his seeking for it: O Neil the great Disturber of his Predecessors quiet being presented to him as a Prisoner by the Lord Mountjoy, as soon almost as he came in, which gave him the occasion to begin with the settlement of Ireland first, by giving the possession of the whole Province of Ulster (O Neil's Country) and the sink of Rebellion to the Citizens of London, who thereupon settled two Colonies there, the one at Derry ever since called Londonderry, the other at Coleraine, which they settled with four hundred Artizans; whilst the King for the better supplying them with Souldiers, erected a new Order of Knighthood, called Barons, from their taking place next the Sons of Barons, each of which was engaged to lay down as much money at the Sealing of his Patent, as would maintain thirty Foot Souldiers one whole year, at the rate of eight pence a day apiece, which came to twenty shillings a day: And the Complement of these Knights being two hundred, there was a compleat establishment of Three thousand Souldiers without any further noise, to be ready for his Service whenever he had occasion to make use of them.

Now in order to the having Peace abroad, there needed no more but to renew the Leagues he had made before with the Princes his Neighbours, under another title. The great Question was, Whether he should accept of the Olive-branch from the King of Spain, with whom his Predecessor had so long contended for the Laurel: and upon debating the whole matter, besides the motives of half-peace already made with him, whilst he was King of Scotland, and the whole benefit of Trade that he was like to have as he was King of England, the certainty of setting the Catholic and the most Christian Kings together by the Ears, the uncertainty of being able to raise monies to maintain a War so easily as Queen Elizabeth did (who had the knack of borrowing money, which served her to as good purpose as if it had been given, the Parliament being for the most part the Pay-masters) there were many Reasons of State, some whereof were not fit to be published, perhaps not to be understood, which induced him to call in the Letters of Martyr, and conclude that League, which how acceptable it was to both Kings, may be guess'd by the mutual Caressings of each other, with extraordinary Embassies and Presents, and the more then ordinary Ratification of the Articles of Peace, but how far the People were content to have any Friendship with the Catholic King, it is easy to guess, especially after the discovery of that Catholic Plot, commonly call'd the Gunpowder Plot, which as it was contriv'd in a hotter place than Spain, so it was hatch'd up in Darkness, never to partake of the Light, but when it was to be all Light, and to give such a terrible blow, as was at once to Extinguish the Light, the Hope, and the Glory of this Nation. This the All-seeing Eye of Providence (which pierces through the dark Womb of Conspiracy, and blasts the Embryo of Treason before it can be form'd) miraculously detected, to the amazement of all Mankind; no body imagining there could be such danger by Fire so near unto the Water: the meaning of it being so little understood, even after it was discovered, that neither could the Lord Monteagle (who received the first notice in a Letter writ in an unknown hand) tell to what Friend he owed his Preservation, nor any one else guess, from what Enemy they were to expect their destruction, till the King himself by inspiration rather than instinct (yet admonish'd perhaps by the subversion of that House wherein his Father was murdered) apprehended by the word Blow, what the Element must be that was to be so subtil in its Execution, as that they who were hurt (for so were the words of the Letter) should not see who hurt them. Which
Discovery of his being a kind of Revelation as elevated the Opinion conceiv'd of his Wisdom to that degree, that the Vulgar began to idolize his Understanding, and reverence him as the Jews did Moses, for the shining of his Face, as believing it almost impossible for any humane Judgment to have found the depth of so profound a Plot. And as this begat a great regard to his Person, a greater to his Parts, so looking on him as a kind of Illuminated Man, they gave him the Reverence of a Prophet, which did not a little please him, who having it in his humour to pretend to a Faculty in Divination, easily prevail'd with them to receive his Conjectures as Oracles; which serv'd him to so good purpose for that (which is pleasant to tell) whatever almost he desired to have done, he needed no more to effect it, but to forswear it would so fall out, which (give him his due) he improv'd by his King-craft (as himself was wont to call it) to many good uses, both for the Publick benefit, and his own private Security, and not seldom for his Mirth and Pleasure, as often he was disposed to let down his Majesty, and play the Good-fellow, at which times he let down no Drink which was not a kind of Inspiring Liquor, being for the most part strong, sweet Wines, as Canary, Frontinack, White Muscadels, High-Country-wines, or Hypocras, which though he would make seem otherwife, had contrary Effects upon him, then usually upon other men, for instead of opening his Heart, they opened his Bowels, and not filling his Head, never provok'd him to empty his Mind, but rather to digest many Serious Affairs, by seeming all the while in Jest. And as he lov'd to Droll, so he would sometimes please himself by singling out some wife Fool of the Company, and be very grave with him, in asking his Opinion of something that never was, nor were was like to be, and otherwise giving him some little State hint, as who should say, A Word to the Wife, whereby he not only obliged them to keep secret the nothing he had intrusted them with, but by that Secrecy created in him a self-conceipt that made him matter of much Mirth another time: In fine, he had so excellent a Faculty in seeming to be what he was not, and in being what he pleas'd, that if it be true, Diffimulation is a Vertue in Kings, though it be not so in private men, he was so great a Master of Art in that Liberal Science, that he could diffible without seeming to be a Diffember, and vary his shape so naturally, and so easily, that he could cozen whom he pleas'd, and when he pleas'd, though in truth he never cozened any Body, unless it were himself, and that he did very often, being not seldom prevail'd with by those of his brib'd Country-men about him, to make underhand Agreements with the Farmers of his Revenue, whilsh his Council were contriving how to raise their Rents to ten times the value. Which easiness of his had been an oversight not agreeable to the rest of his Understanding, had he not had the knack of breaking those blind Bargains again, as easily as he made them haffily upon the account of being (as was apparent he was) misaken in his Grant, whereby he left that Imputation of Folly at their Doors, which otherwise would have rested at his own, whilst he made them his Creditors with more advantage then they could have made themselves his Tenants, filling his privy Purse with a Superfluity of what they had only got out of the Publick. But when he came to have any thing to do with his Parliament, who were to treat with him upon the Publick Faith in the behalf of the People, he always gave them a penny-worth for their Penny; and as oft as they presented him any Aids, Benevolences, or Subsidies, made them a Return of good and wholesome Laws.
SCOTS.

Laws, which have been always accounted good payment; and if they were not the best that ever this Nation had, yet (as Plutarch saies by those of Solon) they might have been so, had not the fault been more theirs then his.

It were too tedious to give further Instances of his Prudence, the wise choice of his Servants and Favorites, the equal distribution of his Rewards and Punishments, the skillfull managery of all the Actions of that time, as well English as Scotch and Irish, Ecclesiastic or Civil, not suffering any of the Factions to rise higher then he could reach them, nor to grow stronger then he could either alter or divert them, keeping a due Temperament, sometimes by Preventions, sometimes by Lencitives, other while by strict Justice, but oftentimes by unexpected Mercy, testifies his great Abilities and Knowledge in Men and Manners, in Books and Sciences: and if the Sum of the Accompts between him and the Subject be rightly plac'd with Relation to his Justice and Judgment; we shall find they were more indebted to him for a long Peace and Prosperity, then he to them for any extraordinary Payments. The Londoners we know prevail'd with him to pay the Debts of his Predecessor, which he was in no manner obliged to do; yet we find not that they discharged their Gratitude in any suitable Returns to him, giving down their Milk no longer then they were stroak'd, inso much that he was forc'd to fend his Privy Seal often abroad to particular Friends in the Country, to discharge his immediate Expence of State, whereof he was so frugal and provident a Manager, that notwithstanding the many Occasions he had for Money (perhaps beyond any of his Predecessors) by keeping a double Court, by receiving at home, and employing abroad so many Ordinary and Extraordinary Ambassadors as he did, some to Complement, others to Expostulate with, but all to have an Eye upon his Neighbours; by being obliged to stop the mouths of his querulous Country-men, who presuming on his Goodness (for as one observes, he was no more troubled at their robbing him, then a Bridegroom at the losing his Points or Garters) thought it so much their Right to share with him in his new Acquests, that they drew many strange Boons from him: One of them (not to mention any more) having the confidence to beg no less then Twenty thousand pounds in ready Money at one time, and had obtained his desire, had not the wise Lord Treasurer, by shewing the King the whole Sum in Silver upon a Table altogether, brought it down to a Composition of Five hundred pounds only. I say, notwithstanding all these great and pressing Occasions for Money (for certainly there is no one Virtue in a Prince so advantageous to himself, as Bounty, whiles, like the Sun, he nourishes the whole Creation under him, by letting down the Dew which he shall certainly draw up again with increafe) he found like means, though not by a like way, to enlarge his Empire, as the great Augustus did his.

