



THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND

Seventy-five years have passed since Lingard completed his HISTORY OF ENGLAND, which ends with the Revolution of 1688. During that period historical study has made a great advance. Year after year the mass of materials for a new History of England has increased; new lights have been thrown on events and characters, and old errors have been corrected. Many notable works have been written on various periods of our history; some of them at such length as to appeal almost exclusively to professed historical students. It is believed that the time has come when the advance which has been made in the knowledge of English history as a whole should be laid before the public in a single work of fairly adequate size. Such a book should be founded on independent thought and research, but should at the same time be written with a full knowledge of the works of the best modern historians and with a desire to take advantage of their teaching wherever it appears sound.

The vast number of authorities, printed and in manuscript, on which a History of England should be based, if it is to represent the existing state of knowledge, renders co-operation almost necessary and certainly advisable. The History, of which this volume is an instalment, is an attempt to set forth in a readable form the results at present attained by research. It will consist of twelve volumes by twelve different writers, each

of them chosen as being specially capable of dealing with the period which he undertakes, and the editors, while leaving to each author as free a hand as possible, hope to insure a general similarity in method of treatment, so that the twelve volumes may in their contents, as well as in their outward appearance, form one History.

As its title imports, this History will primarily deal with politics, with the History of England and, after the date of the union with Scotland, Great Britain, as a state or body politic; but as the life of a nation is complex, and its condition at any given time cannot be understood without taking into account the various forces acting upon it, notices of religious matters and of intellectual, social, and economic progress will also find place in these volumes. The footnotes will, so far as is possible, be confined to references to authorities, and references will not be appended to statements which appear to be matters of common knowledge and do not call for support. Each volume will have an Appendix giving some account of the chief authorities, original and secondary, which the author has used. This account will be compiled with a view of helping students rather than of making long lists of books without any notes as to their contents or value. That the History will have faults both of its own and such as will always in some measure attend co-operative work, must be expected, but no pains have been spared to make it, so far as may be, not wholly unworthy of the greatness of its subject.

Each volume, while forming part of a complete History, will also in itself be a separate and complete book, will be sold separately, and will have its own index, and two or more maps.

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The Political History of England

IN TWELVE VOLUMES

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I.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO
THE NORMAN CONQUEST

BY

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(AT THE END OF THE VOLUME.)

Roman Britain.

Anglo-Saxon Britain.

ERRATA.

Page 332, line 12, *for* "Guthred" *read* "Guthfred".

" 333, " 3, " "North Wales" *read* "part of South Wales".

CHAPTER I.

THE PREHISTORIC FOREWORLD.

THE history of England if we wish to take it in its narrowest sense begins with the migrations of the Angles, Jutes and Saxons in the fifth century after Christ. Yet, remembering that we have dwelling close beside us and mingling their blood with ours a gallant little people who own no descent from the Anglo-Saxon invaders, and remembering also how magical was the effect on all the barbarian races, of contact with the all-transmuting civilisation of Rome, we cannot surely leave altogether untold the story of those five centuries during which our country was known to the rest of Europe not as Anglia but as Britannia. Can we absolutely stop even there? It is true that the conscious history of Britain, the history that was written by chroniclers and enshrined in libraries, begins, as do the histories of all the nations of Western Europe, with the day when they came first in contact with the Genius of Rome. But is it possible to avoid trying to peer a little further into the infinite, dim and misty ages that lie beyond that great historic landmark? This is what our teachers of natural science have endeavoured to do on our behalf, labouring with the spade of the excavator and the collected specimens of the comparative anatomist to read a few of those faded pages of the history of Britain which had already been long illegible when Julius Cæsar landed on our shores.

And first we listen to the voice of Geology. After toiling through the all-but eternities of the Primary and Secondary systems of rock-formation, she seems to heave a sigh of relief as she enters the vestibule of the Tertiary system. New heavens and a new earth, an earth not utterly unlike that upon which we now dwell, seem to lie before her, and she names the four

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CHAP. I. vast halls through which she leads her disciples "the Dawn of the New," "the Less New," "the More New," and "the Most New" (Eocene, Miocene, Pliocene and Pleistocene). In the last of these halls, which is represented by a mere line on the geological ground plan, yet which may easily have had a duration of 200,000 years, we at last find our fellow-countryman, the first human inhabitant, as far as we know, of the British Isles. In certain well-known caves on the south coast of Devonshire (Kent's Cavern and Brixham) there were found some sixty years ago flint implements undoubtedly fashioned by human hands, along with the remains of hyenas and other animals long since extinct in the British Islands, and these were lying under a stalagmite floor which must have taken at least 12,000 years, and may well have taken 100,000 years, for its formation. It was thus conclusively proved that Palæolithic man whose handiwork has been found in many other European countries, especially in the wonderfully interesting caves of Aquitaine, lived also, how many millenniums ago none can say, in the limestone caves of Britain. Besides these dwellers in caves and probably of an even earlier period than they, were the other Palæolithic men who have left abundant traces of their presence in the spear-heads, flints, scrapers and other large stone implements which are often found in the gravel deposits of ancient rivers.

— The Old Stone-workers, as this earliest known race of men is called to distinguish them from Neolithic men, their immeasurably remote descendants or representatives, knew, of course, nothing of the use of metals, and generally fashioned their flint implements or their bone needles in a somewhat rough and unworkmanlike manner. They knew nothing of the art of the weaver, and can therefore have had no other clothing than the skins of beasts. Neither did they ever manufacture anything in the nature of pottery; so that shells and the skulls of animals must have been their only drinking cups. But the relics of their primeval feasts show that they were in all probability not cannibals, and the very few Palæolithic skulls which have been preserved show a type decidedly nobler than some of the backward races of the present day. Curiously enough the men who had made so little advance in the homely industries of life had nevertheless a distinct feeling for graphic art. "By far the most noteworthy objects" in the Palæolithic caves "are the

fragments of bone, horn, ivory and stone, which exhibit outlined and even shaded sketches of various animals. These engravings have been made with a sharp-pointed implement, and are often wonderfully characteristic representations of the creatures they portray. The figures are sometimes single; in other cases they are drawn in groups. We find representations of a fish, a seal, an ox, an ibex, the red-deer, the great Irish elk or deer, the bison, the horse, the cave-bear, the rein-deer and the mammoth or woolly elephant.”¹

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Whatever may have been the precise relation of the Pleistocene period to the Great Ice Age—a point as to which there is some difference of opinion—it is admitted that at some time or other after that when the hyena howled in the Brixham Cave, and when Palæolithic man left there his rudely worked flint implements, the conditions of life in Northern Europe changed. The Arctic zone invaded the larger part of the Temperate zone, and a great cap of ice covered not only the Scandinavian countries and the greater part of Russia but Ireland, Scotland and England, at least as far south as the valley of the Thames. Now were our chalk hills rounded into smoothness, now were many of our river beds hollowed out, and untidy heaps of “terminal moraine” deposited where the glaciers debouched into the valleys. This dismal change, destructive of all the higher organic life and continuing possibly over a period of thousands of years, makes, in our island at any rate, an impassable barrier between two races of mankind. When the great ice deluge subsided, when the winter-tyrant returned to his true Arctic home, when the oak and the pine began again to appear upon the hills, and flowers like our own bloomed in the valleys, then the Neolithic man, the “New Stone-worker,” came upon the scene and scattered abundant evidences of his presence over the land. From that period—date we cannot call it, for we have no evidence which would justify us in making the roughest approximation to a date—man has been continuously a dweller in this island, Neolithic man at length yielding ground to the immigrant Celt, the Celt to the Saxon, the Saxon to the Dane and the Norman.

At this point Ethnology must intervene and take up the

¹ Geikie, *Prehistoric Europe*, p. 13.

CHAP. I. story of the ages which has thus far been told by her sister Geology. Of what race were the men who after the retreat of the great desolating glaciers came to inhabit this our island? We know that on the one hand they were in a decidedly more advanced state of civilisation than their Palæolithic predecessors. Instead of the rough unshapely pyramids of flint which the Old Stone men used for axes and chisels, Neolithic man went on shaping and polishing his implements till scarcely a fault could be found in the symmetry of their curves. He continued, of course, to hunt and fish as his predecessor had done, but he had also some knowledge of agriculture, he was a breeder of cattle and he knew how to weave cloth and to bake pottery. He no longer lived principally in caves, but sometimes in a fairly constructed house, often, for security, built on the edge of a lake. But, strange to say, with all these great advances towards civilisation, he does not seem to have felt any of that passion for picture-drawing which distinguished his predecessor "the artistic hunter of the Reindeer period".¹ The physiological characteristics which differentiate Neolithic man from the Celt, his conqueror, will be more fully dwelt on when we come to the next act in the drama; but meanwhile it may be stated that the race was not a tall one. Professor Rolleston says: "I have never found the stature to exceed 5 feet 9 inches in any skeleton from a barrow which was undoubtedly of the 'stone and bone' [*i.e.*, Neolithic] period". There is some reason to think that they were dark complexioned with black and curly hair, but it must be admitted that the evidence for this statement is not very conclusive.

On the whole Ethnology decides that these earliest inhabitants of our island after the Great Ice Age were a non-Aryan race, strangers therefore to that great and widely scattered family to which, as far as language is concerned, all the great European peoples save the Turks, the Hungarians and the Finns, ultimately belong. Of course since no vestige of language survives to indicate their nationality, even this universally accepted classification, or rather refusal to classify, must be considered as purely conjectural. In the words of Professor Rolleston: "The race which used stone and bone implements, may, so far as

¹ Geikie, p. 119.

the naturalist's investigations lead him, have spoken either a Turanian or an Aryan tongue : what he sees in their skulls and their surroundings impresses him with the notion of an antiquity which may have given time enough and to spare for the more or less complete disappearance of more than one unwritten language". The important fact to lay hold of is that the whole of the long period of Stone-workers in this country is pre-Celtic. Any name which we may for purposes of convenience give to these aborigines of Britain, whether the now nearly discarded word Turanians, to mark their exclusion from the Aryan family ; or Iberians, to indicate a possible connexion with the mysterious Basques of the Pyrenees ; or Silurians, in order to show a possible survival of their type in the countrymen of Caractacus ; is only like an algebraical symbol, a label affixed to a locked box, denoting our ignorance of its contents.

Perhaps the most important fact known in connexion with the Neolithic inhabitants of Britain is that recent discoveries show that they were the builders of Stonehenge. That a race of men using no implements of iron should have succeeded in rearing those huge blocks into position on the plain of Wiltshire is a stupendous marvel, equalling in its way the erection of the pyramids of Ghizeh, the placing of the great stones in the temple at Baalbek, or the superposition of the 300-ton block of Istrian marble on the tomb of Theodoric, at Ravenna. This discovery seems to throw some doubt on the generally received notion that Stonehenge was connected with Druidical worship, since that was probably of Celtic origin. It is possible that Stonehenge may be the "magnificent circular temple to Apollo" which, according to Diodorus Siculus, existed in an island which may be identified with Britain.

To the age of stone succeeded the age of bronze, and to the age of bronze succeeded that of iron. Both in our island belong to the domination of the Celts, except in so far as the age of iron may be said to have lasted through Roman, Saxon and Norman domination down to our own day. It is admitted by all that the Celtic immigrants came in two successive waves, the distinction between which may be seen to this day, or if not always seen in physical type, at least always heard in the language of their descendants. The first wave,

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CHAP. which is generally known as the Gaelic, eventually rolled to the
 I. Highlands and islands of Scotland and to the shores of Ireland, and is represented philologically by the kindred dialects of Gaelic and Erse. The second wave, popularly known as the Cymric, overspread the whole east and centre of Britain, the Gaels being probably forced to retire before their Cymric conquerors. To this race belong the Welsh and the Bretons of France; and Cumberland and Cornwall once spoke their language. Some of our most recent authorities on British ethnology, believing the term Cymri to be of late origin and the term Gaelic to have some misleading associations, prefer to speak of Goidels and Brythons (early national names) instead of Gaels and Cymri; but the distinction between the two races and the main lines of their geographical distribution are generally accepted, and are not affected by this question of nomenclature.

It is probable, then, that at some period whose date cannot yet be even approximately conjectured, and from some quarter which we may guess, but can only guess, to have been the north of Germany, a bronze-using race of warriors and hunters, ancestors of the modern Highlander and Irishman, crossed the sea and established themselves in the island of Britain, or, as it was, perhaps, then called, Albion. Later on, but how many centuries later none can say, another race, kindred but probably hostile, invaded our shores, drove the Gaels or Goidels before them, established themselves in the best parts of the southern portion of the island, and, being themselves called Brythons, gave to the whole land the name by which the Romans called it, Britannia. As we know that iron had been introduced into the country before the arrival of the Romans, we may conjecture that this second Celtic wave consisted of the wielders of weapons of iron, and that this was one cause of their victory over the Goidels. The Brythons, thus settled in the valley of the Thames and above the chalk cliffs of Sussex, were the enemies whom Cæsar encountered when he invaded Britain.

A word may be said as to the relation of these Aryan invaders to the presumably non-Aryan aborigines, the Neolithic men to whom allusion was previously made. It used to be supposed that these aborigines disappeared before the men of bronze and iron as completely as the aborigines of Tasmania have disappeared before the Anglo-Saxon immigrant. More

careful investigation has led our recent ethnologists to deny this conclusion. In the first place, there are features in the rude polity of the historic Celts which suggest a doubt whether they really constituted the whole population of the country. Their chiefs are warlike leaders, their rank and file are themselves owners of slaves. Everything about them seems to show that they were, like the Spartans, a comparatively small ruling race surrounded by a subject population, which they perhaps needed to keep severely in check. Then the testimony of the tombs—and it is after all to the tombs that we must chiefly resort for information as to the fate of these buried peoples—decidedly confirms the theory of the survival of the aborigines and of their blending to a considerable extent with their Celtic conquerors. The stone-using people buried their dead in oblong mounds technically known as “long barrows” generally some one hundred to two hundred feet long by forty or fifty feet wide. The skulls found in these long barrows, lying side by side with implements of stone, are uniformly of the type known as Dolicho-cephalic, that is, the width from ear to ear is very considerably less than the length from the eyes to the back of the head. With the introduction of bronze we at once find a noticeable difference, both in the shape of the tomb and the appearance of its occupant. The mound is now circular, generally from forty to sixty feet in diameter, the “round barrow” of the archæologist; and the skulls found in it are at first uniformly of the Brachy-cephalic type, square and strong, the width generally about four-fifths of the length. The important point to observe for our present purpose is that as we pass from the early Celtic to the late Celtic type of barrow—a transition of which we are assured by the gradual introduction of iron as well as by other signs known to archæologists—the character of the skulls undergoes a certain modification towards the Dolicho-cephalic type. The conclusion arrived at by the greatest investigator of British barrows, Dr. Greenwell, is that “ultimately the two races became so mixed up and connected as to form one people. If this was the case, by a natural process the more numerous race would in the end absorb the other, until at length, with some exceptions to be accounted for by well-known laws, the whole population would become one, not only in the accidents of civilisation and government, but practically in blood also.”

CHAPTER II.

CÆSAR IN BRITAIN.

CHAP. II. DOWN to the middle of the first century before Christ the British Isles were scarcely more known to the civilised nations of southern Europe than the North Pole is to the men of our own day. The trade which had probably long existed in the tin of Cornish mines had been purposely kept in mysterious darkness by the Phœnicians who profited thereby, so that Herodotus, the much inquiring, only mentions the Tin-islands (Cassiterides) to say that he knows naught concerning them. That trade had now probably become, save for the short passage of the channel, an overland one, and enriched the merchants of Marseilles. A citizen of that busy port, Pytheas by name, who seems to have been contemporary with Alexander the Great, professed to have travelled over the greater part of Britain, and afterwards to have sailed to a great distance along the northern coast of Germany. It was the fashion of later authors, such as Polybius and Strabo, to sneer at his alleged voyage of discovery and to doubt his veracity, but the tendency of modern inquiry is in some degree to restore the credit of this Marco Polo of pre-Christian times, to show that in some points he had a more correct knowledge of geography than his critics, and to deepen our regret that his work is known to us only in a few passages selected and perhaps distorted by his hostile reviewers. It must be admitted that if he reported that the circumference of Britain was 40,000 stadia (about 5,000 of our miles), and that he had traversed the whole of it on foot,¹ his statement was not altogether consistent with fact.

Such, however, was all the information that the Greeks and

¹ Bunbury (*History of Ancient Geography*, i., 591) disputes this translation, and contends that Pytheas only said that he travelled (not necessarily on foot) over such parts of the island as were accessible.

Romans possessed concerning our island near the middle of the first century B.C., at the time when Cicero was thundering against Catiline, and Pompey was forcing his way into the temple at Jerusalem. Her time, however, for entrance on the great theatre of the world was near at hand, and it was for her a fortunate circumstance, and one not inconsistent with the part which she has played thereon in later ages, that the man who brought her on to the stage should have been himself the central figure in the world's political history—Gaius Julius Cæsar. ✓

Sprung from one of the oldest and proudest families of Rome, yet nephew by marriage of the peasant-soldier Marius, Cæsar, the high-born democrat, possessed in his own person that combination of qualities which has ever been found most dangerous to the rule of a narrow and selfish oligarchy. The outworn machine which men still called the Roman republic was obviously creaking towards an utter breakdown, and must soon, if the provinces were not to be bled to death by greedy senators, be replaced by the government of a single man, whether that man were called king, or general, or dictator. The only question was who that single man should be. Cæsar felt that he was the man of destiny, foreordained to stand on that awful eminence. He flung out of the Roman forum and senate-house, teeming as they were with squalid intrigues and echoing to the cries of ignoble factions, and at the age of forty set himself to a ten years' apprenticeship to empire on the banks of the Loire and the Saône, amid the vast forests of Britain or of Gaul. The French historian, Michelet, has finely said: "I would that I could have seen that pale countenance, aged before its time by the revelries of Rome: that delicate and epileptic man, walking at the head of his legions under the rains of Gaul, swimming across our rivers or riding on horseback among the litters in which his secretaries were carried, and dictating five or six letters at once: agitating Rome from the furthest corners of Belgium: sweeping two millions of men from his path and in the space of ten years subduing Gaul, the Rhine and the northern ocean". ✓

At the end of the first three years of Cæsar's proconsulship (58-56 B.C.) having apparently almost completed the conquest of Gaul, he stood a conqueror on the southern shore of the Straits of Dover, looked across at the white cliffs of Albion, and dreamed of bringing that mysterious island within the circle of Roman

CHAP. II. dominion. Pretexts for invasion were never lacking to an adventurous proconsul. There were close ties of affinity between many of the northern tribes of Gaul and their British neighbours. Some tribes even bore the same name. The Atrebates of Arras were reflected in the Atrebates of Berkshire; there were Belgæ in Somerset and Wiltshire as well as in Belgium; even men call Parisii were found, strangely enough, in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Then there was also the connexion, whatever may have been its value, between the religion of the continental and the insular Celts. Our information concerning the Druids (chiefly derived from Cæsar himself) is somewhat vague and unsatisfactory, but there is no reason to doubt his statement that the Druidic "discipline" had originated in Britain and had been carried thence into Gaul, and thus any religious element that there may have been in the resistance of the Gallic tribes to Roman domination would look across the channel for sympathy and inspiration.

There was already a certain amount of commercial intercourse between Britain and Gaul, and Cæsar endeavoured to ascertain by questioning the merchants engaged in that trade what was the size of the island, what were its best harbours, and what the customs and warlike usages of the natives. On none of these points, however, could he obtain satisfactory information. The proconsul therefore sent a lieutenant named Volusenus with a swift ship to reconnoitre the nearer coast, but he returned in five days without having ventured to land. Meanwhile, as the object of the general's prolonged stay in the territory of the Morini became more and more evident, messengers from certain of the British tribes began to cross the channel, charged—so Cæsar says—with a commission to promise "obedience to the rule of the Roman people," and to give hostages as a pledge of their fidelity. The arrival of the ambassadors and their attempt to turn the proconsul from his purpose by fair speech and unmeaning promises we may well believe. How much the Regni and the Cantii knew about the rule of the Roman people, and what intention they had of loyally submitting to it, may be left uncertain. Cæsar, however, availed himself of the opportunity to send over with these returning envoys a certain Celtic chieftain named Commius, whom he had himself made king of the continental Atrebates, and on whose fidelity he thought that

he could rely, to exhort the native tribes peacefully to accept the dominion of the Roman people, as the representative of whom Cæsar himself would shortly make his appearance among them. This mission of Commius proved quite fruitless. As soon as he landed—so he said—the Britons arrested him and loaded him with chains, and it was only after the defeat which will shortly be described that they sent him back to Cæsar. As we find Commius only four years later taking a leading part in the insurrection of the tribes in the north of Gaul, and professing an especial hostility to all who bore the name of Roman, we may, perhaps, doubt whether, even at this time, his pleas for subjection were as earnest, or the chains imposed upon him by the Britons as heavy, as Cæsar's narrative would seem to imply.

Cæsar had determined to make his exploratory voyage with two legions, the Seventh and the Tenth. He perhaps hoped that actual war would not be necessary to bring about the formal submission of the tribes on the coast, and he therefore did not take with him more than the 8,000 to 10,000 men, which were probably the actual muster of two legions, and a body of cavalry whose precise number is not stated. As fighting, however, might, after all, prove to be necessary, he took care that one of the legions which accompanied him should be the famous Tenth on whose courage and devotion he often relied, not in vain. To transport the legions he had collected about eighty cargo ships (*naves onerariæ*), many of which had been employed the year before in his naval campaign off the coast of Brittany. He had also a certain number of galleys (*naves longæ*) capable of being rowed much faster than the heavy transport ships could sail. On these latter his staff of officers, quæstors, legates and prefects were embarked, and no doubt the proconsul himself was their companion.

The fleet set sail about midnight on August 26, B.C. 55, or on some day very near to that date. The port of embarkation was probably near to Cape Gris Nez and at the narrowest part of the channel, but almost every sentence of the following narrative has been the subject of an animated topographical discussion, and Cæsar himself mentions no names of places that can be certainly identified.¹ Whatever may have been the harbour from which the legions embarked it was not the same which

¹ See Note at the end of this chapter.

CHAP. had been appointed as a rendezvous for the cavalry. These
 II. latter were to be borne upon a little fleet of eighteen transports which were detained by a contrary wind at a port eight miles farther up the channel. As we shall see, their ill fortune in the matter of weather continued throughout the expedition, and their consequent inability to co-operate with the legions may have been the chief cause of the expedition's failure.

As for the main body of the fleet, it must have made an extremely slow voyage, for it was not till the fourth hour of the day (about 8.30 A.M.) that the foremost ships caught sight of the shores of Britain. The landing was evidently not to be unopposed: on all the hills armed bodies of the enemy were drawn up. The word used by Cæsar signifies properly "hills," but as he goes on to say that "the sea was commanded by such steep mountains that a weapon could easily be hurled from the higher ground to the shore," we are probably right in understanding these "hills" to be the well-known chalk cliffs of Kent. Seeing therefore no suitable place for landing, Cæsar signalled for his fleet to gather round him, and lay quietly at anchor for five hours. Summoning his staff he imparted to them such information concerning the nature of the country as he had been able to gather from Volusenus, and explained that in maritime warfare such as that in which they were now engaged, liable to be affected by rapid changes of the weather and the sea, it was pre-eminently necessary that they should give prompt obedience to his orders. At about 3 P.M., apparently, the fleet weighed anchor, and, wind and tide having become favourable, moved forward about seven miles and there halted opposite a level and open shore which seemed well adapted for landing.

The barbarians, however, who were of course watching Cæsar's movements, sent forward their chariots and their cavalry, and following themselves with rapid movements were on the spot to oppose the Romans' disembarkation. It seemed for some time as if their opposition would be effectual. The ships drawing many feet of water could not approach near to the land, and the soldiers, with their hands encumbered by the *pilum* or the sword and their bodies weighted with the heavy armour of the Roman legionary, found it no easy matter to jump from the ships, to stagger through the slippery ooze, to defend themselves against the attacks of the nimble and lightly armed barbarians.

Seeing this, Cæsar ordered up the galleys, which were rowed rapidly backwards and forwards between the transports and the shore, and from the decks of which slings, bows and *balistæ* freely employed worked havoc among the barbarians, already disposed to terror by the unwonted sight of the triremes. But as the soldiers still hesitated, chiefly on account of the depth of the water into which it was necessary to plunge, the standard-bearer of the Tenth legion, after a short prayer to the gods for good luck to his legion, leapt into the sea, shouting with a loud voice: "Jump! comrades! unless you would see your eagle fall into the enemy's hands. I at any rate will do my duty to the Republic and our general." His example was contagious. All the soldiers leapt from the ships and were soon engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle with the Britons, each man rallying to the standard that was nearest to him as it was hopeless in such a *mêlée* to form regular rank by legions and cohorts. The barbarians, charging with their horses into deep water, were sometimes able to surround smaller parties of the invaders or to harass them from a distance with their darts. Hereupon, Cæsar filled the boats of the long ships and some of the lighter skiffs with soldiers, who rowing rapidly backwards and forwards carried help where it was most needed.

It was probably at this stage of the encounter that an incident took place which is recorded not by Cæsar himself but by Valerius Maximus, an anecdote-collector of a later date. He tells us that a legionary named Scæva with four comrades rowed to a rock surrounded by the sea and from thence dealt destruction with their arrows among the Britons. Before long the ebbing tide made their rock accessible from the shore and the other soldiers thought it was time to row back to their ship. Scæva, refusing to accompany them, was soon surrounded by the barbarians, with whom he fought single-handed. Many he killed, but he himself suffered fearfully. His thigh was pierced by an arrow, his face smashed by a stone, his shield broken. At last he threw himself into the sea and swam to his vessel. Cæsar and the officers began to applaud him for his bravery, but he flung himself at the proconsul's feet and with tears implored forgiveness for the military crime of the loss of his shield.

When the great body of the soldiers had at last struggled to

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the shore and could fight on firm land, Roman discipline soon prevailed over barbarian ardour. The Britons took to flight, but the absence of cavalry, bitterly regretted by Cæsar, checked pursuit. Next day there came ambassadors from the dispirited Britons praying for pardon, bringing the liberated Commius and promising to obey all Cæsar's orders. After a grave rebuke for having violated the laws of nations by imprisoning his messengers, the proconsul granted his forgiveness and ordered the natives to hand over hostages for their good faith. A few were given, the rest who were to be sent by the more distant tribes were promised but never came. The reason of this failure of the negotiations (if they had ever had a chance of success) was the catastrophe which befel the lingering squadron with its freight of cavalry. On the fourth day after Cæsar's landing, the eighteen ships with the horsemen on board drew nigh to Britain. Already they were descried by their comrades on shore when so violent a storm arose that they were hopelessly beaten off their course. Some were driven straight back to the harbour which they had quitted, others with imminent danger of shipwreck drifted down channel and at last, waterlogged and nearly helpless, regained some port in Gaul.

On the night which followed this disastrous day, a night of full moon, the unusually high tide, a marvel and a mystery to these children of the Mediterranean, surrounded the Roman ships which had been drawn up, as they hoped, high and dry on the beach. Cables were broken, anchors lost, some of the ships probably dashed against one another; it seemed as though Cæsar would be stranded without ships and without supplies on the inhospitable shore of Britain. He at once sent out some of his soldiers to collect supplies from the Kentish harvest fields, and set others to repair those ships, whose repair was yet possible, at the expense of their hopelessly ruined companions. He admits an entire loss of twelve, but leaves us to infer that the remainder were patched into some sort of seaworthiness. By this time undoubtedly the one thought of both general and army was how to get safe back to Gaul; and naturally the one thought of the Britons, who knew all that had occurred, was how to prevent that return. The promised hostages of course never appeared; and a troop of barbarians ambushed in a neighbouring forest watched for a favourable opportunity of

attacking the Romans. That opportunity came one day when the soldiers of the Seventh legion were out foraging in the harvest fields. The sentinels in the Roman camp descried a cloud of dust rising in the direction whither their comrades had gone, and brought word to the general, who at once suspected that the precarious peace was broken and that mischief was abroad. Sallying forth with four cohorts he found that it was even so. The barbarians had emerged from their ambush, had fallen upon the unsuspecting legionaries, quietly engaged in reaping the British harvest, had slain a few of them and were harassing the rest with "alarums and excursions" by their cavalry and their charioteers.

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At this point Cæsar interrupts his narrative to describe the British custom of using chariots in war, a custom which was evidently strange and disconcerting to the Roman soldiery. "This," he says, "is their manner of fighting. First they drive their horses about in all directions, hurling darts, and by the very terror of their horses and clashing of their wheels often throw the ranks [of their enemies] into confusion. Then when they have insinuated themselves between the squadrons of the [hostile] cavalry they leap from their chariots and fight on foot. The charioteers meanwhile gradually draw out of the fray and so place the cars that if their friends should be overborne by the multitude of the enemy they may easily take refuge with them. In this way they combine the rapid movements of cavalry with the steadiness of infantry, and have acquired such a degree of dexterity by daily practice that they can hold up their galloping horses in the steepest descents, check and turn them in a moment, run along the pole or sit on the yoke, and then as quickly as possible fly back into the car." It will be observed that Cæsar says nothing about the famous scythe-armed chariots of the Britons which, as has been often suggested, would surely on a battlefield be as dangerous to friends as to foes.

Cæsar's arrival rescued his troops from their perilous position, and he was able to lead them back in safety to the camp. Many stormy days followed, during which warlike operations were necessarily suspended on both sides, but the barbarians employed the interval in beating up recruits from all quarters, attracted by the hope of plunder and of making an end at one blow of the army of invasion, whose scanty numbers moved

CHAP. II. them to contempt. When fighting was resumed the legions easily repelled the British attack, and some horsemen who had been brought by Commius, though only thirty in number, enabled Cæsar to pursue the flying foe for some distance, to kill many of them and to lay waste a wide extent of country with fire and sword. The usual group of penitent ambassadors appeared the same day in Cæsar's camp; the usual excuses were offered; were accepted as a matter of necessity; and twice the number of hostages was ordered to be surrendered. It did not greatly matter how many were demanded, for Cæsar had no intention of awaiting their delivery. Soon after midnight the Roman fleet set sail, and the whole army returned eventually safe to Gaul, though two of the ships bearing 300 men drifted down the coast of Picardy, and the soldiers, attacked by no fewer than 6,000 of the Morini, had much ado to defend themselves till the general sent a force of cavalry to their succour.

On the arrival of Cæsar's despatches in Rome the senate ordered a solemn *supplicatio* or thanksgiving to the gods, which was to last for twenty days. The British expedition had been a daring and a showy exploit, but no one knew better than Cæsar himself that it had been an entire failure, and that nothing had really been done towards bringing a single British tribe under "the rule of the Roman people". If this island was to be conquered, it was plain that a much larger force than two legions would be needed for the work. This Cæsar recognised, and accordingly he determined to make another attempt next year (B.C. 54) with five legions (perhaps about 21,000 men) and 2,000 cavalry. The previous campaign had evidently convinced the general of the importance of mounted men for this kind of warfare. He was also determined to have a longer interval before the autumnal equinox for the conduct of his campaign than he had allowed himself in the previous year, and accordingly somewhere about July 23 he set sail from the Portus Itius. He would, in fact, have started at least three weeks earlier, but the wind had been blowing persistently from a point a long way to the north of west. As soon as it shifted to the south-west, the fleet (which with all its companions consisted of 800 ships) started at sunset. In the night, however, the wind fell and the tide (which probably neither Cæsar nor any of his officers understood) carried the ships far out of their course.

When the sun arose they saw that Britain was far behind them, on their left hand. Dropping their sails, they took to the oars, and Cæsar has words of well-deserved praise for his sturdy soldiers, who rowed so well that they made the heavy transport ships keep up with the lighter galleys which, as before, accompanied them. By a little after noon they reached the coast of Britain, apparently at their old landing-place. Their disembarkation was not now opposed ; the Britons having, as it seems, lost heart when they saw so vast a flotilla approaching their shores.

Notwithstanding his larger armament, Cæsar's second invasion was in many respects a mere *replica* of the first, and it is hardly worth while to describe it in equal detail. There was again a violent tempest which swept the fleet from its anchorage, destroyed forty of the ships, and obliged Cæsar to waste ten precious days in repairing the remainder. Toilsome as the task must be, he judged it advisable to draw all his ships up on land and surround them with a wall of 'circumvallation. When we remember that this was the precaution adopted by the Greeks who warred in Troy, we see how little essential change had been wrought in naval warfare in the course of 1,000 years. Meanwhile the Britons had assembled in large numbers in order to oppose the progress of the invaders, and had entrusted the national defence to a chief named Cassivellaunus who ruled over some of the tribes north of the Thames. Hitherto he had made himself apparently more feared than loved by his dealings with neighbouring tribes : the Trinobantes, especially, who dwelt in the district now known as Essex, had seen their king murdered and their king's son made a fugitive by his orders ; but now in the supreme hour of danger the hard, unscrupulous soldier was by general consent chosen as a kind of dictator.

After some preliminary skirmishes in which the heavily armed Roman legionaries suffered severely from the dashing onslaught and rapid retreat of the British chariots and cavalry, Cæsar determined to cross the Thames and beard the lion Cassivellaunus in his den. He was stationed on the north bank of the river which was fordable, but defended by sharp stakes placed in the bed of the stream. It is not quite clear from Cæsar's account how this obstacle of the stakes was dealt with by his soldiers. Possibly they may have been partly removed by the cavalry whom he says that he sent first into the water.

CHAP. They were followed by the legionaries, who went, he says,
 II. so swiftly and with such a dash, though only their heads were out of water, that the enemy, unable to stand before the combined rush of horsemen and foot soldiers, left their stations on the bank and scattered in flight.

As was so often the case with these Celtic tribes, domestic discord in some degree lightened the labours of the invader. We have seen that Cassivellaunus had obtained by violence the sovereignty of the Trinobantes of Essex. Mandubracius, the son of the dead king, had fled to Gaul and cast himself on the protection of Cæsar, in whose train he returned to Britain. There was still probably a party in favour of the dethroned family, and it was not a mere formality when Cæsar ordered the tribe to accept Mandubracius for their chief, to supply his troops with corn, and to deliver forty hostages into his hands. Five other tribes whose unimportant names are given by Cæsar came in and made their submission; and from them the general learned that not far distant was the town (*oppidum*) of Cassivellaunus, filled with a multitude of men and cattle, and defended by forests and marshes. "Now the Britons," says Cæsar, perhaps with a sneer, "call any place a town" (*oppidum*) "when they have chosen a position entangled with forests and strengthened it with rampart and ditch, so that they may gather into it for shelter from hostile incursion." Thither then marched Cæsar with his legions. He found a place splendidly strong by nature and art, but he determined to attack it from two sides at once. After a brief defence, the natives collapsed before the headlong rush of the Romans, and streamed out of the camp on the opposite side. Many were slain, many taken prisoners, and a great number of cattle fell into the hands of the Romans.

In order probably to divert the forces of his enemy from his own *oppidum*, the generalissimo Cassivellaunus had sent orders to the four kings of Kent to collect their forces and make a sudden attack on the naval camp of the Romans. The attack was repulsed by a vigorous sortie: many of the Britons were slain and one of their noblest leaders taken prisoner. Hereupon Cassivellaunus, recognising that the fortune of war was turning against him and that his own confederates were falling away, sent messengers to offer his submission and obtain peace through the mediation of his friend, perhaps his fellow-tribesman, Com-

mius. Cæsar, who had his own reasons for desiring a speedy return to Gaul and who doubtless considered that enough had been done for his glory, accepted the proffered submission. He "ordered hostages to be delivered, and fixed the amount of tribute which was to be yearly paid by Britannia to the Roman people. He forbade Cassivellaunus to do any injury to Mandubracius or the Trinobantes," and with these high-sounding phrases he departed. As he carried back many captives and not a few of his ships had perished in the storm, he had to make two crossings with his fleet, but both were accomplished without disaster. Of Cassivellaunus himself no further information is vouchsafed us, nor do we know what was the fate of the abandoned allies of Rome. CHAP. II. ✓

The great general in this instance "had come and had seen" but had not "conquered". Most valuable, however, to us is the information which he has given us concerning our sequestered island, though in some cases it is evidently inaccurate. We need not linger over Cæsar's geographical statements, though it is curious to see how certain errors of earlier geographers still lingered on even into the Augustan age of Roman literature. Thus he thinks that, of the three sides of Britain's triangle one looks towards Gaul and the east, another towards Spain and the west, while the third, which has no land opposite it, faces north. Besides Ireland, which is half the size of Britain, there are other islands, apparently on the west, concerning which certain writers have said that they have continual night during thirty days of winter. As to this Cæsar was not able to obtain any definite information, but his own *clepsydræ* (water clocks) showed him that the nights in July were shorter in Britain than on the continent. ✓

✕ "Of all the natives far the most civilised are those who inhabit the district of Kent, which is all situated on the coast: nor do these differ greatly in their manners from the inhabitants of Gaul. Those who live farther inland sow no corn, but live on milk and flesh, and are clothed in skins. All the Britons however dye themselves with woad, which gives them a blue colour and makes them look more terrible in battle. They wear long hair and shave every part of the body except the head and the upper lip. Ten or a dozen men have their wives in common, especially brothers with brothers, fathers with their

CHAP. II. sons, the woman's offspring being reckoned to him who first cohabited with her." This ghastly statement is probably a mere traveller's tale, utterly untrue of the Celts of Britain or of any other Aryan tribe. It has been thought that it may possibly have been derived from an institution something like the Slavonic *mir*, which caused all the descendants of one married couple for two or three generations to herd together in a single household. "The interior of Britain is inhabited by tribes which are, according to their own tradition, aboriginal: the sea-coast by those which for the sake of plunder have crossed over from Belgic Gaul, and after carrying on war have settled there and begun to cultivate the land. It is in consequence of this that nearly all of them have the same tribal names as those of the states from which they came. There is an infinite number of inhabitants, and one constantly meets with buildings almost like those of Gaul, as well as a great number of cattle."

"They use either golden money or thin bars of iron of a certain weight which pass for money." Thus (according to the best reading of a much-disputed passage) does Cæsar speak as to the numismatic attainments of the Britons. We shall probably never know more than this as to the iron currency or quasi-currency of our predecessors; but the statement as to their gold currency has been entirely confirmed by modern discoveries. The most curious fact, however, in connexion with the pre-Roman gold coinage of Britain is that it is evidently an imitation, though a most barbarous imitation, of the coinage of Philip II. of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great. In the British imitations the fine classical features of the Macedonian monarch are twisted into the ignoble profile of a savage, while the curls of the hair and the leaves of the laurel crown, mechanically repeated and magnified, fill up the greater part of the coin. The effigy of a charioteer on the reverse of the coin is attempted to be copied in the same grotesque fashion with rather less success than the drawing of a child upon its slate. The charioteer himself is gradually resolved into a cluster of atoms, and though the likeness of the horse is for some time preserved, he is furnished with eight legs and gradually dwindles away into the spectre of a rocking-horse. Yet these queer pieces of money which occasionally turn up in English soil are

CHAP.
II.

intensely interesting, as showing how the influence of Greek art penetrated even into our world-forgotten island three centuries before the birth of Christ, travelling possibly by the same commercial route between the Euxine and the Baltic by which the Runes passed up from Thrace to Scandinavia, and the highly prized amber descended from Stralsund to Odessa.

Caesar proceeds to inform us that "tin (*plumbum album*)" is found in the midland parts of the country [as to this he was of course misinformed]; iron in the maritime regions, but in small quantities; all the bronze used is imported. There is timber of all kinds, as in Gaul, save the fir and the beech. They do not think it right to eat hares, geese or poultry, but keep these animals as pets. The climate is more temperate than that of Gaul, the cold less intense." One regrets to learn from Strabo, who wrote half a century after Caesar, that though "the climate is rainy rather than snowy, even in clear weather mists prevail so long that through the whole day the sun is visible only for three or four hours about noon".

In reviewing the history of Caesar's invasions of Britain we naturally inquire what was his object in fitting out those expeditions, why did they fail and why did he acquiesce in their failure. Whatever may have been the motive of the first (which, according to him, was chiefly the assistance given by the Britons to the cause of his Gaulish enemies), the second expedition at any rate, on which from 20,000 to 30,000 men were employed, cannot have been a mere reconnaissance, undertaken in the interests of scientific discovery. It was no doubt politic to stimulate the zeal of his partisans in Rome by voyages and marches which appeared to be

Beyond the utmost bounds of human thought,

but the general would hardly have spent so much treasure and risked the lives of so many of his legionaries without some hope of substantial advantage to himself, his soldiers, or the republic. Evidently the Britons fought better than he expected. Probably also, the forests and the marshes of the country made the movements of his troops exceptionally difficult. We can perceive also that the country was not so rich as he had hoped to find it—an important consideration for a general who had to reward his soldiers by frequent opportunities of "loot". "We

CHAP. already know," wrote Cicero to his brother Quintus, "that there
II. is not an ounce of silver in that island nor any hope of booty except slaves, among whom I do not think you will expect to find any skilled in literature or music." The only spoil that we hear of Cæsar's carrying back from Britain was a breastplate adorned with precious pearls, which he dedicated in the Temple of Victory at Rome.

One argument which doubtless influenced Cæsar against attempting a third expedition was derived from the peculiarly stormy and baffling character of the sea at the Straits of Dover. Each of his expeditions had been endangered and all but ruined by these unaccountable tides, these suddenly rising gales. He had to learn by bitter experience how different was that strange chopping sea from the peaceful waters of the Mediterranean. Had he been able to survey the channel more thoroughly, he would probably have found it worth while to make his passage at a broader part of it, like that which now separates Newhaven from Dieppe; perhaps even to anticipate the Saxon chieftains of the fifth century, to occupy the Isle of Wight, or to seek for his fleet the shelter of Southampton Water. After all, however, a sufficient reason for not renewing the attempt to conquer Britain was to be found in the precarious state of Roman dominion in Gaul. Cæsar evidently thought that his work in that country was practically finished in B.C. 55, when he first set his face towards Britain. Far otherwise: the hardest part of that work was yet to come. Five months after Cæsar's return from his second expedition he heard the terrible tidings of the utter destruction of fifteen Roman cohorts by the Eburones. Then followed the revolt of Vercingetorix, bravest and most successful of Gaulish champions; the unsuccessful siege of Gergovia; the siege, successful but terribly hard to accomplish, of Alesia. Certainly we may say that the two years and a half which followed his return from Britain were among the most anxious, and seemed sometimes the most desperate stages in all that wonderful career which ended when, ten years after he had sailed away from Britain, he fell pierced by more than twenty dagger wounds—

E'en at the base of Pompey's statua,
Which all the while ran blood.

NOTE

CHAP.
II.ON CÆSAR'S POINTS OF ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE IN HIS
EXPEDITIONS TO BRITAIN.

I. As to the point of embarkation from Gaul, the controversy lies principally between Boulogne and Wissant, Sir George Airy's suggestion that Cæsar sailed from the estuary of the Somme being not easy to reconcile with his own statement that he went to the country of the Morini, "because thence was the shortest transit to Britain".

Boulogne, which was called by the Romans first Gesoriacum and then Bononia, was undoubtedly the regular harbour for passengers to Britain under the empire, and there would be little doubt that Cæsar started thence if he had not told us that the second expedition (presumably also the first) sailed from Portus Itius. It is not clear why Cæsar should have called Gesoriacum by any other name.

The advocates of Wissant identify the Itian promontory with Cape Gris Nez, well known to all passengers from Dover to Calais, and think that its name would be naturally shared with the neighbouring village of Wissant, which was probably at one time nearer to the sea than it is now. On the whole, though the arguments on both sides are pretty evenly balanced, those in favour of Wissant seem slightly to preponderate.

II. Sailing, then, from some port in Picardy (either Boulogne or Wissant), Cæsar reached a part of the British coast which from his description looks like the chalk cliffs west of Dover. So far there is not much difference between the commentators, but what happened in the afternoon when, after his long halt, he found the wind and tide both in his favour, gave the signal to weigh anchor, and "having advanced (*progressus*) about eight miles from that place, brought his ships to a stand at a level and open beach"? Certainly the natural rendering of these words would seem to be that he went seven English miles up channel, and so if he had really anchored off Dover he would reach Deal, and that port would be, as it has been generally supposed to be, the scene of the world-historical landing of the first Roman soldiers in Britain. It must be admitted, however, that there are great difficulties in this hypothesis. The most careful and minute inquiries that have been made seem to show that on that day (the fourth before the full moon) and at that hour (3 P.M.), the tide, if it ebbed and flowed as it does now, would be setting down, not up, the channel: and accordingly many authors have come to the conclusion that Cæsar sailed westward for those seven miles and landed either

CHAP. at Hythe or Lymne (well known afterwards to the Romans as Portus
II. Lemanis), or possibly at some such place as Appledore, now inland but then at the head of a very sheltered bay.

The discussion is much complicated by the undoubted fact of the great changes which have taken place in that part of the coast-line, and Dr. Guest is perhaps entitled to argue that these changes may have so altered the set of the tides as to allow him to postulate an eastward flowing tide when Cæsar weighed anchor in the afternoon. It must, however, remain for the present a disputed question: Cæsar's word, "*progressus*," on the one side, the present course of the tides on the other. On the whole it seems to me that the balance of probability is slightly in favour of Deal.

Among the authors who have written on this question may be mentioned Airy, Lewin, Appach, in favour of some port west of Dover; Long, Merivale, Guest, in favour of Deal. Guest's arguments are perhaps the most satisfactory, but justice should be done to the extremely painstaking little treatise of Appach (*Caius Julius Cæsar's British Expeditions*, etc., 1868), who, however, surely attempts the impossible in his elaborate back-calculations of the winds and tides of two thousand years ago.

On the question of the point of departure from Gaul, reference may be made to T. R. Holmes's *Conquest of Gaul* (London, 1899) and to F. Haverfield's review of that book in *English Historical Review*, xviii., 334-6.

CHAPTER III.

THE CENTURY OF SUSPENSE.

THE second invasion of Britain by Cæsar took place, according to Roman reckoning, in the year 700 from the foundation of the City. The next, the successful invasion which was ordered by his collateral descendant in the fourth generation, the Emperor Claudius, took place in the year 797 of the same reckoning. There was thus all but a century between the two events; that century which more powerfully than any other, before or after, has influenced the course of human history; yet which for that very reason, because in our chronology the years change from B.C. to A.D., the historical student sometimes finds it hard to recognise in its true perspective. CHAP.
III.