**Super & Garamantius & Indos.**

The first possession we had of New-England being principally ascribed to that of his here in Old England, both that Virginia and Bermudas, three of our most famous Plantations (however discover'd before his time) having in no measure recover'd so much strength as to make good the Ground they laid Title to, till influenceed by his Wisdom. The chief Town therefore of Virginia, the chief Plantation, being in honour of his Memory call'd
James town; by which remote Land-mark if we take the Dimensions of
his Greatness, considering the Ocean he commanded, betwixt this and
that other World, which was no less properly his Dominion, then
the Terra Firma beyond it. We need not wonder at the Learned Grot-
ius his making him Rival with Neptune, since his Trident was nothing
so glorious as 'others three Scepters.

--- tria Sceptra Profundi
In magnum Coëre Ducem. Licet omnia Caesar
Magna sui metuant, Jacobo Præmisa Patefas
Cum Terris Pelagoque manet ---

R y SUCCESSOR
SUCCESSOR to King James was his Second Son Charles the First, a Prince whose height may better be taken by his Character, than his History; the one very clear and fare, the other so blurr'd and defac'd, by those croft Lines which Destiny drew over it, that it is scarce Legible, at least not to be read without trouble, the most part of it being written in Blood, whereof (to the shame of that Age be it spoken) part was his own. Yet after all, we may rather call him unfortunate then unhappy, since the infelicity of his, must be rather imputed to that of his Predecessors Government, who finding that the People had taken a surfeit of his long Peace, indevoured, when it was too late, to divert the Distemper he foresaw coming on; but only moving, and not removing the peccant humour that was then predominant; he dispers'd the Malignity into all parts of the Body Politick, and so corrupted the whole Mafs of Blood, that that which at first seem'd to be only an ordinary itch of Reformation, turn'd at last to the Leprosy of Rebellion, the Contagion whereof spread it self in this Planet-strook Kings Reign thorow all his Dominions.

Neither was it the least caufe of his Misfortunes, that he had a War devolv'd upon him by his peaceable Father, without any means to carry it on; so that to save a Sifter, he in some fort hazarded the loosing himself; the ill beginning of the Recovery of the Palatinate being the first, if not the principal Caufe of loosing (as after he did) his own Dominions, beyond all Recovery. For as it was evident that his Parliaments, taking the first Occasion from his Necessities, to put what price they pleas'd upon their Supplies, made this the first Occasion of a breach betwixt them; so 'tis as evident, That the King of France taking his measure of his weaknes by that of their strength, was tempted to provoke him to a second, before he had ended the first War, which he not being able to sustaine, was necessitated to floop to such low Conditions as prov'd the Foundation of a more Fatal War at home, then that he declined abroad.

Thus
Thus the sower Grapes his Father eat, set his Teeth on edge; and however the same Fruit is said to have cost his elder Brother his Life, yet when he came to declare what 'twas he lov'd best, he preferr'd the Vine before the Pomegranate; whether as judging it more flexible, or certainly more fruitful, is not known; but it appears by what follow'd, that he rather pleas'd himself in that choice, than his People, who as they ever preferr'd Spanish before French Wine, to their averrice to the French Nation, made them not only pass by many unbefeeing Censures upon the Match (not considering they deny'd him that Liberty every private man of them contended for) but malitiously to charge the Innocent Queen with all the Ills that follow'd afterward as oft as his Parliaments and he differ'd, which was as often as they met, and that was not seldom, for he had no less than five in fifteen years, who, notwithstanding never any Prince desired more to give them satisfaction, were all very froward and ill disposed towards him: The very first he call'd, shewing themselves not willing to understand him; and the second behaved themselves so, that he was ashamed to own he understood them; and at the third meeting, either understood one another so well, that they began to quarrel; the fourth gave him the Justice, and the fifth made it good by fighting him.

Neither were the States of Holland sooner意大 than the K. of France; who, as they were false to their own, and naturally hated all Kings, so they took Occasion to fish in our troubled Waters, breaking in upon his Sovereignty at Sea, as his own Subjects upon his Prerogative at Land; which, though it were as great an Affront to the whole Nation as to him, yet the grand Repræsentatives of that time took so little notice of it, that one would have thought they had designed to have exprest no less disdain of his, than the Roman Senate did of the Government of the Decemviri, Qui, nequid eorun Duciti aut Augusto profleré gereretur, vincif Paeichentur (fay Tacitus) for when he came to demand aid of them, they not only deny'd him, but left him in a worse Condition than they found him, making him as great a Sufferer in his Reputation as he was in his Right. And that which made this Misfortune the more notorious was, that the same Courte he took to make the matter better, made it worse: For having no ready money to set out a Navy, nor means to get any, he was forced to make use of a little Treasure-trove (if I may call it) for which he was beholden to his Attorney-General Noy, who encouraged him to lay a Tax upon the People, by the dubious Authority of an antiquated, and (as it was afterward call'd) Arbitrary Law, whereby the Kings of England heretofore had power given them to impose a Naval Tax, in case of eminent danger by Sea: A Law, which at the first making was judged to be as reasonable as necessary, being intended to prevent the frequent Incursions of the Danes before the Norman Conquest; but all Fears of that Nature having vanished so long since, to revive it now, was look'd on like the drawing forth of an old rusty Sword, which gave such a wound to the Liberty of the Subject, that though it were not very deep, rankled to that degree, as notwithstanding the many good applications afterward to heal it, the inflammation could not be taken off till it turn'd to a Gangrene. Thus, whilst he resolved to do nothing but by Law, the legality of his proceedings is taken for an Act of the highest Tyranny. Neither was this the worst on't, to see his Fleet as it were dry-founded at Land before it could put to Sea; for the Parliament, instead of maintaining his, busied themselves wholly in affeeting their own Rights, bringing them to the old Standard of Magna Charta, and the Petition of Right. Which, however it seem'd...
to be bad enough in the Intention, all Circumstances then consider'd, proved yet worse in the Explication, being constru'd not long after to the prejudice of his Right of Tonnage and Poundage; in discussing whereof, they committed a Violence upon themselves, which declared what they intended upon him, by leaving a President that as much out-lafted their Cause, as the Cause did their Priviledge, shutting up the Doors of their House (as if guilty that they deserv'd to be disturb'd) till they had fully vented their Passion, in some menacing Votes that urg'd him to dissolve them, by such a kind of Force, as was very what as rare as their Insolences, the breaking up their Doors (for so he was fain to do before he could get Entrance, though himself was there in Person to demand it) making so great a noise, that it was heard not only throug every part of the discontented City, but Kingdom; and the sound became the more terrible by the ominous Reverberations from Scotland, who eccho'd to those Murmurs here with such a dismal Concordance, as shew'd to what Instrument they were tuned.

This drew him into that Kingdom, to correct the growing Distemper before it became too virulent, wherein he proceeded as wise Physicians do, that draw the pains from the Head by Applications to the Feet: but as it is hard to discern the true meaning of any man's Intention (which being the Soul of every Action, is invisible) and very easy to abuse it with a pretended Interpretation, that is not only against its own, but against all Sense and Reason; so it happen'd to him, who beginning with the Ratification of the Negative Confession subscribe'd by his Father and the whole Kingdom, Anno 1580. (which was a Renunciation of the Papal Authority, and all the corrupt Principles depending thereon) he was charg'd by those that had before felt the smart of the Commission of Surrendries, and were inforced to disgorge those Sacrilegious grants they had obtained during his Father's minority, to have a design of bringing in Popery; a word that turn'd every man's Blood into Cho'er, and gave the hottest Allarm to tender Consciences that ever that cold Clime knew, the train of whose Calumnies was so laid, that it quickly took fire here in England, where the Presbyterian (as yet call'd the Puritan) Party, having, as they thought, matter enough of Scandal long before, from the unhappy Toleration of Sports on the Sabbath-day, and the turning of the Communion Table Altar-wise, began to backle (as one expresses it) like the Geese in the Capitol, bespattering the Bishops with that vehemency, that much of their unbecoming Froath fell upon the King himself. And for the more intire Concurrence of Civil and Religious Clamors, the same evil Spirit that furnish'd them with meet matters of Complaint, turning Man-Midwife, eas'd them of many a Spiritual Throw, by opening the Womb of their Conspiracy before its full time, making way for the new birth of that long expected Parliament, from whose heat all the Factions took life, and like quickned Snakes, began to hiss with such venom'd rage, as shew'd a manifest contempt of all Authority, preffing now upon the King's Convenience, as much as they would have the World to think he had preff'd upon theirs before; not only refusing to admit the use of the Liturgy (however compos'd by their own Bishops) in any of their Parochial Churches, but denying the King himself the priviledge of having it read in his own private Chappel at Edinburgh. And lest the World should doubt that their Insolence was not come to its wish'd height, they took upon them the marks of Soveraign Power, indiciing without Licence or Knowledge, four principal Tables or Counsell's in the said City; one of the Nobility, another of the Gentery, a third of the Burgesses, and a fourth of the Ministry. Out of which there was set up a general Table of
of select Commissioners, all alike Enemies to Unity and Uniformity, who were to chalk out the Methods for abolishing Superstition and Tyranny, by which was meant in their mystical Sense, Episcopacy and Monarchy. In order to the carrying on of which disorderly Proceedings, they seiz'd as well the Crown as the Church Lands; and notwithstanding their hate of Forms, began so well a Form'd Rebellion, that the unhappy King was provok'd beyond his natural temper to repel Force by Force: But before his Justice could reach them, they had so firm'd their Faction, by their Solemn League and Covenant (which was not like that ancient Bond taken in the Year 590, wherein they were bound to the maintenance of the Kings Person and Authority; for in this they swore all to the mutual Defence and Ailuance of each other, against all Persons opposing them whatever, not excepting the King himself;) that he was glad to close in a Pacification, which after produc'd a Cessation, that by the Artifice of some of their Friends here (working upon his tenderness of shedding Blood) concluded with a disbanding of his, in order to the letting down their Army; but after abusing him in this, as well as in all other their Intrigues, for they determin'd never to sheath the Sword till they got their ends, he was force'd to reinforce himself by new Leavies, which necessitated the calling another Parliament here at home.

This prov'd so much worse then all that had been before it, in that they were grown more learn'd in the Discipline of Daring; and being fully instructed by the Complaints of all that were weary of the Government, or Governours, like the first Reformers of Germany, they sum'd up their Centum Gravamina in a general Remonstrance, which was carried on with that unparalleled Contumacy, that every one that was licentious was pleased with the Imagination of having the Ball of Sovereignty flung down, to be scam'd for by the Multitude; whose Heads being made giddy by the continual Noise of those Spiritual Trumpeters, that fill'd their Ears with the joyful sound of the long look'd for Promises of a new Heaven and a new Earth, and the Description of such a Kingdom, wherein (as they said) the Saints and Servants of the most High were to reign, by a Special Commission written in the Stars, which none could read but these Astronomical Rabbins themselves. They began like men Spiritually drunk, to defy all Carnal Powers, and having before broke the Windows of the Royal Palace, resolv'd in the next place to pluck down the two great Pillars of the Throne: These were the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and the Earl of Stratford, the one presiding in Spiritual, the other in Temporal Matters; both of whom were impeached of High Treason, the one to gratify their Malice, the other to secure their Fears: the last was the first brought to stake, whose Crimes savouring rather of Injustice the Subject, than Unfaithfulness to the King, proving no otherwise Treasonable, but by accumulation of so many lesser Misdemeanors together as might make up by heap what was wanting in the weight of his Guilt. The King refus'd to condemn him till he had first consulted the Judges in point of Law, and the Bishops in point of Equity; by either of whom being left in greater doubt (if possible) then before, having a natural aversion to all State Phlebotomy, as well knowing that this Blood-letting, though it might stop the Fever for some little time, would so weaken his Power, that he should not be able to resist any future Distempers; the consideration whereof brought him into a State Convulsion, that drew his Judgment several ways before he could determine what to do. Honour and Justice prefs'd him on the one side, the Common Interest (as 'twas pretended) on which hung.
hung the weight of the Publick, as well as his own private Peace, urg'd
him on the other side, either grat'ting upon the most tender and sensible part
his Conscience, which (like a Needle between two Loads of stones, that tilting
with equal Inclinations to either, at the same time seems to turn to both,
yet neither) was so tortur'd between the Consideration of what was safe,
and what was Just, that it appear'd in bringing the Earl, they had brought
him to Tryal, and put him into such an Agony, as shook the very Foundations
of the Government. And this Hesitation of his proved to be the
Groundwork of three the most Important Jealousies that ever troubled any
State, the Parliament thereupon declaring themselves dissatisfied in the Se-
curity of their Religion, Proprieties, and Privileges: to the clearing
whereof they made not long after three strange Proposals: 1. For the
Extermination of Bishops: 2. The Establishment of a Triennial Parliament:
3. The Delivery of the Militia into their Disposal.

This Contumacy of theirs taking its rise from the Confidence they had
in their Brethren the Scots (who all this while continued in Arms upon the
Borders for want of money to disband them, eating like a Fistula insensi-
bly into the Bowels of the Kingdom) he made it his first care to cure that
Malady; wherein he proceeded with that great judgment and skill, that in
paying them off, the Parliament gave the Money, but he the Satisfaction,
having thereby so far recover'd the good Opinion of those People (however
they came to be perverted afterward) that as soon as he arriv'd in their
Country (whether he went in Person presently after the Peace was conclu-
ded) they gave him two notable Instances of their Duty and Submission:
The first Publick, in reviving that good old Law there, which made it Tre-
ason for any to Lea"y Arms without the King's Leave and Commission: The
second Private, in the discovery of the five Members there that had been the
principal Engineers to draw them into England.

But whilst he was busie in quenching the Incendiations of Scotland, be-
held a more dreadful Fire breaks out in Ireland, the Matter whereof was so
prepar'd, that there appear'd very little or no smoak of Suspicion, till it
was all in a Flame; and which made it more terrible was, that the Rebels
pretended to take their Rule from the English, as their President from the
Scots, in defending their Religion, Proprieties, and Liberties by Arms, all
which being (as they said) underminded, not knowing how soon the
Blow might be given, they thought it justifiable enough to prevent what
they could not withstand. Now to prove that their Religion was in dan-
ger, they urg'd the Preparatory Votes and Measures of the House of Com-
mons in England: and for the proof of the Impairing their Liberty and
Proprieties, they refer'd to the Remonstrances of those in Scotland, who
made it the first motive of their rising, that they were like to be reduced to
the flabby Condition of Ireland, in being brought under the Form of a
Province, and subjected to the insupportable Tyranny of a * Lord Lieu-
tenant. And now to add a Varnish to this Colour, they declar'd for Pre-
servation of the Kings Rights, as well as their own, vowing to oppose
with Life, Power, and Estate, all such as should directly or indirectly in-
devour to Suppress the Royal Prerogative of the King, his Heirs and Suc-
cessors, or do any Act or Acts contrary to the Royal Government. This
Declar'ation of theirs was written with a Pen of Iron in Letters of Blood,
as believing that no Rebels in the World had more to say for themselves
then they; at least, that they had much more matter of justification then
either the Scots or English could pretend to, who justify'd themselves by
signing only to suspect, what others really suffer'd under. Neither per
haps had the World so condemned them (all Circumstances considered) had there not appear'd a Self-condemnation within themselves, by counterfeiting a * Commission from the King to justifiethis their Arming, falsely bragging that the Queen was with them, and that the King would very shortly come to them: Which as it was a bafe and abject piece of Policy, that lost them more Credit when it was detected, then it got them Repute while it was believ'd; so it was malicious towards the King to that degree (with respect to the Condition he was then in) that it cannot otherwise be thought, but that having murther'd so many of his Protestant Subjects, they had a mind to murther him too: The Consequences of that great Sulpi- tion it brought upon him being such, as he could never recover the disadvantages it fastned on him, till he fell finally under the power of those Sons of Beelzebubroy the Presbyterians that stuck up his hair, and the Papists that cut off his head. Whereof he himself was sensible, that the very last words he us'd (as if to shew he alike abhor'd either of them) was to profess, he dy'd a Christian according to the Profession of the Church of England, as he found it by his Father; foreseeing that he should suffer more by Reproach, then by the Axe. After which he resigned himself to the fatal stroke with that cheerfulness, as shew'd he believ'd by removing that Scandal only, he should get a greater Victory over his Enemies when he was dead, then ever they got over him whilst he was alive.

The ill-news of Ireland drew him with all imaginable haste out of Scot- land. But before he could come to the Consideration of that great Affair, he was prevented by the Parliaments renewing their old Complaints, who found a flight occasion of quarrel to introduce other matters that they knew would widen the Difference beyond all reconciliation (for his Majesty having taken publick notice of a Bill that was depending in the House, whereby he thought his Prerogative pinch'd, to which therefore he offer'd a Provisional Clause, with a Salvo Jure to himself and the people, to prevent all Disputes at the passing of it) they interpreted this to be so high a violation of their Priviledge, that they pray'd to have the Informers brought in to condign punishment: Seconding that Petition with a Re- monstrance against all those, whose Affection or Interest they thought might be serviceable to him, under a new coy'd name of Malignants, which they ranged into three Claffes, 1. Jesuited Papists, 2. Corrupted Clergy-men and Bishops, 3. Interested Counsellors and Courtiers, concluding thereupon, 1. That no Bishops should have any Votes in Parliament; 2. That no People should be implied 'd about him but such as they could confide in; 3. That none of the Lands forfeited by the Irish Rebels should be alienated or disposed of otherwise then by their Orders. Which last Request was grounded upon two Reasons, 1. To render the Irish more desperate by cutting off all hopes of ever recovering their Estates again. 2. To incourage all that would take up Arms under Pretence of arming against the Irish, raise any Forces to allarm them; wherein they were so cautious, that they would not consent that the King (who earnestly desired it) should go himself in Person.