As far as the work of the literary historian goes, Britain is almost a blank page during the whole of this century. It may be said that to the eyes of the Romans, her own mists closed round her when Cæsar left her shores, B.C. 54, and did not rise till Aulus Plautius approached them, A.D. 43. But the patient toil of the numismatist¹ has discovered the names of some British kings and enabled us to say something as to their mutual relations; a few brief notices of Roman historians have faintly illumined the scene; and it is now just possible to discern the actual lineaments of one who is not entirely a creature of romance—the royal Cymbeline. L

As has been already mentioned, a certain Commius, king of the continental Atrebates, was sent on an unsuccessful mission to Britain before Cæsar's first invasion. In the mighty reflux wave of the Gaulish revolt against Rome, Commius either was actually swept away from his former fidelity or was suspected of being thus disloyal. However this might be, a foul attempt

¹ Pre-eminently of Sir John Evans, on whose great work on ancient British coins this chapter is founded.

CHAP. at his assassination, planned by Cæsar's lieutenant, Labienus,
 III. converted him into an embittered enemy of Rome. He took part in the great campaigns of Vercingetorix ; when they failed he sought succour from the other side of the Rhine ; as captain of a band of freebooters he preyed on the subjects of Rome. At length (B.C. 51), seeing that further resistance was hopeless, he made his submission to Mark Antony, his only stipulation being that he might be allowed to go and dwell in some land where he would never again be offended by the sight of a Roman. With these words he vanishes from the pages of the historian of the Gallic war. As we find about the same time, or a little later, a certain Commius coining money in Britain, it is, at least, a tempting theory that the Roman-hating Gaulish refugee came to our island and reigned here over his kindred Atrebates and other tribes besides.

Actual coins of Commius are, it must be admitted, not too certainly extant, but the large number of coins struck by three British kings who are proud to proclaim themselves his sons, clearly attest his existence and justify us in attributing to him considerable importance. These three British kings were Tincommius, Verica and Eppillus, and their dominions stretched from Hampshire to Kent. Their reigns probably occupied the last thirty years before the Christian era, and their coins exhibit an increasing tendency towards Roman manners and Roman art. The old barbaric survivals of the Macedonian effigies gradually disappear ; classical profiles are introduced and the cornucopiæ, the eagle and the lion sometimes make their appearance.

A British prince who was apparently a contemporary and a neighbour, possibly a rival of the family of Commius, was named Dubnovellaunus. The obverse of his coins shows a remarkable similarity to some of those of the just-mentioned King Eppillus. But the interesting fact in connexion with this otherwise unknown British chieftain is that a monument in the heart of Asia Minor preserves his name and records his dealings with the Roman Emperor. In the Turkish town of Angora on the side of a desolate Galatian hill stand the ruins of the marble temple of Augustus and Rome : and on the walls of the porch of that temple is a long bilingual inscription, recording in Latin and Greek the most memorable events of the fifty-eight years'

reign of the fortunate Augustus. Towards the end we find this passage: "To me fled as suppliant the Kings of the Parthians Tiridates and afterwards Phraates, Artaxares, son of Phraates, King of the Medes: the Kings of the Britons Dumnobellaunus and Tim . . ." (the end of the last name being obliterated). It is not likely that if there had been many similar instances of British princes imploring the protection of Augustus they would have been left unrecorded in the monument of Angora; and it is therefore probably with some little courtly exaggeration that the contemporary geographer Strabo says: "Certain of the rulers of that country [Britain] by embassies and flattering attentions have gained the friendship of Cæsar Augustus and made votive offerings in the capital and have now rendered almost the whole island subject to the Romans". This is certainly untrue. "The taxes which they bear are in no wise heavy and are levied on imports and exports between Britain and Gaul. The articles of this commerce are ivory rings and necklaces, and amber and vessels of glass and all such trumpery. It is not therefore desirable to put a garrison in the island, for it would require at least one legion and some cavalry in order to ensure the collection of the tribute, and the expense of keeping up such a force would equal the revenue received, since it would be necessary to lessen the customs duties if you were also levying tribute and there would be always a certain amount of danger attending the employment of force." A very clear and sensible statement surely of the reasons which induced the cautious Augustus finally to abandon his thrice contemplated¹ scheme for the conquest of Britain.

The British kings whom we have lately been describing reigned chiefly south of the Thames. North of that river in Middlesex, Herts and Essex (the district occupied by Cassivellaunus at the time of Cæsar's invasion) there was reigning, probably from about B.C. 35 to A.D. 5, a chief named Tasciovanus, practically unknown in literary history but abundantly made known to us by his coins, which, though still for the most part barbarous, show some signs of Roman influence. His capital was Verulamium, the little Hertfordshire town which now bears the name of the martyred Saint Alban. On his death, which probably occurred about A.D. 5, he was succeeded by his two sons, one of

¹ In B.C. 34, 27 and 25 (Dion Cassius, xlix., 38; liii., 22 and 25).

CHAP. whom, Cunobelinus, reigned at Camulodunum (the modern Colchester)
III. over the Trinobantes and probably other tribes. Of him not only are the coins numerous and well known, but as the Cymbeline of Shakespeare's drama, his name will be in the mouths of men as long as English literature endures. Of course the Cymbeline of the play has very little in common with the faintly outlined Cunobelinus of history. The lovely Imogen, faithful to her husband unto seeming death; the clownish Cloten, the wicked queen, the selfish boaster Leonatus; all these are mere creatures of the poet's brain, of whom neither the romancer Geoffrey of Monmouth nor his copyist Holinshed had ever spoken. Yet in the conception of Cymbeline's character, as an old king who rules his family and his court with little wisdom, there is nothing which clashes with historic truth; and the way in which Shakespeare has described the attitude of these little British princes towards the great, distant, dreadful power of Rome is surely one of the many evidences of his power of realising by instinct rather than by reason the political condition of a by-gone age. It may be noted in passing that Geoffrey of Monmouth informs us, whatever his information may be worth, that Kymbelinus, as he calls this king, "was a great soldier and had been brought up by Augustus Cæsar. He had contracted so great a friendship with the Romans that he freely paid them tribute when he might very well have refused it. In his days our Lord Jesus Christ was born."

A certain Adminius, who seems to have been a son of Cuno-belinus, being expelled by his father, fled to the Roman camp in Germany with a small band of followers, and their humble supplications to the Emperor Caligula (37-41) caused that insane egotist to vaunt himself as the conqueror of Britain. A pompous epistle conveyed to the Senate the news of this great triumph, and the bearers thereof were especially charged to enter the city in a state-chariot and to deliver their important communication only in the Temple of Mars and to a crowded assembly. But the buffoonery of the nephew was to be followed by the serious labour of the uncle. The conquest of Britain was now nigh at hand.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF BRITAIN.

IN the year 41 after Christ's birth the short madness of Caligula's dominion over the world was ended by his assassination in one of the long corridors of the Palatine. His uncle Claudius, the despised weakling of the imperial family, dragged forth trembling from his hiding-place behind a curtain, and to his intense surprise acclaimed as Augustus by the mutinous Prætorians: this was the man for whom by a strange destiny was reserved the glory of adding Britain to the Roman Empire. Yet Claudius, for all his odd ways, his shambling gait, his shaking head, his stammering speech, was by no means the mere fool whom his relatives, ashamed of his physical deficiencies, had affected to consider him. He wrote in countless books the story of his imperial ancestors and his own; he knew the old Etruscan tongue, a knowledge, alas! now lost to the world, and translated treatises written therein; he cleared out the harbour of Ostia; he planted flourishing colonies; he brought water to Rome from the Æquian hills by the aqueduct which bears his name. Could the poor timorous old man have ventured to rely on himself, and to act on his own initiative, his name had perhaps been revered as that of one of the best emperors of Rome. It was his reliance on his wives and his freedmen, the government of the boudoir and the servants' hall, which ruined his reputation with posterity.

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It was probably in the same year in which Claudius succeeded to the empire, or it may have been a year later, that old King Cunobelinus died in Britain and was succeeded by his two sons, Caratacus¹ and Togodumnus. There was, as usual,

¹ The popular form of this prince's name, Caractacus, is not justified by the MSS., but one would not think it necessary to restore the true form by the omission of one letter, were it not that the correct spelling brings us nearer to the Welsh equivalent, Caradoc.

CHAP. an exiled prince (whose name was Bericus) claiming Roman
IV. assistance for his restoration to his country, but whether he was one of the sons of Cunobelinus or not, neither history nor the coins inform us. The petition of the exiled Bericus was granted by Claudius, and an expedition was resolved on, nominally for his restoration (from this point onwards his name disappears from history), in reality for the conquest of Britain (A.D. 43). The command of the expedition was entrusted to Aulus Plautius, a senator of high rank—he had been consul fourteen years before with the Emperor Tiberius—and was possibly a kinsman of Claudius by marriage. Under his orders marched four legions¹:—

The Second : Augusta.

The Ninth : Hispana.

The Fourteenth : Gemina Martia ; and

The Twentieth : Valeria Victrix.

All of these but the Ninth were withdrawn from service in Germany, and that legion came from Pannonia, in modern language Hungary west of the Danube. The Second and the Twentieth legions found a permanent home in our island ; the Ninth, a grave ; the Fourteenth after a brilliant career was withdrawn to Italy after about twenty-five years of British service. We have no exact statement of the number of the army of Plautius. The legions, if at their full complement, should stand for 20,000 men : the cavalry and cohorts of the allies should at least double that number. We are probably not far wrong in putting the invading force at 50,000, but the difficulty of forming an exact estimate is shown by the divergence between the calculations of two such experts as Mommsen and Hübner, the former of whom reckons the total at 40,000, and the latter at 70,000 men.

Not without great difficulty (says our sole authority, Dion Cassius) was the army induced to depart from Gaul. The soldiers grumbled sorely at being called to do military service "outside of the habitable world," and Claudius deemed it ad-

¹ That these four legions took part in the Plautian conquest of Britain is undoubted. It may perhaps, however, be questioned whether all sailed with Aulus Plautius at the very outset of the expedition. The fact that the army was divided for the purpose of the crossing into three portions looks rather as if it consisted of three legions : and the fourth might form the nucleus of the reinforcements which came with the Emperor Claudius.

visible to send to them his freedman-minister Narcissus to overcome their reluctance. The glib-tongued Greek mounted the general's rostrum and began to harangue them greatly to his own satisfaction. But it was too much for the patience of the veteran legionaries to hear this imperial lackey, this liberated slave, preaching to them about their military duty. They shouted him down with a well-concerted cry of *Io Saturnalia* (Hurrah for the slaves' holiday), and then with the curious illogicality of soldiers they turned to Plautius and said that for his sake they would willingly follow wherever he led them. All this hesitation had caused considerable delay, but at last the flotilla bearing the soldiers embarked in three divisions, in order that the whole expedition might not be put to the hazard of a single landing. The soldiers were much disheartened when they found the winds or the tides apparently drifting them back to the port from which they had started, but then a meteor flashing from east to west seemed to indicate that their voyage would be prosperous and encouraged them to proceed. Their landing, or, more properly speaking, their three landings, were accomplished without difficulty, for the Britons, believing that the expedition was postponed on account of the mutiny, had made no preparations, and now fled to the forests and the marshes, hoping that the experience of the great Julius would be repeated and that this expedition also might soon return empty-handed.

Plautius had therefore hard work to discover his foe, but he did at last come to close quarters, first with Caratacus and then with Togodumnus, both of whom he overcame. Either now or in the following operations, Togodumnus perished, but his brother survived to be for many years a thorn in the side of the Roman general. A British tribe named the Boduni, of whose geographical position we are ignorant, but who were subjects of the Catuvellauni, came in and offered their submission. Plautius left a garrison among them and marching forward arrived at the banks of a river, possibly the Medway, which the barbarians fondly hoped could not be traversed without a bridge. The Roman general, however, had in his army many Gaulish soldiers, probably those dwelling near the mouths of the Rhine and the Waal, who were accustomed to swim with all their armour on across the swiftest streams. These men, at the word of command, plunged into

CHAP. the river, swam across, attacked the dismayed and carelessly
IV. encamped barbarians, and directing their weapons especially against the horses harnessed to the chariots made the usual cavalry tactics of the Britons impossible. The young Vespasian (future emperor, and conqueror of the Jews) and his brother Sabinus were ordered to lead some more troops across the stream and complete the victory, which they did, slaying multitudes of the barbarians. Still the Britons made a stubborn resistance, till at last an officer named Cnæus Hosidius Geta, a kind of Roman paladin who had before this done knightly deeds in fighting against the Moors, almost single-handed and at the imminent risk of capture, achieved a victory which compelled them to retire, and for which he received the honours of a triumph.

Hereupon the Britons withdrew behind the Thames, at that time and place a broad and shallow stream flowing wide over the marshes of Essex. The barbarians knew well its deeps and its shallows, and could find their way across it in safety. Not so the Romans, who suffered severe loss in attempting to follow them. As a mere question of strategy Plautius could probably have marched up the stream and crossed it at some narrower part of its course. He determined, however, to reserve this achievement for the emperor who had apparently already arranged to visit Britain and pluck the laurels planted for him by his general. Claudius prepared reinforcements, including, we are told, a number of elephants (not very serviceable, one would have thought, in the Essex marshes), sailed from his own port of Ostia to Marseilles, then travelled, chiefly by water, up and down the great rivers of Gaul, arrived at the camp of Plautius, crossed the Thames, the proper appliances having no doubt been prepared by the loyal general, and then marched on Camulodunum, which he took, making the palace of Cunobelinus his own. The fall of the powerful kingdom of the Catuvellauni brought with it the submission, voluntary or forced, of many neighbouring tribes.

Claudius was saluted not once but many times as *Imperator* by his soldiers, and returning to Rome after a six months' absence he was hailed by the Senate with the appellation of *Britannicus*, an honour which was also bestowed on his six-year-old son. He rode in his triumphal chariot up to the capitol, and he erected some years later in honour of this conquest a trium-

phal arch which spanned the Via Lata (now the Corso), and which was still standing almost perfect till the seventeenth century, when it was destroyed (1662) by Pope Alexander VII. Some fine sculptured slabs from this arch are still preserved in the Villa Borghese at Rome, along with fragments of an inscription which record that "Tiberius Claudius Augustus, Germanicus and Pious, tamed the Kings of Britain without any loss [to the republic], and was the first to bring her barbarous races under the control of Rome".

The capture of Camulodunum involved the downfall of the house of Cymbeline, and the acceptance, at any rate the temporary acceptance, of Roman domination in all the south-eastern part of Britain. While Caratacus escaped to South Wales and there organised a desperate resistance to the Roman arms among the Silures, most of the smaller British chieftains seem to have bowed their necks beneath the yoke. An inscribed stone still standing in Goodwood Park, but originally found at Chichester, seems to record the building of a temple to Neptune and Minerva for the safety of the imperial house, at the command of King Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, "legate of Augustus in Britain". This inscription is an interesting confirmation of the statement made by Tacitus that "certain cities were handed over to King Cogidubnus who remained till our own day most faithful to the emperor, according to the old and long-established custom of the Roman people to make even kings the instruments of their dominion".¹

It was probably about the same time that Prasutagus, King of the Iceni, who inhabited Norfolk, Suffolk and a part of Cambridgeshire, became a subject ally of Rome. Farther south the invaders were making less peaceful progress, if it be true, as we are told by the biographer of the future Emperor Vespasian, that he in these early years of the conquest "fought thirty battles as commander of the Second legion, subdued two powerful nations, took more than twenty towns and brought into subjection the Isle of Wight". We learn from another source that he was once, when surrounded by the barbarians and in imminent peril of his life, rescued by his brave son Titus, and further that it was the elder soldier's distinguished suc-

¹ *Agricola*, xiv.

CHAP.
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cesses in this British war which won him the favour of the Roman people, and led to his being eventually clad in the imperial purple. An interesting evidence of the rapid development of this first act of the Roman conquest is afforded by the fact that a pig of lead mined in the Mendip Hills has been discovered, bearing the name of Claudius and his son with a date equivalent to A.D. 49, only six years after the landing of the legions. In the year 47, Aulus Plautius left Britain to receive the honour of an ovation, then almost exclusively reserved for the imperial family, and to find his wife Pomponia (a woman of gentle nature but touched with sadness) tending towards "a foreign religion" which, there is good reason to believe, was none other than Christianity. He probably left the frontier of the Roman dominion nearly coincident with a line drawn diagonally from the Bristol Channel to the Wash, though outlying districts like Cornwall and Devonshire were not yet assimilated by the new lords of Britain. But even so the fairest and most fertile half of Brythonic Britain was now apparently won for the empire.

— To the new Roman *legatus*, Ostorius Scapula, fell the hard labour of fighting the Goidelic nation of the Silures who occupied the hills and valleys of South Wales and were nerved to desperate resistance by the counsels of their willingly adopted leader Caratacus. Wales must therefore undoubtedly have been the main objective of the general, but meanwhile even the part of the country already conquered was not too secure. The lands of the friendly tribes were being overrun by the still unsubdued Britons beyond the border, who thought that winter and the change of commander would both be in their favour. Ostorius, who knew the importance of first impressions, hurriedly collected a sufficient number of troops to repel and harass these marauders, but the stern measures which he took for the defence of the line between Severn and Trent so angered the Iceni (proud of their unconquered condition, "the allies not the subjects" of Rome) that they took up arms, gathered round them a confederacy of the neighbouring tribes and drew themselves up in battle array in a position difficult of access and protected by an embankment, probably of turf. Without much difficulty, Ostorius stormed this rude fort, using only the irregular allied troops and without moving the legions from

their quarters. As these irregulars were mostly cavalry and the Icenian camp was impervious to horsemen, the riders had to fight on foot, but nevertheless they won. Deeds of great valour were performed on both sides, and the son of Ostorius won the civic crown for saving the life of a Roman citizen. With the Iceni forced back into sullen tranquillity, and with the wavering tribes round them now siding with the victors, Ostorius was free to turn his attention to the difficult problem of Wales. He led his army into the territory of the Decangi,¹ who probably inhabited what is now Flintshire; he ravaged their fields; he gazed on the sea which separated him from Ireland; he would perhaps have anticipated the conquest of Anglesey had not some hostile movements among the Brigantes of Yorkshire, threatening his communications with the Midlands, warned him against a further advance. When the Brigantes were chastised and in a manner reconciled, he turned again to the work which he probably ought never to have delayed—the vanquishing of the Silures.

This war against the Silures evidently occupied many years, and it is almost admitted by the Roman historian that Caratacus won many victories. Gliding rapidly, however, over this unpleasant interval, Tacitus brings us to the final battle—decisive so far as Caratacus was concerned—which, as a result of the strategy of Caratacus, was fought not in the territory of the Silures but in that of their northern neighbours the Ordovices. On the border of three counties, Shropshire, Hereford and Radnor, is the district in which tradition or the conjecture of learned men has placed the battlefield. High up soars *Caer Caradoc*, commanding a splendid view of the distant Wrekin. Not far off are the strongly marked lines of *Brandon Camp* (possibly the work of the soldiers of Ostorius); the quiet little village of *Leintwardine*, encircled by the rapid waters of the *Teme*, sleeps at the foot of hills, any one of which may have been the chosen position of the British king. Tacitus describes to us the way in which that position, already strong by the steepness of the hill and the treacherous deeps and shallows of the river, was further strengthened by a barrier of stones where approach seemed least difficult. Caratacus flew from rank to

¹ The name of this tribe is doubtful.

CHAP. rank, exhorting his countrymen, descendants of the men who
IV. had repulsed the great Julius, to do their utmost on that eventful day which would decide their freedom or their slavery for ever. Ostorius, on the other hand, awed by the strength of the British position, was almost inclined to evade the encounter, but the legionaries loudly demanded battle and the officers backed their ardent entreaties. Ostorius thereupon moved forward and crossed the river without great difficulty. At the stone wall matters for a time went ill with the Romans and death was busy in their ranks, but after they had formed a *testudo*, with their locked shields held on high, they succeeded under its shelter in pulling out the stones of the roughly compacted wall. Once inside the camp, the well-drilled ranks of the Romans soon pierced the disorderly crowd of the barbarians, who had neither helmet nor breastplate to protect them from the sword and the *pilum* of the legionary, from the rapier and the spear of the auxiliary cohorts. The victory was a brilliant one, and though Caratacus himself escaped, his wife, his daughter and his brethren fell into the hands of the Romans. The liberty of the fugitive prince was of short duration. Having escaped to the court of Cartimandua, Queen of the Brigantes, he was by her basely surrendered, in chains, to the victorious general. This event which may possibly have taken place some time after the battle, happened, as Tacitus remarks, in the ninth year after the commencement of the British war. This probably means A.D. 51 or 52, the same year in which the inscription was engraved on the triumphal arch of Claudius.

The exhibition of the captive British king who had for so many years defied the power of Rome, was made the occasion of a splendid Roman holiday. The prætorian cohorts were drawn up in the meadows outside their camp (near where now stands the Villa Torlonia), and through the lane formed by their glittering spears passed first the train of the followers of Caratacus, bearing the golden torques, the embossed breastplates and other ornaments which he himself had won in former wars from vanquished kings, then his brothers, his wife and his daughter, and last of all Caratacus himself. He did not crouch or fawn, but looked boldly in the emperor's face, and (if the speech recorded by Tacitus be not a mere rhetorical exercise) with quiet dignity reminded his conqueror that but for adverse fortune he might

have entered Rome in very different guise as an ally, not as a captive. "I had horses, men, arms, wealth. Do you wonder that I was reluctant to lose them? If you wish to lord it over all the world, must others at once accept slavery? Slay me if you will, and I shall soon be forgotten. Preserve my life and I shall be an eternal memorial of your clemency." The courageous and manly address touched the not ignoble nature of Claudius, who granted pardon to the British king and all his family. He was required, however, to offer thanks for his preservation to the emperor's wife, Agrippina, mother of Nero, who sat haughtily on a tribunal of her own, not far from that of her husband: "a new and strange sight," says Tacitus, for Roman soldiers to behold. Far better known than the speech thus recorded by Tacitus is the remark of the British king, preserved by the Greek historian Dion. After his liberation, when he was taken round through the streets of Rome, and saw all the wonders of the city, he said: "And yet you who possess all these things, and many others like them, actually covet the shanties of Britain". With the capture and pardon of Caratacus, the house of Cymbeline disappears from history. It is implied that he and his family spent the rest of their days in Italy. *l*

For the next seven years (A.D. 52-59), under Didius Gallus and Veranius, the history of Roman conquest was void of striking events. Didius was elderly and disinclined to risk his already great reputation by distant operations against the natives. Veranius, who was probably younger, certainly more adventurous, promised his master Nero (who succeeded Claudius in 54) that in two years the province should be at his feet, but died in his first year of office, with his high hopes unrealised. However, these two governors had apparently succeeded in pushing the Roman frontier northward as far as Chester and Lincoln: they had checked, though not subdued, the Silures, and had rescued their ally Cartimandua from the perilous position in which she had been placed by her indignant subjects, as a punishment for summarily dismissing her husband and handing herself over to his armour-bearer. Probably these seven years of rest were really useful to the cause of the empire. The more civilised tribes in the south and east were adopting Roman ways, and some of them, at any rate, were growing fat on Roman com-

CHAP. merce, and if the subordinate officials of the empire would have
IV. used their power with moderation Britain might have become Roman without more blood-spilling. Unfortunately, these conditions were not observed, and a day of vengeance was at hand.

✓ In the year 59 Suetonius Paulinus, one of the two greatest generals that obeyed the orders of Nero (Corbulo, conqueror of Armenia, being the other), was appointed *legatus* of Britain, and began his short but memorable career. Believing that he had a tranquil and easily governed province behind him, and desiring to rival the fame of Corbulo, he determined to attempt the conquest of Anglesey, which was invested with a mysterious awe as the high place of Druidism. After all, the difficulties of the enterprise were spiritual rather than material. A flotilla of flat-bottomed boats transported the legionaries across the Menai Straits; of the cavalry some swam, and some, we are told, forded the channel. But there on the other side stood not only a dense mass of armed men, but women, dressed like Furies with their hair hanging down and with lighted torches in their hands, were rushing about through the ranks, and Druid priests, with their hands upraised to Heaven, in terrible voices called down vengeance on the foe. At the unaccustomed sight the awed legionaries hung back; then the cheering speech of the general and their own reflection—"We must never let ourselves be frightened by a parcel of women and priests"—revived their fainting courage. They carried the eagles forward, hewed down the armed Britons, and used the terrible torches to burn the hostile camp. A fort and garrison were placed in the island in order to maintain the conquest, and the woods in which human sacrifices had been offered and cruel auguries practised with the bleeding limbs of men, were by Roman axes cleared from the face of the earth.

All seemed going splendidly for Roman dominion in Britain when a breathless messenger brought to the tent of Suetonius (A.D. 60)¹ a tale not unlike that with which we were thrilled half a century ago at the outbreak of the Indian mutiny. The outburst of the flame of British discontent was in the country of the Iceni, and the exciting cause was the shameless and heartless greed of the Roman officials. The capital of the new province at this time

¹ For the reasons in favour of the date 60 instead of 61 (given by Tacitus), see Henderson, *Life and Principate of Emperor Nero*, p. 477.

seems to have been Cymbeline's old city, Camulodunum (the modern Colchester), which had been turned into a Roman colony, a place in which the time-expired veterans might spend their old age, surrounded by their families, and lording it with no gentle mastership over their British slaves. High in this town, which took its name from Camulus, the Celtic war-god, rose the great temple dedicated to Claudius and Rome, a temple which was almost a fortress; but the town itself was surrounded by no walls, a piece of improvidence for which Tacitus justly blames the generals, who were thinking more of pleasurable ease than of military utility. In the chief house of the colony resided Catus Decianus, the *procurator*, who represented the emperor in all civil and financial matters, as Suetonius, the *legatus*, represented him in military affairs. Of all the grasping and unjust officials who made the name of the empire hated, this Catus seems to have been one of the worst. While oppressing the peasants by rigorous exaction of tribute, he demanded from the chiefs the return of the property (probably the result of confiscations from their own fellow-countrymen) which Claudius had bestowed upon them, saying that gifts such as this, of course, reverted to the giver. The financial distress of the unhappy province was aggravated, according to Dion, by the selfish timidity of the philosopher Seneca, Nero's minister, who chose this opportunity suddenly and harshly to call in loans to the amount of 10,000,000 sesterces (about £90,000 sterling), which he had lent at usurious rates of interest to the natives or the settlers in Britain.

Thus all was ready in Essex for revolt, when Norfolk and Suffolk, the country of the Iceni, were the scenes of outrages which set fire to the gathered fuel. King Prasutagus, the old and apparently loyal ally of Rome, who had long been famous for his wealth, died leaving the emperor and his own two daughters his joint heirs. There were old examples of this testamentary liberality in Roman history, both Pergamum and Cyprus having been bequeathed by their kings to the Roman people. Prasutagus hoped, we are told, by this display of confidence in the honour of the emperor that he would, at least, safeguard his kingdom and his family from violence. Bitterly was this hope disappointed. At the bidding of the *legatus*, centurions tramped across his kingdom; at the bidding of the

CHAP. procurator, clerks of servile condition swept bare the palace of
 IV. its treasures, just as if all had been lawful prize of war. Nor did they even stop there. With incredible stupidity, as well as wickedness, the governor ordered or permitted the widow of Prasutagus, herself daughter as well as spouse of kings, to be beaten with rods, and gave over her two daughters to be violated. The chiefs of the Icenian nation were banished from their ancestral homes, and the kinsmen of the royal family were treated as slaves. At this all the manhood of the nation rose in rebellion ; the widowed queen, who is known to posterity as Boadicea,¹ put herself at the head of the maddened confederates (for the Iceni were at once joined by the Trinobantes, possibly also by some of the other neighbouring tribes), and the numbers of the insurgent army are said to have reached 120,000.

Of the long harangue which Dion represents Boadicea as having delivered to her army "from a tribunal made after the Roman fashion of peat-turves," it is not necessary to quote anything here, as it is obviously but a literary exercise by a Greek rhetorician. The most interesting things which it contains are the description of the grievances endured under the Roman rule, as the rhetorician imagines her to have painted them, and her invocation of the Celtic goddess, Andraste,² whom she seems to invoke as the special protectress of her nation. The description which the same author gives of the appearance of the warrior-queen is life-like, and we must hope that it is trustworthy. "Tall in stature, hard-visaged and with fiercest eye : with a rough voice : with an abundance of bright yellow hair reaching down to her girdle : wearing a great collar of gold : with a tunic of divers colours drawn close round her bosom and a thick mantle over it, fastened with a clasp. So she was always dressed, but now she bore a lance in her hand to make her harangue more terrible."

The first onset of the barbarian army was directed against the hated colony, and thus there were soon a hundred thousand or more enraged Britons howling round, not the walls, but the

¹ Her name seems to have been really Boudicca, meaning the Victorious. The form Boadicea rests on no authority and conveys no meaning, but it is now too late to change it.

² Several names of British gods begin like Andraste. A little farther on Dion speaks of the sacred grove of Andate or Victory ; and we find dedications to Ancasta, Anociticus, and Antenociticus.

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IV.

unwalled enclosure of Camulodunum. Help for the defenceless city there was none or next to none. The four brave legions were far away: one in quarters at Caerleon upon Usk, two fighting with Druids in Anglesey or quartered at Chester, one, the nearest, at Lincoln. The greedy procurator, Catus, when appealed to for help, sent two hundred imperfectly armed soldiers to reinforce the scanty garrison, and then began to arrange for his own speedy flight to Gaul. Within the city there were treachery and the paralysis of despair. No ditch was dug nor even the hastiest rampart reared: the non-combatants, the old men and the women, were not sent away; as passive as if in profound peace they awaited the approach of the multitude of the barbarians. The city was stormed at once: the great temple-citadel, in which the few soldiers were collected, stood a two days' siege and then likewise fell. Both here and in the two Roman cities which were yet to fall, indescribable horrors of murder, rape, ghastly and insulting mutilations are reported to have been practised by the barbarians. The Ninth legion under its commander (Petillius Cerialis), marching southward to the rescue, was met by the exultant conquerors, routed and almost destroyed. All the foot soldiers perished in the battlefield or in the flight; only Cerialis himself with his cavalry escaped to his former camp and was sheltered behind its fortifications. ✓

Some part of these dismal tidings must have been brought to Suetonius on the shore of the Menai Straits. "With marvellous constancy," says Tacitus, "he marched through the midst of enemies to Londinium, a place which is not indeed dignified with the name of colony, but which is greatly celebrated for the number of its merchants and the abundance of its supplies." This is the first mention of London in history. At this time it had not apparently attained anything like the dimensions of which even Roman London could boast in later times. It formed an oblong which measured probably about 800 yards from east to west and 500 from north to south, and covered a little more than 600 acres. The northern boundary was almost certainly the line of Cheapside and Cornhill, the southern that of Upper and Lower Thames Street. The eastern and western frontiers of the city are still obscure, but it is generally admitted that neither St. Paul's on the west nor the Tower on the east

CHAP. would have been included within it. Such was the little busy
IV. city which Suetonius reached at the end of his daring march. He heard there, if he had not heard before, the terrible news of the loss of the Ninth légion. He probably also learned at the same time that the officer in charge of the Second légion, daring to disobey his general's orders, was lingering at Caerleon, instead of marching to join him in the defence of the eastern portion of the province. The double ill-tidings upset all his plans for the defence of London. His army, which consisted of the Fourteenth légion and a detachment of the Twentieth, amounted only to about 10,000 men; provisions were running short, and the perpetual raids of the enemy made foraging difficult. It was too late to save Verulam, once a British capital, now a Roman *municipium*, which Boadicea had taken and where the bloody scenes of Camulodunum had been only too faithfully repeated. Now, with a heavy heart, notwithstanding the prayers and the tears of the citizens, Suetonius decided that London also must be left to its fate; by the loss of that one city all the rest of the province might haply be saved. Only this much he could grant, that those of the male inhabitants who could march with his troops might do so. Those whom the weakness of their sex or the weariness of age, or even their attachment to their homes, retained in the city were left, and were soon massacred by the barbarians, who took no captives and had no desire for ransoms, feeling that now was their day of vengeance, and foreboding that that day would be short. The Roman historians compute the loss of life in the three cities at 70,000 persons, by no means all Romans, but including many of British, perhaps also of Gaulish extraction, who in the years of peace had become peaceable and trade-loving subjects of the empire.

The movements of Suetonius, after he had decided to abandon Londinium to its fate, are not clearly indicated by Tacitus, but it seems probable that he retraced his steps northward in order to effect a junction with the troops which he had left at Chester and with the wreck of the Ninth légion still bravely defending itself at Lincoln. Boadicea with her vast horde of exultant Britons was probably hanging on his rear. Battle was inevitable, but the Roman general had some power of choosing the ground, and he chose it in a place protected on each side by the steep hills of a narrow defile and on the rear by a forest.

The enemy could only move towards him across the open plain in front and there could be no lurking in ambush. The line was not too long to prevent the legionary soldiers from being drawn up in close ranks; on each side of them were the more lightly armed cohorts of the allies, and the cavalry were massed upon the wings. In great disorderly squadrons the Britons prepared to charge, full of fierce exultation at their past successes and so certain of their impending triumph that they had brought their wives, in waggons drawn up at the farther side of the plain, to behold their victory. CHAP. IV.

The barbarians came on with loud clamour and menacing war-songs; the Romans awaited them in silence and perfect order till they were within reach of a javelin's throw. Then at the signal given, raising the battle-cry, they hurled the *pilum* and rushed at the double against the slow-marching barbarians, broke their ranks, and pierced through the dense mass like a wedge. After a desperate hand-to-hand struggle, the barbarians, whose lack of defensive armour had caused them to suffer terribly from the arrows and the *pila* of the Romans, fled in disorder before them. The fugitives reached and were stopped by the waggons. The pursuers, maddened probably by the remembrance of the horrors of the sack of the three Roman cities, hewed down not only the fugitive combatants but the women, and even the horses that drew the chariots. So the victory was won. The Romans admitted a loss of some 800 killed and wounded, and claimed to have slaughtered a little less than 80,000 Britons. The apparent accuracy of these words, "a little less," need not deceive us as to the general untrustworthiness of such estimates as these, but the victory was undoubtedly decisive, and, as such things are reckoned, glorious. Boadicea is said by Tacitus to have ended her life by poison. Dion Cassius, with less probability, says that she died of disease.

Far away in Monmouthshire there was another suicide, the result of this great encounter. "Poenius Postumus, prefect of the camp of the Second legion" (who had presumably held the command in the temporary absence of the *legatus*), "when he heard how well things had gone with the Fourteenth and the Twentieth, enraged with himself because he had cheated his own legion of like glory, and had, contrary to military rule, disobeyed the orders of his superior, pierced himself through with his own

CHAP. sword." Possibly he was neither a coward nor a mutineer, but a
IV. man suddenly called to assume a crushing load of responsibility in a terrible crisis, who had failed to read aright the signs of the times. The Fourteenth legion, which had borne the greatest part of the work in the suppression of the rebellion, was called, when its officers would stimulate its military pride, the "Tamers of Britain" (*Domitores Britannia*). The renown which it had acquired caused its services to be eagerly sought for in the great game of Caesar-making which followed upon the death of Nero. It was transferred to Belgic Gaul in A.D. 70, helped to quell the insurrection of Civilis, and never afterwards returned to Britain.

The tenure of office by Suetonius Paulinus was a very short one. He had indeed shown himself

A daring pilot in extremity ;

but Nero, who with all his viciousness was not destitute of statesmanlike ability, probably considered that the pilot ought not to have taken his ship into such dangerous channels. After replacing the losses of the Ninth legion by the transfer of some 7,000 soldiers from Germany, the emperor sent a certain Julius Classicianus as successor to the detested *procurator* Catus. Suetonius seems to have been in favour of stern repression, laying waste with fire and sword the territories of all the tribes of doubtful loyalty. Classicianus, on the other hand, held that the real foe that had now to be fought was famine, especially since the insurgents, intent on the plunder of the Roman warehouses, had neglected the sowing of their spring corn. Differences soon arose between the merciful *procurator* and the stern *legatus*. To settle the quarrel Nero sent one of his freedmen, named Polyclitus, who travelled with great pomp and a long train of attendants, burdensome to the provinces through which he passed, but calculated to impress the Roman soldiery with a sense of his importance. The barbarians, on the other hand, who had heard from what a low and servile condition Polyclitus had risen, marvelled that so great a general and so brave an army should tamely submit to the arbitrament of a slave. They profited, however, by that docility; for Polyclitus, though, as his after career showed, not averse from plundering on his own account, made a report to the emperor in favour of the lenient policy of the *procurator*, and Suetonius, after an eventful lieu-

tenancy of not more than two years, was recalled to Rome (A.D. 61). CHAP.
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In the ten years that followed the recall of Suetonius (A.D. 61-71), years which witnessed the downfall of Nero and the terrible civil war which shook the empire after his death, no great commotion disturbed the much-needed repose of the exhausted province. In the career of Trebellius Maximus, the governor who held nominal power for the greater part of this time, we have a typical instance of the bickerings, sometimes between the civil and military authorities, sometimes, as in this case, between the chief *legatus* and his military subordinates, which varied the monotony of existence in a conquered province. Tacitus tells us that Trebellius, who was an indolent man, with no experience of camp life, endeavoured to hold the province by mere good nature; a policy not altogether impracticable, because the barbarians had now begun to look more favourably on the pleasant vices of civilisation. The army, however, despised and hated the governor for his avarice and meanness, and their discontent was fomented and forcibly expressed by Roscius Coelius, the *legatus* of the Twentieth legion. "It is your fault," said the governor to him, "that discipline is relaxed and the troops are on the verge of mutiny." "It is yours," replied Coelius, "that the soldiers are kept poor and defrauded of their pay." Soon not the legionaries only, but the humbler auxiliaries, dared to hurl their taunts at the governor, who, at last alarmed for his safety, fled to some obscure hiding-place. Drawn out from thence, he prolonged, apparently for a little while, the precarious tenure of his rule; the implied bargain between him and the army being: "To you licence to do as you please; to me unthreatened life". Then the situation again became desperate. The miserable Trebellius escaped to Germany, took refuge in the camp of the insurgent Emperor Vitellius, did not share his transient success, and never returned to Britain.

When the civil war was ended by the triumph of the strong, sensible, common-place emperor Vespasian, a new impulse was given to Roman conquest in Britain. Petillius Cerialis, a near relative of the new emperor, a capable if somewhat rash soldier, the same who, at the head of the Ninth legion, had vainly sought to stem the torrent of Boadicea's rebellion, held office for four years (A.D. 71-75), during which time he humbled and perhaps

CHAP. subdued the Brigantes, who ever since Cartimandua's marital
IV. troubles had been more or less at enmity with the empire. This conquest, if really made at this time, involved the addition of Yorkshire to the empire, perhaps the foundation of Eboracum (York), once the capital of Roman Britain. Julius Frontinus (A.D. 75-78) followed Cerialis, and completed the long-delayed subjugation of the Silures in South Wales, who at this time, twenty-four years after Caratacus had been led in triumph through the streets of Rome, were still unreconciled to the Roman dominion. An interesting point in connexion with the name of Julius Frontinus is the fact that nearly twenty years after his return from Britain (A.D. 97) he was appointed by the Emperor Nerva *Curator Aquarum*, and in that capacity, though he was already advanced in years, carried great reforms and corrected many abuses which had grown up in connexion with the water-supply of the Eternal City. His treatise on the subject is still the source from which we derive almost all our information concerning the splendid aqueducts of Rome.

In the year 78, the Emperor Vespasian appointed as his *legatus* the most celebrated and probably the greatest of the governors of Britain, Gnæus Julius Agricola. Verging as he was upon his fortieth year he was in the very prime of his matured and disciplined strength. He knew Britain well, having served when quite a young man as tribune (a rank nearly corresponding to our lieutenant) under Suetonius Paulinus, and having probably heard the clamour of the barbarian multitude who crowded round the chariot of Boadicea. Again, ten years later, he had been sent over to Britain to confirm the doubtful loyalty of the Twentieth legion. Since then he had been governor of the important province of Aquitaine, afterwards consul, and he was actually holding the distinguished and well-paid office of Pontifex Maximus when he was appointed to the British command. What was more important for his future fame and for our knowledge of the history of Britain, he had given his daughter in marriage to that master of grave historic style, shot with indignant epigram, Cornelius Tacitus. When the new governor landed in Britain, both soldiers and natives thought that, the summer being now nearly ended, there would be no more fighting that year. Not so, decided Agricola. The Ordovices, dwellers in North Wales, had lately almost destroyed an *ala*

(squadron) of cavalry stationed within their borders. This insolence, it was felt, must be chastised, and the might of Rome speedily displayed by the new *legatus*, who at once marched against them with a moderate force of legionaries and allies. The Ordovices refused to descend into the plain and fight there on equal terms. Agricola having climbed the hills of Denbighshire at the head of his troops, defeated and all but destroyed that clan of mountaineers. He looked westwards to the sacred Isle of Anglesey, once conquered by his old general Suetonius, but almost immediately abandoned on account of the terrible tidings from Camulodunum. He had no ships in which to cross the Menai Straits, but he had among his auxiliary troops men, probably from the mouths of the Rhine and the Waal, expert swimmers and skilled in finding possible fords, and these men laying aside the cumbrous loads which the Roman soldier was accustomed to carry, dashed into the stream, appeared on the shore of Mona and received the submission of the surprised and terrified islanders, who thought that till ships appeared in the straits they at least were safe from conquest. Having thus displayed his power, the governor now set himself to win the hearts of the natives by reforms in the administration, especially the financial administration, and redress of grievances. The burdens which rested upon the provincials of Britain were of two kinds, the *tributum* and the *annona*: the former a payment in money which was, it may be presumed, remitted by the revenue officers direct to Rome; the latter a payment in kind of the various stores needed for the sustenance of the army—fodder, lard, fish, firewood, but pre-eminently corn; and these things would of course not be sent out of the country but consumed in the various camps and cities where the soldiers were quartered. There was some good work to be done by Agricola in equalising the assessments to *tributum*, or rendering them proportionate to the ability of the British town or village responsible for its payment. But the chief abuses seem to have arisen in connexion with the *annona*. Fraudulent revenue officers would probably contract for the harvest on low terms before it was reaped, would gather it into the granaries, close the doors and laugh in the faces of the unhappy natives who were ordered to furnish so many bushels of corn and could only comply with the order by buying it from them at their own extortionate price.

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Then they would purposely fix the place where the *annona* had to be delivered, as far off as possible, in districts traversed by the poorest of roads. All these various abuses were, we are told, at once removed or greatly mitigated by the firm hand of Agricola.

It was not enough to remove causes of complaint. He would also win over the natives to positive affection for the Roman rule. He was constantly urging all the wealthier Britons to come into the towns and to take part in building operations. Everywhere temples, market-places, well-built houses were rising, reared by British natives, and pledges for their future loyalty. He gathered round him the sons of the chiefs, had them instructed in liberal arts, praised their aptness to learn at the expense of their Gaulish contemporaries, listened before long to eloquent declamations, delivered, of course, in the Latin tongue, by young Britons, gracefully clad in the Roman toga. The bath and the luxurious banquet offered their attractions not in vain to the late hunter of the forests, and as Tacitus sarcastically observes "the simple folk called that civilisation (*humanitas*) which was really the beginning of slavery".

The summer of A.D. 79, the second year of Agricola's command, seems to have been chiefly occupied in measures for completing the military occupation of the recently conquered territory, that is, probably, Yorkshire, Lancashire and Northumberland, the country of the Brigantes. "He himself chose the site of the camps; he himself reconnoitred the forests and the estuaries" (probably of the Tees, the Wear and the Tyne, and perhaps also Solway Firth), "and meanwhile he gave the enemy no rest, but was for ever harassing them by sudden excursions, and when he had terrified them sufficiently, then by holding his hand he gave them an inducement to desire peace. In consequence hereof many native states which up to that time had treated the empire on a footing of equality now gave hostages and laid aside their animosity. They found themselves surrounded with forts and garrisons, and all was done with so much science and system as had never before been applied to any newly conquered part of Britain." It is possible that Eburacum, which at this time, or very soon after, became the headquarters of the Ninth legion, was one of the strong places thus founded or fortified by Agricola.

The record of the year 80, the third year of Agricola's com-

mand, is one of the most interesting to all north-country Englishmen, but it is unfortunately also one of the most obscure. It will be well to quote the words of Tacitus as they stand, without attempting conjectural amplification. "The third year of expeditions opened up to us new tribes, all the nations up to the estuary called Tanaus having their lands laid waste. The enemy cowed by these operations did not dare to harass the army, though it was buffeted by fierce tempests, and thus a respite was afforded which was employed in building more forts. It was observed by military experts that no general ever showed greater ability in his choice of suitable sites for such defences. No fort founded by Agricola was ever stormed by hostile violence, or surrendered, or abandoned by its fugitive garrison: yet frequent sallies were made from them, for they were fortified against a tedious siege by a yearly renewed stock of provisions. This gave the defenders courage for the winter; each garrison relied on itself for its safety, and the enemy were driven to despair by the uselessness of their attacks. For aforesaid they had been wont to recoup themselves for the losses of the summer by the successes of winter, but now they found themselves repelled in both seasons alike." We have here evidently to deal with an extensive system of fortification; but we are provoked by being unable precisely to identify the region in which it took place. What is the meaning of the estuary called Tanaus "up to which Agricola ravaged the land"? It is certainly not the Tay (which was indicated by the corrupt reading Taum); it may be the Firth of Forth; only that estuary is immediately after called Bodotria. The little Scottish river Tyne near North Berwick has a kind of estuary, and Mommsen's conjecture that this is the Tanaus of Tacitus would have much probability, were it not so near to the far mightier estuary of the Forth that it is difficult to imagine any one choosing it as a landmark. The better known Tyne of Newcastle would be clearly the strongest claimant if the course of the narrative did not seem to have already carried us to the north of it. No piece of water would meet the geographical condition better than the splendid estuary of the Tweed, so well fitted by nature for a liminary stream, but no other passage of any author has been found in which any name resembling Tanaus has been applied to that river. In the next

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CHAP. year (A.D. 81) Agricola undoubtedly reached and fortified the
IV narrow neck of land between Clyde and Forth (Clota and Bodotria); but the point practically at issue is this: "May we understand that we have in this passage of Tacitus a description of the building by Agricola of some at least of the forts between Tyne and Solway on the line which was afterwards marked by the Roman wall?" It has been often suggested, and in the opinion of the present writer with some probability, that we may. In that case great additional interest attaches to Chesters, Housesteads and others of the ruined Roman stations in Northumberland, when we think that they may have been planned by the exceptional military genius of Agricola.