This unexpected breach upon him, gave him the second Provocation to make another breach upon them: for being well assured that the Five Members were the great Botsome that kept in the fire, he caus'd a Charge of

* Which that is might be the more authen- tic, they take of an old Seal from an Abjo- rate Patent at Farnham-Ab- by, which they annex'd to it.
High Treason to be drawn up against them, upon the Articles following.

1. As having endeavour’d the Subversion of the Kingdom and Laws.
2. The depriving him of his Legal to set up an Arbitrary Power.
3. To have endeavoured to alienate his good Peoples Affections from him, by divers false Scandals.
4. To have attempted to corrupt his Army.
5. To have invited a Foreign Power to invade the Kingdom.
6. To have design’d the Subversion of the very Rights and Beings of Parliament.
7. To have raised and countered Tumultus, to overawe him and the Parliament.
8. To have treacherously conspired to leave, and actually had left’d War against him.

The next day after these Articles were exhibited, he himself went in Person to the House of Commons to demand Justice. But this as it was like the breaking into an Hornet’s Nest, so the confused buzz that followed him to the Court Gates, he’d how dangerous an Undertaking he had past: The tumultuous Citizens keeping him awake with continued Complaints of decay of Trade, of the danger of Popish designs, and the general Fears arising from his Fortifying of Whitehall (as they call’d it) the Invasion of the House of Commons, the Restraint of the Five Members, &c. shewing by the Infolence of their Depertation, that there wanted nothing to blow up the Government, but to give Fire to the Train that was already laid.

What Tempestuous Weather it was like to prove at Westminster (the whole City being already thus overshadow’d with a Cloud of Popular discontent) was easy to foretell; and accordingly his Majesty thought fit to remove into the clearer Air of Hampton Court, whence he return’d the Parliament a very gracious Message, assuring them, that if they would digest all the Grievances of the Kingdom into one Body, he would redress them, that (as he said) he would not only equal, but exceed the most Indulgent Princes that ever the Nation had. But this Condescension of his contributed much to the increasing their Insolence (as soft Medicines do cause proud Flesh) for as they found he gave ground, they press’d the more upon him, sending him word, that the only Catholicon to cure the growing Discontent, was to deliver up the Militia into their hands. That of London and the Tower he did not long dispute with them, and that of the Country he was content to part with, so as their Power were confined within some limited time, but they having past the bounds of modesty in asking, could not contain themselves within any moderation of acceptance, but rejecting all his Concessions, proceeded to take the Power he would have given, without tarrying for any Confirmation, and resolving to magnifie their own Cause rather than his Grace, they possest themselves of the Fleet, the truit whereof they committed to the Earl of Northumberland, a Person that rather honiour’d their Cause, then was honoured by it. But because it was a preposterous thing to provide for War, before there was any Cause given to fear a breach of the Peace, much more to fly to Arms before there was any prospect of an Enemy, they resolved to Treat with him no longer, lest he should be too hard for them, and undeceive the inconstant Multitude, not yet sufficiently hardned with Envy or Ignorance. From this time therefore they began downright to quarrel with him, taking occasion from the late Impeachment of their Members, the Information against whom, though it were with-drawn and quash’d, and the prosecution wholly declined, yet they would abate nothing of their Retemement of it, being, as they allledged, a Reflection upon the whole House, that they required the Informers might be deliver’d up to them: and at the same time they would not allow the dishonour of having any of their Members accus’d, they sent a personal Accusation against the King himself, Charging him, to have attempted the Incensing
Inciting the late Northern Army against them; 2. To have been the Author of all the Troubles of Scotland; 3. To have under-hand promoted the Irish Rebellion; 4. To have sent away the Lord Digby but a little before, in order to the bringing over foreign Forces to invade the Kingdom; malitiously affirming, that the Papiz Nunio had been very earnest with his priovicy, in soliciting the Kings of France and Spain, to send out eight thousand men to his AYstame. Having thus spit in his Face, it could not be expected he would not return it with a blow; upon which both sides armed: They vote him guilty of a breach of the trust repos'd in him by his People, making it contrary to his Oath to defend himself, and tending (as they said) to the dissolution of his Government. He to requite them, set forth a general Declaration, wherein he took notice of all their bold Proceedings, which he said he expected to break out into all disloyal practices; and forasmuch as they had already most preposterously declar'd for him against himself (as indeed they did) whereby to betray well-meaning People into Rebellion; he forbid all his loving Subjects to be any ways aiding or abetting to them, in those their treacherous Attempts, to bring on a Civil War, and by no means to levy any Forces, or contribute any thing to such Leavies, contrary to the known Laws, without express Licence from him.

Here the two great Interests, IMPERIUM & LIBERTAS res olim insociables (Faith + Tacitus) began to encounter each other, like those unruly Elements of Fire and Water, neither of which yielding to one another (whilst the one proscrib'd by a Divine, the other by a natural Right) begat so horrible a Confusion, that the Caefe on either side seemed better in the Pretension than the Prosecution. Those who stood up for the Plutocratic, professing only to defend their just Proprieties, made use of all advantages that time or sufferance had intitled them to; and as men that at the same time they drew their Swords, had flung away the Scabards, scorning Pardon as they hated Peace, followed Providence (as their expression was) through all dangers and discouragements, whilst those of the Royal Party, impatient to see the King so much less than he should be, thought it as necessary as just, to attempt the making him something more than he had been; but straining the Sinew-shrunk Prerogative beyond its wonted height, disjoyned the whole Frame of Government, and broke those Ligaments of Command and Obedience, whereby Prince and People are bound up together. Unhappy King, to whom the love and hatred of his People was alike fatal; who whilst himself was thus unhappily engaged against himself, was sure to be the Loser, which side soever was the Gainer; and so much the more miserable, by how much even Victory itself must at once weary and wear him, but great was his Prudence as great his Patience.

And next the Power of making Tempests cease, Was in this Storm, to have so calm a Peace.

Behold now the great Sovereign of the Seas expos'd (as it were upon a small Raft) to the raging of the People, as a Shipwreck Pilot to that of the Sea, without any hope but what was next despair, to recover some defolate Rock or Isle, where he might rest himself in the melancholy expectation of being deliver'd as it were by Miracle. So he being drove first from London to York, from thence (having in vain tried to touch at Hull) passed on to Nottingham, where he set up his Standard, but not his rest; from thence he marched to Leiceseter, so towards Wales; and having a while re-
freathed himself at Shrewsbury, after divers toilings and deviations, fix'd at last at Oxford, the famous Seat of the Muses; ill Guards to a distressed King, and perhaps no great Assistants to those about him, who were to live by their Wits. Here he continued near three years, acting the part of a General rather than a King, his Prerogative being so pinion'd, and his Power so circumscrib'd, that as none of his own People paid him Homage, where he could not come to force it to the Neighbour States of the United Netherlands, though they disown'd not a Confederation with him, made so little shew of having any regard to his Amity, as it were Evidence enough of their being his Friends, that they did not declare themselves his Enemies: Only the Complemental State of France sent over a glorious *Ambassador, who under the pretence of Mediating a Peace, was really a Spy for continuing the War. The only fast Friend he had was his helpless Uncle the King of Denmark, who was so over-match'd by the Swede all that time, that he could give little or no assistance to him.

During his abode here, he did as much as the necessity of his streightened Condition would permit, convening another Parliament there, to Counter those at Westminster, lest it should be thought there was a Charm in the name, where there appear'd no less then One hundred and forty Knights and Gentlemen in the lower House; and in the upper House Twenty four Lords, Nineteen Earls, Two Marquesses, and Two Dukes, besides the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Keeper, the Duke of York, and the Prince of Wales, who if they were not equal in number (as some think they were) were much more considerable in quality then that other Parliament at London. But being a Body without Sinews, they fate as so many Images of Authority, or (if with decency we may say it) like Legislators in Figurie: Those at Westminster having in this the better of them, that they had got into their hands that pledge of extraordinary Power, the Dominion of the Sea, which was a sufficient Caution for that by Land, Nam qui Mare tenet eum neceffis est Rerum potiri. This brought in Wealth, that brought in Men, the Men brought in Towns and Provinces under their Subjection; so that we find they had an intire Association of divers whole Counties, when the King could assure himself of no more, than what he made Title to by his Sword: Even Yorkshire is itself, the first County that he made tryal of, entering almost as soon as he was gone out of it, into Articles of Neutrality. But not withstanding all the disadvantages he had by want of Men and Money, of Means and Credit, yet we see he brought the Balance of the War to that even poise, that it rested at last upon the Success of one single Battel to turn the Scale either way: for had they been beaten at Nasmyth (where they got the day) they had been as undoubtedly ruin'd, as he was by looting it; which Battel being the last, ended (as Edge-hill did that was the first) with that finifter Fortune, to have the left Wings on each side routed by those of the right: But the advantage the Round-heads had in this was, that they had not forgot the disadvantage of the former Fight, but early quitting their pursuit, return'd time enough to relieve their dill-ed Foot, and so by their Wisdom recover'd that fatal advantage, which the Cavaliers lost by their Courage, who pursuing their half-got Victory too far, lost the whole unexpectedly. In this Battel, as in that, the Royal Standard was taken, and as the King lost his General then, so he lost himself (acting the Generals part) now, his Power crumbling away so fast after the loss of this Day (for in less then four Months time, twenty of his chief Garrisons surrendered: General Goring was routed at Lamport, the Lord Digby and Sir Marmaduke Langdale near Sherborn (which we know caus'd

* Prince Har.

† Cloud Attie.

‡ The King.

§ The Party were so call'd, because the same was generally worn amongst the Par ory party.

The Kings Party were so call'd, because those that appeared first on his side were most of them Gentlemen on Horse-back.
caus'd a more unlucky Rout after at Newark the Lord Wentworth was surpriz'd at Boxetray, the Lord Hopkyn routed at Torrington, the Lord Abbot at Stow upon the Wold) that he was never able to repair the Breaches made daily upon him, but was forcé'd to quit his faulltering Friends, and cast himself into the hands of his fawning Enemies, the Scots: who having kept all this while hovering at a distance (like Eagles that follow Armies for prey) expecting what might be the Issue, whilst the English were so busie in cutting one anothers Threats, were resolv'd to let him know what value they put upon him; and accordingly gave notice to the Parliament of his being with them, which begot a hot dispute betwixt them for a while; to whom of right the Royal Prisoner belonged, till in the end it conclud'd with redeeming the good King by a good Sun, who taught them thus to betray him, by first betraying himself, the failure of their Faith being ground upon that of his own; who had he kept upon the Wing (as one observes) whilst his Party was beating in the Covert, might possibly have retriev'd the Quarrel, and by retiring into some place of present safety, recover'd himself when he was so seeming'y lost, by the help of the same Invisible Hand, that after led his Son thorow many greater dangers, and brought him home safe beyond all hope; but stooping to this low Pitch, to subiect himself to those; who had so much despit'd all Subjection, they thought it a Complement to him, to estimate him at so high a rate as that of their Arrears.

Had he cast himself upon the Parliament in the first place, 'tis possible by letting go his hold so unexpectedly as he did, he might have given them the Fall, when they were so hard tugging with him; it being more then probable that the long abus'd People finding how he not only sought Peace, but purfu'd it, might have been mov'd to have indevour'd his Restoration, as tumultuously as they did his Dethronation; restoring his Dignity as disorderly as they took it from him, which how much the Hogen Mogens of Westminster dreaded, appears by the surprize upon them, when (a little before his giving himself up to the Scots) it was bruted that he was conceal'd in Lyndon. But as in great Storms great Pilots are forc'd, when they can no longer bear Sail, to let the Vessell drive, and take its chance, so he being no longer able to Stem the Tide, after having done all that could be hop'd for from Prudence, was fain to commit himself to Providence, and follow it without Light or Compass, thorow many dark Passions, and fantastick Changes, the result of their Inconstancy, Inhumanity, and Impiety, from whom he was afterward to expect his doom.

Trust makes us our own Traytors, nor could he be sav'd by Faith, but Infidelity.

Having now lost his Authority from the time he lost his Liberty, as the last was the occasion of ending the first Civil War, so the first was the cause of beginning a second: For now all the Doggs fell together by the Ears over the Marybone. The Army quarrelled with the Parliament, they with one another, the Commons differed from the Lords, the Scots divided as much from the English, the Presbyterians from the Independants: Great was the Diffension amongst the Brethren, and all for Place, Power, or Profit, for either of which the King appearing to be the best Pawn, the Army took him from the Parliament Commissioners, to secure him in their own Custody, which was so ill reffected by the ruling Members, that all their Consultations were about disbanding them. Upon which the Army drew up
The now up a Charge, and disbanded Eleven of them (the first whereof was the first of those Five Members impeached by the King) who were so little able to trifle with them (as they did with him) that they were fain not only to quit the Houfe but the Kingdom. After this the Army sent up a Representation (as they call'd it) to the two Houfes; proposing 1. To purge out all thoſe that ought not to sit there (meaning all the Presbyterian Party.) 2. To disabuse thoſe who had shew'd themselves diſaſſefted to the Army, that they might do no mischief (meaning thoſe who had voted with the Eleven Secluded Members.) 3. To settle a determinate Period for their Sitting (intending to have all rule'd by the Sword.) 4. To give Accompſts of the vast Sums they had received during the Way (intending the Overplus to be divided amongst themſelves.) This so incouraged the Independent Party, that they voted (in favour of the Army) to take the Militia of the City of London out of the Citizens hands, who were for the moſt part of the Presbyterian Faction. Upon which a Party of Apprentices came down, and making the grand REPRESENTatives Prisoners in their own Houfe, did (as I may fay) ram their Vote down their Throats, making them not only retract it, but Vote the Militia back again to the City. Hereupon they call'd for Aid to the Army; and the apprehenſions of what Effects their coming up might have, divided the Common-Council of London as much as the laſt Riot had thoſe of WRENFORD: fo that the General easily entred at the breach, and poiffes'd himſelf of the Strength of the City. Now as Maggots are ingreſsed by warmth out of Corruption, fo by the heat of these corrupted Fractions, there was kindled a Generation of Vermin, call'd Agitators, which were like the Locufts that rofe out of the fpout of the bottomſefs Pit, mentioned in the Revelations, c. 9. v. 3. to whom (fages the Text,) was given power like as the Scorpios of the Earth have power; who not liking that the King ſhould continue fo near as Hampton-Court, found an expedient to fright him from thence, by muttering something like an intended Affaſſation; the discovery whereof they knew would quickly be brought to him, and tempt him to make a private Escape, knowing well that they had him as a Bird in a string, and could take him again when they pleas'd; which Counſel if it had been rejected by him, 'tis probable he had been murder'd in good earnest: but he flying thereupon to the laſt of Wight, where he was fecur'd by their fast Friend the Governour there, they thought they might adventure to treat with him at that diſtance. Accordingly they conſented that the Parliament ſhould tender him these four modest Propofitions following, to be reduced into Acts. 1. That it ſhould be lawful for the Parliament to order and dispose the Militia as they pleas'd for the future, without his conſent; and Treafon for any to assemble in Arms above the number of Thirty, without Commission from them. 2. That the Houſes ſhould fix at what time they pleas'd, and adjourn their ſitting to what place they pleas'd, and meet at their own pleaſure and defierition for ever after. 3. That all Oaths, Interdictions, and Declarations, set forth in Publick by the King againſt either Houſe, ſhould be accepted and declared void. 4. That all whom the King had dignified with any Titles, from the time himself departed with the Great Seal, ſhould be degraded of their Honour. Which the Scotch Commissioners (we must remember it to their Honour) thought fo derogatory to that of the Kings, and contrary to former Engagements, that they follow'd after the Parliament Commissioners with a kind of State Hur and Cry, and protested against them. I hope it was not all a Juggle (for they had been undone doubleſſ if the King had sign'd them) but it took eﬀect as they desired. The King refuſed them, and thereby gave them (as they would have it thought)
thought) just cause to refuse him. Whereupon they pass'd that never to be forgotten Vote of Non-Addresses. After which the Agitators vanisht, and the Committee of Darby-house took place, which confining most of Officers, were now the Plenipotentiaries of the Kingdom. And near the same time the Power of England was thus given up to them, they had the Resignation made of that of Ireland too.