With the three remaining campaigns of this general (A.D. 82-84) we have no special concern, as they were all fought beyond the limits of England. We must not follow him as he cruises about the Kyles of Bute and the Mull of Cantire, gazes across to Ireland (an island, Tacitus thinks, with better harbours and more frequented by merchants than England), nor discuss his opinion, often expressed to his son-in-law, that with one legion and a moderate supply of auxiliaries he could have added Hibernia to the empire. Nor must we linger over Tacitus' celebrated description of the great fight on the Mons Graupius,¹ and the spirited war-speech of the Caledonian hero Galgacus, which according to Tacitus preceded the encounter. Almost immediately after this victory—perhaps more dearly bought and less decisive than would appear on the surface of the Tacitean narrative—Agricola, whose term of command was already of exceptional length, was recalled to Rome. The Emperor Domitian's jealousy of a soldier whose admiring legions might insist on proclaiming him as a candidate for the empire, may have been, as Tacitus suggests, the sole reason for his recall; but nearer danger was also threatening Rome from the region of the Danube, and, as Mommsen has pointed out, one of the British legions was actually recalled for service in Pannonia. True statesmanship as well as mean personal jealousy may have prompted the recall of so adventurous a general from the scene of his triumphs. Agricola made no attempt to resist his supersession, but returned to Rome, lived there as a private but harassed citizen, declining the governorship of Syria (which

¹ From a misreading of this name is derived the modern Grampian.

was offered to him with a hint that it would be dangerous to accept it), and died at Rome in the fifty-fourth year of his age on August 23, A.D. 93. The suggestions of foul play and of poison stealthily administered by order of Domitian are mentioned, but hardly endorsed, even by the suspicious pen of his son-in-law. That son-in-law was absent from Rome at the time of his death, but describes the deathbed scene from the reports of the bystanders; and his farewell to the departed spirit of the beloved one, the celebrated peroration of the *Life of Agricola*, is one of the most beautiful things in Roman literature.

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CHAPTER V.

THE ROMAN OCCUPATION.

CHAP. V. WITH the departure of Agricola the literary history of Roman Britain comes to an end. For three centuries longer the legions were to remain in our island, and the buildings which they reared, the altars which they inscribed, the roads which they constructed, tell us something of the life which they led during that long space of time, as long as the whole period that has elapsed from Elizabeth's days to ours. Archæology has much to tell us concerning it, but history is almost altogether silent. A few sections of Dion Cassius, some confused notices in the *Historia Augusta*, a page or two of Ammianus Marcellinus, are practically all that is left to us of the written history of our country from Agricola to Stilicho. We need not here discuss the causes of a silence so tantalising and so irremediable; how far it may have sprung from Roman contempt of a distant and mist-enveloped island, how far from a decay of courage and hopefulness in the Romans themselves, symptoms of the impending ruin of their empire; it is enough that the pages are for us left blank and can now never be filled.

The greatest monument of Roman power in Britain and that which has yielded the most fruitful results to archæology is the Roman Wall between the two estuaries of Tyne and Solway. Almost all that we know of Roman life in Britain during the second century centres round this one great work. Towards the end of the first century a change took place in the organisation of the defence of the empire on the frontiers. Hitherto the republic, and after it the empire, had been satisfied to keep a strong body of troops in all the imperfectly conquered provinces, and to plant well-garrisoned castles near the river or the range of mountains on the other side of which were the barbarians of Europe or Africa, or the hostile monarchies of Asia. Soon after

the death of Nero a different system was adopted, involving the formation of a definitely marked boundary which when not protected by very strong natural barriers was guarded by an actual wall of stone or earth upon which the garrisoned fortresses were strung, like beads on a chain. Not only in Britain are traces of these limiting walls to be found, but also in Germany, between the Lower Rhine and the Danube, and in the Dobrudscha on the western shore of the Black Sea: and there is reason to believe that a similar wall of defence shut out the barbarians of Mount Aureus who threatened the provincials of Roman Africa. CHAP.
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"The real authors of the frontier system were the Flavian and Antonine Emperors, and the period extending from the accession of Vespasian to the death of Marcus Aurelius, or, roughly, from 70 A.D. to 180 A.D., witnessed its complete organisation. The interest of these emperors in the matter was no doubt quickened by the growing anxiety, an anxiety unknown to the Augustan age, but perceptible in Tacitus, as to the increasing pressure from without upon the empire. . . . It is well for students of the British frontier to remember that the emperor with whose name the organisation of the imperial frontier system is most closely connected is Hadrian."¹

There has been much discussion about this matter. As we shall see, there is good reason for connecting the name of a later emperor, Severus, with the building of the wall, but, on the whole, the testimony of inscriptions and the labours of archaeologists tend to confirm the clear statement of the biographer Spartianus (writing, it is true, a century and a half after the event): "Hadrian visited Britain, in which island he corrected many things that were amiss, and was the first to draw a wall across for eighty miles, in order to divide the barbarians and the Romans". In all the long list of Roman emperors it would be hard to find a more fascinating figure than that of this great wall-builder. By no means the best of his class, far surpassed in moral excellence by Trajan, Antoninus and Marcus, but removed by an immeasurable distance from the worst, from such men as Nero, Domitian and Commodus; architect, artist,

¹ These sentences are quoted from Prof. Pelham's paper on "The Roman Frontier System" (*Transactions of Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society*, xiv., 170-84), in which the reader will find an admirable statement of the object of the Roman frontier defences and the manner of their construction.

CHAP. author, and, above all things, indefatigable traveller, Publius
V. Ælius Hadrianus united a truly Greek versatility and brilliancy
✓ of intellect to all the Roman's strong sense of duty towards the
great *Res Publica*, and willingness for Rome's sake to sacrifice
many of the sensual gratifications in which his soul only too
clearly delighted. The traveller who wanders for hours through
the ruins of the vast collection of luxurious palaces which is called
the *Villa Hadriani*, or who, in sunny Athens, sees the arch
which bears the proud inscription, "On this side the city of
Theseus, on that the city of Hadrian," can in some measure
realise the self-denial which must have been involved in Hadrian's
presence with the legions during the setting out of eighty Roman
miles of wall¹ across the misty moors of Northumberland and
Cumberland.

It was probably in the year 120, three years after his accession to the empire, that Hadrian visited Britain. The journey may have been only part of his pre-arranged tour through the western portion of his dominions, but it is also possible that it was the result of some recent and special disaster in Britain to the Roman arms. Some forty or fifty years afterwards the orator Fronto alluded to "the great number of soldiers slain by the Britons during the reign of Hadrian," and it is allowable at least as a matter of conjecture to couple these words with the ominous disappearance of one of the legions stationed in Britain from the army list of the empire. The unlucky Ninth legion, once quartered at Lincoln, afterwards at York, had been, as we have seen, nearly destroyed in the insurrection headed by Boadicea. It had again suffered most severely, under Agricola, from a night attack made by the Caledonians before the battle of Mons Graupius. And now, just about this time, either in the later years of Trajan or the earlier years of Hadrian, it vanishes clean out of the lists of the Roman army and is replaced by the Sixth legion, surnamed the Victorious, which was brought over to Britain and stationed at Eburacum. There is some discussion as to the earlier cantonment of the legions, whether four or three, that had been quartered in Britain, but as to the general question of their allocation during, at least, the second and third centuries of our era there can be no doubt.

¹ Equivalent to seventy-three and a half English miles: the distance from Wallsend to Bowness.

The Second legion (*Augusta*) at Isca (Caerleon-upon-Usk); the Sixth (*Victrix*) at Eburacum (York), and the Twentieth (*Valeria Victrix*) at Deva (Chester), have left abundant tokens of their long-continued presence. CHAP.
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From all these legions, however, considerable drafts were taken to assist in the building of the wall from Tyne to Solway, the existing remains of which must now be described. At the two ends of its course, where it has had the ill-fortune either to meet with the fierce industrial energy of the dwellers by the estuary of the Tyne, or to attract the envious glances of the farmers of fertile Cumberland, the wall has practically ceased to exist, though it has seldom passed that way for more than two or three miles without leaving some traces, however faint, of its presence to reward the quest of the earnest antiquary. But in the central part of its course, where it has left the busy haunts of men and climbed the bleak moorlands and the steep basaltic cliffs of Western Northumberland and Eastern Cumberland, it still exists in what its great historian, Dr. Bruce, used to call "an encouraging state of preservation". For twenty miles or more it goes striding over mountain and moor, religiously climbing every cliff and dipping down into every hollow of the sharply outlined, serrated, whinstone range. Sometimes we see only the rough rubble-work which formed the core of the wall, but more often the well-hewn square blocks which faced its northern and southern sides are still visible. The height attained by it is in one or two places as much as nine feet, but its more usual altitude is four to five feet. It was probably when perfect about seventeen feet high; and its width, as we know from the existing remains, varied from six to eight feet. The line of the wall once fixed, its builders seem to have pursued a nearly uniform plan, regardless of the help which they might have derived from natural defences. Thus in one place it crowns the heights of some steep basaltic cliffs at whose feet lies a small Northumbrian lake. No desperation of bravery would ever have caused a Brigantian chief to dash across that lake and climb those pinnacles of columnar basalt: still even here the wall pursues its undeviating course, and, so far as we know, retained its undiminished height. It is possible, however, that in such a case as this it was meant as a defence, not against barbarians, but against the weather. Snowstorms sometimes sweep violently across these

CHAP. V. bleak moorlands, and it may have been thought desirable to provide the Roman sentinel, pacing backwards and forwards between camp and camp, with some shelter from their fury.

Along the line of the wall are situated fortified enclosures of three kinds which now go by the names of camps, mile-castles and turrets. The *camps*, of which there were seventeen, between Tyne and Solway, and which were probably called by the Romans *Prætenturæ* or *Stationes*, vary in size from three to six acres. They were destined for the housing of one cohort—a body of men varying in size from 600 to 1,000—with, no doubt, a certain number of camp-followers, and in some cases a considerable troop of horses. Public buildings, known by antiquaries as the prætorium, the forum and the like, are to be found generally in the centre of the camp, sometimes on the side most exposed to the enemy's attacks: and the quarters of the officers may generally be distinguished from those of the common soldiers by the elaborate arrangements for warming them, known as hypocausts. In these the floor of the room is supported on ranges of short pillars (generally about eight or nine inches high), between which the hot air circulated, being brought by flues from the furnace at a corner of the camp, in which it is evident that the fuel used was often the coal of Northumberland. The great number of oyster-shells, the beef-bones and mutton-bones found near many of the camps give us an indication of the food supplied to the officers, perhaps also to some of the privates. Many interesting illustrations of the immense length of time that the Roman occupation of Britain endured may be derived from these *Prætenturæ*. Thus we have several inscriptions recording the repair of a granary or a temple ruined by age (*vetustate conlapsum*): and in the sacred well of the nymph Coventina, just outside the camp of Procolitia, there were found 16,000 coins ranging over a period from A.D. 100 to 300 which had been thrown into the well by generations of Roman soldiers as votive offerings to the goddess.

Besides the larger camps, there were, as has been said, also smaller forts, erected at regular intervals of a thousand Roman paces, which are now known by the designation *mile-castles*; and other still smaller enclosures, hardly more than sentry boxes, about three to the mile, which are called, not very aptly, *turrets*, and of which very few specimens still remain.

The soldiers by whom the line of the wall was defended did not belong to the legions, though legionaries had been employed in its construction. They belonged to various auxiliary corps recruited in the outlying provinces of the empire, and they were theoretically less Roman, less Italian, than their comrades enlisted in the legions, though this distinction was practically to a large extent breaking down in the second and third centuries of the empire. While Britons were being enlisted for service abroad, Asturians from Spain, Frisians and Batavians from Holland, Tungrians from Belgium, Lingones from Gaul, even Dalmatians and Dacians from the distant provinces which bore their names, were tramping from station to station along the mighty wall of Hadrian, bathing in the chilly waters of the Tyne, or hunting the deer on the misty slopes of Cross Fell. Most gladly would we learn how these detachments of soldiers, which for something like three centuries guarded the British *Limes Imperii*, were recruited; whether fresh drafts came, for instance, from Spain and from Dalmatia to replace the veterans who had earned their discharge, or whether the sons of the barracks kept the barracks full, in which case there would be probably an ever-increasing strain of British blood in the liminary garrisons. But on this point we lack definite information, which may possibly be supplied to us by the spade and the pick-axe of future excavators.

The total number of actual soldiers on the line of the wall has been computed at 10,000. In addition to these there would undoubtedly be a certain number of domestic servants, grooms, camp-followers of various kinds, besides the wives and concubines of the soldiers, so that we may probably conjecture the population of the *Limes* at not less than 20,000, a much larger number of persons than is to be found in that beautiful but solitary region to-day. Not only the numbers but the nationality of these vanished dwellers by the Tyne and Irthing strike us by their strange contrast with the present. Besides the Asturian and Dalmatian soldiers there must have been merchants and money-lenders and camp-followers of all kinds, speaking many tongues, upon these wind-swept moorlands. In the museum at South Shields is a sepulchral monument representing a woman seated, holding in her right hand a jewel-box, in her left implements of needlework. Underneath is a bilingual inscription,

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telling us in Latin that the figure represents "Regina, freed-woman and wife of Barate the Palmyrene, herself of the [British] nation of the Catuallauni, who died at the age of thirty". In characters akin to Hebrew the Oriental part of the inscription says simply, "Regina, the freedwoman of Barate. Alas!" The blended nationality, the British girl bought, enfranchised, loved and too soon lost by the Syrian,—merchant perchance or usurer,—who followed the flight of the eagles of Rome, are all brought before us by these few roughly carved lines, and they tell a story of world-wide empire, in which, perhaps, the Britain of our own day could offer the closest parallel to Rome.

Under the Emperor Antoninus Pius (138-161), the successor of Hadrian, another wall was built, some fifty or sixty miles north of the first, between the Firths of Forth and of Clyde. There were no stones in this wall, which was made of layers of turf, and, moreover, it has suffered cruelly (from an archaeological point of view) through the operations necessary first for the cutting of a canal and afterwards for the building of a railroad between the two seas; but an abundance of inscribed stones tell us much concerning the names and occupations of the soldiers by whom it was garrisoned, and abundantly confirm the testimony of historians who attribute its erection to Antoninus Pius (138-161), one of the best and noblest of Roman emperors. Doubtless, at the time of its building, the country between the two walls (comprising the county of Northumberland and the whole south of Scotland) was subject to Roman rule. The precise period when that district was finally lost to the empire is still unknown to us. The philosopher emperor, Marcus Aurelius (161-180), was closely occupied with the defence of the empire against the barbarians of the Middle Danube, and his name is scarcely mentioned in connexion with the history of Britain. We are told, however, that "the Britannic war pressed heavily on his mind," and that he sent a second Agricola to settle it. This general of Marcus, Calpurnius Agricola, was not, as far as we know, descended from his great namesake, the general of Domitian.

With the accession of Commodus (180-192), son of Marcus, the long and glorious period of the patriot emperors came to an end, and the ruin of the empire began. The foolish and head-strong boy, who was now lord of the Roman world, sacrificed

some of the best generals in his service to his jealous and cowardly suspicions, and while he was devoting himself to the bloody pastimes of the amphitheatre, allowed the necessary work of the defence of the frontier to fall behind. "The tribes in the island of Britain," we are told by Dion Cassius, "overpassed the wall which separated them from the Roman armies, committed widespread ravages, and cut to pieces a Roman general with the troops under his command." Which of the two walls is here referred to is not easy to say. It may be conjectured, however, that the wall of Antoninus had been already broken down in the reign of Marcus, during the "heavily pressing" Britannic war, and that we have here a description of one of those barbaric demolitions of which we find such abundant traces in the wall of Hadrian. To chastise the barbarians and to restore the broken *Limes* Commodus sent probably his best general, the sturdy old soldier, Ulpian Marcellus. If discipline were relaxed in the legions on the British frontier, here was certainly the man to restore it. St. Paul himself was not more resolute to "buffet his body and bring it into subjection" than this chief of many legions. A scanty sleeper himself, he framed ingenious plans to keep his centurions and officers at night harassed and awake. An old man with toothless and tender gums, he would eat only the stale hard bread which he had brought from Rome, in order that he might not fall into gluttony and excess. Such was the man who restored for a time the honour of the Roman arms, and who chastised the barbarians so thoroughly that all men marvelled that he was not, on his return to Rome, condemned to death by the jealous Commodus.

The assassination of Commodus (192), followed in less than three months by the murder of his excellent successor, Pertinax, and by the sale of the imperial dignity to the highest bidder, introduced a dreadful period of civil war in which the whole empire had nearly fallen asunder in ruin. Of the three candidates for the purple, Pescennius Niger in Syria, Albinus in Britain, and Septimius Severus on the Middle Danube, Severus, who had the advantage of being nearest to the capital and was therefore first acclaimed as emperor, was also at last the victorious one, but he had a hard fight, especially with Albinus, who led the three legions which still composed the army of Britain to a bloody battle in the plains of Lyons. The confusion of the times and

CHAP. V. the absence of the Roman legions were undoubtedly favourable to the restless barbarians. The wall of Hadrian was broken through; the Mæatae, who lived immediately to the north of it, burst into the province, and the governor, Virius Lupus, purchased a precarious peace by paying a large sum to the invaders. It may be easily imagined that the condition of Britain after such an ignominious conclusion of a campaign, and even after the return of the disaffected legions of Albinus, was far from satisfactory, but it was apparently not till 208 that Septimius Severus set forth from Rome to bring the affairs of the province into order. He was already more than sixty years of age, his joints were racked by gout and his heart was sore through the fierce dissensions of his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, and the evils which these foreboded for the empire. Yet even these dissensions urged him the more to undertake the expedition, for he hoped that common labours and common dangers might in some degree tend to draw the two hostile brothers together, and that the necessary hardships of a camp life under our northern skies might restore some of the moral tone which had been lost amid the vicious indulgences of Rome. In this hope, it is true, he was completely disappointed. The hatred of Caracalla, especially for his brother, waxed fiercer and fiercer, and included also his father, for whose death he longed with scarcely concealed eagerness. Borne in his litter, on account of his sufferings from gout, the brave old soldier traversed the greater part of Caledonia, hewing down forests and throwing causeways across marshes; slaying, of course, multitudes of barbarians, but losing also 50,000 of his own troops (so we are told, but the estimate is probably exaggerated) by hostile ambuscades, severities of weather, even by the swords of his own soldiers, who often killed their own comrades to prevent their falling into the hands of the barbarians. He had a mind, too, to explore the secrets of Nature, and compared with wonder the all-but perpetual day of midsummer and the scanty measure of light at midwinter in northern Scotland.

The dates of Severus' campaign are only obscurely indicated, but it seems probable that by the year 210 the subjection of the Caledonians had been apparently completed. Severus, accompanied by Caracalla and his staff, was riding on horseback, notwithstanding his physical infirmity, towards a certain place of meeting which had been appointed for the barbarians, that they

might surrender their swords and swear fidelity to the empire. Caracalla, riding behind him, drew his sword and made his horse rear and prance, intending, apparently, to be brought into collision with his father and thus to kill him by apparent misadventure. A warning shout from some member of the staff caused the emperor to look round and the parricidal design was foiled. Severus said nothing, but rode calmly on, took his place on the tribunal and went through the ceremony that had been arranged. He then sent for his son and two of his chief ministers (one of them the great lawyer Papinian), having ordered that a naked sword should be placed in the middle of the tent. He sternly rebuked his son for the impious deed which he had meditated in the sight of the allies and the enemies of Rome, and then, changing his tone, said: "If you still desire to slay me, here is the sword, draw it and destroy me. Or, since I have associated you with me in the empire, give your orders to Papinian and let him be my executioner. You are young and strong: I am old and shall lay me down to rest without a sigh." The invitation was not accepted, for Caracalla shrank now from the guilt of manifest parricide. But the father's words revealed too plainly the bitterness of his soul. Many cruelties and much needless bloodshed had marked his own ascent to power, but they were surely all avenged by the misery of that day in the land of the Caledonians.

It was possibly in this same year 210, at any rate during his stay in Britain, that Severus completed a great and necessary work—the repair of the wall of Hadrian. So grievously had this long barrier suffered at the hands of the barbarians that reconstruction seemed to the soldiers engaged in it like an actual fresh construction. It is only thus that we can explain the language of the careless, inaccurate authors of the *Historia Augusta*, who, forgetful apparently of the fact that they have already assigned the credit of the work to Hadrian, now say of Severus: "The greatest glory of his reign is that he fortified Britain by a wall drawn across the island and ending on both sides with the ocean, for which achievement he received the name of Britannicus". Attempts have been made to explain the apparent discrepancy between the two accounts by assigning part of the fortification to Hadrian and part to Severus—for instance, the earthen mounds to the former and the stone wall

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Severus was doomed to discover, like Edward Plantagenet a thousand years later, how deceptive were victories over the Northern mountaineers. Next year (211) the Mæatae were again up in arms and were joined by the Caledonians. Filled with wrath he ordered his troops again to invade their land, repeating often the lines of Homer:—

Let not one of the race escape the steepness of ruin,
None, your avenging hands, not e'en the babe at the bosom.

He was preparing himself once more to set forth in his litter in the short dark winter days for the northern moorlands, when sickness attacked him, aided, some men thought, by Caracalla and the physicians, and on February 4, 211, the old man died at Eburacum. He had lived sixty-five years and reigned seventeen, and he was the last Roman emperor of whose doings in our land we have any detailed description. Scarcely had Severus died when his sons, renouncing apparently all thoughts of vengeance on the Caledonians, left the wintry north and returned to the delights of Rome. The hardly suppressed enmity of the brothers now broke out into open flame; and after various ineffectual attempts, always foiled by the younger man's vigilance, Caracalla's centurions slew Geta in his mother's arms. Where-soever the name of his victim occurred on the monuments, it was erased by order of the murderer. This strange manifestation of posthumous vindictiveness has left traces in our own country (for instance on a monument in the abbey-church of Hexham) as well as on the Arch of Severus in Rome, and in an inscription near the Second Cataract of the Nile.

Caracalla himself was assassinated in 217, but emperors of his kindred wore the imperial purple down to the year 235, and thus the dynasty of Severus may be said to have lasted for more than forty years. Both in coins and inscriptions the princes of this house have left an exceptionally full record in the British province. From 235, the date of the murder of Severus Alexander (an excellent young emperor, last of his line), down to 284, a period of almost half a century, the Roman empire

was in a state of absolute disintegration. The barbarians were pressing fiercely on its frontiers. This was the era of the first and terrible invasion of the Goths (244-270), an invasion which after awful losses on both sides, and the death of a Roman emperor from the pestilence caused by the war, ended in the abandonment to the barbarians of the great province of Dacia, won for the empire by the victories of Trajan. It was the era, too, of a most humiliating defeat by the Persians, and the conversion of a Roman emperor into a footstool for the Persian king. But more dangerous, if possible, than the external foes of the empire, was its internal disorganisation. In these forty-nine years no fewer than fifteen emperors were recognised at Rome, besides a multitude of obscure competitors (commonly known as the thirty tyrants) in the provinces. It is needless to say that the reigns, which thus lasted on an average little more than three years, were generally terminated by mutiny and murder; needless to dilate on the miserable collapse of law and order which inevitably followed from such continual changes in the depository of supreme power in the state. Of this dismal period there is, naturally enough, no written record in the annals of Britain. Undoubtedly the wave of Roman influence ebbed; we can hardly be wrong in thinking that now, at any rate, if not before, the country between the two walls was permanently abandoned to the barbarians. The Northumbrian camps were probably also sacked, and we may, if we will, read some pages of that long unwritten chapter in the ruined walls of the camps erected by Hadrian and Severus, in the places where fire has evidently passed upon the corridors of a Roman villa, destroying the elaborate bathing arrangements of tribune or centurion.

For the empire as a whole this interregnum of anarchy came to an end in the year 284 when Diocletian, the second Augustus, ascended the throne. This man, of obscure, even of servile origin, showed statesmanship of a rare order, rescuing the water-logged and all-but foundering vessel of the state from destruction, and steering it into a harbour in which it rode safely for a hundred years. His chief expedient was the division of the imperial power, in recognition of the fact that the vast fabric of the empire could no longer be upheld by a single ruler, and that if the supreme Augustus would not have rivals he must have

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Having declared himself emperor and having even con-

¹ The term "Menapian" may apply to either country.

strained the two legitimate Augusti to recognise him as a quasi-partner of their dignity, Carausius actually succeeded in maintaining his position for six years (287-293), perhaps the only time in the history of our island when there has been a veritable "Emperor of Britain". Of the character of his government we have unfortunately no information except some sentences of invective from professional rhetoricians; but at least the numismatist has reason to remember his reign which has supplied our museums with a multitude of coins. In these, while the obverse represents the head of the self-made emperor, a middle-aged common-place man who looks like a self-made manufacturer, the reverse bears sometimes the well-known Roman emblems of the wolf and the twins; or a lion with a thunderbolt in his mouth symbolises the valour of Augustus; or a female milking a cow the fertility of his kingdom; while in some of them the association with Jovius and Herculius (the titles of the two legitimate Augusti) attests his share in the imperial partnership.

Notwithstanding this interchange of compliments it was felt at headquarters that it was time that this separatist empire should come to an end, and it was in fact chiefly to accomplish this that Constantius had been created Cæsar of the west. The history of the campaign has to be gathered with difficulty from the rhetoric of Mamertinus and Eumenius, two professional panegyrist of the conqueror, but we seem to perceive that Carausius or his pirate allies still held the harbour of Boulogne, and that it was necessary to seal up the channel with beams of timber and cargoes of stone to prevent their exit. Stormy weather then delayed for some time the operations of Constantius, and meanwhile Carausius had been assassinated by one of his officers named Allectus, who at once assumed the purple and struck coins describing himself as Pious, Fortunate and August.

For nearly three years Allectus reigned. At last, in 296, Constantius set forth for the overthrow of this new usurper. "Other emperors," cries his flatterer, "have received the credit of victories won under their auspices though they themselves were tarrying in Rome. You, unconquered Cæsar! put yourself at the head of your troops; you gave the signal to start, when sea and sky were alike turbid, notwithstanding the hesitation of the other leaders. The wind struck obliquely on your sail: you

CHAP. made your vessel tack. All the soldiers, enraptured, cried : ' Let
 V. us follow Cæsar wherever he leads us'. Fortune did indeed
 favour you. We have heard from the companions of your
 voyage how the mists hung low over the back of the sea so that
 the hostile fleet stationed in ambush round the Isle of Wight
 never saw you pass. As soon as they touched the shore of
 Britain your unconquered army set fire to all their ships, urged
 surely, by some warning voice of your divinity, to seek their
 safety only in fight and victory." And so, with more of these
 pompous periods, the orator describes how the usurper Allectus
 fled as soon as he saw the imperial fleet, and fleeing fell into
 the hands of the soldiers of Constantius, how half dead with
 terror he thus hastened to his death, and by his neglect of all
 military precautions handed over an easy victory to the imperial
 troops. " Scarcely one Roman was killed while all the hills and
 plains around were covered with the ugly bodies of the slain.
 Those dresses worn in barbarian fashion, those locks of bright
 red hue were now all defiled with dust and gore. That standard
 bearer of rebellion himself [Allectus], having in the hope of
 concealment stripped off the purple robe which he had degraded
 by wearing it, now lay with scarce a rag to cover his nakedness."¹
 The orator then goes on to describe in words of turgid ob-
 scurity how some of the soldiers of Constantius, parted from the
 main body of the fleet in the fog which had baffled the look-out
 of Allectus, wandered to the " oppidum Londiniense," and there
 were fortunate enough to meet and defeat the remains of the
 " mercenary multitude" of the usurper's forces which had taken
 refuge in that town. We thank even the bombastic orator for
 some slight indication of what was passing in the streets of the
 little Roman London at the end of the third century.

It was, as we have seen, in the year 296 that Britain was
 recovered for the empire by Constantius. Ten years afterwards
 that emperor, in failing health and knowing that he had not
 long to live, was looking anxiously eastwards for the arrival of
 his favourite son, the offspring of his concubine Helena, the

¹ Notwithstanding the positive statement of the panegyrist that the victory
 over Allectus was won by Constantius in person, the merit of it is assigned by
 some of the historians to the Prætorian Prefect Asclepiodotus. It is, perhaps,
 impossible to frame a satisfactory narrative out of the very fragmentary materials
 at our disposal.

brave and brilliant soldier Constantine. Diocletian and Maximian had both abdicated the empire. Constantius Chlorus was now raised from the rank of Cæsar to the higher rank of Augustus, but he shared that dignity with a jealous colleague, Galerius, who had been allowed to name the two new Cæsars. Of those two junior partners Constantine was not one. Worse than that, he was retained as a kind of hostage at the Bithynian palace of Galerius, and it was doubtful whether father and son would ever be allowed to meet again. But in a moment of irresolution or of alarm Galerius gave the desired permission, and Constantine, not risking the chance of its withdrawal, departed from the court without formal leave-taking and hurried across Europe to Boulogne where his father was then residing. It was currently reported two centuries later that in order to prevent the possibility of pursuit he ordered the post-horses at each imperial *mutatio*, which he did not himself require, to be either killed or so mutilated as to make them unfit for travel. Gibbon derides this "very foolish story," but it is not easy to understand why, if untrue, it should have obtained such general acceptance. L

However this may be, it is certain that Constantine arrived safely at his father's headquarters at Boulogne, shared with him the labours of a short campaign against the Picts, and was present in his chamber, in the Prætorian palace at Eburacum, when, worn out with toil and disease, Constantius Chlorus breathed his last (July 25, 306). His own elevation to the imperial dignity by the soldiers, who enthusiastically hailed him as Augustus, followed immediately after, and we may fairly suppose that the same place which had witnessed the death of the father witnessed also the accession of the son. He speedily quitted Britain in order to take part in that desperate game of empire, with partners constantly changing and occasionally putting one another to death, from which after eighteen years he finally arose sole emperor. With all this later life of his, with his adoption of Christianity, with his choice of a new capital by the Bosphorus, with his convocation of the Nicene council, we have here no concern; but it is worth while to emphasise the fact that a reign so immensely important for all the after-history of Europe and of the world began in our island by the slow, wide-wandering river Ouse. Thus in a certain sense York is the mother-city of Constantinople. L

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We come now to another blank half century in the history of Roman Britain. Save for an obscure hint of the presence of the Emperor Constans, son of Constantine, at some time between 337 and 350, we have scarcely any information as to British affairs from the proclamation of Constantine in 306 to the despatch of the elder Theodosius to Britain in 367. This general, father of the more celebrated emperor of the same name, was sent by the Emperor Valentinian to restore some degree of order in the unhappy island, which had suffered from rapacious governors, from accusations of disloyalty cruelly avenged, and more recently from bloody inroads of the Picts and Scots with whom were now joined a tribe who are called "the most valiant nation of the Attacotti," but who, if we may believe the extraordinary statement of St. Jerome, were actually addicted to the practice of cannibalism. In the three years of Theodosius' command, the northern invaders were driven back to their mountains, the inhabitants of "that ancient town which was formerly called Londinium but which (in the fourth century) "more often bore the name Augusta" were relieved from their terrors: a new province, the geographical position of which is not made known to us, was staked out and received the name Valentia, in compliment to the emperor. For the time, but probably not for a long time, the blessings of "the Roman peace" were restored to Britain. The general who had achieved this result was shortly after executed at Carthage, a victim to the cowardly suspicion and jealousy of the Emperor Valens, brother of Valentinian. Soon, however, the whirligig of Time brought about a strange revenge. Valens himself perished in the awful catastrophe of Hadrianople, the battle in which the Visigoths utterly routed a great Roman army, the battle which first brought home to the minds of men the possibility of the collapse of the Roman empire. The nephew of Valens, the young and generous Gratian, looking round for some man who as partner of his throne might avert the menaced ruin, found none more suitable than the son and namesake of the murdered pacifier of Britain, and accordingly, in the year 379, Theodosius (whom historians have surnamed the Great) was hailed as Augustus at Constantinople.

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But now did Britain begin to rear that crop of rival emperors who were the curse of Europe during some of the

dying days of the western empire. In 383 a general named Maximus, of whom an unfavourable witness, the ecclesiastic Orosius, testifies that he was "vigorous and honest and would have been worthy of the diadem if he had not, to obtain it, broken his oath of loyalty" was almost against his will declared emperor by the army. He crossed over into Gaul, carrying with him no doubt the bulk of his army. He skilfully played on the disaffection of Gratian's legions, offended at the partiality which he had showed for his barbarian auxiliaries; a general mutiny was organised; Gratian fled for his life, was pursued and murdered near the city of Vienne. For five years Theodosius had to endure the enforced partnership in the empire of his benefactor's murderer: then in 388 the smouldering hatred broke out into a flame, and after a hard struggle Maximus was defeated and slain at Aquileia, on the northern shore of the Adriatic (388). According to traditions current two centuries later, this usurpation of Maximus and his consequent withdrawal of the British legions in order to vindicate his claims to the empire, were most important factors in the overthrow of Roman power in Britain.

A large army, on paper, still existed in the island. It was probably about the year 402 that the last edition of the *Notitia Imperii*, that edition which has been handed down to posterity, was issued from the imperial chancery. In this most valuable document—an army list and official directory of both the eastern and western portions of the empire—we still find cohorts of infantry and wings of cavalry stationed *per lineam valli* (along the line of the Wall) as they had been for three centuries. We may, however, doubt whether any Roman soldiers were actually keeping the line of the Wall so late as 402. It is remarkable that very few coins have been found in the ruins of the camps of a later date than the reign of Gratian (375-83). If there were any such military units still there, they were probably but the ghosts of their former selves.

To understand the political condition of our island at this time we must have recourse to the pages of the *Notitia*, which elaborately sets forth the various degrees of the civil and military hierarchy of the empire. On one page we find:—

CHAP. V. THE ILLUSTRIOUS PRÆTORIAN PREFECT OF THE GAULS.

"Under his disposition are the Vicarii of Spain, of the Seven Provinces of Gaul and of Britain."

On a later page :—

"The Spectabilis VICARIUS BRITANNIARUM."

Under his disposition were five (civil) governors :—

The Consularis of	Maxima Cæsariensis.
"	Valentia.
The Præses of	Britannia Prima.
"	Britannia Secunda.
"	Flavia Cæsariensis.

The limits and geographical position of these five districts (we are not entitled to call them provinces) have not yet been ascertained, though they have been often conjectured. It may be hoped that the discovery of further inscriptions may enable us to fix them decisively.¹

Besides these civil officers there were, according to the re-arrangement of offices made by Diocletian, certain military commandants, called *comites* and *duces*, of whom the count was, contrary to medieval usage, generally of higher rank than the duke.

The *Notitia* introduces us to three of these officers :—

1. The Comes Britanniaë.
2. The Comes Litoris Saxonici per Britanniam.
3. The Dux Britanniarum.

As to the first it gives us no information beyond the simple fact that the Provincia Britannia was "under his disposition". The obvious conjecture is that numbers 2 and 3 were subject to him, but this is not asserted, and it perhaps militates against this theory that they, like him, belonged to the second grade in the official hierarchy, the *spectabiles*. It is possible that his special duty was the defence of Mid-Britain against the imperfectly subdued tribes of the Welsh mountains, and that the Second legion at Caerleon and the Twentieth at Chester were for a time under his orders for this purpose. The more interesting title for us is that of "The Count of the Saxon Shore in Britain". He had

¹It has been shown by Mr. Haverfield that Britannia Prima included Cirencester (*Arch. Oxon.*, p. 220).

under his command the garrisons of seven fortified places dotted around the eastern and south-eastern coast of England, from the Wash to Beachy Head.¹ He had also at his bidding the prefect of the Second "Augustan" legion, which had been moved from the quarters it had so long occupied at Caerleon-upon-Usk to Rutupiæ, or Richborough, close to the Isle of Thanet. The meaning of this arrangement is obvious. Like the Martello towers, which were reared along the same coasts last century, these fortresses were raised and garrisoned in order to defend that part of the projecting coast of Britain which was most exposed to the attacks of the Saxon pirates, already no doubt swarming in these seas in the fourth century, and to become far more formidable in the fifth century. The words, "per Britanniam," added to the title of the *spectabilis comes*, are used because, as the *Notitia* informs us, there was another Saxon shore which needed to be guarded on the other side of the channel; and, taken in this connexion, there is a special interest for us in the words of Apollinaris Sidonius, bishop of Clermont,² which show that in the succeeding century the coasts of Gaul, as well as of Britain, were kept in constant alarm by the Saxon sea-rovers.

3. Of the Duke of the Britains we have only here to remark that he appears to have had under his disposition the Sixth legion, stationed at York, and numerous detachments of auxiliary troops in Yorkshire, Westmorland and Lancashire, and *item per lineam valli* (also along the line of the wall) the various auxiliary cohorts raised in Spain, Gaul and Germany, to whom reference has already been made, and who are to all students of the literature of the Roman wall among the most interesting elements of the army of the empire.

Meanwhile events were rapidly ripening towards the catastrophe which was to make the solemn *Notitia Imperii* a mere hunting-ground for the archæologist. In 395 died the great Emperor Theodosius, who had for a generation staved off the ruin which seemed inevitable at the death of Valens. He

¹ They were Branodunum (Brancaster in Norfolk), Gariannonum (Caistor, near Yarmouth), Othona (at the mouth of the Blackwater in Essex?), Regulbium (Reculver in Essex), Rutupiæ (Richborough), Dubræ (Dover), Lemannæ (Lymne), Anderida (close to Beachy Head), Portus Adurni (not yet identified).

² Epist. viii. 6.

CHAP. V. was succeeded by his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, who, with about equal incapacity, presided over the collapse of the eastern and the western half of the empire. For the first thirteen years, however, of the reign of Honorius his incapacity was somewhat veiled by the courage and ability of the Vandal soldier Stilicho, whom Theodosius had left as the guardian of his son. When in the year 400 Alaric, the far-famed King of the Goths, entered Italy, Stilicho undertook the long and wearisome campaigns, partly, as it would seem, north of the Alps, but chiefly in what we now call Piedmont and Lombardy, by which Alaric's designs on Rome were foiled, and at last in the year 403 the Goths were driven forth from Italy. But in order to avert the danger which thus threatened the heart of the empire, it was necessary seriously to weaken the defence of its extremities. One of the three Roman legions quartered in Britain (probably the Twentieth) was recalled to Italy and apparently never returned. Three years after the repulse of Alaric came in 406 the great cataclysm of the irruption of barbarian hordes, Vandals, Sueves, Burgundians and Alans into Gaul, which led, though not immediately, to the severance of Gaul and Spain from the empire. The inrush of the barbarians spread terror even into Britain, and caused the soldiers, weary of the inept government which was manifestly ruining the empire, to elect an emperor on their own account, and set up, as it were, a "government of national defence". But revolutionary rulers of this kind are more easily proclaimed than established. First a certain Marcus was proclaimed: then as they found that "he did not suit their tempers" he was slain, and a British citizen named Gratian was invested with the purple, crowned with the diadem and surrounded with a bodyguard. After four months Gratian also was deposed and murdered, and thereupon a private soldier of the meanest rank, named Constantine, who had nothing but that great historic name to recommend him, was robed in the imperial purple. He at once crossed over into Gaul, where he maintained himself with varying fortune for three or four years, being even once, in 409, for a short time recognised as a legitimate partner in the empire by Honorius. With his later fortunes, however, and with the whole story of the fall of the Roman empire in the west we have no further concern. We have heard of the exit of the legions, but we never hear of their return, and we are

probably justified in fixing on the date 407, the period of the usurper Constantine's departure from our island, as the end of the Roman occupation of Britain. CHAP. V.

Writers and readers must alike lament the extremely jejune character of the history of that occupation. Since we lost the guidance of Tacitus, we have had scarcely anything that could be called a continuous and intelligible narrative of events; nor, unless some happy fortune could restore to us the lost books of Ammianus, is such literary assistance now to be expected. We are thus thrown back on such information as inscriptions, buried ruins, finds of coins may afford to the patient archæologist. And these have done something for us, though we may reasonably hope that the judicious use of the spade and pickaxe, guided by science and not by mere capricious quest for curiosities, may do much more.

We may here notice very briefly some of the chief contributions which archæological research has thus made to history.

1. Of all the marks made by our imperial conquerors in this island, the most distinct and ineffaceable was that made by them as road-makers. Often indeed their works survive only as boundaries between parishes or counties, but sometimes we can see the track still going straight to its mark over hill and dale, and we say instinctively, "That must be a Roman road". It was certainly not mere unskillfulness or ignorance of the science of road-making which led the *stratores viarum* to draw their lines across the country with this uncompromising directness. The prime object of the officer charged with the work was essentially military, and for watching the movements of barbarian insurgents or preventing the ravages of marauders, the crests of the hills successively surmounted by the marching legions were invaluable posts of observation.

The chief highways of the Romans, known to us for the most part by the names given to them by our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, converging, as most of them do, towards "the town anciently named Londinium," coincide in a remarkable manner with the main lines of our modern railroad communication. The Watling Street, running from the neighbourhood of London to Etocetum (a little north of Birmingham) and thence to Deva (Chester) and so on into Lancashire, corresponds with the London and North-Western Railway; while another road which generally

CHAP. V. bears the same name and which traverses Yorkshire and Northumberland is less accurately represented by the North-Eastern. Erming Street, from London to Doncaster, is often not far from the line of the Great Northern; and Abona (on the Avon near Bristol) and Isca Damnoniorum (Exeter) were reached by roads bearing now no special names, but imitating in their general course the Great Western and South-Western Railways. One great artery, the Fosse Way, may be clearly traced between Axminster (in Devonshire) and the great colony which now bears the name of Lincoln; but this road has no representative in our railway system. The imperfect character of the Roman conquest of the district which we now call Wales is evidenced by the feeble and fragmentary traces of Roman roads now to be found in the principality. There was, however, a road traversing the country from north to south, from Carnarvon to Carmarthen, and thence by a somewhat circuitous course to Caerleon-upon-Usk, and part of this road is still known by the name of Sarn Helen. Is it possible that there is in this name some vague and inaccurate remembrance of the mother of Constantine?

2. The sepulchral inscriptions which have been discovered in large numbers in various parts of the island give us a little insight into the domestic relations of the Roman garrison, as the votive altars do into their sentiments concerning religion. The former class of inscriptions always begin in the usual Roman style with a dedication to the *Dii Manes*, the shade-gods, or, as we should say, the spirit of the departed one, and often add some endearing epithet to the name, such as "a well-deserving husband," "a most religious wife who lived for thirty-three years an unspotted life". Where the age is mentioned it is most frequently that either of a child or a person in middle life, the numbers between thirty and forty being of frequent occurrence. This is probably accounted for by the fact that veterans, whether officers or privates, would generally return to their native land to spend the last years of their lives. The religious inscriptions bring before us some interesting phenomena, but are so far characterised by one memorable omission, that of the new religion which was destined to supplant the old. The ordinary Olympian deities, Jupiter, Mars, Bellona, Neptune, are of course commemorated, though in a somewhat

perfunctory fashion ; and the official divinity of the emperors, living and dead, is duly recognised. But we have also a number of altars to gods bearing uncouth Celtic names : Belatucader, Anociticus, Cocidius and the like, plainly showing that the Roman soldiers, like the Assyrian settlers in Palestine,¹ wished to keep on good terms with the gods of the land. Even more conspicuous is the devotion of the Roman soldiers to "the unconquered Mithras". The strange Oriental cult called Mithraism, probably a form of sun-worship, spread rapidly through the Roman empire in the second and third centuries, and seemed likely at one time to be a successful rival to Christianity. It is marvellous to see in the palace of the Roman emperors at Ostia a chapel with all the emblems of Mithraic worship, and then to find the remains of a similar chapel with precisely similar emblems, though broken and mutilated, on the bare hillside of Housesteads in Northumberland. The favourite symbol of this strange dead religion is a young man, crowned with a tiara, bestriding a bull, into whose side he is driving deep a short sword or dagger. Whatever this curious bas-relief may represent—and some have seen in it a symbol of the sun, the unconquered hero entering the constellation Taurus—it was no doubt faithfully reproduced in that little chapel on our northern moorlands, and it is perfectly figured on a small marble tablet lately discovered under the pavement of a London street while the workmen were repairing a sewer.

Thus, of so many strange pagan superstitions we have abundant vestiges, but of Christianity in Roman Britain we have singularly few traces. It is true that here and there among undoubtedly Roman remains the Christian monogram (X P) or Christian formulæ such as *Vivas in Deo* or *Spes in Deo* have been met with.² In the recent excavations at Silchester a small building which is almost certainly a Christian basilica has also been discovered, but these are slight evidences for the existence of a faith which was certainly professed by multitudes ere the legions quitted Britain. As to the actual date of the introduction of Christianity into our island we must be contented to confess our ignorance. The story contained

¹ 2 Kings xvii. 27.

² See *English Historical Review*, xi., 420, for a list of these evidences of Christianity in Britain, drawn up by Mr. Haverfield.

CHAP. V. in the book of Papal Lives, which was reproduced by Bede, that a certain King Lucius of Britain, about the year 180, sent over to Pope Eleutherus, asking for missionaries to instruct his people in the Christian faith, must be dismissed as the fable of a later age ; nor can we speak with much certainty concerning the so-called proto-martyr, St. Alban, who is said to have suffered for the faith in the persecution of Diocletian. There can be no doubt, however, that there were some converts to Christianity in Britain during the second century, and in the third century it must have become the dominant religion here as in the rest of the empire. Towards the end of that century our island, which produced so many rival Cæsars, produced also one of the most famous of heretics, Pelagius, and, of course, the existence of his heterodoxy implies also the existence of the orthodoxy out of which it sprang. Thus, though we cannot help sometimes relying on the "argument from silence," the present condition of our archæological information concerning the existence of Christianity in Roman Britain shows us how untrustworthy may sometimes be that very argument.

3. It is, however, partly in reliance on such negative evidence that we venture to assert that the Roman occupation of Britain was before all things a military occupation, and that they either did not attempt, or did not succeed in the attempt, largely to win over the inhabitants to their own ways and to accustom them to that civic life which had been the cradle of their own civilisation. In Italy itself, in Gaul and in most of the provinces of western Europe we find abundant evidence of the municipalisation of the conquered tribes. "Decurio" and "Duumvir," which we may represent by town councillor and mayor, are indications of rank which we meet with continually on provincial tombstones in those countries ; but in Britain amid the crowd of inscriptions to centurions, tribunes and other military officers who served here we meet with only one here and there to civic dignitaries. "The highest form of town life known to the Romans was naturally rare in Britain. The *colonia* and *municipia*, the privileged municipalities, with institutions on the Italian model, which mark the supreme development of Roman political civilisation in the provinces, were not common in Britain. We know only of five: Colchester, Lincoln, Gloucester, and York were *coloniae*, Verulam probably a *municipium*, and despite their

legal rank none of these could count among the greater cities of the empire. Four of them, indeed, probably owed their existence not to any development of Britain but to the need of providing for time-expired soldiers discharged from the army.”¹

There was, of course, a certain number of towns such as Londinium which had sprung out of pre-Roman settlements, some of which no doubt grew and prospered exceedingly with the growth of commerce due to the prevalence of “the Roman peace,” but these towns were apparently not modelled on the Roman pattern, and what may have been the nature of their institutions can only be a matter of conjecture.