The King being now civilly dead, and one would think buried, the Prisons of Princes proving (as himself observ'd) for the most part their Graves, the Vote of Non-Addresses being as Earth flung upon him; Fortune cruelly brings him to Life again, by the Cordial of unexpected hopes, heightened by the Zeal of several Counties declaring for him. Divers Lords in Arms again at Land, and his own Son with others at Sea; these encouraged by the Revolt of several Towns, those by the coming in of several Ships; so that there were no less then Two thousand in Arms for him at Sea, with Twenty good Ships, and not so little as Ten thousand at Land, with Horses, Arms, and Ammunition suitable. And which was yet more considerable, the Grand Committee of State in Scotland (whose very name carried Danger in it) alarm'd them, by sending the Propositions following; 1. To bring the King to London, or some of his Houses near, with Freedom and Safety. 2. To disband the Army. 3. To punish those that had detained him in Obscurity. 4. To restore the Secluded Members. 5. To establish the Presbyterian Governments, and suppress Sectaries. And that they might yet appear more like a Committee of Danger, they sent a formidable Army under the Conduct of Duke Hamilton, to make good their Demands, and to give their Nation the Honour of being the last, as they were the first in Arms in this unhappy War.

The terror of these formidable Preparations, encourag'd by several Petitions out of the City and Country, moved the affrighted Parliament to consent to a Personal Treaty, whilst the Army was busy in disputing the Points with the Sword: and accordingly they recall'd the Vote of Non-Addresses, and sent their Commissioners to wait on the King at the Isle of Wight; where he argued so like a Divine with the Divines, so like a Lawyer with the Lawyers, so like a Statesman with their Machiavillians, that they went all away fully satisfied in their belief of his Wisdom, Piety, and Justice: and upon the publishing his Conditions, the Houses voted him to be in Honour, Freedom, and Safety, according to the Laws. Here seemed to be nothing wanting now but a Sword in his hand, to have once more disputed it with the Sword-men too, and then possibly he might have saved himself and the despairing Nation.

But just as every man was making ready to bring in his Peace-Offering, in Confidence that the King and Parliament were fully agreed; the enraged Army, returning home from the Conquest of all those that had oppos'd them, doubly dyed with Blood and Treason, alike Enemies to Peace and Reason, broke down the great Chain of Order, which binds even the Devils themselves, and first seizing on him, next on them, sent no less then Forty of their principal Members to Hell; a Place purposely made their Prison, not so much for any conveniency of Reception, or nearness of Situation, as the Uncoughness of the Name, that by the concept of being typically damn'd, they might bring them into despair, and tempt some of them (as after they did) to become their own Executioners: Ninety more they turn'd quite out of the House, and appointed a day for turning out all the rest. In the mean time they publish'd a Modification, which to make the more acceptable they term'd The Agreement of the People, by which
which the number of the Representatives of the Nation was reduced to
Three hundred, half which were to have power to make a Law; and during
the Intervals of Sessions, a Council of State was to govern: This Model was
put into the hands of those Members of their own Faction, who besides
the Confirmation thereof, had Instructions given them for passing six other
Votes. 1. For renewing that of Non-Addresses. 2. For amending the Treaty
and Concessions at the Isle of Wight. 3. For bringing the King to publick
Justice, to answer with his own all the Blood shed in the War. 4. For summoning
his two Sons, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, to render them-
selves by a day certain, to give satisfaction on their parts, otherwise to stand
exult'd as Traitors to their Country. 5. For doing publick Justice upon all the
Kings Partakers. 6. For paying off all their own Arrears forthwith. How
obedient Slaves this Rump of a House were to these their own Servants,
who could not find in their Heart to pay the least respect to their natural
Prince, appears by the Sequel: For immediately they gave them (or ra-
ther permitted them to give themselves) above Sixty thousand pounds, and
voted that the General should take care to secure the King, and the Coun-
cel of war to draw up a Charge of High Treason against him.

Lord Faulk.
Behold the frailty of all humane things,
How soon great Kingdoms fall, much sooner Kings.

This as it was an Infolence beyond all hope of pardon, so nothing could
justify it, but such a Violation of all sacred and humane Rights, as inust not
only out-do all Example, but out-face all Divinity and Majesty at once, by er-
ceting that High Court of Justice (as they call'd it) to try him as a Rebel
against himself: Preparatory whereunto they made Proclamation at West-
minster-hall, Cheapside, and the Old Exchange, that all that had any thing to say
against him, should come in at the prefixed time and be heard. And for
the greater solemnity of their intended Paricide, the Law was silenced, that
is, the Tear put off for fourteen days, in order to the better formalizing
the disorder that was to follow.

And now having brought the Royal Prisoner to their Judgment Seat, they
proceed to arraign him with not unlike Impudence and Impiety to that of
the Rascal Jews, when they brought the King of Kings to Tryal, whom as
they charg'd to be a Perverter, so these charg'd him with being a Subverter
of his People; both Prisoners being in this alike Guilty, that either Crime
was the owning himself to be a King; which as the Jews could not indure
then, so neither could thee now: Their King thought not fit to give any
Answer to his Accusers; this King preparing to give sitting Answers, could
not be heard. But he had this satisfaction, to hear Pontius Bradlaub the
President, by whom he was to be condemn'd, condemn himself first, and all
his Fellow Paricides, by a Reply to him not lesl subdused then observablc:
For his Majesty reasoning upon the unreasonableness of not being suffer'd to
speak for himself, said, Where is there in all the World that Court in which
no Place is left for Reason? to which 'other unwittingly reply'd, Sir, you
shall find that this very Court is such an one. Nay then (retorted the King)
in vain will my Subjects expect Justice from you, who fop your Ears to your
King ready to plead his Cause.

Thus they strangled him before they beheaded him, and designing to
murther his Soul (if possible) as well as his Body, added to their Denial of
Justice, so many Contumelies, Indignities, and Affronts, as were enough to
have tempted him to despair, had not his Faith been as strong as his Rea-
son,
ion, and the Greatness of his Mind much more impregnable than that of his Power; wherein though his Patience came not so near to that of our Saviours, as his Passion did, or as their barbarity rather, did to that of those Souldiers employ’d in that accursed drudgery of his Execution, yet it appears to have been such, as was as much above their Expectation, as himself was above their Malice. Witness his Exit, not like a Lyon but a Lamb: For notwithstanding the fight of those Ropes and Rings which they had provided, in case he had strug’d with them, to bind him down to the Scaffold as a Sacrifice to the Altar, had been enough to have disorder’d the Passions of any man, much more a King; yet having a firm belief that his honor should not suffer with him, but (as his own words are) * Rite again like the Sun (after Owls and Batts had had their freedom in the night) to recover such luster, as should dazzle the eyes of those feral Birds, and make them unable to behold him; he was so well fortified with that assurance, that he despised the shame, and endured the fatal stroke with alike Magnanimity, as that Great Emperor, who stretch’d forth his neck, and bid the Souldiers strike boldly, as if it were for their Countries good.

Here seem’d to be the Consummatum est of all the happiness of this Kingdom, as well as of the Life of this King: For upon his Death the Vail of the Temple rent, and the Church was overthrown. An universal Darkness overspread the State, which lasted not for twelve hours only, but twelve years. The two great Luminaries of Law and Gospel were put out: Such as could not write supply’d the place of Judges, such as could not read of Bishops. Peace was maintain’d by War, Licentiousness by Fasting and Prayer. The Commonalty lost their Propriety, the Gentry their Liberty, the Nobility their Honour, the Clergy their Authority and Reverence. The Stream of Government ran down in new-cut Channels, whose Waters were always shallow and troubled: And new Engines were invented by the new Statesmen that had the steerage, to catch all sorts of Fish that came to their Nets: some were undone by Sequestration, others by Composition, some by Decimation or Proscription: In fine, it appear’d (when too late) that the whole Kingdom suffer’d more by his suffering than he himself, who being so humbled as he was, even unto death, falling beneath the scorn, mounted above the Envy of his Adversaries, and had this advantage by their Malice, to gain a better Crown than they took from him; whiles not enduring that he should be their King, they consider’d not that they made him their Martyr.

Quando ullum inventum parem?  
Multis ille bonis libellis occidit.

Hort. 9. 24.  
Wis. 1.
The late King being put into a glorious Condition, as the Covenanters had long before promised him (who like the wicked Husbandmen in the Gospel, having got the Possession, desired nothing more then by the death of the Heir, to make the Inheritance their own) instead of one there rose up forty Kings, or rather Totidem Tyranni, making up A Committee of State (as they were pleased to call themselves) who took the Charge of the Executive Part of the Government, ordering the Forces by Sea and Land, &c. whilst the Junto of the House of Commons, the more immediate Trustees for the Liberties of the People, retain'd in their hands the Judicatory or Legislative Power, both agreeing to demolish the ancient and most magnificent Structure of Government, by King, Lords, and Commons, so long fetted by Law, Custom, and Common Consent, (and to erect a new Model of Polity by Commons only, whereupon having voted Kingship unnecessary and burthenome, and the Peerage useles and dangerous) they set up a new Platform, that they call'd The Agreement of the People, with like Zeal and Resolution, as those that rebuilt the Temple after the Captivity, where every man wrought with Sword and Trowel. Neither spared they any Labour, Cost, or Care, to make this Fabrick of theirs appear as beautiful and Majestick as the former, adorning the Frontispiece with divers goodly Figures (we must not call them Images) of Justice, Temperance, Fortitude, and Prudence. Over the Portal (for I must beg leave to describe it by a Trope as fantastical as the design itself) was presented Righteousness and Peace embracing each other, with this Epigraph under written (fitted to the Capacity of the Vulgar who were to pay for't) God with us. Over these, instead
instead of Mercy and Truth (which were Graces they could never Fancy) were plac’d Fame and Fortune; the first with a Trumpet in her hand, to proclaim their good Works; the last with a Laurel to reward them: betwixt whom was a Pyramid (the proper Signature of their Grandezze, which leant as it rose higher) on the Pedesimal whereof was ingraven the Date of the Fabrick, in the first Year of Freedom by Gods blessing restored, 1648. Just above this Inscription was plac’d an Escutcheon or Shield, being the declared Arms of the Common-wealth, which being St. George his Crofs for England, St. Andrews for Scotland, joynd with the Harp for Ireland, a merry Fellow took occasion to make this sad Contemplation upon it, That there were two Crosses for one fit of Mirth. This Shield was yet more taken notice of, for being cut out in the Form of a Gally-pot, and possibly with allusion (for they were wonderfully conceited, though not superstitious) to that Pot wherein their Elder Brethren (as they were wont to call the Jews) kept their Manna, the Prototype of the Covenant, which was in all things like the Manna, save that it came not from Heaven; for it fitting every mans Palate that took it, and being apt to stink when kept longer then it should be, every man that took it being as quickly weary of it.

Now whether the Plot of this imaginary Structure came first from Hell or Holland, matters not much; but so it was, that (like the New-buildings there) it cost more to make good the Ground it stood on, then the Superstructure was worth, which made the People, in a very little time, so weary both of the Projection and the Projectors, that it was not long ere it fell into visible decay. Now as ill-built Houses whose Foundations fail, do not suddenly fall, but cracking, sink by degrees, so the wiser Brethren the Scots, foreseeing what the end would be, withdrew themselves betimes, whereby they not only avoided the danger of being crush’d under the ruins of so ill-grounded a Democracy, but did themselves that right, to be the first return’d to, as they were the first went from, their Allegiance: and however many then thought they did but like Foxes, who having once flipp’d their Collar, are hardly ever to be chain’d up so fast, but that they will one time or another get loose again; yet this honest Apostacy of theirs made such a Schism for the present in the Body, that had not Cromwell very opportunely steppt into the Gap to stay them, the whole Flock (like frighted Sheep) had then broke out to follow the right Shepheard.

Non aliud discordantis Patria remedium est quam ut ab uno regeretur. Tacit. Annal.

This he very well knew, and resoluing to make the advantage to himself, like a second Antipater that would not wear the Purple outwardly, but was all Purple within, under an humble habit of Meekness, he so deluded them, that they chose him for their Supream Magistrate, under the Title of Protector of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Now lest they should discover his Ambition before he could master their affections, he began his Government not much unlike Tiberius, who (saith Tacitus) would have all things continue as the manner was in the ancient Free State: for as he was willing to be thought irrefolevd whether to accept of the Empire or not, and thereupon would not permit any Edict, though it were but to call the Lords of the Senate to Council, to be proclaimed by the Vertue and Authority of any other but a Tribune (himself being one:) for Cromwell retaining still the name of Common-wealth, that his Tyranny might
might seem to differ from the former no otherwise then a Wolf cloth'd in a Dogg, submitted all to the Authority of the Parliament, whereof himself was a Member. And to assure the faithful of the Land that theReuse over them, however it were by a fieg e Person, 'tinder'd much from Authɔirity Monarchy, he did so far adventure to deny himself, as to admit of those Popular Votes which every Body thought were so incompatible with all Kingly Principles, that it was impossible for any one ever to cheat them into Allegiance again: As. That the People under God are the Original of all just Power. 2. That the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, being chosen by, and representing the People, have the Suprem Authority of this Nation. 3. That whatsoever is enacted by them, and declared for Law, hath the force of Law: 4. That all the People of this Nation were concluded thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the King and House of Peers were not had thereunto. But long it was not ere he extricated out of the dreggs of these Votes certain Spirits that made those about him so drunk with Ambition and Courage, that they forgot all their Republican Resolves; and as 'tis said that Cæsar encouraged the fearful Pilot that was to waft him over Sea in a Storm, by only telling him he carried Cæsar and his Fortunes: so they were animated by the confidence they observ'd in him, who on the sudden was exalted to that wonderful pitch of boldness, as altered his very Countenance; & made it not much unlike that of * Lucius Domitian the great Ancestor of the *Emperor, whose face being stroked by two *Clæs or familiar *Demons, is said to have been transformed into a kind of Copper-colour. And having to that brazen face of his such an Iron heart as deemed nothing too difficult for him to attempt, they were easily perfwaded to joyn themselves with him, whilst he threw himself upon dangers seemingly invincible; so seemingly unconcern'd, as if he had known, or at least believed, that he carried the Fate of the three Nations upon the point of his single Sword: So that it is no marvel, after a long Series of Successes, both in Ireland and Scotland, where his very name (like that of Cæsar) made his way to Victory, having at the last got the better of the King himself, in the fatal Battel of Worcester (whom yet with a Politick Modesty he denied to have been defeated by his, but (as he said) by an Arm from Heaven) he should be so hardy as with the same Club he wrested out of Hercules hand, to dash out the Brains of the Infant Common-wealth (not then full five years old) making himself the sole Administrator of all its Goods and Chattels; to wit, the Moneys raised by sale of Crown and Church Lands, the growing benefit of all Forfeitures, Confiscations, and Compositions, together with the annual Rent of Ninety thousand pounds per mensem; over and besides which he had advantage of all the queer Projections then on scot, as the years rent laid on Houses built upon new Foundations in and about London, the Contributions for the distress'd Protestants in Savoy, the Collections of the Committee of Propagation (as 'twas call'd) who were to take care for the planting the Gospel in the dark Parts of the World, being no inconsiderable Levies. These I take to have been the personal Estate of the Commonwealth: To the real Estate of Inheritance (which he principally aim'd at) viz. the Sovereignty and Dominon of the three Kingdoms by Sea and Land, since he could make no better Title then as the first Occupant by his Primier Seisin, which in effect was none other but p'ain Diffelin, so long as the right Heir was alive, against whom there could be no bar by Fine or Recovery, whilst he continued beyond the Seas; the Learned Knaves about him advised him to intitle himself to it by Act of Parliament: Now for as much as by the first Instrument of Government, it was Articled that
that there should be a Parliament once in three years, two whereof he had already call'd, that had neither pleas'd him, nor were pleas'd with him (the first being so bold to question his Authority, the next himself) he resolved now to appear like the Grand Seignior with his Bashaws about him; and accordingly he chose several Prefects of Provinces, whom he call'd by the name of Major Generals, whose business it was first to keep down the un reconcileable Cavaliers; secondly, to new mould the Linsey-wolsey Covenanters, many of whom about this time began to be corrupted with Principles of Honesty; and lastly, to reform the Elections of Burgesses, so that he might with no less satisfaction then safety call (as a little after he did) the third Parliament, whom yet he vouchsafed not the honour of that Name: but to shew them how little he feared any Battery of their Ordinance, permitted them to be nick-nam'd The Convention; a strange Pack, made up on purpose for the strange Game he was to play, of all Knaves; but Knaves, as it appear'd afterward, of different Complexions. Thee having fram'd another Instrument of Government, pressed him by their humble Petition and Advice, as they term'd it; with not unlike flattery and falsehood as M. Anthony did Caesar, to legitimate his Usurpation by taking upon him the Title of King. The Lawyers that were of his Common-Council, urg'd him to it; for that (as they said) there was no other way left for him to guard the Laws, or for the Laws to guard him. The States-men that were of his Privy-Council, provok'd him to it, by the Example of Brutus the Roman Liberator, whose folly (they said) it was, that having murder'd Caesar, he did not set up himself, or some other, King, though by some other name: since, as he could not be ignorant, that such abortive Liberty as he had given life to, must needs prove the Parent of a lasting servitude; so he might foresee, that Caesar had so ingrafted himself into the Body Politick, that one could not be separate from the other, without the destruction of both: and as he had need of Forces, so had they of a Head, and better one craz'd then none at all. His nearest Friends and Relations press'd him upon the point of Honour: Neither could there be a readier Argument to perfwade him to take upon him to be a Prince, then to tell him he was descended from Princes: For who knew not that his great Ancestor Cradoc Vras Vras, Earl of Felix, having (as the Herauld said) married the Princess Tegaire, Daughter and Heir of Pelinor King of Great Britain, many hundred of years before either the Norman or Saxon Conquerors could pretend to any thing: so that now the Question was not so much with what right he could make himself King of England, as by what right he had been so long kept out of it.