It seems probable that the prevailing type of social organisation during the Roman period was the *villa* or great estate owned by a Roman proprietor and dotted over with the cottages of British serfs or slaves, whose labour was directed for his lord’s benefit by a *villicus* or farm bailiff, sometimes himself a slave. ✓
Whether or no this system lasted on to any great extent after the Saxon invasion (the barbarian invader seating himself in the place of power and claiming all his ousted predecessor’s rights), and whether it thus passed in the course of centuries into the feudal manor, is one of the most interesting questions now debated by our archæologists. Mr. Seebohm is the most conspicuous advocate of this Roman-villa theory, which cuts right across the theories of Kemble and Freeman, who held that the Teutonic invaders brought with them to our island and everywhere established a system of free but co-operative land-ownership, resembling that described in the *Germania* of Tacitus. The discussion, as has been said, is one of great interest to all who desire to get below the surface in the history of the past ages of Britain, but many positions will probably be won and lost before the battle is finally decided.

The same may be said of the larger question, how far the influence exerted by our Roman conquerors during the four centuries of their stay lasted on after the departure of the legions. That Britain was not assimilated as Gaul was, is admitted by all, the mere fact that Welsh is not, like French, an offshoot from Latin, being in itself a sufficient proof of the difference between the two conquests ; but why the Romanisa- ✓

¹ Quotation from Haverfield, *Victoria History of Norfolk*, i., 282.

- CHAP. tion of Britain was so much less thorough ; how far it did after
V. all extend ; and what influences modified or destroyed it ; these
are all questions still unsolved, to which, however, we may, perhaps,
some day get an answer from a more thorough and scientific
study of Celtic literature, and of Romano-British antiquities.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ANGLO-SAXON CONQUEST.

WITH the departure of the Roman legions from Britain we enter upon a period of even denser darkness than those which we have been lately traversing, nor is the veil lifted till by the mission of St. Augustine (596) our island is again brought into the family of the Christian nations of Europe. The two centuries during which the voice of authentic history is thus silent, from 407 to 596, were the period of the fall of the Roman empire in the west and the establishment in its stead of the great Teutonic kingdoms, Frankish, Burgundian, Visigothic, from which the states of modern Europe are descended.

CHAP.
✓ VI.

Owing to the extremely imperfect character of our information concerning the Anglo-Saxon conquest, which was for us the chief event of these two centuries, and the fact that scarcely any of it is contemporary, some of it obviously legendary and fabulous, it is impossible to speak with any confidence as to its details. Almost every date may be challenged: "probably" or "to the best of our knowledge" are qualifying clauses which should be prefixed to almost every statement. It may be well, however, first to set forth in broad outlines the main facts which are beyond the reach of controversy. No one doubts that about the middle of the fifth century, if not before, the Romano-Celtic inhabitants of Britain were invaded by Teutonic tribes from the shores of the German Ocean and the Baltic. The tribes chiefly concerned in the invasion were the Saxons and the Angles, but the smaller nation of the Jutes are said to have been the first to undertake a definite scheme of conquest, and it is asserted with much positiveness that they came at first as auxiliaries to help the Britons against the Picts of Caledonia and the Scots of Ireland, who were ravaging the undefended land. To the Jutes is attributed the foundation of the kingdom of Kent and a settle-

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ment in the Isle of Wight. The far more numerous Saxons who followed them established the two kingdoms of the South Saxons and East Saxons, which are represented by the modern counties of Sussex and Essex; and after the lapse of two generations the West Saxons, invading Hampshire, laid there the foundation of the great kingdom of Wessex, which gradually included almost all the country south of the Thames. Their kings eventually became lords of the whole of Britain, and were ancestors through females of the sovereign who now sits upon the throne. The Angles, who were apparently the latest comers of all, founded the kingdoms of East Anglia (Norfolk and Suffolk), Mercia (the midland counties), Deira (Yorkshire), and Bernicia (Durham, Northumberland, and East Scotland as far as the Firth of Forth).

A few words must be said as to the ethnological relations of these three tribes. It is not disputed that they all belonged to the great Low German family of nations, to which the Goths probably belonged and from which the Dutch and most of the inhabitants of northern Germany are descended. As to the little nation of the Jutes we require further information. They were once said to be identical with the Goths, and more recently they have been connected with the inhabitants of Jutland. The first identification is certainly wrong, the second, for philological reasons, is doubtful.¹ It seems that at present the question must be left in suspense.²

The Saxons were placed by the geographer, Ptolemy (who wrote early in the second century), in the country now known as Holstein, but in the fourth century the name seems to have been applied to a much wider range of people. The Saxons with whom Charlemagne waged his stubborn wars at the close of the eighth century, inhabited the whole of Westphalia, Hanover and Brunswick and other lands beside. From any part of that country our Saxon ancestors may have come.

Of the Angles, who in the first century after Christ were living on the right bank of the Elbe, near its mouth, Tacitus gives us an interesting account. He tells us that they, together

¹ See Stevenson's *Asser*, p. 166, for reasons against it.

² Possibly their name may be connected with that of the Eudoces, a tribe mentioned by Tacitus as neighbours of the Angli. But that identification, if confirmed, would not add much to our knowledge.

with the kindred tribes between Elbe and Oder, worshipped the great goddess Nerthus, whose image, ordinarily kept in the dark recesses of a sacred island, at certain seasons paraded the lands of her votaries in a chariot drawn by kine. Wherever the image of the goddess came, mirth reigned and war ceased; but when her pilgrimage was ended, the image and the chariot, returning to the dark island, were washed in a sacred lake, beneath whose waters all the slaves who had taken part in the ceremony were at once engulfed, in order to ensure their silence as to the mysteries which they had beheld. A more interesting fact for us is the close relation which, according to Tacitus, existed between the Angli and the Longobardi, the tribe by whom, after long wanderings through central Europe, the conquest of Italy was at last achieved in 568, possibly at the very time when some of their old Anglian neighbours were beginning to fit out their barks for the invasion of England. This ethnological connexion is confirmed by the similarity of names to be found among the two nations, a similarity which is but slightly veiled by the changes which in the course of five centuries turned the Lombards from a people speaking Low German to one with a High German language. Thus the Adelperga of the Lombards corresponds to the Ethelberga of the Anglo-Saxons; Sisibert to Sigebert, Alipert to Alberht, Rotopert to Rodberht, Adelbert to Ethelberht, and Audoin to Edwin. Moreover, the great historian of the Lombards, Paulus Diaconus, who wrote towards the end of the eighth century, tells us that their queen, Theodelinda, adorned her palace at Pavia with pictures representing the Lombard invaders of Italy in the very garb which they then wore, and which had become antiquated in the two centuries that had elapsed before his own time. "Their garments," he says, "were loose and for the most part made of linen, *such as the Anglo-Saxons are wont to wear*, adorned with wide borders woven in various colours." This is a valuable note of costume, for its own sake, and a striking confirmation of the close relationship once existing between the ancestors of two great nations now joined in friendly alliance. —

After this sketch of the antecedents of the three new actors on the stage of British history, it remains for us to examine the evidence—the slender evidence, as has been already said—

CHAP. as to their proceedings during the conquest. It will be well to
VI. consider this evidence under three heads :—

(1) The slight notices contained in the works of contemporary or nearly contemporary Latin authors.

(2) The story of the conquest as given to us by the descendants of the invaders, that is, especially by Bede and the authors of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

(3) The same story as told by the descendants of the conquered, that is, especially by Gildas and Nennius.

I. In the fifth century the writing of history in the Roman empire had practically dwindled down to the composition of short books of chronicles, generally by ecclesiastics. As literary compositions they have no merit : they are generally very short, giving only three or four lines to each year, and they have no sense of the proportionate importance of the events which they record. But they give us for the most part absolutely contemporary evidence, and the historian, therefore, accepts them gratefully, with all their defects. One such chronicle, by no means the best of its kind, is generally known by the name of Prosper Tiro (a friend and correspondent of St. Augustine), though it is certain that it was not written by him but by some ecclesiastic of the period, with semi-Pelagian views. This dull and second-rate writer gives us the two following precious entries, the only contemporary evidence that we possess as to the Saxon invasions : "The fifteenth year of Arcadius and Honorius [A.D. 409] : at this time the strength of the Romans was utterly wasted by sickness ; and the provinces of Britain were laid waste by the incursion of the Saxons". "The eighteenth year of Theodosius II. [A.D. 441] : the provinces of Britain which up to this time had been torn by various slaughters and disasters, are brought under the dominion of the Saxons."

There are two points in these entries to which the reader's attention should be particularly directed : the first, that the Saxon invasions are represented as beginning in 409, almost immediately after the departure of the usurper Constantine with the legions ; the second, that the subjugation of Britain by the Saxons is assigned by the chronicler to 441, not 449, the date usually current on the authority of Bede. It should be remarked, in passing, that if the chronicler supposed that the whole of Roman Britain (which he calls *Britanniæ*, in the plural) came

under the dominion of the Saxons (or Saxons, Angles, and Jutes) in that year, he was certainly mistaken. But some important stage in the conquest, if we may trust this, our only contemporary authority, was evidently reached in the year 441, and it was the climax of a series of aggressions which had apparently been going on for thirty-two years.

It should be mentioned that one other nearly contemporary authority, the Greek historian Zosimus, alludes to the collapse of Roman rule in Britain, which he attributes to a revolt of the natives, following on the departure of the usurper Constantine with the legions. His language, however, is obscure and even self-contradictory, and he throws little light on the situation.

The authority which we have next to consider is the *Life of St. Germanus*, written by the presbyter Constantius about the year 480. It will be seen that this document is not strictly contemporary, the writer being separated by an interval of about half a century from the chief events recorded by him: and, moreover, there is throughout the *Life* a tendency to glorify the saint by attributing to him various manifestations of a miraculous or semi-miraculous kind, which does not increase our confidence in his trustworthiness as a historian. But all students of early medieval history are accustomed to this kind of document, in which every remarkable event in the life of the subject of the biography is invested with a halo of thaumaturgic sanctity, and though they are not the sort of historic materials which we prefer, we must accept them (while making our own private reservations as to the amount of faith which we repose in all their details) or give up writing the story of the Middle Ages altogether.

In the case before us, the missionary Germanus, whose adventures in Britain are related by the biographer, was a great and well-known historical personage. He had held, under the empire, the high military dignity of duke of the Armorican shore (Normandy and Brittany), had been consecrated Bishop of Auxerre against his will, had thereupon said farewell to the delights of sportsmanship, and entered earnestly on the duties of his new calling. He had as a fellow-missionary, Lupus, who many years after, as Bishop of Troyes, earned great renown by dissuading the savage warrior, Attila, from an attack on his cathedral city. It is a striking testimony to the character of both men

CHAP. VI. that their contemporary, Apollinaris Sidonius, when he wishes to celebrate the virtues of another eminent prelate, Anianus, Bishop of Orleans, can find no higher term of praise than this: "He was equal to Lupus and not unequal to Germanus". Such were the two men who in the year 429 were sent at the bidding of Pope Celestine, and in conformity with the resolutions of a synod of Gaulish bishops, "to purge the minds of the people of Britain from the Pelagian heresy and bring them back to the Catholic faith," that is, to the Augustinian teaching on free-will and the Divine grace. Their zealous preaching won over the multitude to their side, but the Pelagians, who seem to have been found chiefly among the wealthier Britons, challenged them to a public discussion, in which their simple earnestness prevailed over the elaborate rhetoric of the gaily clothed orators on the other side. A miracle followed: the restoration of sight to a little girl of ten years old, the daughter of "a certain man of tribunician rank". After visiting the tomb of the martyred Saint Alban and exchanging relics with the keepers of the shrine, they resumed their journey, but, unfortunately, Germanus was for several days confined by a sprained ankle to a humble cottage in the country. The cottage itself and all the little hovels round it were thatched with reeds from the marsh, and fire having broken out in the little settlement, the saint's life seemed to be in jeopardy, but he refused to stir, and his cottage alone remained unconsumed.

Then followed the celebrated incident of the Hallelujah battle which is the chief reason for referring to the mission. The scene of the encounter is not made known to us, but it evidently took place in a mountainous country, possibly in Wales.¹ The first sentence of the biographer, describing the campaign, is so important that it must be translated literally: "In the meanwhile the Saxons and the Picts, driven into one camp by the same necessity, with conjoined force undertook war against the Britons, and, when the latter deemed their strength unequal to the contest, they sought the aid of the holy bishops, who, hastening their arrival, brought with them such an accession of confidence as was equivalent to a mighty host". The biographer then describes the baptism of the larger part of the

¹ It is conjectured, but only conjectured, that it took place at Maes Garmon (the field of Germanus?), near Mold in Flintshire.

army on Easter day; their eagerness for battle while they were still moist with the baptismal water; the choice of the battle-field by the veteran officer Germanus; that battle-field a valley surrounded by mountains; the placing of an ambuscade whose duty it was to signal to him the approach of the foe. At the signal given the bishops gave the word "Hallelujah," which was repeated in a tremendous shout by the multitudes carefully posted out of sight, and was repeated from peak to peak of the surrounding mountains. Hereat the terror-stricken foes imagined not only rocks hurled down upon them, but the very artillery of heaven let loose for their destruction. Casting away their arms they fled in all directions, and the larger number of them were swallowed up in the river which they had just crossed; the Hallelujah victory was complete, a victory like that of Gideon over the Midianites, won by moral means alone.

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This narrative when we remember its nearly contemporary character has an important bearing on the history of Britain in the fifth century. It seems to show that, twenty years after the withdrawal of the legions, the condition of the Britons was not absolutely desperate. There were still among them wealthy men and eloquent ecclesiastics dressed in costly garments, and the people were not too much engrossed by the mere struggle for existence to have leisure to listen to the elaborate arguments about original sin, free will and assisting grace which formed the staple of the Pelagian controversy. Moreover the union of the Saxons with the Picts in the hostile army is surely a point of no small importance. If we connect it with the previously quoted entry of Tiro, assigning to the year 409 the beginning of a series of Saxon devastations, we may suspect that the commonly received story which attributes the Teutonic invasions entirely to the folly of the Britons who called in the Saxons to help them against the Picts, is, if not altogether false, at any rate an exaggeration of one not very important incident in the contest.

2. For the story told by the invaders, our chief authorities are Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. (a) It must be confessed that for this part of the history we do not get much assistance from the monk of Jarrow, the Venerable Bede. He was probably the most learned man of his time in Europe; his

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conception of the duty of a historian is a high and noble one, and when we reach the seventh century, the golden age of Northumbrian Christianity, we shall find his assistance invaluable; but, writing as he did in 731, he was separated by nearly three centuries from the great Saxon invasions, and it seems clear that he had little or nothing derived from the genuine traditions of his race to say concerning them. The first book of his *Ecclesiastical History* is therefore little more than a mosaic of passages from Orosius, Eutropius, and, pre-eminently, the Briton Gildas (hereafter to be described), from whom he derives almost the whole history of the Caledonian invasion, and of the calling in of the Saxons as defenders against the attacks of the Picts. It is, however, to Bede that we owe the first mention of the British king Vortigern as well as of the names of Hengest and Horsa. It must remain an unsolved question from what source Bede derived the name of Vortigern, the inviter of the Saxons into Britain. Gildas, who is his main authority for this part of the story, while hinting at the personality of Vortigern, hides his name. After describing the three invading nations, the Jutes, the Saxons and the Angles, Bede continues: "Their generals" (according to strict grammatical construction this should refer not to the Jutes but to the Angles) "are said to have been two brothers, Hengest and Horsa, of whom Horsa was afterwards slain in war by the Britons. To this day a monument inscribed by his name exists in the eastern parts of Kent. These two were sons of Wictgils, the son of Witta, the son of Wecta, the son of Woden, from whose stock the royal families of many provinces derived their origin." Bede then goes on to describe how the bands of the three nations already named began to pour into the island, how they made a treaty with the Picts whom they had previously conquered and driven far away, and how they then turned their arms against their British allies. From this point he merely copies Gildas, describing in lamentable tones the ravage wrought by his countrymen. It is pointed out by Bede's latest editor, Plummer, that such information as the Northumbrian monk possessed concerning Kent would be naturally derived by him from his Kentish friends, Albinus, abbot of Canterbury, and Nothelm, priest of the church of London, to both of whom he expressly refers in his preface. But apparently even their traditions could not carry him very

far. Save for such information as the conquered race could supply, Bede's mind was little more than a blank as to events in England between the ages of Honorius and Gregory the Great.

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The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is the great historical monument of our race in its youthful days, and probably owes its original inception to the wise encouragement of Alfred. As that great prince ruled in the later years of the ninth century it is plain that the interval between the historian and the events recorded is even greater in the case of the Chronicle than in that of Bede. To a considerable extent the early annals in the Chronicle are founded upon Bede's history, and so far we may safely neglect them since they add nothing to the evidence already before the court; but there is also a certain amount of information, especially relating to the kingdom of Wessex, to which we find nothing that corresponds in Bede; and this part of the Chronicle—whatever it may be worth—must of course be treated as a primary authority. What is the real historical value of the statements which we find in it concerning yet heathen England? There is evidently in them some admixture of the fabulous. When we find, as we shall do, a Saxon chieftain, Port, described as the founder of Portsmouth, the *Portus Magnus* of the Romans, and Wihtgar made the name-giver to the Isle of Wight, which had been known as Vectis for centuries before he was born, we feel that we are in the presence of traditions, not genuine but manufactured out of etymology. Moreover the dates so elaborately given by the Chronicle seem to have been arranged (as was pointed out by Lappenberg) on an artificial system with recurring periods of eight and four years; which looks like the work of men with slender materials trying to make the bricks of history without the straw of genuine chronology. There is a good deal of distrust of the earlier portions of the Chronicle in the minds of historical students, side by side with a high appreciation of its general fairness, and gratitude to the scribes who have preserved for us so much of the records of the past, even though their narrative is often somewhat arid. On the whole it seems the wisest, in fact the only possible course, to take thankfully the information which the Chronicle gives us as to these two mist-enshrouded centuries, not absolutely maintaining its accuracy in every particular, but yielding to it a pro-

CHAP. visional assent, until either by internal or external evidence it
VI. shall be proved to be legendary or impossible.

It may be as well to state here that there are various manuscripts of the Chronicle hailing from different ecclesiastical centres, the divergences of which in the later centuries of Anglo-Saxon history are sometimes of great importance. For the present, however, this question does not arise. Save for a few not very important Northumbrian interpolations, the manuscripts of the Chronicle may be considered as one, and their source of origin may be considered to have been Winchester, the focus of all West Saxon government and culture.

The allusions made in the Chronicle to the departure of the Romans from Britain are naturally very scanty: "In 409 the Goths broke up the city of Rome, and never after that did the Romans rule in Britain". "In 418 the Romans gathered together all the gold-hoards that were in Britain and hid some in the earth, so that no man thenceforth should ever find them, and some they took with them into Gaul." Let us proceed therefore to examine the evidence furnished from this source as to the foundation of the kingdoms of Kent, Sussex, Wessex, and Northumbria. As to the early history of East Anglia, Essex and Mercia the Chronicle is altogether silent.

Kent.—A.D. 449.¹ Wyrtegeorn [Vortigern] invites the Angles to Britain. They come over in three "keels" and land at Heopwines-fleet [Ebbs-fleet in the Isle of Thanet], and he gives them lands in the south-east of the country on condition of their fighting the Picts. This they do successfully, but they send home for more of their countrymen, telling them of the worthlessness of the Britons and the goodness of the land. Their generals were two brothers, Hengest and Horsa, sons of Wictgils with the pedigree as given by Bede.

A.D. 455. Hengest and Horsa fight with Vortigern at Aegles-threp [Aylesford on the Medway]. Horsa is slain. Hengest assumes the title of king, and associates with himself his son Aesc.

¹ It will be observed that this date is eight years later than that given by Tiro. It is probably derived from Bede (i., 15), who, however, does not seem to have had any definite information as to the exact year of the first invasion, though he certainly places it in the reigns of the Emperors Marcian and Valentinian III., that is (according to his inaccurate reckoning) somewhere between 449 and 455.

A.D. 456. Hengest and Aesc fight with the Britons at Crecgan-ford [Crayford, about six miles south-east of Woolwich], and slay 4,000 of them. The Britons evacuate Kent and with much fear flee to London-borough. CHAP.
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A.D. 465. Hengest and Aesc fight with the "Welshmen" [Britons] near Wippedes-fleote, and there slay twelve Welsh nobles, themselves losing one thane, whose name was Wipped.

A.D. 473. Hengest and Aesc fight with the "Welshmen," and take booty past counting. The Welsh flee "as a man fleeth fire".

That is all the information vouchsafed us as to the conquest of Kent, which was evidently not an easy matter, taking as it did nearly thirty years to finish. Possibly ere the strife was ended the invaders somewhat modified their views as to the military worthlessness of the Britons. London, which is transiently mentioned here in the annal for 456 is not mentioned again in the Chronicle till 851. We hear of it, however, in Bede's Ecclesiastical History in 604. The history of Kent is a blank from the year 473 till 565 when Ethelbert, who afterwards embraced Christianity, began his long reign of fifty-three years.

Sussex.—We know from other sources that, far on into the Middle Ages, Sussex was divided from Kent by the dense forest of the Andredesweald or Andredesleag, and accordingly the conquest of one country by no means necessitated the conquest of the other, which is assigned to a considerably later date than that given for the landing of Hengest and Horsa.

A.D. 477. Aelle with three sons and three keels come to the place called Cymenes ora. He slays many "Welshmen," and drives others to take refuge in the wood that is called Andredesleag.

A.D. 485. He fights with "Welshmen" near Mearcresdesburn.

A.D. 491. "Aelle and Cissa begirt Andredesceaster and slay all who dwell therein, nor was there for that reason one Briton left alive."

This wholesale butchery of the British defenders of the Roman fortress of Anderida, overlooking Pevensey Bay, has naturally attracted much attention, and is constantly appealed to by those who maintain that the earlier stages of the Saxon conquest were an absolute war of extermination. It is to be

CHAP. observed that Aelle, who founded an exceptionally short-lived
VI. dynasty, is not credited with any long line of ancestors reaching back to the mythic Woden. Chichester, capital of the South Saxon kingdom, founded probably on the site of the Roman city of Regnum, is said to have derived its name from Cissa, son of Aelle.

Wessex.—As might naturally be expected in a chronicle having its birth-place in Winchester, the historical details as to Wessex are much fuller than for the other kingdoms; so full that it is possible to relinquish the mere annalistic form and to weave them into a continuous narrative. In 495 (more than half a century after Tiro's date of the Saxon conquest) two chieftains, Cerdic and Cynric his son, came with five ships to a place called Cerdices ora, and on the very day of their landing fought a battle with the "Welshmen". The scene of the landing was probably somewhere in the noble harbour of Southampton Water. The two chieftains were not as yet spoken of as kings, but bore the lower title of *ealdormen*. Of Cerdic, however, the Chronicle recites the usual half-legendary pedigree, reaching back through eight intervening links to Woden, from whom (of course under later Christian influences) the line is traced back to Noah and Adam. These pedigrees, or at least the genuine Teutonic portion of them, may very probably have been preserved in the songs of minstrels, and obviously belong to that element of the Chronicle which is independent of Bede. We may look upon the divine ancestor Woden as marking the limit of the minstrel's memory or knowledge, and we shall therefore probably be justified in concluding that the West Saxon tribe possessed some sort of continuous historical tradition reaching back for eight generations behind Cerdic (himself a middle-aged man in 495), or about to the beginning of the third century. No wonder that kings whose very flatterers could not trace back their lineage to an earlier date than that of the Emperor Severus, felt their dynasties new and short-lived in presence of the immemorial antiquity of Rome.

In 508, the two chiefs slew a British king named Natanleod and 5,000 men with him. Evidently by this time they must have been at the head of a large number of followers. We are told that "the land"—apparently the scene of the battle—was named after the slain king; and it is generally

supposed that this gives us the origin of the name Netley, well known for its ruined abbey and its military hospital. Eleven years later (in 519) they assumed the title of kings, being no longer contented with the humbler designation of ealdormen, and fought the Britons at Cerdicesford, a place identified with Charford on the Avon, about six miles south of Salisbury. Meanwhile, however, there had been other Saxon invasions of the same region. In 501 is placed the visit of the legendary Port with his two sons to Portsmouth, and the death of a young Briton of very high birth who vainly tried to defend his land from their invasion. In 514 certain West Saxon reinforcements are represented as arriving (perhaps in the Isle of Wight) under the leadership of another eponymous hero, Wihtgar, and his brother Stuf, nephews of Cerdic; and, probably with their help, in 530 Cerdic and Cynric took possession of the Isle of Wight, after slaying many Britons at Wihtgaræsbyrg or Carisbrooke. The statements in the Chronicle about the conquest of the Isle of Wight, obscure and confused in themselves, become yet more so when we compare them with an earlier passage interpolated from Bede, in which the Jutes, not the West Saxons, are represented as the conquerors of the Isle of Wight. Of course two tides of Teutonic conquest may have passed over the island, but it is difficult to bring the two lines of tradition into their proper relation to one another.

In 534, Cerdic, who must now have been an old man, ended his life and his near forty years of British warfare, and Cynric his son reigned alone. We may sum up the total of Cerdic's achievements by saying that he seems to have completed the conquest of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, and that he probably fixed his royal residence at the Romano-British city of Venta Belgarum, thereafter to be known as Winchester. The fact that it required the labour of a lifetime to achieve the conquest of a moderate-sized English county, sufficiently shows that the Britons were not the mere Nithings (men of naught) whom Hengest and some of Hengest's Teutonic countrymen have represented them to have been.

Of the reign of Cynric, which, according to the Chronicle, lasted from 534 to 560, we have but little told us in that work. We hear of a battle at Old Sarum in 552 and of another four years later at Beranbyrig which is identified with Barbury in the north

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CHAP. VI. of Wiltshire. Apparently the achievement of his reign was the addition of the greater part of Wiltshire to the West Saxon kingdom. We may so far anticipate the evidence of the British writers as to say that the twenty-six years of Cynric probably coincide with part of the forty-four years of comparative peace which they describe as following the British victory of Mount Badon.

Far fuller of decisive events was the memorable reign of Ceawlin, son of Cynric, which is assigned to the years between 560 and 592. He was the eldest of a gallant band of brothers whose mutually resembling names, Cutha and Cuthwine and Ceol and Ceolric, have given no small trouble to the genealogists. The eighth year of his reign was signalised by an event, unprecedented as far as we know in the history of Anglo-Saxon England, namely, war between the invaders themselves. The object of the West Saxon attack in 568 was Kent, whose young king Ethelbert, after but three years of kingship, saw his land invaded by Ceawlin and his brother Cutha. The battle-place was Wibbandune, possibly Wimbledon in Surrey, and there two of Ethelbert's ealdormen were slain and himself put to flight. What terms he may have made with the victors we know not, but he was not permanently dethroned, since twenty-eight years afterwards we find him welcoming to his palace in Canterbury the missionaries from Rome.

Three years later (571) a vigorous attack was made by Cutha on the Britons, north of the Thames. A battle was fought at Bedford in which Cutha himself was slain, but victory crowned the Saxon arms in the general campaign, and four towns in Oxfordshire and Bucks (of which Aylesbury alone has retained its importance till the present day) were added to the kingdom of Wessex. The year 577 was of immense importance in the history of the Saxon progress. In that year a great battle was fought at Deorham, in Gloucestershire, about ten miles east of Bristol. There were arrayed on the one side Ceawlin and his brother Cuthwine, on the other three British kings, Coinmail and Condidan and Farinmail, all of whom were slain. Three great cities of Roman foundation ("ceastra" as the Chronicle calls them) were the price of victory: they were Gloucester, Cirencester and Bathancester or Bath. All historians are agreed as to the importance of this victory, which not only added Gloucester and (probably) part of Somerset to the West-Saxon king-

dom, but by cutting off the Cymry of "West Wales" (Devon and Cornwall) from their brethren north of the Bristol Channel practically ensured their eventual if slow submission.

"In 584 Ceawlin and Cutha fought with the Britons in the place that is called Fethan-lea,¹ and Cutha was slain, and Ceawlin took many 'towns' and innumerable quantities of booty and departed in anger to his own land." The chronicler seems to be here telling us of a Saxon reverse. Though Ceawlin captured many towns and took vast heaps of spoil he lost his son in the great battle and departed in wrath, assuredly in effect defeated, to his own land. After defeat came apparently domestic treason and civil broils. The entries for 591 to 593 show us the proclamation of a certain Ceolric, brother or nephew of Ceawlin, and a battle in 592 evidently not with the Britons, but between Saxon and Saxon, fought at Wodnesbeorge,² which resulted in the "driving out" of Ceawlin. Next year (593) Ceawlin with two others, probably princes of his house, named Cuichelm and Crida "perished".³ The wording of the annal shows pretty plainly that they all died a violent death, whether on the battlefield or by assassination, whether as friends or foes, it is impossible to say; but there can be no doubt that the sun of Ceawlin's fortunes, which had at one time shone so splendidly, set in clouds and storms.

In 597 (apparently on the death of Ceolric) Ceolwulf, nephew of Ceawlin, "began to reign over the West Saxons, and he fought continually and successfully either with Englishmen or with Welshmen or with Picts or with Scots". He was, however, reigning at the time of Augustine's mission, and with that event the historical interest which has been slightly stirred by the story of the West Saxons' advance is transferred to another quarter. Throughout the seventh century Kent and Mercia and pre-eminently Northumbria claim our attention so absorbingly that we cannot spare much thought for the obscure annals of Wessex.

¹ The site of Fethan-lea is not ascertained. Dr. Guest's identification of it with Faddiley in Cheshire, and the large consequences thence deduced by him (*Origines Celtica*, ii., 287-309), can hardly survive the strenuous attack made on them by Mr. Stevenson in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xvii., 637.

² Probably in Wiltshire (*ibid.*, 638).

³ "Forwurdon," not the usual peaceful and beautiful "forth-ferdon" (fared forth).

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Concerning the two Northumbrian kingdoms, Deira and Bernicia, we have no information in the Chronicle for the first hundred years after the landing of Hengest and Horsa. We are then under the year told that Ida (descended in the ninth generation from Woden) was the founder of the royal line of Northumbria; that he built Bebbanburh (Bamburgh) and that this celebrated fortress was in the first instance surrounded with a fence and afterwards with a wall. The chronicler then tells us that in 560, on the death of Ida, Aelle (eleventh in descent from Woden) began to reign over Northumbria and reigned for [nearly] thirty years. The chronicler here either wilfully or inadvertently has suppressed something of the truth. From his language one might have conjectured that Aelle was of the lineage of Ida, and had succeeded peaceably to his ancestor. Instead of this peaceable succession, however, we know from other sources that we have here to deal with two rival kingly lines, whose feuds and reconciliations make an important chapter in Northumbrian history. The true situation was this: essentially the kings of Ida's line were rulers of Bernicia, while Aelle and his descendants ruled Deira. That is to say: from their steep rock-palace of Bamburgh the sons of Ida reigned by ancestral right over all the eastern portion of the lands between Tyne and Forth, between the wall of Hadrian and the wall of Antoninus. Similarly Aelle and his sons, firmly settled in the great Roman city of Eboracum, governed the country between Tyne and Humber; but each king ever aspired to extend his sway over the other kingdom and often succeeded for a while in doing so. Thus we have constant vicissitudes but a general tendency towards the union of the two kingdoms into one Northumbria, which obeys now an "Iding," now an "Aelling" ruler. What strifes and commotions may have attended the transition from one line to another we can only in part discern. We are only obscurely told that in 588 Aelle's line was ousted, and that Ethelric the son, and after him Ethelfrith the grandson of Ida reigned over all Northumbria.

3. We now come to the British version of the conquest. Though a nation is naturally reluctant to tell the story of its own defeat, we might have expected to receive from a comparatively civilised and Christianised people, such as the Romano-Britons

of the fifth century, some intelligible literary history of so important an event as the Teutonic conquest of their island. This expectation, however, is dismally disappointed. We have practically nothing from the vanquished people, but the lamentations of the sixth century author Gildas, and the obviously fable-tainted narratives of the puzzle-headed Nennius of the eighth century.

Gildas, who obtained from after ages the surname of "the Wise," seems to have been a native of Scottish Strathclyde and was born early in the sixth century; he became a monk and at the age of forty-four wrote what Bede truly calls "a tearful discourse concerning the ruin of Britain". His object in this discourse was to rebuke the ungodliness of his countrymen and to remind them of the tokens of the Divine wrath which they had already received. He is consequently, for our purpose, a most disappointing writer. We go to him for history and we get a sermon, but we ought in fairness to remember that he never proposed to give us anything else. A large part of his treatise consists of reproductions of the denunciatory passages of the old Hebrew prophets: a more interesting section, but one outside our present purpose, consists of fierce invectives against five wicked, or at least unfriendly, kings of Wales. But there are a few chapters, the only ones that now concern us, in which, in pathetic tones, he tells us something as to the circumstances of the invasion of his country. He harks back to the departure from Britain of the usurper Maximus (383), to which, rather than to the later usurpation of Constantine, he traces her defenceless condition. Stripped of the multitude of brave young men who followed the fortunes of Maximus and never returned, and being themselves ignorant of war, the Britons were "trampled under foot by two savage nations from beyond seas, namely the Scots from the north-west and the Picts from the north". The description of the invaders as coming from beyond the seas is important. The term "Scots" at this time and for four centuries afterwards means primarily the inhabitants of the north of Ireland, and only secondarily the offshoot from that race who settled in Argyll and the Isles. These invaders, of course, were as Gildas calls them "*transmarini*": but it is possible that the Picts also, some of whom we know to have been settled in Wigtonshire, came across the shallow land-girdled

CHAP. VI. waters of Solway Firth, instead of attacking the yet undemolished wall, and thus that they too seemed to the dwellers in North-west Britain to be coming from "beyond the seas".

According to Gildas the Britons sent an embassy to Rome, piteously imploring help against the invaders. The Romans came, drove out the barbarians and exhorted the inhabitants to build a wall between the two seas, which they accordingly did, from Forth to Clyde, building it only of turf. A fresh invasion followed, a second embassy, again utter rout and slaughter of the enemy, but, alas! there came also a solemn warning from the Romans that they could not wear out their strength in these constant expeditions for the deliverance of Britain, and that its inhabitants must henceforth look to their own right arms for safety; but nevertheless before they abandoned them they would help them to build a wall, this time of stone not of turf, on the line between Tyne and Solway. Moreover, they built a line of towers along the coast right down to the southern shore where their ships were wont to be stationed, and then they said farewell to their allies, as men who expected never to see them again.

All this part of Gildas's story is quite untrustworthy. No one who has carefully studied the architecture of the two walls and the inscriptions along their course will attribute their origin, or even any important restorations of them, to those troublous years of dying Rome, the years between 390 and 440. Gildas is here evidently retailing the legend which had sprung up among an ignorant and half-barbarised people as to the great works of the foreigner in their land, and he has not only in this matter "darkened counsel by words without knowledge," but he has grievously misled his worthy follower Bede, who is brought into hopeless perplexity by his attempt to reconcile his own more correct information about the Roman walls with the unsound Welsh traditions or conjectures which he found in Gildas. The tearful narrative proceeds: There is more misery in Britain: civil war is added to barbarian invasion, and food, save such as can be procured by hunting, vanishes out of the land. In 446 the poor remnants of the Britons send their celebrated letter to that Roman general whose name was at the time most famous among men: the letter which began, "To Aetius,¹ thrice consul, the groans of the Britons," and went on to say, "The barbarians

¹ Or Agitius, as Gildas calls him.

drive us to the sea: the sea drives us back on the barbarians: we have but a choice between two modes of dying, either to have our throats cut or to be drowned". But not even this piteous request brought help, for Aetius was too busily occupied with his wars against Attila and the Huns to be able to spare thought or men for the defence of Britain. However, pressed by the pangs of hunger, the Britons grew bolder and even achieved some small measure of success against their enemies. The impudent Hibernian robbers returned to their homes; the Picts at their end of the island remained quiet for a time, though both nations soon began again their plundering forays. But with success came luxury, drunkenness, envy, quarrelsomeness, falsehood, all the signs of a demoralised people. And then for the punishment of the nation came first a pestilence so terrible that the living scarcely sufficed to bury the dead, and then, direst plague of all, the fatal resolution to call in foreign aid.

"A rumour was spread that their inveterate enemies were moving for their utter extermination. A council was called to consider the best means of repelling their fatal and oft-repeated invasions and ravages. Then all the councillors, together with the proud tyrant,¹ with blinded souls, devised this defence (say rather ruin) for their country, that those most ferocious and ill-famed Saxons—a race hateful to God and man—should be invited into the island (as one might 'invite' a wolf into the sheepfold) in order to beat back the northern natives. Never was a step taken more ruinous or more bitter than this. Oh, the depth of these men's blindness! Oh, the desperate and foolish dulness of their minds! 'Foolish are the princes of Zoan, giving unto Pharaoh senseless counsel.'² Then that horde of cubs burst forth from the den of their mother, the lioness, in three *cyuls* (keels), as their language calls them, or as we should say, 'long-ships'. They relied on favourable omens and on a certain prophecy which had been made to them, in which it was predicted that for 300 years they should occupy the land towards which their prows were pointed, and for half of that time they should lay it waste by frequent ravages. Thus, at the bidding of that unlucky tyrant did they first fix their terrible claws into

¹ The name of Vortigern, inserted here in Gale's edition, is absent from the best, though found in a few manuscripts.

² Isaiah xix. 11.

CHAP. VI. the eastern part of the island, pretending that they were going to fight for the deliverance of the country, but in truth intending to capture it for themselves. Then the aforesaid mother-lioness, learning how the first brood had prospered, sent another and more numerous array of her cubs, who, borne hither in barks, joined themselves to these treacherous allies."

Space fails us to repeat in his own words the whole of the author's pitiful story. Somewhat condensed it amounts to this : The strangers claimed that liberal rations should be given them in consideration of the great dangers which they ran. The request was granted and "shut the dog's mouth" for a time. But soon they began to complain of the insufficiency of these rations : they invented all sorts of grievances against their hosts, and used these as a justification for breaking their covenant with the British king, and roaming with ravage all over the island. "The flame kindled by that sacrilegious band spread desolation over nearly all the land till at last its red and savage tongue licked the coasts of the western sea." The towns [*coloniæ*] were levelled to the ground with battering rams ; the farmers [*coloni*], with the rulers of the Church, with the priests and people, were laid low by the flashing swords of the barbarians or perished in the devouring flames. Coping-stone and battlement, altars and columns, fragments of corpses covered with clots of gore, were all piled together in the middle of the ruined towns, as in a horrible wine-press. Burial there was none, save under the ruins of the houses or in the maw of some beast of prey or ravenous bird. Some of the miserable remnant who had escaped to the mountains were caught there and slain in heaps. Others, pressed by hunger, submitted and became slaves of the conquerors ; others fled beyond the sea. A very few who had fled to the mountains, there on the tops of precipitous cliffs or in the depths of impenetrable forests succeeded in dragging out a life, precarious truly and full of terrors, but still a life in their fatherland.

At last the tide turned. Some of the invaders returned to their own homes, and the unsubdued mountaineers saw the remnant of their countrymen flocking to them from every quarter and beseeching them to save them from extermination. A little band of patriots was thus formed, under the leadership of Ambrosius Aurelianus, a man of modest temper but of high

descent, and in fact the only Roman sprung from the wearers of the purple who had survived the storm of the invasion. Under this leader the patriots dared to challenge the invaders to a pitched battle, which, by the favour of the Lord, resulted in their victory. From that time the struggle went on with varying fortune, now the citizens, now the enemy triumphing, till the year of the siege of Mount Badon, which was also the year of the birth of Gildas, and from which forty-four years had elapsed to the time of his present writing. That was the last and greatest slaughter of "the scoundrels". From that time onwards external war had ceased, and for a space the hearts of all men, delivered from despair and chastened by adversity, turned to the Lord, and all men, whether kings or private persons, whether bishops or simple ecclesiastics, kept their proper ranks and orders in the state. Of late, however, on the decease of the men of that generation, morals had again declined, anarchy had begun to prevail, and owing to the frequent occurrence of civil wars, the cities were no longer inhabited as securely as of old.

Gildas then proceeds to describe further the demoralisation of his countrymen, and especially the outrageous vices of the five contemporary British kings, Constantine, Caninus, Vortipor, Cuneglas, and Maglocunus (or Maelgwn), upon all of whom he pours forth the vials of his righteous indignation; but into this part of his discourse there is no need for us to follow him. However little to our taste may be the somewhat inflated rhetoric of this author, it is important always to remember that he lived about two centuries nearer to the Saxon conquest than our next authority on the subject, Bede, and we must gratefully acknowledge that he does give us a few valuable facts of which we should otherwise be ignorant. His description of the horrors of the invasion, though highly coloured, is sufficiently paralleled by the well-attested events of the later Danish conquest to be not altogether improbable. His mention of Ambrosius Aurelianus, the modest descendant of emperors (perhaps of Maximus or the usurper Constantine), and the brave leader of revolt against the invaders, looks like historical fact, and the story of the British triumph at Mount Badon is not made a whit less probable by the patriotic silence of the Chronicle concerning a Saxon disaster. Both the place and the date of that great battle have been the subjects of long debate. Mons Badonicus used to be thought to

CHAP. represent Bath, and after a good deal of discussion this identification seems again to be coming into favour.
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The sentence in which Gildas appears to connect the date of the battle with his own birth is almost hopelessly obscure and the text is probably corrupt ; but on the whole it seems most probable that he meant to say, as above suggested : " The battle of Mount Badon was fought forty-four years ago, and in that year I was born". The *Annales Cambriae* (a compilation of the tenth century) give 516 for the year of the battle, a date which would fix the composition of the tearful discourse to 560. Mommsen prefers 500 for the date of the birth of Gildas. In any event there is a strong inducement to connect at least a part of the long period of comparative peace which, according to Gildas, followed the battle of Mount Badon with the confessedly uneventful reign of Cynric, the West Saxon.

We now pass on to the other writer of British origin who dealt with the history of the Anglo-Saxon conquest—namely, *Nennius*. If one has to speak in rather severe terms of the literary quality of this writer's work and of the value of his testimony as a historian, it must be remembered in extenuation of his many faults that he lived at a time and in a nation in which literary excellence and the acquisition of accurate knowledge of the past were made well-nigh impossible by the hard pressure of daily life, brutalised and barbarised as it was by perpetual wars both from without and from within. We shall have again to notice the same phenomenon of the utter decay of the historical and literary faculty in a highly cultured people when the Danes ravaged the monasteries of Northumbria, and it is but justice to these poor stammerers of a vanished age to remember how much more easily a nation might then be deprived of its whole literary heritage than can ever now be the case since the invention of printing.

There have been long and sharp discussions as to the age, the country, and even the personality of the author who is generally known as *Nennius*. The following pages represent the chief conclusions arrived at by a German student of Celtic literature, Professor Zimmer, who in his book, *Nennius Vindicatus*, has surely vindicated his client's right to exist, though he admits as fully as any one that client's terrible deficiencies as a historian.

We may now, then, venture to assert that Nennius, the author of the *Historia Brittonum*, was born about the middle of the eighth century, that he lived in South-East Wales, probably near the borders of Brecon and Radnor, that he wrote his book in or about the year 796, and that it was subjected, about 810, to a very early revision by a scribe who calls himself Samuel, and who lived in North Wales. For some reason or other the book had considerable popularity both in England and on the continent, especially in Brittany, but it suffered much at the hands of ignorant transcribers, and a narrative, not originally very lucid, has in some places been made almost unintelligible, owing to the transposition of some of the leaves of manuscript which have fallen out and been replaced in a wrong order. The restoration of these wrongly sorted chapters to their proper place in the book is one of Professor Zimmer's greatest achievements. The work of an ill-informed and uncritical scribe such as Nennius evidently was,¹ subject also to all these adversities in the course of its transmission to us, and originally written three centuries and a half after the events recorded, might be considered so poor an authority as to be unworthy of our further notice. But, in the first place, we have practically no other British authority save Gildas for the events which interest us so deeply; and, secondly, the author has at one point incorporated in his work a document much earlier and much more valuable than his own. This is the so-called "Genealogies of the Kings," which occupy sections 57 to 65 of the *Historia Brittonum*, and which, though they consist chiefly of strings of names, the ancestors of Anglian kings, are of a comparatively early date, since they bring the history down only to 679 (being thus slightly earlier even than Bede), and have this especial interest for us that we have here, imbedded in a passionately Celtic work, information otherwise lacking as to the rulers of the Anglian kingdoms of Northumbria and Mercia in the sixth century.

Probably the most valuable piece of information conveyed to us by Nennius, relating, it is true, rather to the history of

¹ Nennius makes such a muddle of his chronology that he virtually asserts that Christ was born A.D. 183; and he accepts the idle tales about Brutus, ancestor of the Britons, and descendant of Aeneas, which had been apparently fabricated by Irish students of Virgil two centuries before he wrote.

CHAP. VI. Wales than to that of England, is derived from these same *Genealogiæ Regum*. It is to the effect that Maelgwn, King of Gwynedd (North Wales), was descended in the fifth degree from a certain Cunedag, who with eight sons marched southward from Manau Guotodin (which is identified with the district of Lothian), and drove "the Scots" from the region of Gwynedd, to which they never returned. This southward march took place, he says, 146 years before Maelgwn reigned. Now, Maelgwn, who was one of the five kings so fiercely denounced by Gildas, is a historical personage who certainly reigned in North Wales and whose death is dated in 547. He is also a link in the chain of Welsh kings who continued to reign so long as Wales had any independent rulers. The statement, therefore, amounts to this, that a little before 400, say in 380, or about the date of the usurpation of Maximus, a chieftain named Cunedag with his eight sons, and, doubtless, a large army, marched right across Britain from the Firth of Forth to the Menai Straits, drove out the "Scots," that is the Irish invaders who were in possession of the country, and established a dynasty which endured for nine centuries (380-1283), till Llewelyn and David, the last royal descendants of Cunedag, were slain by the order of Edward Plantagenet. This is a fact unrelated to any other that has been handed down to us, but which suggests the reflection how many great movements of population, all memory of which has perished, may have been going forward in our island during these mist-covered fifth and sixth centuries of our era. Moreover, the fact that we have here apparently an instance of a Pictish king conducting a campaign of extermination against the "Scots," though these Scots were in Wales, throws some doubt on the conventional theory that all the calamities of undefended Britain were due to a war in which the Picts and the Scots were acting in concert.

As to the actual events of the Anglo-Saxon conquest Nennius leads us into a perfect jungle-growth of legend and fable, but adds very little to our real information. He repeats the name of the unhappy Vortigern and blackens it with all sorts of foul crimes, such as murder and incest. He blends his narrative with alleged scandals, not only untrue but historically impossible, against the saintly Germanus. He hints that there was rivalry and discord between Vortigern and Ambrosius; and here we can neither confirm nor refute his statement, though certainly

the story as told by Gildas does not give us the impression that they were contemporaries. He tells us that when Hengest sent for the second draft of his followers they came over in sixteen keels, and that in one of those keels was "a girl fair of face and very stately in person, the daughter of Hengest" (the name Rowena is not mentioned till a much later age). The damsel serves the king with strong drink. "Satan enters into the heart of Vortigern, and through an interpreter whose name was Ceretic [this little detail looks like genuine tradition] he asks for the maiden in marriage, promising to give half his kingdom in exchange, and he does in fact give her the district of Kent, though a prince named Guoyrancgon was then reigning there and knew not that he was being thus handed over into the power of the pagans." Hengest then proceeded to give his new son-in-law fatherly advice, which he assured him would effectually secure his kingdom: "I will invite my son and his nephew, for they are warlike men, that they may fight against the Scots, and do thou give unto them those regions which are in the north, next to the wall which is called Guaul". Obeying this recommendation, Vortigern invited them and they came, "to wit Octha and Ebissa with forty keels; but whilst they were sailing round the Picts they laid waste the Orkney islands, and came and occupied many countries beyond the Frisian Sea [the Firth of Forth?] as far as the boundary of the Picts". A dark and difficult passage truly; but there is some reason to think that there may be in it a germ of historical truth, and that there was really a Jutish settlement in Scotland.

After this the story relapses into mere romance. We hear of enchanted towers, of a wonder-working child who was afterwards known as the enchanter Merlin, and who apparently calls up the spirit of the dead Ambrosius. Then we are introduced to Vortimer, the brave son of Vortigern, who defeats the barbarians in four great battles; but, dying soon after, he desires to be buried on a hill above the place where they had first landed, since he has a prophetic intimation that they shall not dwell in the land for ever, but shall one day be driven forth; a prophecy the fulfilment of which still lingers. Discouraged by the victories of Vortimer, Hengest now resorts to stratagem, and calls for a conference to which both Britons and Saxons are to come unarmed, and at which they shall establish a league

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of lasting friendship. Privately, however, he orders his followers to hide each man a small knife under his foot in the middle of his boot, and when he calls out "*Eu Saxones nimmath tha saxas*" (Ye Saxons grasp the daggers), out flash the deadly weapons; the 300 senators of Vortigern are slain, and he himself is taken prisoner and loaded with chains till he consents to give Hengest Essex and Sussex for his ransom. The story ends with the death of Vortigern. "Some say that he died a broken-hearted wanderer, hated by all his people, and others that the earth opened and swallowed him up on the night on which the enchanted citadel was burned."

The traitorous conference and Hengest's cry to his followers seem to have about them a slight savour of probability, but it will probably be the opinion of any one who carefully peruses the chapters of Nennius of which a slight outline has here been traced, that they are for the most part of as much historical value as the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. But the elements of which this strange work is composed are of various value. After a sketch of the life of St. Patrick which is taken from a well-known source and which need not here detain us, Nennius gives an important paragraph which seems to be taken from his earlier Northumbrian authority, and, if so, is entitled to more respectful attention: "On the death of Hengest, his son Octha crossed from the northern region of Britain to the kingdom of Kent. From him are descended the present kings of that country. Then did Arthur fight against the Saxons in those days along with the leaders of the Britons, but he himself was leader in the wars."¹ The author then proceeds to give us the sites of twelve great battles fought by Arthur. Of the eighth, he says it was "in the castle of Guinnion, whereat Arthur carried on his shoulders the image of the holy Mary, ever a Virgin, and the pagans were turned to flight in that day, and a great slaughter was made among them by the power of Christ and his Virgin Mother. The ninth battle was fought in the city of the legion (*Castra Legionis*)."² . . . The twelfth was fought at Mount Badon, at which 960 men fell in one day at one onslaught by Arthur, and no one felled them but he alone, and in all the wars he stood forth as conqueror."

¹ *Sed ipse erat dux bellorum.*

² This may be either Chester or Leicester.

The scenes of the twelve battles fought by Arthur have been variously identified, some authors placing them in South Wales and some in the Scottish lowlands. Except as regards *Castra Legionis* and *Mons Badonis*, there is something to be said for the latter set of identifications, which seem to agree with the Northumbrian origin of the document quoted by Nennius.

Is there any historical truth in the personality of Arthur, or is he a mere creature of romance? The answer to that much-debated question depends on the degree of credit which, upon a review of the whole case, we may consider ourselves at liberty to attach to these few sentences of Nennius. All the rest that has been said concerning him, whether by pseudo-historians, such as Geoffrey of Monmouth, by avowed romancers like Sir Thomas Malory, or by poets like Tennyson, is confessedly but the product of imagination, some of it very beautiful, some of it rather foolish; but Nennius, and he alone, can answer for us the question whether Arthur ever really was.

It is believed that the reader has now been introduced to all the authentic information which has been handed down to us concerning the great revolution or rather series of revolutions which changed Britannia into Engla-land. The chroniclers of the twelfth century, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Florence of Worcester, for the most part honourable and truth-seeking men, have dealt with these historical materials, each after his own fashion, seeking to weave them into a connected and harmonious narrative; but it is generally agreed by those who have carefully studied their works that they knew no more than we as to the events of the fifth and sixth centuries, and that historical science can gain little or nothing, for this part of the history of England, from a study of their chronicles. Much less, of course, does it behove us to give any attention to the mere romances which Geoffrey of Monmouth and the story-tellers of his school imagined about the fictitious kings of England, from Brut to Lud. Already in the seventeenth century these sports of fancy were beginning to be appraised at their true value by scholars like Milton, who rehearsed but evidently did not believe them. Now, happily, no English historian thinks it necessary to waste his time and the time of his readers by proving their utter unreality. Still, no doubt the mind of

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VI. ordinated narrative of events, and dislikes to see the evidence presented in such disjointed fashion as that in which it has been here submitted to the reader. This however appears to be for the present a disagreeable necessity. Great danger seems to attend every attempt to make one plain story out of the various materials supplied to us by Bede, the Chronicle, Gildas and Nennius. It may be that the labours of future investigators may enable them to achieve this result ; but the time is not yet.

One or two great landmarks may perhaps be accurately discerned through the mist. The united testimony of Prosper Tiro and the biographer of Germanus seems to justify us in asserting that the Saxon assaults upon Britain were contemporaneous with those of the Picts, and never really ceased throughout the first half of the fifth century. The allusion in the Chronicle to a burial of treasure and flight of the Romans in 418 perhaps refers to some otherwise unrecorded invasion of the Saxons and to a consequent emigration of the Romanised Britons to Gaul. That such an emigration on a large scale must have taken place somewhat early in the century seems to follow as a necessary consequence from the fact that the Armorican peninsula received then that name of Britannia, Bretagne or Brittany which in one shape or other it has ever since retained, and that already in 469 we find Apollinaris Sidonius speaking, as a matter of course, of the inhabitants of that region as Britons.¹

— There was probably an invasion of Kent in 441 by a Teutonic tribe, whom we may perhaps call Jutes, and this invasion was less of a mere piratical raid and more of an abiding conquest than the previous expeditions. We notice the same difference three centuries later in the Danish invasions. Vorti-

¹ Ep. i., 7. This is a very important passage, as showing at what an early date British refugees were settled near the mouth of the Loire in such numbers as to be an important element in Gaulish politics. Arvandus, once Prætorian prefect of Gaul, was accused before the Emperor of high treason because he had corresponded with the King of the Visigoths, inviting him to attack "the Britons situated on the Loire," who were evidently loyal to the empire. In another letter of the same writer (Ep. iii., 9) we find him pleading with his friend Riothamus, a Breton chief (or king), for the restoration of some slaves who have been coaxed away from a friend of his by "Britannis clam sollicitantibus". This same Riothamus, described by Jordanes as "rex Brittonum," fought with Euric, King of the Visigoths, on behalf of the empire (*Jord. de rebus Geticis*, xlv.).

gern is probably an historical character, and his marriage with the daughter of the Teutonic chief was the sort of event which might well strike the minds of contemporaries and linger long in the songs of later generations. Probably, however, he was not a "king"—Roman institutions would hardly have allowed of the formation so early of a regal dynasty—but a great and powerful landowner who armed his dependants and wielded practically something like kingly power. His invocation of Jutish aid to repel a Pictish invasion may be historically true, but far too much has doubtless been made of the whole affair by British fabulists, anxious to excuse the failure of their countrymen and determined to make the luckless Vortigern the scapegoat of their nation. "We were betrayed!" is the natural exclamation of every vanquished people.

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Ambrosius Aurelianus, the descendant of Roman wearers of the purple, is almost certainly a historical personage, though it is impossible to fix the time and place of his operations. So, too, with a shade less of probability is Arthur, or Artorius, whom we may fairly credit with having stayed for a time the torrent of the Saxon advance by the great victory of the Mons Badonicus won at some time between 500 and 516. In both these British champions, however, we ought probably to see not Cymric kings, but Romano-British generals, wielding a power like that of the Roman *duces* and *comites*, and perhaps even commanding bodies of men trained in some of the traditions of the Roman legion. Most important, on this view of the case, are the words of Nennius himself: "Arthur fought against the Saxons along with the kings of the Britons, but he himself was *Dux Bellorum*".

The short and business-like entries of the Chronicle as to the successive victories which marked the extension of the West Saxon kingdom seem in the main worthy of belief, though we cannot rely with much confidence on the dates attached to every entry. It does not surprise us to find no record of the Saxon defeat at the Mons Badonicus, nor, as has been said, does such silence lessen the probability of its having actually occurred. Ceawlin, the hero of the West Saxons, is undoubtedly a real figure in history, and we may in the main accept with confidence the history of his battles, especially of his crowning victory at Deorham, which undid the work of Mount Badon, and, by giving

CHAP. VI. the command of the Severn Valley and the Bristol Channel to the Saxons, finally separated "West Wales" from Wales. The domestic strife which disastrously ended his career and hurled him from his throne is pretty clearly hinted at in the Chronicle, and we may be allowed to conjecture that it was the continuance of this internal discord which prevented for a long while the further development of Wessex; which made the rising power of Mercia instead of the West Saxon state the protagonist in the conflict with Wales; and which struck the annals of the latter kingdom in the seventh century with barrenness. When Ceawlin died, in 593, already the great pope who was to reunite Britain to Christian Europe was presiding over the Roman Church, and we may be said now at last to see land, the *terra firma* of authentic and continuous history.

On reviewing the whole course of the Teutonic conquest of our island we cannot fail to be struck by the different rates of speed at which that conquest proceeded at different times. By about the middle of the sixth century the invaders seem to have possessed themselves of nearly all the country lying to the east of a line drawn from Berwick-on-Tweed through Lichfield to Salisbury. After that period, however, their advance, never very rapid, becomes extremely slow. Wales the Saxons never conquered. "West Wales," as Devon and Cornwall were called, were not subdued till the ninth century. Cumberland, which formed part of the Celtic kingdom of Strathclyde, does not seem to have become English till the close of the seventh century, and even then was very loosely joined to the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria. It is to be hoped that we may one day obtain some clearer light on the reason for this great difference in the rate of conquest between the eastern and western halves of the island; how far it may have been due to the different resisting powers of two Celtic races, the "Brythonic" and "Goidelic"; whether earlier Saxon settlements along the shore of the German Ocean facilitated the work of the new invaders; or whether the flat alluvial lands of the east, more easily overrun by mounted bands of freebooters than the rough mountainous country of the west, were the chief factors in the problem.

A question which has been often and fiercely discussed and on which probably the last word has not yet been said is: "How far did the great movements of invasion which we have been

discussing amount to an actual replacement of one population by another?" or, in other words: "Are the Englishmen of to-day pure Saxons and Angles or partly Celts?" In considering this question two factors have to be considered: (1) the amount of new population imported into the country; and (2) the degree to which the invaders carried the process of extermination of the older inhabitants. As to the first point we are furnished with extremely scanty information by all our authorities. The mythical "three keels" and "five keels," which the chroniclers speak of as containing the whole forces of the invaders, point only to a scanty number of warriors, accompanied probably by their horses, but certainly not by their wives and children. The story of the legendary Rowena, on the other hand, suggests—what is doubtless the truth—that the invaders, once established in the land, sent speedily for the wives and daughters whom they had left by the Elbe or the Baltic. One late authority speaks of the Saxons as inviting over so many of their kith and kin that an island which they had previously inhabited was left almost void of people. Undoubtedly every indication of language and of later social state points to the conclusion that the invasions were not mere raids of freebooting warriors, but great national migrations such as were the fashion in the fourth and fifth centuries after Christ, such as Claudian describes as headed by Alaric and such as Ennodius paints in his laudation of Theodoric.

Moreover, even for such a great national displacement we may find a sufficient cause in the condition of central Europe between 432 and 452. During all these years the fear of the mighty Hunnish war-lord Attila lay like a nightmare upon Europe; not upon the Romanised men of the southern cities only, but quite as much upon the Teuton in his forests, for the Teuton loathed the very smell of the Hun, and, when forced to submit to him for a time, chafed under his yoke and as soon as possible escaped from his abhorred neighbourhood. Now when we find it stated by the Roman ambassadors to his court¹ that Attila had by the year 448 made "all the islands in the ocean" subject to him, we who know that the coasts of the Baltic, of Denmark and the Scandinavian peninsula were all looked upon as islands by the classical geographers, may not improb-

¹ *Excerpta e Prisci historia*, p. 199 (ed. Bonn).

CHAP. VI. ably conjecture that the pressure of the Hun was felt by the Angle and the Saxon as it had been felt before by his kinsmen the Goth and the Burgundian. We have every reason therefore to conjecture, if we cannot hold it for proved, that there was an immense transference of Teutonic family life from the lands bordering on the Elbe to the banks of the Thames, the Humber and the Tyne.

But it is on the second factor of the equation, on the extent of denudation of the older, the Celtic stratum of the people, that the controversy chiefly turns. The theory of the virtual extermination of the Britons from at least the eastern half of the island is thus stated by its most illustrious champion, Freeman: "Though the literal extirpation of a nation is an impossibility, there is every reason to believe that the Celtic inhabitants of these parts of Britain which had become English at the end of the sixth century had been as nearly extirpated as a nation can be". In support of this theory Freeman appeals to the absolutely Teutonic type of the language spoken by Englishmen before the Norman conquest, to the Teutonic character of their institutions and to the terrible entry in the Chronicle concerning the capture of Anderida: "491. Now Aella and Cissa encompassed Andrede-ceaster and slew off all that dwelt therein: nor was there afterward a single Briton left there."

It cannot be said that the tendency of recent inquirers is in favour of so strong an assertion as this of the entire obliteration of the British element in any part of our island. Physiological investigations, the measurement of skulls and the examination of graves, do not confirm the hypothesis of the absolute disappearance anywhere of the pre-Saxon races. The study of institutions does not confirm it: the more closely these are examined the more does the conviction grow that some Roman or Celtic elements are imbedded in the generally Teutonic character of the Anglo-Saxon state. And even the celebrated passage concerning the slaughter at Anderida is not, perhaps, so conclusive an argument as it appears at first sight. Nothing is said there which necessarily implies a determination to destroy a whole people. We may see in it only the cruel action of assailants maddened by the stubborn defence of a fortress which may have long held the Saxons at bay; and even the fact of the emphatic mention in the Chronicle of

this one bloody deed seems to imply that it was not the usual accompaniment of Saxon conquest. CHAP. VI.

When we examine carefully the pleadings on both sides we see that the disputants are not so far apart as they suppose themselves to be. No one denies that the general framework of society in Anglo-Saxon Britain, like the language, was Teutonic, or that the masters of the land were English and looked upon the Romanised Celts whom they called *Wealas* as an alien and inferior race. But, on the other hand, Freeman himself admits, though reluctantly, that the majority of the British women would be spared to be the wives or concubines of the invaders, and nearly all the slaves to be their thralls. This admission is fatal to the claim of the ordinary Englishman of to-day, after all the upheavings and down-sinkings of the various social strata, to be a pure-blooded Teuton. The evidence of language tends in the same direction. It is certainly surprising—and the advocates of the extirpation-theory have a right to point triumphantly to the fact—how small a number of Romano-Celtic words crept into the language spoken here before the Norman Conquest. But the words which did thus survive are, for the most part, such words as women would use in connexion with the affairs of the household, words like *rasher* and *rug*. When we thus review the circumstances of the Saxon conquest, and especially when we remember the immense influx of Celtic blood which we have received in later centuries from the Gael and the Erse folk, we may perhaps conclude that we should accept and glory in the term Anglo-Celt, rather than Anglo-Saxon, as the fitting designation of our race.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE COMING OF AUGUSTINE.

CHAP. VII. DURING the two centuries in which Britain had been forgotten by the rest of Europe, great events, most of them disastrous events, had been happening in the world. The imperial city, Rome, had been four times captured and plundered by barbarian armies. After the third of these captures (that by Totila in 546), we are told that the mighty city remained for six weeks absolutely empty of inhabitants, neither man nor beast being left therein. During these two centuries the vast empire of Attila the Hun which seemed likely at one time to be a universal monarchy had risen into greatness and had fallen into ruin; so, too, had risen and fallen the fair fabric raised in Italy by the converted barbarian Theodoric; Clovis the Frank had become, from chief of a petty principality, lord of a mighty realm, which under his sons had spread over the greater part of the two countries which we now call France and Germany; Justinian had framed his imperishable code, and the Bishop of Rome had become the unquestioned patriarch of the west.

Two references to our island made by the greatest historian of the period serve to emphasise its utter seclusion from the world of civilisation and culture. Procopius in his immortal history of the Gothic siege of Rome,¹ tells us that at a certain period of the blockade (537) when the Gothic leaders began to despair of taking the city they opened negotiations with Belisarius, the imperial general, and endeavoured to persuade him to retire from Italy on condition of receiving a formal cession of the island of Sicily. The absurdity of the suggestion consisted in this, that Sicily, which was the natural prize of the greatest sea power in the Mediterranean, was already hope-

¹ *De Bello Gothico*, ii., 6.

lessly lost to the Gothic kingdom ; and this fact gave point to the sarcastic reply of Belisarius : " And we, too, will allow the Goths to possess the whole island of Britain which is much larger than Sicily and which *once* belonged to the Romans, as Sicily once belonged to you. For when any one has received a favour it is fitting that he should repay it in kind." So utterly had Britain fallen out of the orbit of the empire that a heroic Roman general could even afford to joke over its disappearance.

Again, towards the end of his history,¹ Procopius, who evidently wishes to follow the example of Herodotus in supplying his readers with the best information in his power about strange and savage lands, gives a detailed description of Britain. " It is divided into two parts by a wall built by 'the men of old'. On the eastern side of that wall all is fresh and fair ; neither heat nor cold excessive ; fruits, harvests, men abound ; a fertile soil is blessed with abundance of water. But on the western side things are altogether different, so that no man can live there even for half an hour. Numberless vipers and serpents and other venomous beasts abound there, and so pestilent is the air that the moment a man crosses the wall he dies." Furthermore, a strange story was told concerning this island, for the truth of which Procopius does not vouch, but which he repeats lest he should be thought to be ignorant of a matter of common notoriety. " On the shore of the Channel opposite to Britain are many villages inhabited by fishermen who are exempt from the usual tribute 'payable to the Kings of the Franks' on condition of their undertaking in rotation the duty of rowing over to Britain the spirits of the dead. The boatman whose turn it is to undertake this duty lies down at nightfall to snatch a brief slumber. At dead of night a knock is heard at the door of his hut and a muffled voice calls him and his fellows forth to their duty. They see ships, not their own, anchored in the harbour. Embarking on these they seize the oars and push off from land ; at once the ships, though apparently empty, are pressed down to the water's edge by an unseen cargo. When they reach the shore of Britain a disembarkation as invisible as the embarkation takes place. They see no man ; only a voice proclaims the names of the invisible passengers, the offices they held in life,

¹ *De Bello Gothico*, iv., 20.

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the husbands of the dead wives, if any such should be among the number. Quickly do they return to the Gaulish shore, and now the ship is not sunk deeper than her keel." Gladly would we learn in whose interest and at what period of the great struggle this wild story was put in circulation concerning a country which had been for at least three centuries in the full prosaic daylight of Roman civilisation.

It was probably about the year 553 that Procopius of Cæsarea wrote this strange story, worthy of the age of Orpheus and the Argonauts, concerning our ghostly island. Some twenty years later, the celebrated scene between Gregory and the fair-haired Yorkshire lads was enacted in the Roman forum.¹ We cannot avoid listening once more to the thousand times quoted words of Bede:—²

"I may not pass by in silence the event which according to the tradition of the elders was the cause of Gregory's abiding interest in the salvation of our people. They say that on a certain day the news of the arrival of some merchants caused a concourse of intending purchasers to assemble in the forum where their goods were displayed. Among the rest came Gregory who saw there, beside the other market wares, certain boys set up for sale, with fair skins and beautiful faces, noticeable for their golden hair and comely shapes. When he beheld them, he asked from what part of the world they came. The merchant told him that they came from the island of Britain, whose inhabitants all presented the same appearance. Again he asked whether they were Christians, or still involved in the errors of Paganism. 'They are Pagans,' was the reply. Hereupon he heaved a sigh from his inmost heart, and said: 'Alas! the pity of it! that the Prince of Darkness should own as his subjects men of such shining countenance, and that such grace of outward form should veil minds destitute of heavenly grace within'. Again he asked what was the name of that nation. The merchant answered: 'They are called Angles'. 'Well

¹ Between 575 and 578, or possibly between 585 and 590.

² This story is told in similar but by no means identical words in an early life of Pope Gregory, probably written by a monk of Whitby who was a contemporary of Bede's, and discovered by Paul Ewald: *Hist. Aufsätze an G. Waits gewidmet*. It has been suggested that Bede copied from this biography. To me it seems more probable that Bede and the biographer, independently of one another, repeated the common *traditio majorum*.

named,' said he, 'for they have angelic faces and ought to be co-heirs with the angels in heaven. What is the name of that province from which they have been brought?' 'The inhabitants of that province are called Deiri.' 'Well again: rescued *de ira* and called out of wrath into the mercy of Christ. How is their king named?' 'Aelle.' Playing on the name he said: 'Alleluia. It must needs be that the praises of God the Creator resound in those regions.'"

It has been conjectured that the lads who stood on that fateful morning for sale in the Roman forum had lost their liberty owing to the wars waged between their lord, Aelle of Deira, and Ethelfrith of Bernicia. The grave and reverend ecclesiastic who spoke to them in that historic forum which still doubtless showed the senate-house and rostra of the republic, and was overlooked by the palaces of the empire, was a man who himself was sprung of a senatorial family and had worn the purple of the prefect of the city. A year or two, however, before the dialogue in the forum, about 575, he had laid aside that splendid robe and donned the coarse scapular of a Benedictine monk. His stately palace on the Cælian he had turned into a monastery, which still exists and bears his name, though originally dedicated to St. Andrew. Such was the man who, intensely Roman at heart as well as Christian, brought Britain once again within the attraction of Rome.

In the first fervour of his missionary zeal, Gregory himself started on the northward road, but was recalled by the command of the pope.¹ Then came the years which he spent as papal nuncio (*apocrisiarius*) at the splendid but not altogether friendly court of Constantinople; his return to Rome; his rule as abbot in his monastery; and lastly his election in 590 by the enthusiastic and unanimous voices of the people to the office of pope, vacant by the death of Pelagius II. Still the vision of the conversion of Britain remained dear to his heart; but in the distracted state of Italy, living, as he said, "between the swords of the Lombards,"² he was for some time unable to take any steps towards

¹ Benedict I., if the earlier date is correct; otherwise Pelagius II. On the fourth day of Gregory's journey a grasshopper alighted on the page of the Bible which he was reading during the noontide halt. "*Ecce locusta*," he said, and interpreted the sign as meaning *Loco sta*, "Stay where you are". In that hour arrived the papal emissary commanding him to return to Rome.

² "Inter Langobardorum gladios": a favourite expression of Gregory's.

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its fulfilment. In September, 595, he wrote to the steward of the papal estates in Gaul, directing him to buy as many English slaves as he could, of the age of seventeen or eighteen, that they might be distributed to various monasteries and there taught the elements of the Christian faith. The terms of this commission give us a strong impression of the regularity of the export of slaves from Britain to Gaul. And where such a regular slave-trade exists we may generally infer the prevalence of a chronic state of war.

At last, in 596, he sent forth his friend Augustine, prior of his monastery of St. Andrew's, with a company of monks, upon the great enterprise. Augustine himself, a somewhat timorous and small-souled man, who lacked the great qualities of his patron, when he had reached the south of Gaul and heard from the bishops of that province dire stories of Saxon barbarism, turned faint-hearted, and conversation with his companions increased rather than allayed his fears. At last they came to the inglorious conclusion "that it would be safer to return home than to visit a barbarous, fierce and unbelieving nation, of whose very language they were ignorant". Augustine himself started on the return journey, bearer of the unanimous request that they might be excused from undertaking so perilous and laborious a mission, and one of such doubtful issue. Probably he had not reached Rome when he received a letter (dated July 23, 596) in which the pope informed the whole company that it would have been better never to have begun a good work than to turn back disheartened from its accomplishment. He exhorted them not to be daunted by the difficulties of the journey, nor discouraged by the words of evil-speaking men, but to press on with zeal to finish the work which God had given them to do; knowing that the greater the labour the richer would be the eternal recompense of reward. At the same time a letter of commendation to Etherius, Archbishop of Arles, probably smoothed their labours and did something to allay their fears.

In truth the mission upon which the trembling monks were despatched, though of immense importance, was one of no great danger, and it would probably be safe to say that the missionaries of all the Christian Churches have in the last two centuries cheerfully faced greater perils and undergone greater hardships in the service of the Gospel of Christ, than were the portion of

Augustine and his friends. Ethelbert, the king of Kent, whose court was the objective of their campaign, was far the most powerful of the English kings, and in his reign, which had now lasted more than thirty years, he had, we are told, "stretched the bounds of his empire as far as the river Humber".¹ His wife, Bertha, daughter of Charibert, king of the Franks, and granddaughter of Clovis, was allowed to worship after the Christian manner without let or hindrance, having her own private chaplain, Bishop Liudhard, and we may fairly suppose that the messengers who came to preach the same faith, bringing introductions from Frankish kings and prelates as well as from the great Bishop of Rome, were safe from insult or molestation in the wide region included in the over-lordship of her husband, the limits of which they probably never overstepped.

At last after long and leisurely journeyings, visits to the courts of Frankish kings, and the formation of a staff of interpreters, Augustine and his companions, forty in number, landed, apparently in the spring of 597, on the shores of Britain. Their landing-place was in that extreme north-eastern corner of Kent which still bears the name of the Isle of Thanet, though it has lost its insular character. In the seventh century the little stream of the Stour, which flows round this region and which then emptied itself into the channel called the Wantsum, was a considerable river, probably tidal, 600 yards broad and fordable only in two places. Thus Thanet was then a genuine island, and here Augustine and his little band took up their temporary quarters. Sending some of their Frankish interpreters to Ethelbert they informed him that they had come from Rome, the bearers of the best of all good news, and that if he would hearken to their counsels they could without any doubt promise him eternal happiness in heaven and a future kingdom without end in the presence of the living and true God. The king replied with words courteous but cautious: "Remain in that island in which you now are, while I consider what I shall do with you. Meanwhile I will supply you with the necessaries of life." After certain days Ethelbert crossed the Wantsum and held a conference with the strangers. The place of meeting was fixed

¹ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, i., 25. Evidently the defeat sustained (according to the Chronicle) in 568 at the hands of Ceawlin, king of Wessex, had been more than made good.

CHAP. VII. in the open air, for the old king, notwithstanding his life-long intercourse with Christians, feared that he should be fascinated by magical arts if he met the missionaries within doors. Soon Augustine and his forty companions were seen to approach, bearing on high a silver cross by way of banner and a painted picture of the Saviour, and chanting litanies, in which they prayed the Lord to grant eternal life to themselves and to those for whose sake they had come from far. At the king's command they took their seats, and then one of their number, probably Augustine himself, through the medium of an interpreter, set forth to the king "how the mild-hearted Saviour by His own throes of suffering redeemed this guilty world and opened the kingdom of heaven to believing men". The king replied: "Fair are the words which you speak and the promises which you make to me, but since they are new and vague I cannot give my assent to them, nor leave those rites which I, together with the whole English nation, have so long practised. But since you have come from so far, and, as I perceive, desire to share with us that which you hold to be best and truest, we will not be grievous unto you, but rather receive you with friendly hospitality and make it our business to supply you with needful food; nor will we forbid you to attach to yourselves all whom you can, by your preaching, win over to your faith."

Herewith, permitting them to leave the Isle of Thanet, he assigned them quarters in the capital of his kingdom. This was the once insignificant town of Durovernis, situated at the point where the Roman road to Richborough diverged from the road between London and Dover. As the capital of the Jutish kingdom this roadside station had already attained to some importance under the name of Cantwaraburh, but showed little promise of the world-wide fame which it was to achieve under its more modern name of Canterbury. As the missionary band approached their destined home they raised aloft the silver crucifix and the picture, chanting with one accord a litany which may be thus translated:—

From this city, Lord! we pray
May Thy wrath be turned away.
We have sinned: but let Thy pity
Spare Thy house in yonder city.
Alleluia! Alleluia!

This litany was one which had been sung for more than a century on Rogation days in the churches of Gaul, and we must not, therefore, seek in its words for any special application to the little Saxon city towards which the missionaries were gazing. As it happened, however, there was already in that city a Christian church, erected probably in the very last years of the Roman occupation of Britain,¹ and dedicated to St. Martin of Tours. Here Ethelbert's queen had since her marriage been allowed to attend a Christian service, celebrated by her Frankish chaplain, Liudhard. It was the opinion of Pope Gregory that the Frankish ecclesiastics of Gaul had been somewhat neglectful of their duties in reference to their heathen neighbours of Britain, and probably the court chaplain Liudhard was not altogether exempt from this reproach. However this may be, the church of St. Martin, now handed over to the Roman mission, became a centre of religious activity. The preaching and the prayers, the vigils and the fasts of the white-robed strangers, their patient and self-denying life, their professed willingness to suffer death itself on behalf of the Christian faith, produced a great impression on the minds of the men of Kent, rough doubtless and barbarous, but able to appreciate that which they beheld of noble and godlike. They began to flock to the church and crave the administration of baptism; and at last even the king presented himself at the sacred font and received baptism at the hands of Augustine. From that day the process of conversion went on rapidly, but we are assured that no pressure was put by the king on his subjects to compel them to follow his example, "since he had learned from his teachers that the service of Christ must be a voluntary matter and not a thing of compulsion". He at once, however, provided the missionaries with a residence in Canterbury suitable to their dignity, and notwithstanding their life of abstinence and renunciation he made to them grants of lands in various districts, thus beginning that series of donations to the Church by Anglo-Saxon kings which was continued by them for near five centuries with splendid liberality, and the carefully preserved records of which constitute one of our most valuable sources of information on the social condition of England before the Norman conquest.

The mission having thus far met with such marvellous success Augustine felt that the time was come for him to assume a

¹ This follows from the date of St. Martin's death, which was about 402.

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 VII. Arles, where the archbishop of that see, in accordance with orders received from Gregory, consecrated him as archbishop of the English nation.¹ Divers doubts and questionings having occurred to the soul of the new metropolitan he despatched, about 600, two of his brethren, Laurentius and Peter, to lay his difficulties before his Roman patron. The questions asked are of an extraordinary kind, and startle us by their strange juxtaposition of things momentous and things indifferent. Thus a question whether it is permissible for two brothers to marry two sisters, to whom they themselves stand in no kind of relationship, is followed by another, whether a man may be permitted to marry his father's widow. It is difficult to believe that the framer of such a question can have even read St. Paul's letters to the Christians of Corinth. However, if the archbishop's questions seem to us rather surprising, the pope's answers are noble and statesmanlike. Especially memorable is his answer to the inquiry: "The faith being one, what can I say as to the diverse customs of the Churches, as, for instance, where the mass is celebrated in one way in the Holy Roman Church and in another way in the Churches of Gaul?" Pope Gregory replied, "You, my brother, know well the custom of the Roman Church in which you were reared. But my pleasure is that you should anxiously select whatever custom you may find, whether in the Roman or in the Gaulish or any other Church, which is pleasing to Almighty God, and teach the customs which you have thus gathered from many Churches to the Church of the Angles, which is yet new to the faith. For things are not to be prized according to the places from which they originate, but places are to be loved according to the good things to which they give birth."

The letter containing these answers was carried, not by the returning messengers of Augustine, but by a fresh mission from Rome, consisting of Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus. They brought with them also a woollen *pallium* for Augustine, the symbol of his archiepiscopal dignity, many relics of saints and ornaments for the churches and the precious gift of a large number of manuscripts. While entrusting Augustine with the

¹ Archiepiscopus genti Anglorum ordinatus est (*Hist. Eccl.*, i., 27). Observe that Bede without hesitation uses the word *Angli* to denote the whole Anglo-Saxon-Jutish nationality.

precious *pallium*, a gift which he was somewhat chary of bestowing, Pope Gregory at the same time provided for the erection of an archiepiscopal see at Eburacum. In future, after Augustine's own death, the archiepiscopate of the south was to be placed at Lundonia; and thereafter London and York, the two archiepiscopal centres of their respective provinces, were to have equal power, priority of dignity being assigned to whichever prelate might happen to have been first ordained. The messengers brought also letters specially directed to the King and Queen of Kent. In the letter to Ethelbert, Gregory struck a note which was often heard in his correspondence: "Moreover, we wish your Glory to know that, as we are assured in Holy Scripture by the words of Almighty God, the end of this present world is nigh at hand and the unending reign of the Saints is about to begin. Before that day comes many things must come to pass such as have not yet been seen: changes in the air, terrors in the sky, tempests out of season, wars, famines, pestilences, earthquakes. All these things, it is true, will not happen in our own day, but after our days they will follow." In the letter to Bertha, the pope, while gently hinting that one so well grounded in the true faith ought long ago to have effected the conversion of her husband, praises her for what she has done in protecting and befriending the missionaries; exhorts her to use all her influence in order to keep her husband steadfast in the faith. He assures her that her memory will be revered like that of Helena who turned her son Constantine to Christianity, and that the fame of her great work has reached not only to Rome but even to Constantinople (delightful thought for the daughter of barbarian kings), and that its completion will bring joy to the angels in heaven.

In a letter addressed to the messenger Mellitus, containing some thoughts which had come into the pope's mind during his long musings after the departure of his legation, Gregory desires him to direct Augustine on no account to destroy the temples of the idols, but to sprinkle them with holy water, construct altars and enrich them with relics. The old pagan sacrifices of animals to their false gods are, of course, to cease, but as a sort of concession to the festive propensities of the converts, on the day of the dedication of the church or on the birthday of the martyr whose relics were there deposited, the people were to

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VII. consecrated church, and therein, after slaying animals for feasting, not for sacrifice, to express with joy and gladness of heart their gratitude to the Giver of every good gift. A remembrance of the Jewish feast of tabernacles seems to cross the mind of the pontiff as he thus ordains the conversion of pagan sacrifices into Christian festivities.

The story of the conversion of the English nation to Christianity is an interesting one, and if at this point of our narrative religious topics seem to claim too large a share of our attention, it must be remembered that our chief, almost our only authority for this period is the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Bede, a splendid piece of historical work, but still one which, by the law of its being, concerns itself rather with the Church than with the State. Church affairs, however, sometimes throw an important light on political changes. We should be in entire ignorance as to the time and manner of the conquest of London by the invaders but for Bede's information that: "Augustine ordained Mellitus as bishop (604), and sent him to preach in the province of the East Saxons, who are separated from Kent by the river Thames and are close to the eastern sea. Their metropolis is the city of Lundonia, situated on the banks of the aforesaid river and itself the mart of many nations flocking thither by land and sea: over which people [the East Saxons] at that time Saberct reigned, nephew of Ethelbert through his sister Rricula. He was, however, in a subordinate position to Ethelbert, who, as has been already said, ruled all the races of the English up to the river Humber. When, therefore, that province [Essex] had received the word of truth from the preaching of Mellitus, Ethelbert built in the city of Lundonia a church to the holy apostle Paul, in which was fixed the episcopal seat of Mellitus and his successors."

At the same time Augustine consecrated Justus, who, as we have seen, was a colleague of Mellitus in the Roman legation, Bishop of Dorubrevi, "which from an old chieftain of theirs named Hrof the English nation calls Hrofaescaestre" (Rochester). These two bishoprics, Canterbury and Rochester, both founded in the one kingdom of Kent, seem to represent a certain political duality in that region,¹ as if it were the

¹ See Kemble, *The Saxons in England*, i., 148.

normal state of affairs that East and West Kent should have separate rulers. However this may be, it is well for us to bear in mind that the title of king was one of rather vague significance. Besides the great and powerful kings of the eight chief provinces there was many a cluster of petty princes dignified with the name of kings, of whom the national history can take no notice, but whose names figure royally in charters and testamentary documents.

It was probably soon after the arrival of the messengers from Rome, and to some extent in compliance with Gregory's wishes, that some important but, unhappily, resultless overtures were made by Augustine to the rulers of the Welsh Church. Using the powerful advocacy of Ethelbert, he invited the doctors and bishops of the British province to meet him about the year 602 at a place in the west of England which was known long after as "Augustine's oak". There Augustine addressed the Welsh ecclesiastics and besought them to enter into the Catholic peace, and undertake with him a common labour for the conversion of the heathen. The chief point on which he insisted was the necessity of their conforming to the Roman practice in the calculation of Easter, a wearisome matter of debate as to which we shall hear more than enough in the century of Anglian history that now lies before us. When argument failed, the Roman advocate proposed to have recourse to miracle: "Let some sick man be brought into our midst, and the party whose prayers avail to heal him shall be deemed to be the advocates of the cause approved by God". Unwillingly the Britons consented. A blind Englishman was introduced into the assembly. The prayers of the Welshmen failed to restore him to sight, but the prayers of Augustine, we are told, succeeded. Then, it is said, the Britons professed to be convinced that the course recommended by Augustine was the way of righteousness, but declared that they could not, without the consent of their countrymen, abandon their ancient customs. They therefore pleaded for a second conference, which was to be held at some place which is not named, and was to be attended by a much larger body of clergy.

To this second conference came seven bishops from Wales, possibly including some from Cornwall, and a whole troop of learned doctors, most of whom hailed from the great and noble

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¹ In the county of Flint about ten miles south of Chester: not to be confounded with Bangor on the Menai Straits or with the Irish monastery of Bangor in County Down.

² See H. A. Wilson in *Mason's Mission of St. Augustine*, pp. 248-52.

word of the Lord to the English nation." The Cambrians, however, refused to comply with any of these conditions or to accept Augustine as their archbishop, muttering one to another: "He would not even rise to receive us when we were strangers: if we once submit ourselves to his authority he will treat us as the dust under his feet". Before the disputants parted from one another, Augustine raised his voice in threatening prophecy: "If you will not accept peace with your brethren, you will have to accept war with your enemies: and if you will not preach the way of life to the English nation, you shall suffer from their hands the requital of death". A prophecy which Bede considered to have afterwards received its fulfilment in the bloody battle of Chester.

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It certainly must raise our opinion of the absolute honesty of Bede as a historian to find him, whose sympathies are all on the side of Roman as against British Christianity, thus faithfully describing a scene in which his hero Augustine certainly plays an unattractive part. The Welshmen may have erred in attributing his conduct to pride, but his most ardent champions must admit that he showed a grievous want of tact in this important interview. It was a golden opportunity that was offered for the reconciliation of two great hostile races at the feet of one Saviour, and that opportunity once lost never returned. The wound which the Saxon invasions had caused, still comparatively fresh, might possibly have been then healed by first intention. Unhealed then, it went festering on for centuries; and more than once or twice since the days of Augustine, Christianity, which ought to be the great reconciler of men, has proved itself the great divider between Celt and Saxon. Soon probably after this fatal interview, Augustine died (May 26, 605?), and was succeeded in his archiepiscopal see by his friend Laurentius, a companion of his labours from the beginning, and the man whom he had himself in his lifetime ordained to be his successor.

The death of Ethelbert of Kent, which occurred in February 24, 616, about eleven years after that of Augustine, serves as the occasion to our one most trusted authority for giving us some valuable information as to the political condition of our island. It will be well therefore to translate in full a few sentences from the *Ecclesiastical History*.

"In the year of our Lord's Incarnation, 616, Aedilberct

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[Ethelbert], King of the Cantwaras, after a glorious reign on earth of fifty-six years, entered the eternal joys of the heavenly kingdom. He was the third among the kings of the English nation who ruled over all their southern provinces which are separated from the northern ones by the river Humber, and the boundaries adjoining: but he was the first of all to mount to the Kingdom of Heaven. [He came, as I have said, third in the other list.] For the first to wield dominion of this kind was Aelle, King of the South Saxons; the second Caelin, King of the West Saxons, who was called Ceawlin in their language; the third, as we have said, Aedilberct, King of the Cantwaras; the fourth who possessed it was Redwald, King of the East Angles, who even in the lifetime of Aedilberct won the leadership for that same nation of his." Bede then proceeds to give us the names of three more leader-kings—names which will figure largely in the following chapters of this history—Aeduni (Edwin), Oswald and Oswiu (Oswy), all kings of Northumbria.

The Chronicle when it has to speak of Egbert the West Saxon and his acquisition of supreme power over the English people, remarks that "he was the eighth king that was *Bretwalda*" (or according to a better attested reading *Brytenwealda*), and then repeats the above list as given by Bede, adding Egbert's name at its close. On the strength of this passage historians have concluded, no doubt rightly, that *Bretwalda* or some similar word was the title given to these exceptionally powerful English kings whom we find from time to time during the period of the so-called Heptarchy wielding practically the whole power of English Britain, and this idea of a "Britain-wielder" seems to be now generally accepted as explanatory of the name. There has been much discussion as to the attributes of this *Bretwalda* sovereignty of Britain, but it cannot be said that any very definite conclusion has yet been arrived at. It was probably what the Greeks called a "hegemony," rather than a formal and constituted sovereignty: a leadership and preponderating influence such as the King of Prussia possessed in Germany even before he was formally proclaimed emperor. It will be observed that during Ethelbert's reign his nephew, the East Anglian Redwald, won the leadership from him. Evidently there were some unrecorded vicissitudes in the life of Ethelbert.

The death of Ethelbert (who had married a second wife after the decease of Frankish Bertha) seems to have been shortly followed by that of his nephew, Saberct the East Saxon. Now was it too plainly seen how slight a hold the new religion, promoted as it had been by royal favour and the fashion of a court, had upon the hearts of the people. The hegemony of Kent, sapped as it had apparently been in the lifetime of Ethelbert, entirely disappeared at his death. Moreover his son Eadbald, who had set his heart on wedding his widowed stepmother, and who could by no means induce Archbishop Laurentius to sanction such an incestuous union, openly revolted from the Church and went back to paganism. In the frequent fits of insanity by which he was afterwards afflicted, the faithful saw the work of unclean spirits and the permitted chastisement of his sin.

Nor did affairs go better for Christianity in the neighbouring kingdom of Essex. King Saberct had left three sons, joint-successors to his kingdom, who during their father's lifetime had yielded a sort of fitful adherence to Christianity, but had not submitted to the rite of baptism and remained apparently pagans at heart. Their quarrel with Mellitus, Bishop of London, arose out of his refusal to permit them to partake of the communion. They saw the bishop standing at the altar administering the eucharist to the people; and "Why," demanded they in angry tones, "do you not give us some of that pure white bread which you used to give to our father, and which we see you still handing forth to the people?" Mellitus explained that it was not permitted to give the bread except to those who had undergone the rite of baptism; but they persisted that they had no need of baptismal purification, yet meant to have a share of the consecrated bread. When Mellitus still refused they said: "If you will not gratify us in so small a matter you shall not stay in our province," and drove him forth from their kingdom. Mellitus, arriving in Kent, conferred with his brethren, Laurentius and Justus, as to what should be done in the face of the gathering storm-clouds. They unanimously came to the conclusion that the better course was to return to their own country, and there serve God with unharassed minds, rather than abide in that barbarous land and carry on their fruitless labours among a population rebellious to the faith. Mellitus and Justus accord-

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ingly left their respective sees and betook themselves to Gaul, meaning there to abide till the hourly expected end of the world, of which Gregory had so often warned them, should be revealed. Shortly after their departure the three arrogant East Saxon kings who had expelled Mellitus fell in battle against the Gewissas or men of Wessex. But though the idolatrous rulers were gone, their influence upon the people remained, and it was long before the city of London could be persuaded to tolerate in its midst the votaries of the new faith.

Thus it seemed that the seed sown by Augustine, which had sprung up so quickly, having no deepness of earth, was about to wither away as quickly before the parching blasts of persecution. A dream, or a trance, or a mysterious mental struggle through which Archbishop Laurentius passed, prevented the utter abandonment of the great enterprise. In the night before his intended departure from Britain, having laid him down to rest in a chamber of the monastery dedicated by Augustine to St. Peter and St. Paul, Laurentius saw in a vision the Apostle Peter who indignantly rebuked him for his faint-hearted desertion of the flock committed to his care. With every sentence came a blow from the apostolic scourge on the shoulders of the faint-hearted archbishop, and this chastisement endured through many hours of the secret and solitary night. In the morning Laurentius found that his back was covered with wales from St. Peter's lash, and going straight to the palace he showed his wounds to the king. Eadbald asked in wrath who had dared thus to chastise so eminent a man, and being told that it was the long dead apostle of Christ, he was stricken with fear, abandoned his idolatrous rites, put away his forbidden wife, received baptism, and thenceforward promoted to the utmost of his power the cause of the new religion.¹

Thus then Laurentius did not take his hand from the plough. His brethren, Mellitus and Justus, were recalled by Eadbald from Gaul, but the newly converted king, less powerful than his father, availed not to persuade the stubborn Londoners to receive Mellitus into their midst. Not long after (February 2, 619) Laurentius himself died, and was succeeded in the archi-

¹ As in the case of the *stigmata* of St. Francis, modern science has shown that it is possible to accept the historic truth of this narrative without admitting the hypothesis, either of miracle or of fraud.

episcopal see by Mellitus. He too died (April 24, 624) after a five years' tenure of office, and was succeeded by Justus. Thus, one after another, Pope Gregory's missionaries were passing away, and their bodies were laid in the portico which, like the great *atrium* of the church of St. Ambrose at Milan, stood in front of the slowly reared church of St. Peter and St. Paul. But the Christianity of the Saxons in the south was still but a sickly and shallow-rooted plant. It was left for the Angles of Northumbria to show a genuine, hearty, popular conversion to the new faith, and to produce that splendid series of saintly kings, bishops and princesses who have made the seventh century for ever memorable in the history of English Christianity.