In this confusion of Counsels, it came to his own turn at last to advise himself, and accordingly he weighed all their Arguments, and taking the last first into consideration, he easily over-pas'sd the honour of his Extravision, for two Reasons: First, for that his was not the chief Family of Wales: and secondly, for that he was not the Chief of his Family. Besides, common Fame had debas'd him, by an odd kind of Disparagement, which (however perhaps mistaken) took much from the dignity of his Person, as being believ'd to have been an ordinary Brewer: though it prov'd to be (as Daniel observes by Jaques D'Artievile, the great Stickler of Flanders in Edward the Third his time) a Brewer of more then of Beer. Neither did he much more regard the point of Law, for that he knew it to be no other wise binding then as a silken Cord, which upon any force used to it, is apt to slip and let go its hold. That which mov'd him most was the point of State, rais'd out of that pinching President of Brutus; yet there was an unanswerable scrupe rest'd upon that too, to wit, How it could be reasonable
for him to expect to hold them in with a twine thread of voluntary Submission, who had so lately by his own advice broken the strong bond of Allegiance; and (which yet he durst not object to any but himself) before his Death would make way for some of his Fellow Regicides, to usurp (by his own Example) as much upon his Successors, to the dishonour of those who call'd him Father, as he had done, by disinheriting the Sons of the true Father of his Country. This shewing him, that the thing call'd Chance would have its share, in despite of all his wisdom and providence, and that there was unknown danger attended that unknown Chance, he retreated into his first disguise, acting over the dissembling part of Tiberius, boggling with the Convention, as to'other with the Senate, and telling them that from the experience he had in matters of State, he had by good proof learned the ill of Soveraignty, how hard and difficult a thing it was, how subject to change and clamor: and seeing there were so many famous and worthy Personages of able and confiding men, as he call'd them, to bear the burden, better it were and more easy, that many joining their cares and studies together, should undertake the Charge, than cast all on one man's shoulders. These words (as the Author hath it) carried greater Majesty then Truth: For Tiberius (faith he) and Cromwell (say we) either by nature, or by custom, spoke these things which he would have known darkly and doubtfully, but of set purpose intending to hide his drifts, wrapt himself, more than ever, in dark Clouds of Uncertainty and Ambiguity, and canted (as our Phrase is) more skilfully then ever: Our Senate (as theirs) having in the mean time that awe upon their Spirits, that as he says by them, that they thought it great peril if the Emperor, or may say by these, that they thought it no less dangerous if the Protector, should doubt they perceived his Dissimulation; and so they acquiesced in the final Answer he gave them, that he accepted the Government, but not by the Title of KING. To say truth, he was afraid of those only, by whom only he us'd to make others afraid, his emulous Eastaws, those mighty men of War before mentioned, who wheeling about, declar'd against all Monarchy on Earth, but that of Jesus Christ, under whom they thought themselves as well entitled to be Major Generals, as under him. Amongst whom, not to mention the rest, I take Lambert, Desborew, Whaley, Goffe, Harrifon, and Pride, to be six more unruly Eastaws, then those six Oldenburgh Horses, which but a little before disdaining his last (however three Nations lay patiently under it) had ominously flung him from his Seat, when in a frolick he took upon him to drive his own Chariot, and having got him under their feet, so bruised'd and batter'd him, that he was taken up for dead, which being the only fatal Accident that ever lighted on his Body, by doing him that hurt, did him this good, to teach him that it was no jesting matter to take the Reins into his hands: For in case these head-strong Beasts should have taken the Bit between their Teeth too, as those other did, they would certainly have flung him down beyond all Recovery, having before that, so far derided and scorn'd his mimical Majesty, that they would by no means admit of his new House of Lords, or vouchsafe them any other name then that of The other House, whereby he found himself not only uneasie, but so unfix'd in his Greatness, that the apprehensions thereof put him into such a kind of Frenzy for the time being, that he could not forbear in great passion to tax them with having betray'd him into that great Charge he had, which (as he said) could not be made secure but by making it greater; and it troubled him the more for that it look'd like a Judgment, to have his Ambition so stifled in the very birth, after his having endured the Throes and Pangs of so many anxious thoughts,
thoughts, and sharp contradictions, and the convulsions of a more then a common guilt: but that which came yet nearer the quick was, that as he was dash'd cut of all hopes of being a King, so he began to lose his confidence of continuing a Tyrant, perceiving a daily defection of many of those in whose firm disloyalty he most confided. This turn'd all his Blood into Choler, and that became more adult by the grief conceived for the death of his second and most beloved Daughter, who expiring under the apprehensions of being tormented for his sins, made it seems that impression upon him, by her Sentiments of his Cruelty and Injustice, that the disturbance of hers brought such a distraction into his mind, as meeting with a suitable Distemper of Body, left him not till he left the World, out of which he departed with no less blustering and noise, then he continued in it, his Exit being attended with as dreadful a Storm, as that which happen'd at the departure of Romulus, to whom therefore a witty Flatterer of those times took the confidence to compare him, though without any Testimony given of his (as there was of t'others) going to Heaven: his Death suggesting no less matter of shame then grief to the inspired Party that depended on him, whilst one of their Seers affirmed them, that God had given him his life. His Son Richard succeeded him, but was so daunted with the horror of that unexpected height he arriv'd at, that not being able to keep the Reins long in his hands, he fell like another P/an***, leaving all in Flames about him.

Then began that Chaos of The Committee of Safety, out of which Fleetwood start'd up like the Beast in the * Revelations; that rose out of the Sea, with (a) seven Heads (b) one whereof was wounded to death and, heal'd again) and (c) ten Horns to whom (faith the Text) was given a Mouth speaking great things and Blasphemies, till God (as himself express'd it) spitting in his face blasted him. This many headed Monster receiving its power from the Dragon (by which we may either understand the Devil in a mystical, or the Army in a literal sense) had Instruction (1) To bring all Delinquents to Justice (that was to murther whom they pleas'd.) 2. To prevent and suppress all Insurrections and Rebellions (that was to rob, rife, and imprison whom they thought fit.) 3. To treat with Foreign States (that was to fall the whole Nation whenever they could find a fit Chapman for it.) 4. To raise the Militia in every County (that was to make the People Instruments of their own Servitude.) 5. To fill up all places of Trust that were void, and to remove such as were scandalous (in order to the making void of more.) 6. To make sale of all Delinquents Estates (and as an Appendix to that Power, they might make whom they would Delinquents.) Neither indeed did they spare any Body, but prey'd upon all Interests with so unsatiabla rage, that no individual Propriety seem'd to be safe from their Rapacity, insomuch that the afflicted Genius of the Nation, like that helpless Virgin delivered by St. George stood trembling in expectation of being devoured by them, till Heaven mov'd by her Prayers and Tears, sent another St. George to be her Deliverer, who animated by the benign Influences of that blest * Star, which appear'd at the Birth of our present Sovereign, as a Harold from Heaven, to proclaim his Right on Earth, cut off the Monstres Head, or rather its Tail (for like to that Serpent which is call'd the Amphiabene, its Rump was its Head) and so dispell'd the whole Inchantment of those Sorcerers at Westminster: Upon which the Mists of Reformation vanishing, the blinded Multitude came to themselves again, and were so ever-joy'd to see all their Troubles end no less strangely then they began, that they offered up an Holocaust of Rumps, in memory of their Deliverance from the Tyranny of

SCOTS.
of that Rump Parliament, as they call'd it: After which it was not in the
power of Novelty, Ambition, or Profit, to stop them in the return to their
Allegiance, till they were bless'd with the sight of their natural Sovereign,
who appearing with a trine aspect of Majesty (equal'd to the Idea of that
Divinity to which he owes his three Kingdoms) that is to say, great in the
Energy of his Power, greater in that of his Justice, but greatest in that of
his Mercy, was brought home triumphant throught his chief City, and well-
com'd with like Acclamations and Prayers, as heretofore his great Sire
Charlemain was by those of Rome, to whose Votes Heaven seem'd to Echo
Amen, whilst each man loudly cry'd

Carolo a Deo Coronato Vita & Victoria.

Non rapit Imperium quis tua, sed recipit:
Aulon: de severo.
### THE

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