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CHAPTER VIII.

EDWIN OF DEIRA.

CHAP. AS our attention in dealing with the history of the seventh
VIII. century will now be fixed chiefly on Northumbria, that being the region where Christianity won its most glorious victories and as it was at this time undoubtedly the predominant state in Britain, it is necessary at the cost of a little repetition to describe the course of the English settlements in that northern land. And first, a word as to its geographical limits. The district which was popularly called *Northhymbraland*, and which consisted politically of the two kingdoms of *Beornice* (Bernicia) and *Dearnerice* (Deira), stretched from the Firth of Forth to the river Humber. It is important to remember that we have here no concern with the medieval and modern boundary between England and Scotland, in which Tweed and Cheviot are the principal factors. St. Cuthbert, born on the slopes of the Lammermoor Hills, was no Scot but an Englishman; and Edinburgh, which is to us the very type and symbol of Scotticism, was in all probability founded by the English prince whose name stands at the head of this chapter. Between these two great natural frontiers, the Forth and the Humber, the bounding lines ran—as they still do, more than is generally recognised—north and south rather than east and west. The western half of the lowlands of Scotland, together with Westmorland and the greater part of Cumberland, formed the British kingdom of Strathclyde, and was—with the exception of some intervals of subjection to its Anglian neighbours—under the rule of kings of Celtic race, whose capital was the strong rock-fortress of Alclyde or Dumbarton. South of the kingdom of Strathclyde the high land which now sunders Yorkshire from Lancashire probably formed for some generations the boundary between the Angles and the Britons; yet not even up to that

boundary was the Anglian dominion pushed in the first invasion, for we hear indistinctly of a British kingdom of Elmet, otherwise called Loidis, which probably included at any rate the upper part of the valleys of the Wharfe, the Aire and the Calder, all Yorkshire streams. As to the boundary between the two Anglian kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira we cannot speak with absolute certainty, but we are told on trustworthy authority¹ that it was the River Tees. The fact that both kingdoms were so often united under one sovereign perhaps made the assignment of precise boundaries less needful. Thus, to recapitulate these facts in terms of modern geography, Bernicia included probably all the three Lothians, the counties of Berwick, Peebles and Roxburgh, the eastern half of Northumberland and the county of Durham; while Deira claimed the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire.

Surveying the ethnological condition of this region during the fifth and sixth centuries we can dimly discern a few important changes. There are some indications of a settlement of Frisians in that which we now call the Border country, and it is thought that they gave their name to the town of Dumfries. The time of their migration, however, is altogether uncertain, and as they were a Low German tribe, nearly allied in blood to both Angles and Saxons, we may conjecture that in the course of generations they so melted into the great Anglian population by which Bernicia was overrun as to be indistinguishable therefrom. Another national movement, about which we have more certain information, was that migration of the Pictic chief Cunedag from Lothian to Anglesey, about 380, to which attention has already been called, and which gave to Wales a line of sovereigns that endured for nine centuries. Then followed, about the middle of the fifth century, that settlement of the Jutes on the east coast of Scotland to which reference was made in our sixth chapter, and of which Hengest's son and nephew, Othta and Ebissa, were leaders. This settlement is mentioned only by Nennius, but as we meet with it in that part of his history which is borrowed from an earlier Northumbrian annalist, we

¹ That of Richard of Hexham (*circa* 1141. Prologue to his *History*). Simeon of Durham (*circa* 1104) says that "all the country between Tees and Tyne was then [in the seventh century] a waste wilderness, the habitation of wild animals, and therefore subject to no man's sway" (*Vita Oswaldi*, cap. i.).

CHAP. may probably accept it as historic fact that the Jutes thus bore
VIII. a part in the migrations which Teutonised the eastern half of Caledonia as well as Britannia. Oetha is spoken of in a later chapter of Nennius as having passed over from the northern part of Britain into Kent on the death of his father Hengest, and become the ancestor of the kings of Kent who were reigning in the historian's lifetime.

In the shadowy traditions of the Welsh bards we hear of a certain Ossa Cyllelawr or Ossa the Knife-man, who is spoken of as a great antagonist of Arthur, and who appears to be a genuine progenitor of the Bernician kings. It is apparently his son Eobba who bears the terrible title, "The Great Burner of Towns," which is generally given to the next link in the pedigree, Ida, King of Bernicia. Here, at last, we are on firmer historical ground, for this is that Ida of whom we read in the Chronicle (here quoting Bede) that "he began to reign in 547, and that from him sprang the royal line of Northumbria," that "he reigned twelve years, and that he built Bebbanburh [Bamburgh], which was at first surrounded by a hedge and thereafter with a wall".¹ Notwithstanding the comparative shortness of his reign, Bernician Ida from his rock-fortress of Bamburgh evidently wielded a mighty power, and we are probably right in attributing to him the first great extension and consolidation of the Anglian power between the Tees and the Firth of Forth. He had twelve sons, six of whom followed him in rather quick succession during the last half of the sixth century. We have no hint of civil war or domestic treason, and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that many of these warlike kings fell in battle with their Celtic neighbours in the west. This is indeed hinted by the scanty notices in Nennius's history.

We appear to be justified in speaking of Ida as king of Northumbria, though that may not have been the title given to him by his contemporaries, for it seems to be the outcome of the very confused notices in Nennius's *Historia Brittonum* that Deira as well as Bernicia was subject to his sway. But on the

¹ "Ond rixode twelf gear, ond he timbrode Bebbanburh, seo waes aerost mid hegge betyned, ond aefter mid wealle." Mr. Bates, whose *History of Northumberland* is a most helpful guide to this part of our history, reminds us that this "hackneyed passage is an interpolation of a Kentish scribe in the eleventh century". Still, though we may not quote it as a first-rate authority, there seems no reason for rejecting it altogether.

death of Ida (560), if we may trust the Chronicle, a prince of another line claiming descent from Woden through eleven generations of mortal men, Aelle or Ella, began to reign over the southern kingdom, Deira, and reigned for twenty-eight years. Were the relations between the two dissevered kingdoms friendly or hostile? It is impossible to say. The presence of the Deiran slave boys in the Roman forum suggests the latter hypothesis; the fact that Acha, the daughter of Aelle, was married to Ethelfrid of Bernicia suggests the former. Possibly a war between the two Anglian kingdoms had been followed by peace and a matrimonial alliance. However this may be, on the death of Aelle in 588, Ethelric of Bernicia, son of Ida, succeeded—assuredly not peaceably—to the throne of Deira, which, after five years of reigning, he handed on together with his ancestral kingdom to his son Ethelfrid.

The reign of Ethelfrid which lasted for twenty-four years, from 593 to 617, was undoubtedly an important period in the history of Northumbria. We are apt to think of him only in connexion with that relentless persecution of his young brother-in-law, Edwin, which we shall soon have to consider; but he was certainly a powerful ruler, this fierce pagan sovereign of Northumbria. Read what Bede the Northumbrian, who had often heard his name mentioned with reluctant admiration in the cloisters of Jarrow and Wearmouth, says concerning him: "In these days the kingdom of the Northumbrians was governed by Ethelfrid, a most valiant king and most covetous of glory, who, more than all the chiefs of the Angles, harassed the nation of the Britons, so that it would seem fitting to compare him to Saul, King of Israel, except for this one point that he was ignorant of the Divine religion. For no ealdorman or king made wider tracts of land, after destroying or subduing their inhabitants, either tributary to the English nation or open to their occupation, than this king. So that the blessing which the patriarch, anticipating the deeds of Saul, bestowed on his own son might fittingly be applied to Ethelfrid: 'Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf. In the morning he shall devour the prey: in the evening he shall divide the spoils.'"

In the year 603, when Ethelfrid had been ten years on the throne, "Aidan, King of the Scots who inhabit Britain,"¹ resenting

¹ *Hist. Eccl.*, i., 34.

CHAP. the Anglian king's encroachments, prepared to invade Bernicia.
 VIII. Here at last we have the word Scots clearly used not of our western but of our northern neighbours. For these are the Scots who crossed over the straits between Ulster and Cantyre and founded in Argyll and the Isles that kingdom of Dalriada which was one day to give a monarch, Kenneth MacAlpine, to the whole of North Britain and impose on Caledonia the name of *Scotland*. It is important also to observe that by this time all the dwellers in what we now call Scotland professed the Christian faith, the great mission of St. Columba to the Northern Picts and his settlement in Iona having taken place in 565, thirty-eight years before the events with which we are now concerned. The invasion of King Aidan, the friend and in a certain sense the nominee of St. Columba, though made by him at the head of a huge host, proved unsuccessful. He was met (says the patriotic Englishman Bede) by Ethelfrid with but few men. The two armies joined battle at Degsastan, probably the high moorland which forms the watershed between Liddesdale and Upper Tynedale, and which by one little stream, the Dawston Burn, still preserves the name of that old battlefield of the nations. Ethelfrid's brother, Theodbold, with all the division of the army which he commanded, fell before the Scottish onslaught, but in another part of the field Aidan suffered so severe a defeat that he was forced to fly ignominiously from the bleak moorland, covered with the corpses of his followers. The battle of Dawston Rig seems to have been in truth the Flodden of the seventh century. Bede, writing 128 years afterwards, says: "Never from that day to this, hath any king of the Scots dared to join battle in Britain with the nation of the Angles".

Some years after this victory over the Scots, Ethelfrid won another of equal importance over the Cambrian Britons (613?). The Archbishop Augustine, as we have seen, in his last conference with the Welsh ecclesiastics, warned them that if they were unwilling to preach the way of life to the English nation they should suffer a bloody requital at their hands.¹ And now Ethelfrid, having all the hosts of Deira and Bernicia at his disposal, collecting a large army, marched, probably by a branch of

¹ Or as the Saxon chronicler quaintly puts it, "that if Welshmen would not be kith and kin (sibbe) with us they should by Saxon hands perish".

the Watling Street,¹ from York across Yorkshire to Manchester, and appeared full of the menace of battle before the walls of the city on the Dee, which, once known as Deva, now, 200 years after the last Roman soldiers had quitted Britain, still bore the name of the Camp of the Legions. In later times this name—*Caerlegion* in Welsh, *Legacaestir* in the English tongue—has been shortened to Chester, and thus this picturesque old city, which still keeps its medieval walls and is crowded with interesting relics both of Roman and of Norman domination, claims not unworthily the right to be *the* Chester among all the many Chesters in our land, the representative of all the cities which have arisen on the site of the camps of the legions.

On the eve of the battle, Ethelfrid descried a number of men clad in priestly garb who occupied what they deemed to be a place of safe shelter at a little distance from the British army. They were in fact a large deputation from the monastery of Bangor (which contained not fewer than 2,100 inmates), and they had come, sanctified by a three days' fast, to aid the British king Brochmail by their prayers. "Who are those men?" cried Ethelfrid, "and what do they there?" Learning the reason of their presence, he exclaimed, "If they are calling on their God against us, they also are fighting against us, though it be not with arms but with curses," and he directed the first movements of his army against them. This unexpected opening of the game seems to have confounded Brochmail, who is accused by Bede of having in cowardly panic forsaken the holy men whom he was especially bound to protect. However this may be, 1,200 of the Bangor monks were slain and only fifty escaped. The British king and his men fled in disgraceful rout; Ethelfrid's victory was complete; the city of the legions was taken and sacked and remained apparently "a waste Chester" for near 300 years.

Thus for more than twenty years had Ethelfrid of Bamburgh marched from victory to victory. Meanwhile his foe and brother-in-law, Edwin, son of Ella, the rightful heir of Deira, was leading the life of a hunted fugitive, "an ascender of the stairs of other men," hearing perchance of the victories of the

¹ We may probably conjecture that the rapid far-reaching campaigns of early English kings, such as Ethelfrid, were rendered possible by the still solid condition of the great Roman roads, which in the Middle Ages fell grievously into decay. Thus even the civilisation of the Roman empire fought for the barbarians.

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enemy of his house, as Charles Stuart in his places of refuge in Holland or France heard of the triumphant campaigns of Cromwell. There is, indeed, a tradition that Edwin, when a boy, had sought shelter at the court of Cadvan, the British king of North-West Wales, and that this was the cause of Ethelfrid's vigorous assault on the British confederacy; but this story seems hardly consistent with the pagan character of Edwin's upbringing. For some time he seems to have sought shelter with a sovereign of the new and rising state of Mercia, whose daughter he married; but probably on her death he wandered forth again into exile. And thus after long and various experiences of the sad life of a fugitive in different kingdoms of the land, he found his way to the court of Redwald, King of the East Angles, and received a promise of protection from that powerful monarch. When Ethelfrid, however, heard that his hated rival was harboured at the East Anglian court, he sent messenger upon messenger to Redwald, offering him large bribes to take the life of his youthful guest. Long did Redwald refuse to do anything that would bring so dark a stain upon his kingly honour, but at last the third messenger, who brought not only more magnificent bribes, but the threat of war in the event of refusal, prevailed. In the first watch of the night an East Anglian noble, friendly to Edwin, entered the fugitive's bedroom, called him forth outside the palace, told him his danger, counselled him to flee, and promised to lead him to a safe hiding-place, where neither Redwald nor Ethelfrid would be able to find him. Edwin thanked him for his warning, but refused to be the first to break covenant with his host by showing a doubt of his protection, and wearily exclaimed: "If I must die let me die here, rather than begin again that life of a fugitive which I have already led for so many years in every province of Britain". His friend left him and he remained alone with his sad thoughts in the darkening night.

Suddenly a man whose face and garb were alike unknown to him, stood before him and asked him why he sat there so mournfully on his seat of stone, while all within the palace were wrapped in sleep. "What is it to thee," said the weary exile, "where I choose to spend the night?" "But I know," answered the stranger, "both why thou art here, and why thou art so sad and what thou fearest. Now what wouldst thou give to any one who should free thee from thy anxieties and persuade Red-

wald not to deliver thee into the hands of thy enemies?" "All that I possess," said Edwin. "And what if he assured thee that thou shouldst overcome thine enemies and become a king greater than any English king before thee?" "I would give the gratitude which he deserved to any one who could confer on me such benefits." "And how, if he could point out to thee a new way of life and salvation better than any that thy fathers have known? Wouldst thou hearken to his voice and obey his counsels?" "Assuredly I would," said Edwin. The stranger put his hand upon his head and said: "When next thou shalt receive this sign, remember what thou hast promised and fulfil it". With that the stranger, whether he were living man or spirit, zealous missionary or martyred apostle, vanished into the darkness. A little cheered by the vision but still melancholy and anxious, Edwin was sitting yet before the palace when lo! his friend the courtier returned to him with joy in his countenance and said: "Arise, dismiss thy cares, go to thy couch and slumber with a quiet mind. The danger is past. The queen, to whom in secret Redwald disclosed his purpose, persuaded him not for any of Ethelfrid's gold to sell his far more precious kingly honour, or sacrifice the friend who had sought his protection in extremity." When day dawned it was seen that Edwin's friend had spoken truly. The king dismissed Ethelfrid's messengers with a final refusal, and knowing now that he would have to face that king's anger, resolved to anticipate the blow and to restore the fugitive to his kingdom. Hastily collecting his army he came upon the surprised and imperfectly prepared Ethelfrid on the banks of the Idle, a little river of Nottinghamshire, and there won a decisive victory. It was true that Redwald's own son, Regenheri, perished in the fight, but Ethelfrid himself was also slain, and the power of Bernicia for a season annihilated. It was a memorable day for the dwellers in the fens by the Humber, and six centuries later the historian, Henry of Huntingdon, still heard the proverb: "As when the Idle river grew foul with Anglian blood".

This great battle which for the time overthrew the Bernician dynasty and gave the dominion of all Northumbria to Edwin of Deira was fought probably in the year 617. Edwin, who was born in 585, and whose life since he was a child of three years old had been passed in exile, was therefore a man thirty-two

CHAP. years of age when he thus recovered his father's kingdom.
VIII. The sons of Ethelfrid fled to the Celts of Scotland, and at least one of them sought the friendly shelter of Iona. Edwin no doubt fixed his capital at York, that great and important city which under its Anglian name of Eoforwic carried on the traditions of Roman Eburacum. The fact that the Roman name subsisted still with so little change in the language of the conquerors makes it probable that there was here no such utter destruction and desolation as at Anderida and Chester, but that there was a continuous civic life from the departure of the last Roman soldier to the enthronement of the first Anglian king. How gladly would we exchange much of the scanty knowledge of the invasion that we do possess for the details of the capture of the Roman capital of the north;¹ but over this conquest, as well as over that of the sister city of Londinium, there hangs a pall of impenetrable darkness. The lines of the Roman city may still be traced with considerable precision; the noble ruin of the multangular tower clearly marks its western corner, but we have not yet recovered, possibly shall never recover, the site of the once stately edifice where the Roman *Dux Britanniarum* dwelt aforetime, and where in all probability the Anglian kings of Deira held their court. There, however, we may safely imagine Edwin enthroned; from thence his armies marched forth along one or other of the great network of Roman roads which centred at Eburacum. One of his earliest conquests was probably that of the British kingdom of Elmet or Loidis which still lingered on in the dales of the West Riding, but seems to have come to an end about this time. Having consolidated his power over Northumbria, Edwin became the mightiest of all the English kings. The title of Bretwalda was recognised as rightfully belonging to him, and all the other kings of Britain, Anglian, Saxon, Celtic, for a time at least acknowledged him as in a certain sense their superior. Even the islands of Man and Anglesey were added by him to his dominions, the latter island probably deriving from this conquest by the Angles the name which it still bears. Only Jutish Kent still maintained its independence, and with its king Edwin before long formed a close tie of alliance. An unexplained phenomenon in these first ten years of Edwin's reign, during which, still heathen, he seems to

¹ This remark was made by Professor Freeman.

have been pursuing a career of unbroken success, is the disappearance of East Anglia from the scene. It was the might of Redwald the East Anglian which broke the power of Ethelfrid on the great day of the battle at the river Idle, and yet we hear of Edwin, still apparently in the lifetime of his benefactor, establishing his supremacy over all the kings of the Angles and Britons, including therefore among his subject allies even Redwald himself.

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It was probably about the year 624 when Edwin was in full middle life, and his sons, by his first Mercian wife, were growing up towards manhood, that he made proposals of marriage to the Kentish princess, Ethelburga. She, like himself, must have been middle-aged. Her father, Ethelbert, had been for some years dead, and her brother, Eadbald, had the disposal of her hand. Mindful of the stripes and the warnings of Laurentius, Eadbald was now loyal in his adherence to Christianity, and replied to Edwin's messengers "that it was not lawful to give a Christian maiden in marriage to a pagan, lest the faith and sacrament of the heavenly King should be profaned by intercourse with an earthly king who was ignorant of the worship of the true God". To this objection (a remarkable one as coming from the offspring of the union between the Christian Bertha and the pagan Ethelbert) Edwin replied that he would do nothing contrary to the Christian faith of the princess if she became his bride; that she might bring with her as many ministers of that faith as she pleased, whether male or female, and should have full liberty of worship along with them; and, moreover, he held out hopes that he himself might become a convert to Christianity if on examination by the wise men of his kingdom it should be found more holy and worthier of the Most High than the religion which it offered to supersede. After this reassuring statement, Eadbald's objections were withdrawn. Ethelburga was sent northwards to meet her bridegroom, and in her train came Paulinus, who was now consecrated on July 21, 625, by Archbishop Justus, bishop of York, which was virtually equivalent to bishop of Northumbria.

Paulinus, who is certainly the noblest figure in the Roman mission to England, was constant in preaching the Christian faith in season and out of season to the men of Northumbria.

CHAP. VIII. He met at first with but little success, but a year after his arrival, in April 20, 626, a foully attempted crime brought him in a strange way nearer to his goal. The history of Wessex for some generations after the dethronement of Ceawlin in 592 is obscure and inglorious. Her once powerful kings seem to have accepted without a murmur the supremacy first of Kent and then of East Anglia, and if now they resented the rapidly extended dominion of Northumbria they sought to overthrow it not in fair fight but by the dastardly hand of the conspirator. The kings of the West Saxons at this time were Cynegils and Cwichelm, the latter of whom, perhaps in concert with his colleague, sent an assassin named Eomer, armed with a poisoned dagger, to the court of Edwin. The king was then dwelling in a royal villa near the Yorkshire Derwent (one of the many English rivers bearing that name), and there Eomer presented himself with a pretended message from his master. While Edwin listened intently to his words he drew the deadly weapon from its sheath and made a sudden onslaught upon the king. A faithful thegn named Lilla, who dearly loved his lord, having no shield ready to hand, rushed in between and broke the force of the blow, but not even the sacrifice of his life saved the monarch from a wound; and before Eomer was hewn down by the swords of the surrounding soldiers he had succeeded in stabbing one of them named Fordheri with his fatal weapon. That very night—it was the night of Easter Sunday, 626—Edwin's queen was delivered of a daughter, to whom was given the name of Eanfled. Touched by the mingled congratulations and exhortations of Paulinus, Edwin gladly consented that his infant daughter, along with eleven members of his household, should receive baptism on the eve of the following Whitsunday. For himself, though he was inclined to listen to the advice of Paulinus, all other matters had to be postponed to the great campaign of vengeance which, as soon as he had recovered from his wound, he undertook against the vile West Saxon murderers. In this campaign he was completely successful. Having slain five kings and much people, and returned victorious from the war, he at once abandoned the worship of idols and began seriously to consider the question of making a formal profession of Christianity.

It was apparently during this religious interregnum that the

King and Queen of Northumbria received each a letter from Pope Boniface V. The letters, verbose and unpersuasive in style, can hardly have had much influence on the fresh and vigorous intellect of the Northumbrian king, but no doubt the fact that they should have been written at all by the father of western Christendom was felt as a compliment to Edwin's greatness. Still, however, the king hesitated before making a final breach with the traditions of his fathers and accepting Christ instead of his ancestral Woden. Unable to dismiss the subject from his thoughts he sat much apart in solitary places and there mused upon the parting of the ways. While he thus sat one day, Paulinus came unbidden into his presence, laid his hand upon his head and said: "Rememberest thou this sign?" With that the scene outside the East Anglian palace came back vividly into Edwin's memory. He was about to fall at the feet of Paulinus, but the bishop lifting him up said in a gentle voice: "Behold thou hast escaped by the Divine favour the snares of thine enemies: thou hast received the kingdom which was promised thee: delay not to stretch out thy hand and grasp the third blessing, even eternal life".¹

Thus admonished Edwin determined to delay no longer his profession of Christianity, but wisely resolved to associate as many as possible of his counsellors with him, and to make the great change the act of the nation rather than of the king alone. Then followed the memorable and well-known scene in the Witenagemot, or meeting of the wise men, perhaps at York, perhaps at the royal villa by the Derwent. When the subject of the proposed change of faith was mooted in the assembly of the elders, its first and most strenuous advocate was found to be the chief priest Coifi, who complained that his past years spent in zealous service of the gods had brought him no proportionate share of the royal favour. To this sordid calculator of the worldly advantages to be derived from this or that form of faith, succeeded an unnamed ealdorman who, in words as well fitted to the twentieth century as to the seventh, painted the short,

¹ In telling this story Bede hints that Paulinus received by supernatural means the particulars of an earlier supernatural appearance; but he does not put forward this theory very confidently, and we may, perhaps, sufficiently account for the incident if we suppose that Paulinus himself, unknown at that time to Edwin, was the chief actor in the first scene, the memory of which he revived at an opportune time to strengthen the wavering faith of the king.

CHAP. perplexing and precarious life of man "like a sparrow flitting
VIII. through your hall, O king! when we are seated round the fire at supper-time, while the winds are howling and the snow is drifting without. It passes swiftly in at one door and out at another, feeling for the moment the warmth and shelter of your palace, but it flies from winter to winter and swiftly escapes from our sight. Even such is our life here, and if any one can tell us certainly what lies beyond it, we shall do wisely to follow his teaching." Moved by these and similar arguments the elders and counsellors of the king, unanimously as it would seem, voted for the proposed religious revolution.

After Paulinus had expounded to the assembly the doctrines of Christianity, Coifi exclaimed: "Long ago had I suspected that the things which we were worshipping were naught, for the more earnestly I sought for truth in that worship the less did I find it. Now I openly profess that in this new preaching alone is the way of eternal life to be found. O king! let us at once give over to the flames the temples and altars which we have consecrated so vainly." The king gladly consented, but asked who should deal the death-blow. "I," said Coifi. "Who more fitting than I to destroy, in the new wisdom which is given me, the idols which I worshipped in my folly?" He besought the king to give him arms and a war-horse, and though the multitude, who knew that it was forbidden to one of their priests to bear arms or to ride on anything but a mare, deemed him to be insane, he mounted the charger, rode to a great temple in the neighbourhood, hurled his lance into its sacred precincts and called upon his companions to give to the flames the shrine itself and all the enclosures by which it was surrounded from the gaze of the multitude. A hundred years afterwards men still showed at Goodmanham on the Derwent, east of York, the ruins of this great iconoclasm.

The overthrow of the old faith was followed by the visible triumph of the new. On Easter eve, 627, just a year after his escape from the dagger of the man of Wessex, Edwin was baptised by Paulinus in the new wooden church of St. Peter at York, a church which he was shortly to replace by a more elaborate edifice in stone. His sons by the Mercian princess before long followed his example: his young children, the offspring of Ethelburga, and even a little grandson Yffi, son of

Osfrid, together with a great number of the nobles of the court, were all solemnly received into the Christian Church. The preaching of Paulinus, so long resultless, now seemed to be bearing abundant fruit. Up in remote Bernicia, where the royal villa of Yeavering nestled under a hill, an outlying sentinel of the Cheviots which still bears the name of Yeavering Bell, Paulinus was engaged for twenty-six consecutive days catechising and baptising in the river Glen the multitudes who flocked to him. Returning to Deira, to the Roman station of Cataractonium, he there baptised many converts in the river Swale, no church or oratory having yet been erected for Christian worship. In his zeal he overpassed the strict limits of Northumbria : he crossed the Humber, preached the Gospel in Lindsey, converted the "prefect" of the city of Lincoln, and baptised a multitude of people at noon-day in the river Trent, King Edwin himself honouring the ceremony by his presence. One of the many converts who went down on that day into the river with Paulinus described the scene to a youth who when an abbot, in his reverend old age, passed the tradition on to Bede, telling him that the great missionary was a man of tall stature, slightly stooping, with black hair, thin face, aquiline but slender nose, in his general aspect at once venerable and awe-inspiring. His constant attendant was a certain deacon James, a courageous and energetic man, who also lived to be a contemporary of the historian.

In after years of turbulence and discord men looked back on the reign of Edwin as a sort of golden age. They said that then a woman with her new-born babe might cross Britain from sea to sea unharmed by any man. In many a place where he saw a clear fountain bubbling up beside the public way he would order stakes to be erected, upon which brazen pots were hung, and none dared to touch them save the thirsty travellers for whose use they were designed. His state was indeed kingly. Not only in war was his standard displayed ; but in peace also, as he was journeying from villa to villa and from province to province, attended by a long and brilliant train of servants, a banner with a tuft of feathers, called by the Romans *tufa* and by the English *thuuf*, and hinting perhaps at something like imperial dignity, was borne before the mighty king of Northumbria.

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But this splendour of regal power was early overshadowed. It was not, after all, from Eburacum that the word of power was to go forth which was to bind the various Teutonic races of England into one nation. The Anglian power was not thoroughly established over Wales, and already the destined rival of Northumbria, the Mercian kingdom, was rising into baleful pre-eminence. Singularly enough, it was from these two powers which are said to have sheltered Edwin in the time of his evil fortunes that his ruin came. Cadwallon, King of Gwynedd, descended from that Maelgwn whom Gildas vituperated under the name of "The Great Dragon of the Island," was son of Cadvan, at whose court, it is said, Edwin had passed his boyhood. Doubtless Cadwallon keenly resented the position of inferiority to which his nation had been reduced by Ethelfrid's great victory of Chester, which shut them off from Strathclyde, as Ceawlin's victory of Deorham had shut them off from Devon and Cornwall. When Edwin, once Cadvan's humble guest, had become the mightiest prince in Britain, Cadwallon, unwilling to accept his yoke, had taken refuge—so say the Welsh annals—in Ireland. He had now returned and was determined to strike one more blow for independence and for liberty of passage to Strathclyde. With this intent he formed an alliance with the ruler of Mercia, Penda, who became king in 626, a year before Edwin's baptism; who was still pagan; and who in his dull ferocity was as typical a specimen of the old faith as Edwin of the new. The alliance of the Welsh Christian and the English pagan for the overthrow of the newly born Christianity of Northumbria was scarcely felt to be unnatural, so intense was the bitterness engendered by the Paschal controversy and the varying fashions of ecclesiastical tonsure.

The armies met at Heathfield, which is identified with Hatfield Chase on the north-east of Doncaster, on October 12, 633. We have no details of the encounter: we only know that Edwin was defeated, that he and his eldest son Osfrid were slain, and that Cadwallon and his ally roamed in savage wrath over the plains of Yorkshire and Northumberland. The Christian, even more ferocious than the pagan, spared neither sex nor age, recognised no claim to mercy drawn from the profession of one common faith, and vowed (this surely when out

of hearing of his ally) that he would root out the whole brood of Angles from the land of Britain.¹ CHAP. VIII.

Edwin's second son fled for refuge to the court of the Mercian king, and was afterwards slain by him, in violation of his sworn promise of protection. The widowed Ethelburga fled to the court of her brother, the King of Kent, under the escort of Paulinus. The royal infants—such was the terror of the times—were separated from their mother, and it was left for a brave soldier named Bass, one of Edwin's thegns, to bring to the Kentish court the girl Eanfled, her brother Wuscfrea, and their little nephew Yffi, the orphaned son of Osfrid. The widowed queen afterwards sent the boys to the court of her cousin, Frankish Dagobert, that they might be safe from the new rulers of Bernicia, but both died in infancy in that foreign land. As for Paulinus he seems to have bowed his head to the storm of the recrudescence of paganism of Northumbria. He vacated his Yorkish see, and was appointed Bishop of Rochester, in succession to Romanus, who had been drowned in the Mediterranean when sent on a mission to Rome. He died in 644. The ill-starred union of Mercian paganism and British fanaticism seemed to have accomplished its purpose. Northumberland was a wilderness and Northumbrian Christianity a vanished dream.

¹ It must be remembered that this is the Anglian version of the story, possibly unjust to Cadwallon, and that the Britons had the wrongs of two centuries to avenge.

CHAPTER IX.

OSWALD OF BERNICIA.

CHAP. IX. WHEN the cause of Christianity and, as connected with it, the hope of eventually building in the new England a civilised and well-ordered state seemed at its darkest, light arose from an island in the Hebrides; it spread to a rough storm-beaten rock on the Northumbrian coast; it illumined one of the noblest and loveliest pages in the history of our nation, the reign of Oswald of Bernicia.

The conversion of the southern Picts to Christianity is believed to have taken place more than two centuries before the date that we have now reached. Near the close of the fourth century when the Roman empire had already begun to crumble into ruin, St. Ninian, a Briton educated at Rome, filled with veneration for the soldier-saint, Martin of Tours, came to the region between the Roman Wall and the Grampians, preached Christianity with much success to the Picts who dwelt in that country, and built a monastic church dedicated to St. Martin, on one of the promontories of Galloway which project south into the Irish sea. This church, built of stone, and thereby differing from the humbler wooden churches of the period, was called *Candida Casa* (a name represented in its modern successor Whithorn), and it is said to have been still in course of erection when Ninian heard of the death of the holy man in whose name he dedicated his beautiful "white house". Nearly two centuries passed away. There was much intercourse of various kinds between the dwellers in the Hebrides and their neighbours the Scots of Ireland. The Dalriadic kingdom, Scottish (that is Erse) by race and Christian by religious profession, was set up in Argyll and the adjacent islands; but the Picts north of the Grampians whose relations to Dalriada were generally hostile, remained obstinately heathen. All this was changed by an

event which took place about the year 563—the arrival of St. Columba from Ireland. Whatever accretions of superstitious legend may have grown up around the name of this saint, the historic importance of the great apostle of the Picts cannot be denied, and can hardly be over-stated.

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Born in Donegal, in the year 521, a scion of the princely clan of the Hy Neill, descended from Irish kings both on his father's and his mother's side, the young Irishman in his boyish days showed such zeal in his attendance at church that his baptismal name of Colum was changed to Colum-cille or Columba of the church. He was ordained priest, but the bent of his religious temper like that of most of his Irish contemporaries was all towards the monastic profession. During his early middle life he was busily engaged in founding monasteries, the first in point of date being that of Derry, and the most famous that of Durrow in the diocese of Meath. But in his fortieth year, 561, he became entangled in one of the ever-recurring civil wars of his distressful country. A great battle was fought at Cuilcremhne, in Connaught, near the boundary between that province and Ulster. Columba's kinsfolk, the northern Hy Neill, prevailed and the King of Ireland, commanding the clans of the southern Hy Neill, was defeated. Though his friends' cause triumphed, the battle appears in some unexplained manner to have injured Columba's religious position in his native country. He seems to have been excommunicated by some of his brethren, possibly on account of his alleged responsibility for the strife. At any rate he now resolved to quit his country and, perhaps as a penance for his sins, to take up his abode in some place from which he could not even see the shores of his beloved Ireland. Such a place, after some wandering, he found in the then little known island of Hy, famous to after ages under the name of Iona; where, as tradition tells, he ascended a hill which still bears the name of Cul-ri-Erin (back turned to Erin), and when he found that no line of the Irish coast, however dimly seen, could thence be discerned on the horizon, amid all the cluster of surrounding islands, he determined to make that little spot his dwelling-place. Iona is separated from the much larger island of Mull by a channel about one mile broad. It is only three miles long, and from a mile to a mile and a half in breadth; yet in this little space there is considerable

CHAP. variety of scenery; hills, the highest of which attains to an
IX. elevation of 320 feet, "retired dells, long reaches of sand on shores indented with quiet bays, little coves between bare and striking rocks, and on the west wild barren cliffs and high rocky islets opposed to the sweep of the Atlantic".¹ As Bede says: "it is not large but computed as containing five families according to English reckoning". (The word "families" is rendered "hides" in the English *Chronicle*, and this is an important passage as showing what were the average dimensions of a "hide of land" in early Saxon times.) The ruins now visible on the island are those of a Benedictine abbey of the thirteenth century. No traces remain of the buildings, probably wooden, raised by St. Columba, but there are many interesting natural features which may be recognised in the nearly contemporary life of the saint written by the ninth abbot of Iona, Adamnan.

The objects which Columba set before himself after his migration to Iona were political as well as religious. His kinsmen, the Scots of Dalriada, were harassed and oppressed by the pagan Picts in the east of the island, whose king, Brude, had in the year 560 inflicted a crushing defeat on the Scottish king, Gabhran. Columba would fain convert the Pictish conqueror to Christianity, and at the same time obtain more generous treatment for his beaten countrymen; and by the magic of his personality he achieved a striking success in both directions. King Brude in 565 embraced Christianity, and relations of peace and friendship were established between him and the man whom, in 574, Columba succeeded in placing on the throne of Dalriada, Aidan, Prince of Strathclyde. The thirty-four years of Columba's life, after his great migration, were spent in establishing monasteries in the land of the northern Picts, in the Hebrides and in his native Ireland, to which he paid several visits, and where the once excommunicated partisan was now an honoured, almost worshipped guest. These Columban monasteries, "the family of Iona" as they were called, were of a distinctly different type from that of the monasteries of the Benedictine rule. Like all the Irish monastic establishments they partook largely of the tribal character. The tribe gave the land, contributed to the support of the monks, had a right to receive, apparently without special charge, their religious

¹ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii., 89.

ministrations, and in certain circumstances had also a right to nominate one of its members as abbot, though the first claim upon this coveted office resided in the family of the founder. It was thus that the first nine abbots of Iona were all descended from the same family, the northern Hy Neill, from which St. Columba himself had sprung. This tribal character of the monasteries suited the genius of the Celtic populations, and was one reason of the success of the missionaries in converting them to Christianity. It has been truly said¹ that "these large monasteries, as in their external aspect they appeared to be, were in reality Christian colonies into which converts, after being tonsured, were brought under the name of monks".

The large part thus played by the monasteries in the work of conversion impressed in its turn a peculiar character on the churches of Ireland and Hebridean Scotland, rendering them more exclusively monastic and less purely episcopal than the churches of Italy and Gaul. This divergence resulted in part from the nature of things, and was due to the differences of place and time in which the conversion of the several countries was respectively effected. The Bishops of Lyons and Vienne, of Toledo and Seville began their work while the Roman Empire was still standing, were to some extent moulded by its form, shared the prosperity and the influence of its great towns and were essentially magnates of cities. Columba, his comrades and his pupils, came into a much ruder and more primitive state of society. The rough tribal rulers whom they converted had scarcely any cities worthy of the name. The new missionaries planted their monasteries in such rural places as promised them the supply of their simple wants, or even only safety from the attacks of a midnight foe—often on an island in a lake or surrounded by the ocean—and there, not so much by eloquent preaching as by mere rightness and simplicity of living, succeeded in converting whole populations to the religion of Christ. The conversions thus obtained seem to have been for the most part more genuine and more durable than those which were first effected in the large cities of the old Roman world and from thence radiated outwards into the country.

It has seemed necessary to emphasise this distinction between the two types of ecclesiastical organisation (the fourth

¹ By Skene, *u.s.*, ii., 63.

CHAP. IX. century Gaulish and the sixth century Irish Churches) because the difference reappears in our own history. The Roman mission under Augustine and his successors, and especially under Paulinus in Northumbria, seems to have gone on the old urban and episcopal lines, while the far more successful mission from Iona, with which we have now to deal, was monastic, many-centred and rural. In the year 597, the very year of Augustine's arrival in England, St. Columba died. He is one of the most vividly seen personalities of the early Middle Ages: a man of somewhat hot temper in youth, softened and controlled in later life, with a stately beauty of feature which seemed to correspond with his princely descent, and with a kind of magnetic power of attracting to himself the devotion of his followers, a lover of animals and beloved by them. One of his natural gifts was an extraordinarily strong and resonant voice which, when he sang the psalms of the church, could be heard distinctly for more than a mile. A great open-air preacher, an organiser and a poet—he eagerly championed the cause of his brother bards before an Irish synod—he might, perhaps, not unfittingly, be called the John Wesley of the sixth century.

In 615, about eighteen years after the death of Columba, when his fellow-tribesman Fergna was ruling, fourth in the series of abbots, at Iona, a party of refugees from the south crossed the little channel and landed on the shore of the island, craving shelter and sanctuary. They were some of the attendants of Ethelfrid, the late King of Bernicia, who had been slain "when the river Idle ran foul with Anglian blood," and they brought, besides other noble youths, Oswald, that king's second son, and implored the brethren to protect him from the avenging might of Edwin. There was no shadow of a claim for this young Anglian, son of an obstinate pagan, on the hospitality of the Irish monks, but the request was willingly granted. Oswald and the young nobles his companions were kindly received, were soon baptised, and instructed in the doctrines of Christianity, and growing up to manhood on the sequestered Hebridean isle, probably looked forward to no other sort of life than that which was led by the simple-hearted monks their entertainers.

All this was changed, in 633, by the great and unlooked-for catastrophe of Heathfield. The two Northumbrian kingdoms,

united under the strong rule of Ethelfrid and Edwin, fell once more apart. Osric, cousin of Edwin, son of his uncle Elfric, ruled in Deira, and Eanfrid, eldest son of Ethelfrid, in Bernicia. These two young princes, each of whom had made profession of the Christian faith, both apostatised and returned to paganism. Possibly the sordid calculations by which Coifi had justified his renunciation of the faith of his fathers weighed with them now in the opposite scale, and they felt themselves justified in deserting the Christians' God, who had abandoned their land to the tender mercies of Penda and Cadwallon. But the triumph of paganism was short. Osric, who with inadequate forces besieged Cadwallon while holding the "municipium" of York, was killed and his whole army cut to pieces by a sudden sally of the Welsh king. This happened in the summer of the year which followed the battle of Heathfield, and, apparently in the following autumn, Bernician Eanfrid, coming with twelve chosen warriors to treat of peace with Cadwallon, was treacherously slain by his orders. So full of gloomy memories was this year, 634, that the monkish chroniclers, who afterwards drew up a scheme of Anglian chronology, decided that it should not come into the number of the years, and silently included it in the glorious reign of him who succeeded the apostates.

This successor was Oswald, who came from Iona evidently determined to play the part of a Christian hero-king, and who endured to his life's end steadfast in that decision. By one bold stroke he delivered his nation, Bernicia, from the Cambrian ravagers. "When he arrived after the death of his brother Eanfrid with a small army, and fortified by the faith of Christ, the wicked general of the Britons with the immense forces which, as he boasted, nothing could resist, was slain by him at the place which is called in the English tongue 'Denisesburn,' that is, the stream of Denis." So runs the first simple statement of Bede as to this important encounter which for ever settled the question whether the Celt or the Teuton was to be supreme in Northern Britain. From Bede himself, as a kind of afterthought, and from Adamnan, the biographer of St. Columba, we get some additional particulars which enable us to see more clearly if not the strategic features of the battle at least what was passing in the minds of the combatants. It seems that the battle itself was fought not at "Denisesburn" but at Heaven-

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field, a little on the north of the Roman wall, which probably was an important element in the problem that the Anglian king, with his great inferiority of forces, had to solve.¹ The great Roman work, striding across the country in its uncompromising way, here traverses a high moorland which separates the main stream of the Tyne from its northern affluent, and in this portion of its career it is from 700 to 800 feet above the level of the sea. Though none of its stones are here remaining, we can yet trace the high mounds and deep fosses of its companion, the line of fortification on the south, which is known by the name of the *vallum*. Between these two lines, that of stone and that of earth, ran the Roman road, still probably in Edwin's day capable of being traversed, notwithstanding 230 years of neglect. Along this road Cadwallon may have marched, and by it he may have encamped for the night, while somewhere, behind either wall or *vallum*, Oswald may have placed in ambush his father's veterans. He himself was in a mood of religious and patriotic exaltation. On the day before the battle he had in his sleep a vision of the blessed Columba, whom he had never seen with the eyes of the flesh. The saint's beautiful face shone with angelic brightness: his figure rose majestic till it seemed to touch the clouds: he spread his mantle over the Anglian camp. Addressing Oswald in the words which Moses spake to Joshua he told him to be strong and of a good courage, for the Lord would be with him. Let him march out on the following night to battle: his foes should be all scattered in flight, and the Welsh king should be delivered into his hands.

Awaking, Oswald assembled his council, told them his dream and received the unanimous promise of the army that if they won the victory they would make profession of the Christian faith. He then caused a large wooden cross to be prepared and a hole to be dug, in which it was firmly planted, he himself holding it erect with both hands while his soldiers filled in the soil. When this was done he cried to the host with a loud voice: "Let us all bend our knees and together call upon God Almighty, the Living and the True, that He in His pity will defend us from our proud and cruel foe: for He knoweth that this is a just war

¹ Nennius (*Hist. Brit.*, § 64) says "in bello Catscaul". *Cat* is an old English word for battle; *caul* is probably corrupted from *gnaul*, the word elsewhere used by Nennius for the Roman wall (*cf.* §§ 23 and 38).

that we have undertaken for the deliverance of our people". All obeyed his command and prayed to the God of the Christians. That night, just before dawn, they moved out of camp, attacked the probably unsuspecting Britons, and inflicted upon them a crushing defeat. Many of the enemy must have perished on the wide moorland; some who probably fled southwards with Cadwallon, their king, were whelmed in the deep waters of the Tyne. Cadwallon himself met his death (how we know not) on the banks of the little Rowley Burn, some five miles south of the Tyne and ten miles from the field of battle. Such was the event which ruined the British hopes of a reconquest of the island, which confirmed the endangered work of Ethelfrid, ratified the victory of Chester, cut off the Britons of the south from their kinsmen in Strathclyde, and confined the former to that mountainous rectangle of territory which we know as Wales. The son of the slain king, "Cadwallader the Blessed," perhaps strove for a time to maintain the high, almost imperial pretensions of his father, but his long reign seems to have been on the whole disastrous, and when he died a pilgrim at Rome in the year 681, the Welsh chronicler himself admits that "thenceforth the Britons lost the crown of the kingdom and the Saxons gained it".¹ The two centuries which followed the battle of Heavenfield are the darkest and dreariest in the history of Wales.

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Returning in triumph, as Columba in vision had promised him, Oswald proceeded to his father's wooden palace at Bamburgh, and from thence, apparently with little difficulty, extended his rule over all Northumbria. In Bernicia he would, of course, as the son of Ethelfrid, find many loyal hearts ready to greet him; and even Deira, now that Edwin and his progeny were off the stage, had possibly a welcome for the man who was not only the deliverer from British oppression, but also on his mother's side descended from the old line. For it will be remembered that Acha, wife of Ethelfrid, was daughter of Aelle of Deira.

Thus, then, did Bamburgh, which is now a lonely village by the German Ocean, become "the royal city," the most strongly fortified abode of the most powerful king in Britain,² the centre

¹ *Brut y Tywysogion*, s.a., 681.

² "Urbs regia" (Bede, iii., 6); "urbs munitissima" (Simeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, § 48).

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of a realm which stretched from the Humber to the Firth of Forth, and apparently, through the rest of the seventh century, the destined capital of England, if England should ever attain to unity. The traveller who now visits this dethroned queen of Northumbria will see much that, however noble and picturesque, must be eliminated by an effort of the imagination if he would picture to himself the Bamburgh of King Oswald. The massive keep that "stands four-square to every wind that blows," dates from the reign of Henry II. ; the great hall of the castle now ingeniously restored by a modern architect, was originally of the time of Edward I. ; some of the still existing buildings were reared by a benevolent ecclesiastic in the reign of George III. ; but the natural features of the place are unchangeable and unchanged, and in looking upon them we know that we behold the same scenes that met the eye of the conqueror of Cadwallon. Such is the rock itself, an upheaved mass of basalt upon whose black sides the tooth of time seems to gnaw in vain ; such are the long sandy dunes which gather round its base ; such the Inner and Outer Farne Islands, fragments of basalt rising out of the ocean at distances ranging from three to six miles from the castle ; such the far-off peninsula, which when the tide flows, becomes Holy Island ; such the long range of Cheviot on the western horizon, snow-covered for many months of the year. Such, we might almost say, is the fierce wind which, from one quarter or another, seems for ever attacking the lonely fortress, and which assuredly battered the "timbered" palace of Oswald as it now batters the time-worn fortress of the Plantagenet.

Scarcely had Oswald seated himself on the Northumbrian throne when he began to labour for the conversion of his new subjects to Christianity, a Christianity, however, not altogether after the fashion which Paulinus had taught to Edwin of Deira, but rather according to that which he himself had learned of his friends, the monks of Iona. The abbot Seghine paid him a visit, probably soon after his accession, and heard from his own lips the marvellous story of his vision of Columba and the victory of Heavenfield ; and one of his monastic family was despatched to teach the Northumbrians the religion of Christ. This missionary was a man of narrow intellect and austere temper, who soon returned to Iona with the unwelcome tidings that it was but lost labour to try to teach a nation so barbarous and untamable.

At the council whereat this report was rendered sat a man, probably in early middle life, the monk Aidan. "It seems to me, my brother," said he, "that thou hast been somewhat too hard on these poor unlearned folk, and hast scarcely remembered the apostolic precept to give milk to babes till such time as they may be able to understand and to keep the more sublime commands of God." The eyes of all in the council were turned upon the speaker who had so opportunely spoken words of wisdom. "Aidan shall be bishop," "Aidan shall be ordained to preach to the Northumbrians," was the unanimous decision of the assembly. He accordingly went southward, and for the next sixteen years (635-51) was the great missionary bishop of Northumbria. ✕

It must have seemed to Aidan when he visited the palace of the king, his patron, as if it was a special act of Providence that had fixed that palace where he found it. For here on the storm-beaten Northumbrian coast, within six miles from the royal dwelling, lay an island whereupon he could establish his monastery, and wherein he could be out of the world yet within reach of the world like his prototype Columba in Iona. This island which was given him by the king for his possession, bore then and has borne intermittently ever since the name of Lindisfarne; but even at this day for once that its legal designation of Lindisfarne is mentioned, you shall hear it a thousand times called by the endearing appellation of Holy Island, given to it probably twelve centuries ago when it first received the imprint of Aidan's sandals. The island is but a small one, only about 1,000 acres in extent, with three fair-sized farms, and a population of about 800 persons, chiefly engaged in fishing, and in winter often hard pressed for subsistence. The beautiful ruins of the Benedictine abbey, the parish church, the castle, built in the Commonwealth period, all belong to ages long posterior to the time when it first became "Holy Island"; but here, as at Bamburgh, the natural features of the landscape are so unchanged that it requires but little effort of the imagination to enable the beholder to travel backward through the centuries to see Cuthbert praying among the sea-gulls, or Aidan slowly pacing the long spit of sand which lay between him and the palace of the king. It will be seen that it is spoken of as an island, and such for all practical purposes it has ever been; for though on the north it stretches out a long sandy arm to the mainland, and at dead

CHAP. low water travellers may reach it from thence all-but dry shod,
IX. still their path, traversing three miles of wet sand and leading them through the waste of waters on either hand, seems to sever them from the mainland rather than to unite them thereto, and the inhabitants are at this day islanders in heart and feeling.

Here then dwelt the Celtic apostle of Northumbria, and from hence did he diffuse that influence which accomplished the lasting conversion of the northern Angles to Christianity. In this work he was powerfully aided by King Oswald. In all the history of Christian Church and state during eighteen centuries there are few fairer chapters than that which deals with the intercourse between Oswald and Aidan. There was evidently something in the character of the Celtic bishop which won for him more than the veneration, the love, of the Anglian king. Aidan was a man of absolute simplicity of character, intent on one purpose alone, that of spreading the Christian faith in the kingdom of Northumbria, utterly indifferent to wealth, and fame, and power, and yet without that harshness and austerity which the men of one idea so often display, and which made many of the noblest of medieval saints unloveable. Herein, and in his genuine, not feigned, contempt of riches we trace a certain resemblance between the saint of Lindisfarne and the saint of Assisi. Bede describes the character of Aidan with an enthusiasm all the more trustworthy, because he regretfully observes that "his zeal for God was not according to knowledge, since he kept the day of the Lord's Pascha according to the manner of his race, that is from the fourteenth day to the twentieth". He says of him, however, that "herein did he chiefly commend his doctrine to others in that he taught none otherwise than as he lived among his friends"; words which remind us of Chaucer's often quoted description of the "Poure Persoun of a Toun":—

But Criste's loore and his Apostles twelve
He taughte, but first he folwed it hymselfe.

It was a strange, but, as Bede says, a most beautiful sight, when the missionary who as yet had not fully mastered our English tongue would preach to the people; when Oswald, whose boyhood passed at Iona had made him master of the difficult Gaelic tongue, stood forth as interpreter, and translated to his own grim warriors and to the servants of his palace "the words of the heavenly life" as they fell from the lips of Aidan.

Occasionally, but not too often, for he dreaded the fascinations of a court, Aidan would accept the royal invitation and appear with one or two of his clergy in the great hall at Bamburgh. Even then after a short and hurried repast he would go forth speedily with his friends to read the Scriptures, to chant the Psalter, or to pray. But the scene enacted at one such courtly festival lingered for generations in the memory of men. It was Easter day (the heterodox Easter, as it may be feared), and the king and the bishop had just sat down to the mid-day meal. The bishop was on the point of stretching forth his hand to bless the royal dainties which were served in a splendid silver dish, when the king's almoner abruptly entered and told his master that a multitude of poor persons gathered from all quarters had arrived, and were sitting in the streets and in the courtyard of the palace, plaintively demanding alms from the king. Thereupon Oswald at once ordered the victuals to be distributed among the beggars, and the dish itself to be broken up into fragments, one of which should be given to each of them. Aidan, who was himself a most generous benefactor of the poor, was so delighted with the deed that he clasped the king's right hand and exclaimed, "May this hand never see corruption!"

Devoted as Oswald was to the Christianisation of his people he was no pious *roi fainéant*, but a strong and successful monarch who made his power felt at least from the Firth of Forth to the Bristol Channel. Bede tells us, perhaps with some unconscious exaggeration of the glory of his native Northumbria, that "he received under his sway all the nations and provinces of Britain, which are divided into four languages, those of the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the Angles". As he evidently here uses "Angles" as equivalent to Angles and Saxons, this sentence represents Oswald as accomplishing more than Egbert was to achieve two centuries later, and as practically the lord of our whole island. Consistently herewith he represents him as the sixth of the Bretwaldas; and Adamnan, who at first calls him merely "regnator Saxonicus," says that after the victory of Heavenfield he was "ordained by God emperor of the whole of Britain". But all these statements must be taken with considerable reservation. Oswald wielded evidently during the seven years of his reign the predominant power in the island, but we are not to think of him as interfering with any of the

CHAP. details of administration in Wessex or East Anglia, still less
IX. in Wales or among the Scots of Dalriada. With Wessex, indeed, we are expressly told that he formed ties both of relationship and of religion. When Cynegils, King of the West Saxons, who had been converted to Christianity by the preaching of Birinus, was baptised, his godfather, the man who, according to ecclesiastical phrase, "received him emerging from the sacred laver," was Oswald of Bernicia, who also became his son-in-law, accepting from the old West Saxon king the hand of his daughter in marriage.

From the character of our one chief authority, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, it naturally but unfortunately follows that we are left in almost total ignorance of the political events in Oswald's reign. Gladly would we know, for instance, whether the fierce Mercian, Penda, bowed his head even for a time under the yoke of Northumbrian supremacy, but on this point we are left without information. There are hints of earlier wars and fightings between the two states, but all that we can certainly say is that on August 5, 642, Oswald and Penda met in battle at a place called Maserfield,¹ and that though Penda's brother fell in the fight the Mercian king "was victorious by diabolic art," and Oswald lay dead on the battlefield. He died praying : when he saw himself girt round by the Mercian host and knew that his death was inevitable, he cried aloud : " Lord, have mercy on the souls of my army," and the remembrance of this prayer passed into a proverb : "' Lord, pity their souls,' as Oswald said when he was falling to the ground".

Oswald was in his thirty-eighth year when he died, the second Northumbrian prince in the prime and vigour of his days, who had fallen before the elderly barbarian, Penda. The brutal heathen had his head and hands severed from the body and fixed on stakes ; but before long, at a turn of the wheel of fortune, these relics, now deemed to be endowed with miraculous power, were carried to distant sites where they met with more honourable treatment. The head was deposited in the monastery at Holy Island, and in after years shared the migrations of the relics of St. Cuthbert : the hand, "the uncorrupted hand" which Aidan had blessed, was enshrined at Bamburgh : the body, by the order of Oswald's niece, Osthryd, now Queen of

¹ Generally identified with Oswestry (Oswald's tree) in Shropshire.

the Mercians, was reverently laid in the monastery of Bardney in the centre of Lincolnshire. In his lifetime Oswald had, with some display of force, extended his dominion over this South-Humbrian land, mindful of which fact the patriotic monks were loth to receive the body of their conqueror, but a pillar of fire hovering at night over the coffin showed them that the corpse to which they were refusing admittance would be a precious and wonder-working relic, and turned their aversion into eagerness for its possession. Numerous in fact were the miracles alleged to be wrought by the dissevered fragments of the kingly body, and even by the dust of the battlefield on which he had fallen. The day of his martyrdom, August 5, was appropriated to the cult of Saint Oswald, and the fame of the new saint and his wonder-working relics spread rapidly not only in England but in Ireland and on the Continent.

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IX.

CHAPTER X.

OSWY AND PENDA.

CHAP. X. THE Mercian victory of the Maserfield was doubtless followed by a ravaging expedition into Northumbria. When the waters of the flood subside we find that country again split into the two kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira. In the former reigned Oswy (or Oswiu), brother of the martyred Oswald ; in the latter, Oswin, son of that Osric, Edwin's cousin, whose one year's reign preceded the accession of Oswald. For seven years (644-651) these two kings reigned side by side in the northern land, but before their further career is described it is necessary to turn back and consider more closely the history of that midland kingdom which was running so even a race with Northumbria for the supremacy in Britain.

The causes and the stages of the development of the Mercian power, and even the origin of the Mercian state, are alike hidden from us. All that can be said is that in the early part of the seventh century we find the Mercians, an Anglian tribe, manifesting themselves in force in Staffordshire and Shropshire along the Welsh *March* from which they perhaps derived their name. As the century proceeds, they conquer or ally with themselves the Middle Anglians, who seem to have inhabited Leicestershire and some of the country adjacent thereto ; as well as the South Angles in Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Hertfordshire, who sooner or later became incorporated in the new state. The agent in these great changes was probably Penda himself, the strong-willed pagan who, in 626, at the age of fifty, ascended the Mercian throne, which he occupied for nearly thirty years. Of his alliance with Cadwallon of Wales, and his successful wars with the Northumbrian kings, Edwin and Oswald, enough has already been said in previous chapters ; but his dealings with Wessex and East Anglia require some further notice.

CHAP. by another son, named Cenwalh, who still persisted in heathenism.
 X. Soon, however, as Bede remarks, he who refused the offer of the heavenly kingdom, lost his earthly crown. Growing tired of his wife, who was a daughter of Penda, he divorced her, and this repudiation naturally brought upon him the wrath of the Mercian king. Expelled from his kingdom (645) by the victorious arms of Penda, Cenwalh took refuge in East Anglia, at that time the most enthusiastically Christian of all the English kingdoms, with the possible exception of Kent. The persuasions of the East Anglian king, Anna, induced him to make profession of Christianity, and when, after three years' exile (648), he succeeded in recovering his ancestral kingdom, Cenwalh continued faithful to his new creed, and for the remaining twenty-eight years of his reign he ruled as a Christian king. Thus Wessex, before the seventh century was half way through, accepted the faith of Christ.

The place which witnessed the baptisms of these West Saxon kings, and in which Birinus fixed his episcopal seat, deserves a passing notice. The Dorchester of Oxfordshire (which must on no account be confounded with the county-town of Dorset) is now a pleasant but obscure village on the left bank of the Thames about twelve miles south-east of Oxford. It is in a country full of archæological interest. High on a hill to the west rises what has been truly called "the mighty camp of Sinodun," a relic apparently of pre-Roman times; and nearer may be traced the so-called "dykes" of the Thames, the work probably of Roman engineers. In the village itself is a fine old abbey church with architecture of various ages, a church which might yet serve on occasion as a cathedral. There is also a great charm in the antique appearance of the place with its picturesque houses, some of them dating from the seventeenth century. Brought thus in contact with the spirit of the past, and freed from the importunate clamours of the industrial present, the traveller finds it not hard to re-create the scenes of the yet more distant past, to imagine Birinus preaching in his little wooden church, or Cynegils and his thegns riding through the swollen river. But for all this, it is hard to bring home to oneself the truth that this village was an ecclesiastical, and almost a literary centre, while Oxford, if it existed at all, was an obscure cluster of cottages; that she was the ecclesiastical metropolis, first of

Wessex and then of Mercia, and that royal Winchester and stately Lincoln are both in a certain sense the daughters of Dorchester.

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The shelter which King Anna gave to the fugitive Cenwalh was an act of generous courage in the ruler of a country which had already suffered much and was to suffer more at the hands of the terrible Penda. It will be remembered that Redwald, King of East Anglia, who had shown hospitality to Edwin, died a heathen, though more than tolerant of Christianity; but his successor, Earpwald (617-28), yielding to the persuasions of the Northumbrian king, allowed himself to be baptised. After a short reign Earpwald was assassinated by a worshipper of the old gods.¹ Heathenism and anarchy then prevailed in East Anglia for three years, at the end of which time Sigebert the Learned, brother or half-brother of Earpwald, returned from Gaul, in which country he had spent some years, having incurred for some reason the hatred of Redwald. In Gaul he had become a Christian and had pursued those studies which had procured for him his surname "the Learned". When raised to the East Anglian throne, he successfully attempted the reconversion of the country to Christianity, from which it never afterwards relapsed. He also—a noteworthy fact—"established a school in which boys might be instructed in letters," following herein the example set him by the King of Kent, and bringing his school teachers from Canterbury. In all his works, scholastic and religious, he was zealously aided by Felix, a missionary-bishop from Burgundy, who had fixed the seat of his episcopate at Dunwich, a city on the coast of Suffolk, long since swallowed up by the ocean. While the trained ecclesiastic, Felix, supplied the organising and educating influences needed by the infant Church of East Anglia, an enthusiastic energy was imparted to it by an Irish monk named Fursa, a man of vivid imagination, full of his marvellous revelations of the world of spirits, one whom, when we read the story of his visions as it is told us by Bede, we are almost persuaded to call the unlettered Dante of the seventh century. As men in Florence said when they saw the poet pass, "That man has been in hell," so the awe-struck Angles of Norfolk and Suffolk noted on the cheek and shoulder of Fursa the scars of the burning inflicted upon him for a slight

¹ "A viro gentili nomine Ricberto" (Bede, *Hist. Ecc.*, ii., 15).

CHAP. X. offence by the foul fiends whom he had seen in one of his visions ; and they remembered how in the depths of winter, and though he was thinly clad, the sweat streamed down his face while he rehearsed the terrible story.

Thus then, in the fourth decade of the seventh century, East Anglia became Christian : and already in her history was manifested that extraordinary desire of men in high places to save their own souls at the cost of leaving their duties to their fellows unfulfilled, which was, it may be said, the glory and the shame of Anglo-Saxon Christianity. After two or three years of reigning, Sigebert abdicated in 634, received the tonsure, and retired to a monastery. He was succeeded by his cousin Egric, but ere the new king had been long on the throne, the terrible Penda (probably crossing the fens which separated the two kingdoms) invaded East Anglia (637 ?). Some remembrance of Sigebert's capacity and valour in war seems to have dwelt in the minds of his late subjects, who saw themselves out-numbered by the Mercian hosts. They surrounded the monastery, and when their clamorous cries for Sigebert failed to draw him from his retirement, they pulled him out by main force and compelled him to place himself at their head. But he, mindful of his vow, refused to arm himself with any other weapon than a rod, and remained passive through all the tumult of the battle. He was slain and Egric with him ; the East Anglian army was cut to pieces, and Penda, as usual, triumphed.

It will be observed, however, that in these inter-Anglian contests annexation scarcely ever follows victory. The conquered people choose another king, over whom the conqueror no doubt asserts some sort of supremacy, and all goes on as before. So was it now. Anna, the son of Eni, of the royal East Anglian stock, but how nearly related to Sigebert we are not informed, succeeded his kinsman and reigned for some seventeen or eighteen years (637-654). During this time, as we have seen, he gave shelter to the fugitive King of Wessex, Cenwalh, and converted him to Christianity. He is chiefly noted for his "saintly progeny" of daughters and granddaughters, some of whom married into the royal houses of Kent and Mercia, carrying thither their enthusiastic zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith, and nearly all of whom became eventually abbesses in Britain or Gaul. The reign of this excellent king came to an end about

654. It is scarcely necessary to state the cause of his death. He was slain, probably slain in battle, by the nearly octogenarian Penda. Thus had three kings of East Anglia as well as two kings of Northumbria fallen before the all-conquering Mercian. But the tale of his victories was well-nigh told. Let us turn back to consider what had been happening in Northumbria during the twelve years that had elapsed since the death of Oswald.

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Two kings, as has been said, with perplexingly similar names, had been, perhaps by some tumultuary vote of their countrymen, raised to the two now separate Northumbrian thrones: Oswy, son of Ethelfrid, to reign in his great grandfather Ida's palace at Bamburgh, as king of Bernicia; Oswin, collateral descendant of Aelle and Edwin, to reign at York over Deira. Soon after his accession Oswy, who though only about thirty years of age, was a widower with at least two nearly grown-up children, sent a priest named Utta, "a man of much gravity and truth, and for that reason held in high honour even by princes," to solicit from the king of Kent the hand of his niece Eanfled, the exiled daughter of Edwin of Deira. It was arranged that Utta should travel to Kent by land, but—perhaps from fear of robbers—he was to return with the maiden by sea. Before his departure the priest sought Aidan's blessing and prayers for his safe journey. The saint foretold that he would meet with contrary winds, rising to a tempest, but gave him a bottle of holy oil to cast upon the raging waters. All happened as Aidan had foretold. The ship in which Utta and his precious charge were embarked was assailed by a tremendous storm: no anchors would hold; the sailors, finding the ship beginning to fill with water from the waves that swept over her, gave themselves up for lost. Then the priest, remembering Aidan's gift, poured oil from his flask upon the waters and the sea ceased from its raging. Probably the violence of the storm has been somewhat exaggerated by the narrators; but it is interesting to note that modern seamanship does not disdain to use an expedient which in the seventh century was deemed miraculous. One object in Oswy's matrimonial alliance was doubtless that of strengthening his claim on the men of Deira by his union with Edwin's daughter. Another result which he perhaps did not foresee was the revival in an acuter form of the strife

CHAP. between the Roman and Celtic Churches for the possession of
 X. Northumbria, since Eanfled represented the Roman Christianity of Augustine and Paulinus, while Oswy, like Oswald, had learned in his youth the Christianity of the Hebrides which was represented by his friend the saintly Aidan.

It was probably more or less the aim of every Northumbrian king to reunite the two kingdoms over which Edwin and Oswald had ruled as one realm. Thus Oswy may from the beginning have seen with impatience the rival power of Oswin of Deira. The latter was a man dear alike to martial thane and to devout Churchman: "fair of face, tall of stature, pleasant of speech, courteous in manner, and open-handed both to the noble and to the base-born. This truly royal dignity of his, displayed both in his looks and in his actions, won for him the love of all, so that from nearly all the [other] provinces [of the land] men of noblest birth flocked to do him service."

To this kingly soul was conjoined the virtue, rare in kings, of humility; to illustrate which Bede tells a well-known story. It appears that Aidan, from his island home in Lindisfarne, now often extended his missionary journeys far and wide through Deira, and, though he made a point of travelling on foot, had accepted from Oswin the present of a horse to enable him to cross the manifold rivers of Yorkshire. Meeting one day a poor man who asked of him an alms, and having apparently no money in his scrip, he gave to the astonished beggar the horse with all its royal trappings, "for he was very pitiful, a nourisher of the poor and, so to speak, a father of the miserable". When the king heard this he very naturally asked the bishop the reason of his strange procedure. "I had specially chosen that horse for your use, and if it was a question of giving horses to beggars at all, I had others, much cheaper ones, in my stable which would have served your purpose as well." Hardly with justice Aidan answered: "What art thou saying, O King? Is my steed, the offspring of a mare, dearer to thee than that poor man, a son of God?" And thereupon they went into the palace to dine. The bishop sat apart in his own place: the king who had just come in from hunting stood at the fire with his courtiers warming himself. Suddenly the reproving words of the bishop darted into his soul. He ungirded himself of his sword, which he handed to a courtier.

and hastening to the bishop fell at his feet and asked forgiveness, "for never henceforward will I cavil at any act of thine in giving from my treasures what thou wilt to the children of God". The bishop assured him of his forgiveness and bade him sit down joyfully to the feast. Oswin obeyed, and his merry laugh soon resounded through the hall, but the mantle of his late sadness fell upon Aidan who began to weep. "Why these tears, my father?" said a priestly companion in the Celtic speech which the men of Deira could not understand. "I know," answered the bishop, "that this king will not live long. I never saw so humble a prince, and this people is not worthy to have such a ruler."

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Too soon were Aidan's forebodings justified. In the seventh year of Oswin's reign the disputes between the two Northumbrian kingdoms reached a head, and their armies met in the field near Catterick, in Yorkshire. Finding himself hopelessly outnumbered, Oswin dismissed his soldiers to their homes and fled to the house of one of his followers named Hunwald whom he believed to be a loyal friend. Unfortunately Hunwald betrayed him to Oswy, whose officer Ethelwin was admitted into the house by the treacherous host and slew Oswin, together with his faithful henchman, Tondheri, who had shared his flight. This deed, which was evidently considered no fair act of war, but a foul and detestable murder, took place at Gilling (near Richmond in Yorkshire), on August 20, 651. At the request of Queen Eanfled, Oswin's near kinswoman, a monastery was erected on the spot by Oswy as a sort of expiation of his crime. Prayers in that monastery were daily offered for the souls of the two kings, the murderer and the murdered, but the blot on Oswy's memory remained. Twelve days after the death of his royal friend and disciple (Aug. 31, 651), Aidan also died after having for seventeen years held the see of Lindisfarne. The shortness of the interval after Oswin's death, and the close connexion with that event in which it is mentioned by Bede, seem to authorise the conjecture that grief at this treacherous murder of a Christian prince by his professed brother in the faith may have hastened the death of the toil-worn prelate. He died, not at Lindisfarne, but at a certain *villa regia* "not far from the city," says Bede, "of which I have already spoken". It is generally assumed, perhaps too hastily, that this royal *villa* was on the site of the modern village of Bamburgh, close to the foot of the rock

CHAP. on the top of which stood undoubtedly both the palace and the
X. town of Bebbanburh. A tent was spread for the dying saint contiguous to the church on its western side. He died leaning against a buttress of the church, and the lovers of miracles noticed that when the village and the church were wrapped in flames in the course of one of Penda's ravaging expeditions, this buttress against which the dying saint had leaned his head was the only part of the fabric which survived the conflagration.

The Northumbrian ravages of Penda may possibly have been of frequent occurrence. Besides that just mentioned there was at least one more in the lifetime of the saint, possibly soon after the death of Oswald. In this expedition also he sought by the aid of fire to achieve the conquest of the fortress which, in fact, remained impregnable till the invention of gunpowder. Destroying all the hamlets in the immediate neighbourhood of the royal city, he collected their ruins together, an immense mass of wooden beams, brushwood, straw-thatch and other inflammable materials, and piling them up against the lowest end of the cliff, waited for a favourable breeze to kindle his fire. It happened that at this time Aidan had retired from monastic Lindisfarne to the yet more solitary Farne Islands, where, but for the myriads of sea-fowl which resort thither in the breeding season, he could be alone with his Creator. Looking across the two miles of sea which separated him from Bamburgh, the saint saw clouds of smoke arising and balls of fire flying high over the castle walls. With hands and eyes uplifted towards heaven he cried: "See, O Lord, what ills Penda worketh". Thereat, says the legend, the wind changed, the flames beaten back from the fortress were driven upon the besiegers, who, with some of their number badly burned and all utterly affrighted, at once desisted from the siege of the city.

But there must have been peaceful intervals in the long duel between Mercia and Northumbria. In one of these intervals, Alchfrid, Oswy's son, sought and obtained the hand of Penda's daughter, Cyneburga, in marriage. This led to a similar request from Penda's son, Peada, King of the Middle Angles, for the hand of Alchflæda, daughter of Oswy. He was told that the only terms on which his suit could be successful were that he and all his people should receive the Christian faith. His

brother-in-law, Alchfrid, strongly urged him to the same conclusion, and he consented to listen to the teaching of the Christian priests. When he heard of the promise of a heavenly kingdom, the hope of a resurrection and of future immortality, he declared that he would gladly accept such a religion as that, even though no virgin-bride was to be the prize of his conversion. He came in 653 with a long train of thegns, soldiers and servants, and was baptised by Finan, Aidan's successor, at a royal *villa* called Ad Murum, close to the Roman wall, and twelve miles from the sea. The conversion of Peada was followed by the mission of four priests to the Middle Angles, that is the inhabitants of Leicestershire. The preaching of these men, seconded by the royal influence, was most successful, and practically the whole of that tribe came over to the new faith. Mercia, properly so called, on the west of the country of the Middle Angles, was still heathen, but even there Penda did not prohibit the preaching of Christianity. He does not seem to have had any deep-rooted objection to the doctrine of the Nazarene, though it was not for him, the descendant of Woden, to worship a deity so unlike the gods of his fathers. He did not, however, conceal his hatred and contempt of those men who, professing the faith of Christ, did not bring forth works according thereto, saying that they were poor and despicable wretches who did not obey the God in whom they professed to believe.

At last when the old king was close upon his eightieth year, the ever-smouldering quarrel with Northumbria broke out again into flame. Oswy felt that the repeated raids of Penda must by some means be brought to an end. He offered quantities of costly royal ornaments as the price of peace, but in vain. Penda would give no promise to cease from ravaging. "Then," said he, "if the barbarian will not be mollified by our gifts, let us offer them to the Lord God as the price of victory." His daughter dedicated to sacred virginity; twelve estates given for the foundation of as many monasteries; these were his vows to the Most High, and having made these promises he moved forward with confidence to the war, though his army was much smaller than that of the enemy; though his young son, Egfrid, was a hostage in Penda's hands; though his nephew, Ethelwald, Oswald's son, who had been elected King of Deira, was apparently on the side of the enemy; and though Ethelhere,

CHAP. brother of the martyred Anna, now marched to battle in the
X. host of the terrible pagan who had bound East Anglia to his chariot-wheels.¹ Alchfrid, son of Oswy, fought by his father's side, notwithstanding his affinity with Penda. If we may trust the fitful light of Nennius's history, Penda was again in this attack on Northumbria allied with the Britons, and Catgabail, King of Gwyneth, went with him to the war, but by a stealthy night march evaded the necessity of fighting.

The armies met on the banks of the Winwaed, possibly the Went, a stream in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The exaggerated traditions of a later day assigned to the Mercian king thirty regiments, each as large as the little army of Oswy, under the command of as many noble generals. Evidently, however, there was no little treachery in Penda's camp. The Welsh king, as we have seen, deserted on the night before the action. Ethelwald, in the hour of conflict, drew off his troops, and from a safe distance watched the event of the battle. Possibly there were others in the Mercian army who at heart sympathised with the Christian king. At any rate, Oswy won a signal victory (November 15, 655). Nearly all the thirty Mercian generals, including the East Anglian Ethelhere, were killed. Multitudes of fugitives were drowned in the waters of the Winwaed, swollen with autumnal rain. Most important of all, the octogenarian Penda, the slayer of five kings, perished in the fight, and with him fell the last hopes of English heathendom.

¹ In some way which is not explained, Ethelhere was himself "the author of the war". Possibly as suggested by Mr. Bates (*Archæologia Aeliana*, xix., 182-91), his marriage with a great niece of Edwin gave him some claim to the throne of Deira.

CHAPTER XI.

TERRITORIAL CHANGES—THE CONFERENCE AT WHITBY— THE GREAT PLAGUE.

THE victory by the Winwaed left Oswy undoubtedly the mightiest king in Britain. It may be convenient to enumerate here the chief territorial changes during the latter half of the seventh century which can be discerned between the succession of bishops and the miracles of saints that form naturally the chief subject of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. CHAP.
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I. Northumbria, at any rate after Oswy's victory, may have stretched along the eastern coast from Aberdeen or the Cromarty Firth nearly to the Wash. We are distinctly told that "he subdued the nation of the Picts or at least the largest part of them to the Anglian kingdom," and it is generally agreed that this must refer to the Picts north of the Firth of Forth, which was at this time the ordinary Anglian boundary. Southward, the dominions of which Oswy was overlord probably now included the whole of Yorkshire. It seems, however, to have been an accepted principle that when the overlord was king in Bernicia there must be an under-king in Deira. For seven years, as we have seen, the comely and gracious Oswin, either as equal colleague or as such under-king, reigned in Deira (644-51). After his murder and the consequent extinction of the direct male line of the descendants of Aelle, Oswald's son, Ethelwald, ruled over the southern kingdom. Did his dubious conduct on the battle-plain of the Winwaed fail to secure for him the favour of his victorious uncle? We cannot say, but it is an ominous circumstance that soon after that event he vanishes from the scene and is replaced by Alchfrid, son of Oswy by his first marriage. We have heard of this prince as assisting in the conversion of his brother-in-law, Peada, to Christianity; we have seen him fighting by his father's side against his father-in-law, Penda; we

CHAP. shall find him taking a leading part in the discussions about the
 XI. date of Easter and generally befriending the Roman party ; but besides these facts we hear also of some action on his part, possibly in the way of overt rebellion, whereby he added to the "labours" of his father. Whatever the date of this rebellion, if such it were, after 664 we hear no more of Alchfrid.

The mystery, however, that hangs over the life and death of Alchfrid almost heightens the interest which is attached to a monument raised to his memory, the celebrated Bewcastle Cross. There in the midst of a wide and desolate moor, as desolate, perhaps, now as it was twelve hundred years ago, rises an obelisk fourteen and a half feet high, once surmounted by a cross which has now disappeared, bearing in Runic letters the sacred name "Gessus Christus" (so must our Anglian ancestors have spoken of the Saviour), and an inscription which, though not yet deciphered beyond dispute, certainly says that the stone was raised as a memorial of "Alchfrith, son of Oswy, and aforetime King". Other runes give us the names of Alchfrid's wife, Cyneburga, of her sister (?) Cyneswitha, and of her brother Wulfhere, King of Mercia. An inscription seems to record that it was reared in the first year of his brother Egfrid, that is in 670. This date gives additional interest to the quaint but not ungraceful specimens of Anglian art with which the obelisk is enriched, to the flowing tracery of vine-leaves and grape-clusters, the birds and dogs, the figures of John the Baptist and our Lord, and (in the lowest compartment of all) the standing figure of a man with a bird on his wrist, perhaps King Alchfrid himself with his falcon. Even should the reading of one line of the inscription, "Pray for his soul's great sin," prove too fanciful to be accepted by future students, we have in the other utterances of this monument enough to invest with a peculiar interest the name of Oswy's son and Penda's son-in-law.

After the death of this prince, two younger sons of Oswy are spoken of on somewhat doubtful authority as successively holding the position of Deiran under-kings. It seems clear that there was in the two provinces, Bernicia and Deira, a certain reluctance to coalesce, an unwillingness of each to submit to the king chosen by the other, which it is not difficult to understand. Whatever may have been its cause, this tendency to estrange-

ment between its two great provinces had doubtless something to do with the early downfall of Northumbria. CHAP.
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The southern boundary of Oswy's kingdom was at this time a somewhat uncertain one. In the first place, what is now the county of Lincoln, or, as it was then called, Lindissi, was for generations the regular prize of war between Northumbria and Mercia. It was added to his dominions by the victorious Edwin, and if lost through his defeat by Penda, it was recovered by Oswald, but, as we have seen, so little was his yoke beloved that the monks of Bardney in Lincolnshire at first refused to give shelter to his bones. Under Penda it was doubtless again annexed to Mercia, and probably shared the fortunes of that middle kingdom until, between 671 and 675, it was recovered from Wulfhere, son of Penda, by Oswy's son and successor, Egfrid. It was once more regained for Mercia by Ethelred, probably about the year 679, and apparently never after owned the sway of a Northumbrian king.

2. After the victory of the Winwaed, Oswy seems to have been virtually master of Mercia. He continued his son-in-law, Peada, as under-king of Southern Mercia, that is the part of the kingdom south of the river Trent, but he apparently kept Northern Mercia in his own hands. In the spring of the following year, however, at the very time when the newly converted nation was celebrating the Easter festival, Peada was murdered, and dark suspicions prevailed that his young Christian wife was an accomplice in the crime. It is not hinted that Oswy himself had instigated the deed, but doubtless the horror of it added to the dislike with which the people of Mercia viewed the Northumbrian rule. Three years after old Penda's death, three of his veteran generals successfully conspired against the Northerner, brought out of his hiding-place a young son of their late master, named Wulfhere, whom they had till then successfully concealed, expelled Oswy's thanes, and restored the independence of the Mercian kingdom, apparently with its old boundaries. The new king Wulfhere was a zealous Christian—as indeed, strange to say, were all the children of Penda—and reigned for seventeen years well and gloriously (659-675). We hear of no attempt by Oswy to recover his supremacy over Mercia, although, as we have seen, his son did recover that shuttle-cock of battle, Lindsey. Wulfhere's chief wars seem to have been

CHAP. with the Kings of Wessex, over whom he won several victories.
 XI. The extent of his power is most clearly shown by the fact that having formed a friendship with Ethelwath, King of the South Saxons, and persuaded him to be baptised, he handed over to him the Isle of Wight and the district occupied by the Meonwaras in the east of Hampshire, which he had wrested from the King of Wessex. The son of Penda officiated as godfather to the new convert, whose example in accepting the Christian faith was followed by many of his thanes and soldiers, but not as yet by the bulk of the South Saxon people.

3. Of political events in the kingdom of the East Angles in the period now under review, we find scarcely a trace. Shut off from the rest of England by the great fen-lands, which covered almost the whole of the modern counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon, East Anglia seems to have generally kept the even tenour of her own solitary way, which was at this time the way of holiness. If we may judge of the people from their rulers, we should be inclined to conjecture that, under the influence of the preaching of Felix and Fursa, this isolated district of England was passing through a phase of religious fervour like that which made its counties the stronghold of Lollardy in the fourteenth, and of Puritanism in the seventeenth centuries, sending at the latter period so many stern enthusiasts to fight in the new-modelled army of Cromwell. Of course, in the seventh century religious zeal took a direction which would have brought it into fierce collision with the Ironsides of Naseby and Marston Moor. All the fairest fruits of Christianity at this time were ripened in the cloister, and a monastic life seems to have had irresistible attractions for the ladies of royal East Anglian race. King Anna, who, as we have seen, fell in battle against Penda in the year 654, left three daughters, two of whom were the wives of kings, but all of whom ended their lives as abbesses in a convent, and in the next generation two daughters of one of these saintly ladies (one of them also a queen consort) followed their mother's example.

4. Very different at one time was the religious history of the kingdom of the East Saxons, represented by the two modern counties of Essex and Middlesex. When we last heard of the affairs of this little kingdom Mellitus had been contemptuously driven forth from his episcopal seat in London because he

refused to administer the white bread of the communion to the heathen sons of King Saberct (617?). Since that time a generation had passed away, and Essex was still heathen. The king now reigning in London — one of the many Sigeberts who about this time perplex the student of Anglo-Saxon pedigrees — was, we are told, a friend and a frequent visitor to Oswy of Northumbria. In the halls of Bamburgh and Ad Murum the conversation often turned on religious subjects; and “How,” said the Northumbrian king, “can you think that these things are gods, which are made by the hands of men? You take a piece of wood or stone, and what is not needed for the purpose of idol-making you either burn in the fire or shape into some common household utensil which, when it is done with, is pitched out of doors and trodden under foot of men. How can these things be divine? We must think of the true God as incomprehensible, unseen, omnipotent, eternal, the righteous ruler of the world, who does not dwell in perishable substances but has His eternal seat on high. We can understand, too, that the beings whom He has created, if they will learn His will and do it, shall receive from Him eternal rewards.” Many dialogues of this kind at last produced an effect. The East Saxon king was baptised by Finan of Lindisfarne, Aidan’s successor, at the same royal *villa* of Ad Murum which had witnessed the baptism of Peada, the Mercian. Returning to his own kingdom he sought to bring his subjects over to his new faith and sent to Oswy for a missionary (653). Hereupon Cedd, one of a family of zealous Northumbrian converts who had been preaching Christianity in Mercia, was recalled from his work in the Midlands and sent to Essex, where he carried on a most successful mission, was consecrated as bishop, and, apparently for the first time, founded the church of London on a secure basis. Sigebert, however, was slain after a reign of some years by two noblemen of his kindred who were offended by his meek submission to the counsels of the bishop, and after one intervening reign,¹ two kings named Sighere and Sebbi reigned over the East Saxons jointly, but always in subjection to the overlordship of Wulfhere, King of Mercia, whose “sphere of influence” evidently included all the south of England with the doubtful exception of Wessex.

The accession of these two kings probably took place soon

¹ That of Swithelm.

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after 660, but dates as well as accurate pedigrees are grievously wanting for all this portion of history. In 664 a terrible pestilence, which ravaged Essex as well as all the rest of England, shook the newly-born faith of the people and divided their rulers. Sighere and all his subjects openly apostatised from the faith of Christ, sought out the old half-ruined heathen fanes, and began once more to worship the idols replaced therein. Sebbi, on the other hand, and the men under his sway remained steadfast in their profession of Christianity. Nor does the relapse into heathenism of the other half of the kingdom seem to have been of long continuance. The zeal of the overlord Wulfhere soon remedied that error. He sent his Mercian bishop, Jaruman, on a mission to the East Saxons, the third which had been despatched to that wavering people, and Jaruman, backed by the authority of his sovereign, without much difficulty overturned once more the idol-altars and brought back the recalcitrant East Saxons within the embraces of the Church. From this time onwards London, its bishops and its commerce become of ever-increasing importance in the pages of the historians.

5. The political history of Kent during this period offers little of interest. The king whose name figures most largely in the pages of Bede is Erconbert (640-64). He married Sexburh, daughter of Anna, one of the devout East Anglian family, and, partly perhaps owing to her influence, Church and State were more closely welded together in this than in any of the other kingdoms. "He was the first of all the English kings who by his princely authority ordered the idols throughout his kingdom to be abandoned and destroyed, and the fast of the forty days [of Lent] to be observed. And in order that these commands might be despised by none, he proclaimed fit and proper punishments against the transgressors." Thus in Kent we have reached the second stage in the establishment of Christianity, which is now no longer merely tolerated or approved by the sovereign but dominant and in a certain sense persecuting.

6. The obscure history of the South Saxon kingdom has been already touched upon in connexion with that of Mercia. Suffice it to remind the reader that under the protecting hand of the great Midland king, who evidently wished to make of this kingdom a counterpoise to the power of Wessex, it included not only the modern county of Sussex but also the

Isle of Wight and a good deal of the east of Hampshire ; and that though its royal family were Christian the bulk of the people remained idolators. This religious isolation of the South Saxon people is generally attributed to the fact already alluded to, that they were separated from the rest of England by the mighty forest of the Andredeswald, that "dark impenetrable wood" which yielded in later ages to the axes of the charcoal-burners of Sussex and Kent, so that the country which we call the Weald is now left comparatively bare and treeless. It is hard for us who now know the chief town of the coast of Sussex as virtually a suburb of London, to imagine the time when Sussex, isolated in its heathen barbarism, remained virtually another world to the inhabitants of Essex and Middlesex.

7. The history of the West Saxon kingdom, for which such a brilliant future was reserved in the coming generations, is for the seventh century obscure and uninteresting. Partly, of course, this may be accounted for by the fact that our one transcendent authority for this period, Bede, is himself a most patriotic Northumbrian, and cares little for distant Wessex. But even after making allowance for this weighting of one of the scales, it is impossible not to recognise the fact that in the West Saxon line during the greater part of the seventh century we meet with no such powerful personalities as Edwin, Oswald, and Oswy, nor do we find there any symptoms which would have warranted a beholder in looking for the eventual appearance of the splendid figures of Alfred, Edward, and Athelstan.

As we have seen, the fortunes of Wessex in her conflict with Mercia were at this time generally unprosperous. In 628 there was the disastrous war with Mercia. Then came the preaching of Birinus, the baptism and death of Cynegils and his son, the accession of the still heathen Cenwalh and his expulsion by his enraged brother-in-law of Mercia. He returned, perhaps, on the invitation of his kinsman Cuthred, to whom he made an enormous grant of property (3,000 "lands" or hides) at Ashdown in Berkshire. Having embraced Christianity in his exile, he completed the conversion of Wessex to the new faith. Unsuccessful as he seems generally to have been in his wars with Mercia, he met with better fortune in his campaigns against the southern Britons. In 652 we are told that he fought—assuredly with the "Walas," though this is not expressly

CHAP. XI. stated—at Bradford-upon-Avon. He thus apparently completed the conquest of Wiltshire, and it may well have been within a generation after Cenwalh's victory that Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, built that quaint little church, dedicated to St. Lawrence, which still stands overlooking the south-country Bradford, and which is nearly the best surviving monument of true Saxon architecture. Six years later (658) Cenwalh again fought with the Welsh at Peonnum (or the Pens, generally identified with Pensel Wood on the south-eastern border of Somerset), and this time we are distinctly told that he drove them as far as the river Parret. The larger half of the county of Somerset thus became definitively West Saxon, and the far-famed sanctuary of Glastonbury and the poetic valley of Avalon now owned the sway of a king who, though a Saxon, was also a Christian.

An important acquisition certainly : yet the very fact that it had still to be made, illustrates the extremely gradual character of the Saxon conquest of Britain. Two hundred years have now elapsed since the accepted date of the landing of Hengest, one hundred and seventy since Cerdic, one of the latest of the invaders, set foot on the shore of Southampton Water, and yet the West Saxons have only just crossed the Mendip Hills ; nearly half of Somerset and the whole of Devonshire and Cornwall have yet to be won. The other records of the reign of Cenwalh relate to his battles, generally unsuccessful, with the Mercian kings. His fellow-Christian, young Wulfhere, ravaged what was left of West Saxon territory north of the Thames, as far as Ashdown. While the territory of Wessex had been in some degree growing towards the west, it was, as we have already seen, curtailed towards the east by the loss of the district of the Meonwaras and the Isle of Wight which were handed over by Wulfhere to Sussex. Altogether there was little in the fortunes of the West Saxon dynasty under Cenwalh, or under the obscure rulers who followed him, to betoken that the hegemony would one day be theirs. When towards the end of the century Caedwalla and Ine appear upon the scene, the prospect somewhat brightens, but the victories of the first and the laws of the second must be dealt with in a later chapter.

From this brief review of the relations of the various Eng-

lish kingdoms to one another towards the close of the seventh century, it will be abundantly evident how far we yet were from anything like national unity. There does not even seem to be any dawning feeling of fellowship of race. Angle wages with Angle and Saxon with Saxon a long and embittered warfare; and more than once a Mercian or West Saxon king avails himself of British help to win the victory over his kinsfolk. If Anglo-Saxon unity was at length obtained, and we know that it was not till far on in the tenth century that it was even approximately realised, this result was due undoubtedly to two great causes: the influence of the national Christian Church and the necessity of self-defence against the Scandinavian invaders. With the first of these causes alone we have here to deal. It cannot be doubted that zeal for their new-born Christian faith was already in some measure drawing the English kings together. When Oswald of Bernicia stood sponsor for West Saxon Cynegils, when his brother Oswy persuaded East Saxon Sigebert to forsake the follies of idolatry, a moral bond of union was formed, which might be developed into a political relationship. The consciousness of common interest in the *Civitas Dei* might well become, and eventually did become, a consciousness of fellow-citizenship in one great country.

In order however that the Church might exert this unifying influence on English politics it was essential that she should be of one mind herself; but at this time the unfortunate division between the Roman and the Celtic Churches on the utterly unimportant questions of the shape of the tonsure and the right calculation of Easter did much to prevent so desirable a consummation. Utterly unimportant they seem to us, and probably few ecclesiastics of any school of thought would now deny their triviality; but there is a well-known law of theological dynamics that the bitterness of feeling between rival Churches is in inverse proportion to the magnitude of the issues between them; and so it proved at this crisis. Owing to the different quarters from which the different English kingdoms had received their Christianity, the religious map of England was divided in the following manner. Kent and East Anglia were firm in their following of Rome. Wessex also, which had been won for Christianity by Birinus, was steadily, though perhaps not enthusiastically, Roman. Bernicia, till late in the reign of Oswy, clung firmly

CHAP. to the teachings of Iona. Deira seems to have been generally
XI. on the same side, though the remembrance of the teaching of Paulinus, kept alive, as it was, by the teaching of his follower James the Deacon, had probably modified the strength of its Celticism; and Alchfrid the king, influenced by the persuasions of his friend Cenwalh, King of Wessex, had embraced with fervour the party of Rome. Mercia and Essex, both of which had been evangelised by Northumbrian missionaries, seem to have been somewhat half-hearted in their adherence to the Celtic traditions.

Such being the condition of things, Oswy, in conjunction with his son and colleague, Alchfrid, convoked in the year 664 a synod at Streanæshalch to discuss the thorny question of the difference between the Churches. The place was well fitted to be the scene of a memorable meeting. Its Saxon name, which, according to Bede, signified lighthouse-bay, well indicates that conspicuous cliff on the Yorkshire coast which we now know so well by the more common-place name of Whitby, given to it some three centuries later by its Danish destroyers and rebuilders. Hither, to this wind-beaten rock, had the holy Hilda, great-niece of Edwin of Deira, removed her convent from the more northern Hartlepool; and here she dwelt, ruling her double monastery of monks and nuns in all gentleness and purity, while the little Elfeda, Oswy's youngest daughter, whom he had vowed to God on the eve of his great battle with Penda, was growing up under her tuition into all the virtues of a perfect nun, and preparing to take her place one day as abbess of the convent. To the student of English literature Whitby monastery is for ever memorable as the home of the first English poet, Caedmon, who there, while sitting in the cow-byre, received the command from a heavenly visitor to sing "the beginning of things, the going forth out of Egypt, the suffering and the resurrection of the Lord".

At this place, then, all that was eminent for holiness in the infant Church of Northumbria came together to discuss the then all-important question of the true date for the keeping of Easter. However uninteresting from a religious point of view this question may now appear, the practical inconvenience of its unsettled condition was clearly seen in the household of King Oswy. Here was he, following the Celtic usage, celebrating his

Easter feast on the fourteenth day of the lunar month which included the vernal equinox, while his wife, Eanfled, daughter of Edwin and granddaughter of Ethelbert of Kent, refused to recognise as a possible Easter any Sunday earlier than the fifteenth of the same month. Hence it might possibly happen, nay, in the very next year after the council it actually would have happened, that in the very same palace the king would be celebrating Easter Sunday with all the feasting and the gladness which were considered the suitable accompaniments of the day of the Lord's resurrection, while the queen and all the holy men and women of her party would be sitting in the sadness of Lent preparing to follow in imagination the Dolorous Way by which on the successive days of Passion week the Saviour would be led up to the crowning grief of Calvary. The difference, as the fair-minded Bede is careful to explain, was not the same as that which separated the so-called Quarto-decimans from the Western Church, and which was finally condemned at the Council of Nicæa. That party, adhering strictly to the Jewish usage, celebrated Easter at the same time as the old Passover on "the fourteenth day of the first month," on whatever day of the week that day might happen to fall. Not so, however, with the sons of Iona. Columba, Aidan and all the saints of the old Celtic Church remembered the Crucifixion on a Friday and the Resurrection on a Sunday, whether those days fell on the fourteenth or sixteenth of the lunar month or not. Thus the correct date for the Christian seasons for both parties had to be arrived at by a compromise between the week reckoning and the month reckoning; the only question at issue being the form of that compromise and the limits of permitted deviation. The Celt contended that the pendulum must swing between the fourteenth and the twentieth days of the moon's age; while the Roman ecclesiastic allowed it to swing only between the fifteenth and the twenty-first. A small difference truly to cause such long and heated arguments, yet, as we have seen, where a house was divided against itself on this question, it might occasion no little practical inconvenience.

There was much that was illogical and unscientific in the arguments on both sides of the controversy. The fathers from Iona were fond of appealing to the authority of the beloved Apostle John, which, so far as it proved anything, proved not

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their contention but that of the old, universally condemned Quarto-decimans. The supporters of the Roman usage loudly asserted the necessity of following St. Peter, who certainly cannot be proved, nor can with much probability be even conjectured, to have ever expressed an opinion on the point at issue between the Churches. Much stress did they also lay on the unchanging custom of the Roman Church, whereas that Church had in fact shown its good sense by modifying its calendar in some important particulars in deference to the calculations of the more scientific fathers of Alexandria. Doubtless the real arguments, appealing to the heart rather than to the head, were on the one side the remembrance of saintly Christian lives, such as those of Columba and Aidan, producing a natural reluctance to admit that such men had lived and died in grievous error; and on the other side a feeling of impatience that the inhabitants of a few rocky islands in the wild Atlantic should set their judgment against the richly endowed and stately Churches of Paris, Arles and Vienne, of Milan and of Rome.

On the Celtic side of the controversy were ranged the saintly Hilda herself, and Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne, who, after the short intervening episcopate of Finan, had succeeded to the dignity held by the universally venerated Aidan. It was probably hoped, too, that King Oswy would be a stout defender of the usages which he and his brothers had learned in their long boyish banishment at Iona. On the other side, eager for union with Canterbury and Rome, stood Eanfled, the queen, and her step-son, Alchfrid of Deira. There, too, was James the Deacon, the follower of Paulinus, who for thirty-one years had maintained the cause of Roman Christianity in Deira. Highest in ecclesiastical rank on this side was Agilbert the Frank, Bishop of Dorchester, a learned man who had studied for some years in Ireland—then a great centre of theological study—but had apparently not cared to add the knowledge of Anglo-Saxon to his other accomplishments, for we are told that Cenwalh, King of Wessex, once his friend and admirer, growing weary at length of his “barbarous” way of talking, planted down at Winchester a rival bishop who could talk with him in Saxon. This gave Agilbert such offence that he resigned his diminished see of Dorchester, and returned to Gaul,

where he was appointed Bishop of Paris. That migration was, however, yet in the future, and it was still as Bishop of the West Saxons, though possibly of the divided see, that Agilbert appeared to support his sovereign's friend, Alchfrid, in the great controversy. The hint about Agilbert's "barbarous" Frankish language is especially interesting to the philologer as showing how widely the language of the Franks, probably from its admixture with degenerate Latin, was beginning to diverge from the kindred Anglo-Saxon. Two generations previously at the court of Ethelbert, the Kentish courtiers seem to have conversed without difficulty with the companions of their Frankish queen.

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When all were seated, King Oswy arose and made a speech on the need for unity of practice between men who were all seeking the same heavenly kingdom. Let them inquire which was the true rule for the calculation of Easter, and all follow that. He then called on his own bishop, Colman, to set forth the reason for his rule. Colman replied with the usual reference to the holiness of his predecessors and to the authority of the beloved Apostle John. Bishop Agilbert being called upon to reply, acutely conscious of his inability to speak in the English tongue, prayed that the task of replying might be assigned to one of his disciples, named Wilfrid the presbyter, who fully shared all his opinions and could clearly set them forth in the king's own language without the intervention of an interpreter.

Herewith there stepped on to the stage of English history an actor who was never to be long absent thence through more than forty troublous years. Wilfrid, who was now about thirty years of age, was the son of a Northumbrian thegn, a youth brought up in the rude luxury of a rich Anglian's hall, with horses, armour and goodly raiment at his disposal; but at the age of fourteen a harsh step-mother in his home, and some instinct of aspiration after a holier life, sent him to Lindisfarne, where he learned much, but gradually became dissatisfied with the Celtic position of isolation from Rome. Queen Eanfled, encouraging his disaffection, assisted him to visit the court of her cousin, Erconbert of Kent, from whence in his twentieth year he set out for Rome. On his way through Gaul the bright and handsome Northumbrian had offers of worldly pre-

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ferment and a rich marriage from the Archbishop of Lyons, but refusing all such worldly advantages, he pressed on to "the tombs of the apostles". Though to the reader of the pontifical annals, Rome in the middle of the seventh century, with its Monotheletic controversy and its Lombard wars, may not seem a very inspiring theme, it is clear that the great world-city, with its stately ruins and statelier church-organisation, exerted a powerful fascination over the mind of the young Northumbrian, and during all the rest of his life we find him, like another Loyola, staunch in his resolve to live or die for the defence of the Holy See. He learned from a certain Archdeacon Boniface "the daily lessons from the four gospels, the reasonable mode of calculating Easter, and many other things relating to the discipline of the Church of which he had been ignorant in his own country," and then returning through Gaul he again visited his friend, the Archbishop of Lyons, and received from him the monastic tonsure. The archbishop was still minded to make him his heir, and apparently with some such expectation Wilfrid remained for three years in attendance upon him. By one of those reverses of fortune to which the courtier-prelates of Merovingian Gaul were frequently subject, Wilfrid's patron lost both office and life, and Wilfrid himself narrowly, and only on account of his foreign origin, escaped sharing his doom.¹ Returning at last (in 658), after long wanderings, to his native Deira, he there found Alchfrid reigning, a man like-minded with himself in his preference of Rome to Iona. He settled eventually in a monastery at Ripon, from which Eata, friend and pupil of Aidan, had been expelled on account of his adherence to the Celtic usages by the hotly partisan king. Here Wilfrid, a year before the convocation of the synod, had been ordained as priest by Bishop Agilbert and installed as abbot of the monastery, which seems to have been to the end of his days the most dearly loved of his homes.

Such was the man, already well versed in the Paschal controversy, and deeply tinged with the Roman and Gaulish contempt for the religion of the Hebrides, to whom the grateful task was assigned of demolishing the arguments of Colman. "The Easter which we observe," said he, "is that which I

¹ The whole of this story about the so-called Palladius, Archbishop of Lyons, as related by Wilfrid's biographer is encompassed with historical difficulties. See Bright's *Early English Church History*, pp. 218 ff. (2nd ed.).

myself have seen celebrated at Rome, home and burial-place of the two great apostles. Wheresoever I journeyed, intent on learning and on prayer, throughout Italy and Gaul I found this feast celebrated. This feast, Africa, Asia, Egypt, Greece, nay, and the whole Christian world through all its various nations and languages do observe, save only these two obstinate nations, the Picts and the Britons (inhabitants of the two furthest isles in the ocean and of only a part even of them), who do with stupid energy strive against the opinion of the whole world." So spoke the haughty, foreign-fashioned ecclesiastic; and when we have heard this first tactless utterance of his, we are the better able to understand why all the forty years of his episcopate were more or less passed in strife. Colman plaintively asked if Wilfrid would call the blessed apostle John stupid. Wilfrid replied that St. John like St. Paul might do many things to conciliate Jewish prejudice, and that after all, his usage being that of the earlier Quarto-decimans, did not coincide with the Celtic Easter which must always fall on a Sunday. "No," he ended, "you who shut out the 21st day of the moon from your calculation, agree neither with John nor with Peter, neither with the Law nor with the Gospel."

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The debate then drifted off into a discussion of "the cycle of Anatolius,"¹ and an appeal by Colman to the virtues of Columba and his successors who had kept the Celtic Easter. "Surely," he pleaded, "the miracles which they had wrought showed that their teaching was acceptable in the sight of God." "I do not deny," answered Wilfrid, "that these men of whom you thus speak were God's servants. I think that if any Catholic calculator had come to them and taught them the better way, they would have obeyed his monitions. And however holy your, or I would rather say our, Columba may have been, however mighty in signs and wonders, can you prefer his authority to that of the blessed Prince of the Apostles, to whom the Lord said, 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven'?" As Wilfrid made this closing quotation the king turned to Colman and said: "Is it true that these words were spoken by

¹ An attempt to arrange the recurrences of Easter in a cycle of 19 years.

CHAP. the Lord to Peter?" "It is true, O king!" was the answer.
 XI. "Can you produce any instance of a similar power conferred on your Columba?" "We have none," answered Colman. Said the king: "Do both parties agree without controversy on this point, that these words were spoken pre-eminently to Peter and that to him the keys of heaven were granted by the Lord?" Both answered: "We do". Thereupon the king thus announced his conclusion: "Then I say to you that this is the door-keeper whom I am loth to contradict, and whose ordinances I desire to obey to the utmost of my power, lest haply when I arrive at the doors of the kingdom there shall be none to open them unto me if I have lost the favour of him who keeps the keys thereof".

The Bernician king evidently conceived of heaven as of a Northumbrian palace hall: and not unnaturally he, who knew his hands to be stained with the blood of his gracious kinsman Oswin, desired to enlist the sympathies of the most powerful patron possible on his side against the day when he should have to plead for entrance therein. Oswy's decision was, of course, final. All over Northumberland the Roman customs as to Easter and the tonsure now prevailed. Bishop Colman, who could not reconcile himself to the new ways, abdicated his see and returned to Iona, accompanied by all the Irish monks from Lindisfarne and by thirty Anglian brethren who shared their opinions. From Iona he afterwards went to Ireland and founded a monastery on an island off the coast of Mayo, which had not a very successful career. Cedd, bishop of the East Saxons, who had acted as interpreter and to some extent as mediator between the two parties, accepted the decision of the synod, and returned to enforce it in London and the rest of his diocese. Everywhere now throughout Teutonic Britain unity with Rome was established, and little more than a century elapsed before all the Celtic communities in Iona, in Ireland, even in sturdy recalcitrant Wales, had adopted the Roman Easter and the coronal tonsure.¹

The change was one which probably ought upon the whole to be considered beneficial. Unity was the thing now most needed, both politically and ecclesiastically, and unity had to be achieved by the State through the Church. It was, there-

¹The southern Irish conformed in 634; the northern Irish in 692; the northern Picts, 710; the monks of Iona, 716; the Britons in Wales, 768.

fore, well that this pebble, which broke the full flow of the stream towards unity, should be removed out of the way by the synod of Whitby. It was well, also, that there should be no hindrance to free and full intercourse between the ecclesiastics of England and those of the continent. True, the civilisation of Italy and Gaul in the seventh century was nothing to boast of. To Cicero or to Marcus Aurelius it would have seemed like barbarism: but it was superior to the barbarism of the Saxon, perhaps in some respects superior even to the undoubtedly high civilisation, at this time, of Celtic Tara and Armagh. Still it was not all gain that resulted from the decision of the synod of Whitby and the rupture of the spiritual bond that had bound Lindisfarne to Iona. Even Bede, with all his loyalty to Rome and abhorrence of the Celtic Easter, seems to feel this fact; else why does he introduce just at this point an eloquent panegyric on the simple life of Colman and his predecessors, their genuine poverty and the faithfulness with which they at once handed to the poor any money which they received from the rich? "At that time the religious habit was held in great veneration, so that wheresoever cleric or monk appeared, he was joyfully welcomed by all as the servant of God; those who met him on the road with bent necks rejoiced to receive the blessing of his lips or of his extended hand: they listened eagerly to his words of exhortation. The priests and clerics of that day had no care for anything else but preaching, baptising, visiting the sick—in a word, for the salvation of souls. So utterly were they delivered from the poison of avarice, that no one of them would receive land or presents even for the building of monasteries, unless absolutely compelled to do so by secular rulers." In these and similar sentences Bede hints at the degeneracy of his own times and seems to mourn that more of the spirit of Iona had not lingered in the Anglian Church. In Columba, Aidan, Colman and their disciples, as has been already said, we seem to see something of that absolute indifference to wealth, that kinship with Nature and her children, that almost passionate love for Poverty and the Poor which, six centuries later, was to shed a halo round the head of Francis of Assisi. These men were zealous missionaries, "humble and holy men of heart": the men who were about to replace them in the organised and regularly affiliated Church, though by no means

CHAP. devoid of missionary zeal, nor of the spirit of self-denial, were
XI. before all, great ecclesiastics and lordly rulers of the Church.

The year 664 which witnessed the assembling of the synod at Whitby was, for other reasons, a sadly memorable one to the English nation. In that year, on May 1, there was a total eclipse of the sun, and this, to the unscientific minds of our ancestors, seemed to be in some mysterious way connected with a terrible visitation of pestilence which, apparently in the summer and autumn, swept over our island, beginning at the southern shore and from thence passing northward till it reached Northumbria, and crossed over into Ireland; everywhere carrying off multitudes of people. On July 14, Erconbert, King of Kent, and Deusdedit, archbishop, both died within a few hours of each other, apparently smitten by the pestilence. Later on, probably in the same year, Tuda, the new Bishop of Lindisfarne, and Cedd, the interpreter-bishop of the Whitby synod, fell victims to the same wide-wasting enemy. We have already had occasion to notice the effect which this terrible calamity had in causing many of the East Saxons to relapse for a time into idolatry. The stories concerning the plague with which Bede crowds his pages are generally of the edifying death-bed sayings uttered by its victims and the visions of supernal bliss vouchsafed to them before their departure. Intent on these spiritual aspects of the visitation, and not sparing his readers one of the miracles which he had heard of as marking its course, Bede has not recorded any of its physical symptoms as Thucydides has done in his memorable description of the Plague of Athens. We learn, however, from other sources¹ that it was intensely infectious, that one of the symptoms was inflamed swellings, and that the faces of the patients were tinged with a ghastly yellow colour. Probably, therefore, it belonged to the same type of disease as the yellow fever which is now so suddenly fatal in tropical countries. We perceive from Bede's narrative that its force was not expended by the visitation of 664, but that it returned at intervals during the next twenty years, and that there was one outbreak of especial violence in the year 686 from which Bede's own monastery of Jarrow suffered severely. The coadjutor-abbot Eosterwine of the sister convent of Wearmouth died of the plague in his thirty-

¹ Chiefly Celtic. See Bright's *Early English Church History*, p. 237, n. 2.

seventh year; and at Jarrow the pestilence carried off all the monks who could read or preach or sing the antiphons, save only the abbot Ceolfrid and one little boy whom he had trained. The old man and the child kept up an abridged form of the daily service without the antiphons for one week. Then, as the tears of Ceolfrid had almost prevented him from taking part in this mutilated service, they summoned up courage to sing the whole psalter through, antiphons and all, till at last a full choir had been trained to help them to bear the burden. It is generally believed, though it cannot be proved, that the little boy who thus officiated with Ceolfrid was Bede.

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In reading Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* it is impossible not to be struck with the especial severity wherewith the plague raged in the monasteries both of men and women. At Lindisfarne, at Ely, at Wearmouth and Jarrow, at Carlisle, at Barking and at Lastingham in the East Riding of Yorkshire, the plague committed great ravages, often carrying off nearly all the inmates. The manager of a modern school or hospital will not be surprised at this, when he remembers that the monastic rule enjoined the use of woollen garments and prohibited linen; that the more ascetically disposed monks or nuns washed themselves only three or four times in the year; and that the monks lay down to rest in the same woollen garments and with the same unloosed shoes which they had worn and in which they had worked throughout the day. This self-denial, especially in the sons and daughters of princely houses, sprang from a noble motive: it had been perhaps originally ordained as a protest against the luxurious life of the young Roman nobility for whom

The Bath and Wine and Women made up life.

But it was none the less a calamity for Europe that an unnatural and unneeded divorce should have been made between Christianity and cleanliness. Sanitary science, during the long medieval centuries and even for some time after they had ended, had little chance of making its way in the world. Exactly one thousand years after the pestilence of 664 were felt the first foreboding symptoms of the Great Plague of London.

There is little else to record as to the reign of Oswy of Bernicia after the departure of the ecclesiastics from Whitby.

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XI. Kings of Northumbria and Kent took counsel "concerning the state of the English Church" (this joint action of North and South in an ecclesiastical matter was itself an important event), and decided to send one of the late archbishop's clergy named Wighard to Rome that he might there be consecrated as his successor. This step was taken probably in the year 667, and though at the time unsuccessful, for Wighard and nearly all his companions died of pestilence soon after their arrival in Rome, it led to important results.

Towards the end of his reign Oswy suffered from declining health. Like so many other kings and ecclesiastics of Anglo-Saxon stock, he desired to go to Rome and, if it might be, end his days there, and he would fain have had Wilfrid, now a consecrated bishop, as guide of his journey. With this view he offered large moneys to the young ecclesiastic—the very offer seems to show the difference between Wilfrid's character and Aidan's—but apparently the disease made too rapid progress for the fulfilment of his design. The journey to Rome had to be abandoned; Oswy died on February 15, 671,¹ and Egfrid his son, son of Eanfled and grandson of Edwin of Deira, reigned in his stead.

¹ For the reasons for dating Oswy's death in 671 rather than a year earlier according to the text of Bede, see Plummer's note on *H. E.*, iv., 5.

CHAPTER XII.

KING EGFRID AND THREE GREAT CHURCHMEN: WILFRID THEODORE, CUTHBERT.

THE purely political events of the reign of Egfrid, as far as we know them, are soon told. Coming to the throne, as we have seen, in the year 671, he reigned for fourteen years. At the very beginning of his reign he gained (says Wilfrid's biographer) a great victory over "the bestial hordes of the Picts who, chafing at their subjection to the Saxons and hoping to throw off the yoke of servitude," mustered "like a swarm of ants under the leadership of an audacious chieftain named Bernhaeth, but were attacked by Egfrid at the head of his cavalry and utterly routed. So great was the slaughter that two rivers were filled with the corpses of the slain, and the victorious Northumbrians passed dry-shod over them in pursuit of the foe." About four years later, apparently, Egfrid fought Wulfhere, King of the Mercians, defeated him and put him to flight, and thus won back that debatable land, the province of Lindsey. In 679 he fought a great battle on the banks of the Trent with Ethelred, Wulfhere's brother and successor, who had married his sister Osthryd. The victory in this battle perhaps remained doubtful, but it brought sore distress in its train, for in it fell Egfrid's brother Alfwin, under-king of Deira, a youth eighteen years of age, who was, we are told, "much beloved by both provinces". It seemed as though this calamity would cause the flame of war to burn more fiercely than ever between the Northumbrian and the Mercian kings, but the Archbishop Theodore interposed his peaceful counsels. The amount of *wergeld* to be paid as compensation for the death of Alfwin was arranged by him. Lindsey was probably handed back to Mercia, and a treaty of peace, which remained unbroken for many years, was concluded between the two kingdoms.

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In the year 684, against the advice of St. Cuthbert and all his best counsellors, King Egfrid, for reasons which we can only conjecture, sent an army to Ireland and "miserably wasted that harmless nation which hath ever been most friendly to the nation of the English ; so that not even churches and monasteries were spared by the hostile band ". The Irish defended themselves to the best of their ability, but had at last to take refuge in curses and prayers to heaven for vengeance, the answer to which, in the opinion of the English historian, was not long in coming. For in the next year Egfrid, again refusing to listen to Cuthbert's counsels, rashly ventured on an expedition against the Picts dwelling north of the Firth of Forth. The enemy, feigning flight, drew him into the recesses of the mountainous country, then turned and fell upon him, cutting the greater part of his army to pieces and slaying the king himself. The scene of this battle, which was fought on May 20th, 685, is not mentioned by Bede, but is given by other authorities as Nechtansmere or Nechtan's Fort (*Dûin Nechtan*), and is identified with Dunnichen, about five miles east of Forfar.

By the battle of Nechtansmere Northumbria's fair prospects of permanently holding the hegemony of the English states were for ever destroyed. "From that time," says Bede, "the hopes and the manhood of the Anglian [Northumbrian] kingdom began to dissolve and to fall into ruin. For the Picts recovered the lands once possessed by them, which the Angles had held ; also the Scots [men of Dalriada] who were in Britain, and a considerable part of the Britons recovered their freedom. Many of the English nation were slain with the sword, or bound to slavery or else escaped by flight from the land of the Picts." Among the latter was Trumwine, the Northumbrian Bishop of Abercorn on the Forth, who fled from his see and had to beg for an asylum for himself and his followers from the monks of Whitby. Apparently the result of this battle was the loss by Northumbria of all the territory north of the Cheviots and the Solway as well as of the southern part of the kingdom of Strathclyde. The Northumbrian kingdom survived indeed for some centuries and even recovered for a short time some part of its lost territories, but it survived for the most part in a maimed and enfeebled condition like the Athenian state after the battle of Aegospotami. The prestige of the kingdom was gone ; no

more did any great Bretwalda issue his commands to subject princes from his rock-built palace at Bamburgh; and soon anarchy and intestine feuds completed the ruin which had been begun on the fatal day of Nechtansmere.

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Such, as has been here indicated, is the short and disastrous political history of Egfrid's reign; but to understand its true significance we must devote some attention to the biography of three great churchmen whose lives were closely intertwined with that of the Northumbrian king. They are:—

Wilfrid, who lived from 634 to 709; Theodore, who lived from 602 to 690; and Cuthbert, who lived from 630 to 687.

After Bishop Colman, disheartened by the defeat of his party in the synod of Whitby, had left Northumbria and returned to Iona, an Irishman named Tuda, an advocate for the Roman Easter, was consecrated as his successor, but, as has been said, died almost immediately afterwards, a victim to the plague which was ravaging England. On his death there was a discussion between the Northumbrian kings and the Wise Men of the kingdoms who should be elected to the vacant see. The choice naturally fell on Wilfrid, the champion of the Roman cause, young, noble and victorious. At the same time it seems to have been generally agreed that the seat of the episcopate should be removed from sea-girdled Lindisfarne, too full perhaps of the memories of Iona, to York, the capital of Deira, the city whose walls and palaces, even in their ruin, testified to the greatness of that Rome with whom Northumbria was now entering into such full and perfect fellowship. Objecting, however, that it was difficult to find in Britain bishops to perform the act of consecration, who were not more or less tainted with what he called the heresy of the Quarto-decimans, Wilfrid begged that he might be sent to Gaul to receive consecration there from bishops in undoubted communion with the Roman see. The kings consented: a ship, a retinue of attendants and a large store of money were placed at Wilfrid's disposal that so the new bishop (whose preference through life was always strongly marked for the gorgeous and the stately) "might arrive in very honourable style in the region of Gaul". The journey was successfully performed: a great assembly of twelve bishops was convened at Compiègne (664); among them Agilbert, late bishop of Dorchester, now of Paris, Wilfrid's ally

CHAP. at the Whitby synod, doubtless now rejoicing at finding himself
XII. once more among men to whom his speech was not strange. These men received Wilfrid in the presence of all the people with demonstrations of high honour: they made him sit on a golden chair which was then, according to their usual custom, lifted on high and borne by the hands of bishops alone into the oratory, while hymns and canticles sounded through the choir.

Were the stately ceremonies and the well-furnished episcopal dwellings of Merovingian Gaul too attractive to the æsthetic soul of Wilfrid, and was he loth to return to the rude wooden churches and the rough untrained psalmody of his fatherland? This can only be conjectured, but it seems certain that he committed one of the great errors of his life by lingering too long, certainly for more than a year, in Gaul, instead of returning at once to Northumbria and there beginning his episcopal career. At last, in the year 666, he set sail for England, accompanied, says his biographer, by 120 armed retainers besides his clerical followers. The clergy sang loud their psalms, to cheer the arms of the rowers, but in the midst of their psalmody a mighty tempest arose and drove them on the coast of Sussex. The inhabitants, still heathen and barbarous, flocked to the stranded vessel and began to strip it of its treasures and to divide its passengers among them as their slaves. Wilfrid offered them money and spoke words of peace and conciliation, but the natives proudly answered, "All is ours that the sea throws up on the shore". Meanwhile, a priest of the Saxon idolatry, standing on a high mound near the shore, ceased not to curse the Christian strangers and sought by his magic arts to render vain their efforts for deliverance. At last one of Wilfrid's companions flung a stone—"a stone," says his biographer, "blessed by all the people of God"—which hit the high priest on the head and wounded him to the death. His fall discouraged the South Saxons; the 120 soldiers fought bravely with the much larger forces of their foes; Wilfrid and his clergy prayed like Moses, Aaron and Hur upon the mountain; the Saxons were thrice repulsed, and at length victory, cheaply earned by the loss of five of Wilfrid's followers, crowned the exertions and the prayers of the Northumbrians. A miraculously early tide floated the vessel off the shore and she reached Sandwich without further misadventure.

But when at last Wilfrid reached his diocese, he found unpleasant tidings awaiting him there. Weary of his long delay, King Oswy had appointed Bishop Ceadda (famous in English hagiology as St. Chad) to the bishopric of York. The act was certainly irregular, and Wilfrid had good cause to complain, but with more meekness than might have been looked for, he accepted the rebuff and retired to his dearly loved monastery of Ripon, a place which more than all others, except perhaps Hexham, was enriched by his labours and preserves his memory. Moreover, at the request of Wulfhere of Mercia and Egbert of Kent he undertook some volunteer episcopal work in those two kingdoms, travelling about with his band of singers, masons, and teachers of every kind of art, and everywhere founding monasteries or reforming them according to the strict rule of St. Benedict which he had minutely studied at Canterbury.

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After three years this parenthesis in Wilfrid's life came to an end, owing to the intervention of the new archbishop, Theodore, to whose history we now turn. We have seen that the Kings of Northumbria and Kent, taking counsel together after the death of Archbishop Deusdedit, sent Wighard to Rome as the bearer of their request that he might be consecrated archbishop, and that after their arrival in Rome Wighard and nearly all of his companions fell victims to the pestilence then raging in the Eternal City. Thereupon the Pope, Vitalian, whose courage and skill had already been displayed on the occasion of the unwelcome visit of the Emperor Constans to Rome, deliberated anxiously with his council on the question whom he should send as archbishop to Canterbury in place of the dead Englishman. After some hesitation and two refusals of the dignity, his choice fell upon Theodore, a learned Greek monk, who was at that time living in Rome and who had possibly come over to Italy in the train of the Emperor Constans. Theodore, who was, like the apostle Paul, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, was now sixty-six years of age, and dreaded not so much the duties of the office as the hardships of the long journey to a remote and chilly island. However, the abbot, Hadrian, an African, who had himself refused the offered dignity and had recommended Theodore to the Pope, volunteered to accompany his friend, having already twice made the journey through Gaul; and Vitalian, who seems to have entertained

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Theodore of Tarsus arrived at Canterbury and was enthroned there on May 27, 669, thus commencing a memorable career, which lasted for more than twenty-one years. "Soon," says Bede, "having traversed the whole island wherever the tribes of the English abode, and being heartily welcomed and

listened to by all, he spread abroad the right way of living and the canonical rule for the celebration of Easter ; Hadrian everywhere appearing as his companion and helper. For he was the first of the archbishops to whom the whole Church of the English agreed to give the hand of fellowship." We see at once how great a step towards national unity, at least as far as the English people was concerned, was taken under the guidance of this Oriental stranger, who came from under the shadow of Mount Taurus. Unfortunately there is no evidence that he did anything to break down the middle wall of partition which the arrogance of Augustine had raised between the English and the Welsh Churches ; while, to the yet unreconciled Celts of Ireland and the Hebrides his very appointment was in the nature of a challenge.

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Bede proceeds to describe to us how Theodore's copious stores of learning, both sacred and secular, were made available for the people. He tells us of the multitude of disciples who flocked to his daily lectures and those of his friend Hadrian ; of the knowledge "of the metrical art, of astronomy and of ecclesiastical arithmetic," which, along with the sacred Scriptures, they imparted to their hearers. "A proof hereof is," says he, "that to this day there survive some of their disciples, who know the Latin and Greek tongues as well as that wherein they were born. Nor in fact were there ever happier times since the days when the English first landed in Britain, since now, under the leadership of most valiant and Christian kings, they were a terror to all the barbarous nations ; the desires of men were strongly directed towards the new-found joys of the heavenly kingdom ; and all who desired to be instructed in the sacred Scriptures had teachers near at hand, who could impart to them that knowledge." There can be no doubt that Theodore possessed a genius for organisation such as had not been displayed by Augustine or any of the subsequent prelates, and that to him more than to any other single person is due the structure of the Anglo-Saxon Church, such as it remained till the Norman conquest. One change which he perceived to be necessary for the good of the Church, but which also inevitably tended towards the augmentation of his own power, was an increase in the number of bishoprics. Hitherto the tendency had been to have one bishopric only for each of the English

CHAP. kingdoms, an arrangement quite unlike that which had gener-
 XII. ally prevailed throughout the Roman empire, in some parts of which almost every town that was above the rank of a village had its own episcopal ruler. Such great unwieldy bishoprics as Northumbria, Mercia or Wessex, were not likely to be administered efficiently by a single bishop, while, on the other hand, their very magnitude suggested dangerous thoughts of rivalry with a primate whose immediate sway extended only over a part of Kent. Thus Theodore was impelled by every motive, public and private, to strive to break up the existing bishoprics into smaller portions. In that process the wise but masterful old man certainly did not show himself to any undue extent a respecter of persons.

One of the first cases in which Theodore had to exert his archiepiscopal authority was that of the bishopric of York. However aggrieved both king and people might have been by Wilfrid's long-delayed return, there was no doubt that the intrusion of another bishop into a see already filled was entirely contrary to the canons ; and, moreover, from the strict Roman point of view Ceadda's consecration to the episcopate was not safe from attack, inasmuch as two "Quarto-deciman" bishops had taken part therein. When all these various objections were stated by Theodore to Ceadda, the simple-minded and unambitious old man at once declared his willingness at Theodore's call to resign a dignity of which he had never deemed himself worthy. "No : not the episcopate," was Theodore's answer. "To that I will reordain you with all due formalities ; but stand aside for the present from this see, which of right belongs to Wilfrid." Thus Wilfrid, after three years of suspension, was once again bishop of the great diocese of York, extending from the Humber to the Firth of Forth, or even beyond. For Ceadda meanwhile a place was quickly found, the scarcely less important bishopric of Mercia ; and Theodore's regard for the saintly old man was shown by ordering him no longer to perform his long episcopal journeys on foot, but to ride through his diocese. When Ceadda hesitated, mindful of his beloved Aidan's example, Theodore insisted, possibly himself provided him with a steed, at any rate with his own archiepiscopal hands lifted him into the saddle. Ceadda's tenure of the Mercian episcopate was short, as he fell a victim to the plague in 672. He died, however, not only in the odour of

sanctity, but, what is better, surrounded by the unfeigned love of his monastic brethren, and able to speak even of the Angel of the Pestilence as "that lovable guest who hath been wont of late to visit our brotherhood".

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All the ecclesiastical events which have been described in this chapter, save the last, took place in the reign of Oswy. In the year 671, as we have seen, a new monarch, Egfrid, ascended the Northumbrian throne. He had already been for some years the nominal husband of one of the saintly members of the East Anglian family, Etheldreda, a daughter of King Anna, but she, though Egfrid was her second husband, was at heart a devoted nun and insisted through life on keeping her virginity unstained. Here was already cause for trouble in the Northumbrian palace, trouble which was aggravated by the interference of Wilfrid, who, in defiance of apostolic precept and the Church's law, made himself the champion of the cause of the disobedient wife, and at last (probably in the first or second year of Egfrid's reign) with the hardly won consent of her husband arrayed her in the veil of a "*sanctimonialis femina*". She retired first to the monastery of Coldingham, then ruled by Ebba, the aunt of Egfrid. After a year's residence therein she became abbess of the great convent which she had herself founded in the Isle of Ely on lands devised to her by her first husband. There, after bearing rule for seven years, she died. The signal triumph of religious zeal over worldly ambition and luxury which her life displayed was celebrated in enthusiastic and acrostic verse by her admirer Bede. She was undoubtedly one of the most popular saints of the Anglo-Saxon epoch, and her name in the abbreviated form of Audrey still possesses a certain attraction for Englishmen.

The place which Etheldreda had vacated by the side of Egfrid was at once filled by a second wife named Ermenburga, who was persistently hostile to Wilfrid, and is accordingly likened to Jezebel by his enthusiastic biographer. There was, however, much in Wilfrid's position at this, the most glorious period of his career, which might well rouse the jealousy of the secular rulers of the nation. Between 671 and 678 he was probably the foremost man in all Northumbria. He built great basilicas, the marvels of the age, at Hexham¹ and at Ripon.²

¹ Hagustald.

² In Hrypum.

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At the dedication of the basilica at Ripon, Wilfrid stood before the altar, which was draped in purple and marvellously enriched with gold and silver, and there rehearsed, in the presence of the Northumbrian kings, the great gifts of landed property which the royal house had bestowed upon the Church, and also enumerated the places which had belonged in old time to the British Church and to which, though then desolate, it was evident that the English Church meant to assert her claim. When his sermon was ended a great feast was spread, to which the kings and all their followers were invited, and which lasted amid great rejoicings for three days and nights.

Of Wilfrid's wonderful churches no trace now remains above ground. We are told that the church of Hexham was "supported by various columns" (perhaps taken from Roman temples) "and many porches, adorned with walls of wondrous length and height, and with variously winding passages, leading now up, now down, by stately staircases". Both at Ripon and Hexham the crypt "carried deep down into the earth with marvellously smoothed stones" still remains; and at Hexham inscriptions, bas-reliefs and the shape of the stones employed show us all too plainly that the Roman camps along the line of the wall were the quarry from whence Wilfrid's marvellously smoothed stones were obtained. But the great bishop was not giving all his time to his architectural labours. He rode from end to end of his diocese, ordaining priests and deacons in great numbers, and attracting to himself the love and devotion of the powerful abbots and abbesses, who very generally, either by present transfer or by testamentary disposition, arranged that he should become lord of the lands of their monasteries. Many Anglian nobles also sent their sons to be brought up in the bishop's house, in order that they might either by his introduction enter the life of religion, or if they preferred the profession of arms, might by him be recommended to the king. In everything that Wilfrid touched the same note of sumptuous magnificence might be discerned. Thus, on the day of the dedication of the church at Ripon, he presented to it "the four illuminated Gospels traced in purest gold on purple parchment, which he had caused to be transcribed for the welfare of his soul, also a bookcase for these books, all made of the purest gold and adorned with the most precious jewels". But all this

pomp and splendour (though coupled with personal abstinence and the practice of monastic austerities) was rearing up for Wilfrid a host of lifelong enemies; at their head Queen Ermenburga, who ceased not to remind her husband of "all the worldly pomp of Bishop Wilfrid, his riches, the multitude of his abbeys, the grandeur of his buildings, and the numberless host of his followers adorned with royal raiment and equipped with arms".

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The jealousy which the royal pair felt at the greatness of the Bishop of York was powerfully aided by their alliance with Archbishop Theodore. For the formation of this alliance it is quite unnecessary to accept the biographer's story of bribes out of ecclesiastical property offered by the king and accepted by the archbishop. On the contrary, it might almost have been foretold by any one who was acquainted with the two men, Wilfrid and Theodore, that they must necessarily sooner or later come into collision. They were both men of great intellectual stature, both devoted to the Roman obedience and intent on bringing the English Church fully into that obedience, but they would do it in different ways. Theodore, as Metropolitan of the whole land, would enforce Church order, subdivide the unwieldy dioceses, and make his strong hand felt by every bishop and abbot in every corner of the English kingdoms. Wilfrid had no thought of resigning any part of his power over his vast diocese, in which he was virtually independent. Nay more, faint as are the traces of such a scheme in history, it is difficult not to suppose that Wilfrid was cognisant of Gregory's original plan for the establishment of two independent archbishoprics in Britain, one at London and the other at York, and hoped to convert—as was actually done half a century later—his bishopric into an archbishopric. Such an arrangement would be far more in accordance with ecclesiastical precedent throughout the Roman empire than that which actually prevailed, since the general usage had been to place the Metropolitan in the chief city of the province. All the venerable associations which now cluster round the name of Canterbury should not cause us to forget the fact that it is merely owing to a series of accidents (foremost among them the relapse of the East Saxons into idolatry) that the chief pastor of the English Church now bears the title of Archbishop of Canterbury. Either Londinium or Eburacum, pre-eminently

CHAP. the latter, had better right to give an archbishop to England
XII. than the little insignificant city of Durovernis.

Intent on his schemes of Church reform and full of the paramount authority symbolised by his archiepiscopal *pallium*, Theodore visited Northumbria and found there in the royal palace a ready acquiescence in his grand project for the division of the diocese. He at once, in Wilfrid's absence, ordained three new bishops who were to divide among themselves a large part of his diocese, leaving him probably the city of York and a certain part of Deira as his portion.¹ It was a strong measure to adopt, certainly, not courteous nor perhaps canonically correct in the absence of the bishop whose diocese was thus invaded; and it is no wonder that Wilfrid sought an interview with the king and archbishop, and demanded by what right they, without any cause of offence alleged against him, thus defrauded him in robber-fashion of property given him by the king for God's service. They answered, says his biographer, in the presence of all the people with the memorable words: "No accusation is made against thee of having done injury to any man, but the decision which we have come to in thy case we will not change". Hereat Wilfrid signified his intention of appealing to Rome (678) against this unjust act of spoliation. The flatterers who surrounded the king laughed aloud at his words, but he turned round and rebuked them sternly, saying: "You laugh now, evidently rejoicing at my condemnation, but on the anniversary of this day bitterly shall ye weep to your own confusion". And in fact men noted with awe that it was on the exact anniversary of Wilfrid's interview with the king that the body of the beloved under-king, Alfwyn, was brought back to York from the battlefield on the banks of the Trent, and was received by all the people with tears and rent garments and passionate lamentations.

And now began that long duel between prelate and king, with visits to Rome, confiscations, imprisonments, reconciliations, repentances, which lasted with some intermissions and some changes in the person of the royal disputant, for nearly thirty years, and which in some of its vicissitudes reminds us of

¹ This is Eddius' account of the transaction. According to Bede a dispute arose between Egfrid and Wilfrid. The latter was deposed and then his diocese was divided.

the contention between Henry Plantagenet and Thomas Becket. It is a history with much intrinsic interest, and rendered additionally interesting to us by the fact that the *Life of Wilfrid* by Eddius, in which it is recorded, was written some years before the *Ecclesiastical History* of Bede, and is probably the earliest extant piece of Latin writing that has proceeded from an Anglo-Saxon pen. Skilfully escaping from the toils of his enemies (whose emissaries by a laughable mistake attacked and plundered a harmless bishop named Winfrid instead of him), Wilfrid landed in Friesland, made friends with the king of the Frisians, and began that career of missionary enterprise in Germany which was continued by his disciple, Willibrord, and in later years by the West Saxon, Boniface, with vast results on European history. He then travelled through Gaul, visiting King Dagobert II., whom, when an exile in Ireland, he had sped on his way to France, and thus had helped to recover his father's throne. Dagobert's gratitude now showed itself by assisting Wilfrid on his journey to Rome. In Italy he was befriended in a similar way by the Lombard King Perctarit, who had himself once led the life of a hunted fugitive, and refused to surrender him to his foes. Arriving at Rome, where he spent the winter of 679-80, he laid his complaint before the recently consecrated Pope, Agatho the Sicilian, and claimed his protection. A council was held in the Lateran basilica, where Theodore's representative, a monk named Coenred, stated the case for Canterbury. Wilfrid's petition was read, setting forth that he did not refuse to consent to the division of his bishopric, but claiming that he should be consulted as to the persons intruded upon him as colleagues; and the synod having listened to the representations of "the most holy Archbishop Theodore" and "the God-beloved Bishop Wilfrid" decided in favour of the latter.

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Armed with this papal decree, and not doubting of the triumph which it would procure for him, Wilfrid presented himself at the Northumbrian court, but was at once accused of having obtained the decree by bribery, thrown into prison and despoiled of his personal possessions. One of the most precious of these, a reliquary, was appropriated by Ermenburga to her own use, and always carried about by her, whether she abode in her bedchamber or rode abroad in her chariot. Wil-

CHAP. frid's first place of imprisonment was the royal city of Bromnis.¹
 XII. On the refusal of the governor, whose wife had fallen dangerously ill, to act any longer as jailer of so holy a man, Egfrid sent him to another of his cities named Dynbaer (Dunbar), another proof, if any were needed, how far northward at this time stretched the kingdom of Northumbria. At last after he had undergone a rigorous imprisonment for nine months, the dangerous illness of Ermenburga (which seemed to take the form of demoniac possession), and the entreaties and warnings of the saintly Ebba, brought about Wilfrid's liberation from the dungeon, but not his restoration to his bishopric. He went forth as an exile into Mercia, where he was favourably entertained by a nephew of King Ethelred and received land for the foundation of a monastery. But as Ethelred was Egfrid's brother-in-law, he soon ordered Wilfrid to quit his kingdom. He turned his steps to Wessex and there for a little space had rest, but soon was expelled thence also, King Centwine having married Ermenburga's sister. It is easy to see how hard the lot of a fugitive from one of the English courts might be made by the matrimonial alliances that were so frequent between them.

Thus expelled from Christian England the hunted fugitive turned his thoughts to the land of the South Saxons: "a heathen province of our race" (says the biographer) "which for the multitude of its rocks and the density of its woods remained impregnable by all the other provinces". Here Ethelwalh, himself a Christian, as we have seen,² was reigning over a still heathen people, and to him Wilfrid confided the whole story of his wrongs. The king made with him a covenant of peace so strong that, as he declared, no terror of the sword of any hostile warrior and no gifts however costly should avail to move him from the troth then plighted. In this inaccessible corner of the land which we now name Sussex, Wilfrid remained for five years, preaching the story of the creation of the world, its redemption, the day of judgment, the rewards and punishments to come, with such eloquence and fervour that he achieved the conversion of the entire people, thus ending in the year 686 the long spiritual campaign for the conversion of England which

¹ Site not known. ² P. 174.

was begun in 597 by the arrival of Augustine. King Ethelwath gave him his own villa of Selsey for his episcopal seat, adding to it a gift of land amounting to eighty-seven hides. CHAP.
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During Wilfrid's sojourn in Sussex his unreconciled enemy King Egfrid died. The story of his death brings us into close relation with our third great churchman, Cuthbert, to whose life we now turn. Born somewhere about 630 in the region of the Lammermoor Hills, the young Cuthbert, when he was tending sheep by the River Leader, saw one night in a vision angels carrying a holy soul into heaven. He found afterwards that it was on the same night, August 31, 651, that the venerable saint, Aidan, had died. He waited not, however, for this confirmation of his faith, but at once transferred the sheep to their owners and descended into the valley of the Tweed to seek admission into the recently founded monastery of Melrose. After some years' residence there, he went in the train of the Abbot Eata to Ripon; but on the arrival of Wilfrid at that place fresh from Rome, and with a grant from King Alchfrid in his hand, the whole party of Celtic-trained monks, Cuthbert among them, were forced to leave the pleasant valley of the Nidd and return to Melrose on the Tweed. There, however, ended his antagonism to the new teaching. Whether actually present or not at the synod of Whitby, he certainly accepted its decisions, and after some years was sent by his friend, Eata, to govern as prior the monastery at Lindisfarne. It was not altogether an easy task to rule the monks on Holy Island after the revolution which the decrees of the synod had caused, but more by gentleness than by sternness Cuthbert succeeded in enforcing discipline, all the more readily perhaps as in food, in vigils, in dress, he set an example of rigorous austerity. But after all, neither as prior nor afterwards as bishop did he ever care for the possession of power. In character he much more closely resembled Aidan than either Theodore or Wilfrid. He loved to be alone with Nature and with God, and was ever moving about among the country folk and "stirring them up" by his conversation rather than by set sermons "to seek after the heavenly crown". There is still shown in a cleft of the basaltic range of low hills on the mainland overlooking the winding shore of Holy Island a cave, affording bare shelter from the rain and none from the wind, where the saint is said to have passed some months of

CHAP. his life. "Cuddy's Hole" is to this day the name given to it
XII. by the neighbouring farmers.

Often, too, he seems to have retired to the little island which still bears his name and which lies at a short distance from the ruined abbey on Holy Island, being like Lindisfarne itself island or peninsula according to the state of the tide. There, while apparently still holding the office of prior, he "began to learn the rudiments of a solitary life," and when his education was completed and his spirit braced for the great renunciation, he gave up his office of prior (676) and withdrew to the more utter seclusion which was afforded by one of the little group of Farne Islands, about five miles from Holy Island and two or three miles from the rock of Bamburgh. These rocky islets, some thirty or forty in number, are now furnished with two lighthouses; and the memory of Grace Darling, the courageous daughter of an old lighthouse keeper, rivals but does not eclipse the fame of St. Cuthbert. Countless flocks of sea-birds make these rocks their breeding place; and there are seen the eider ducks, bold in their gentleness, which calmly hatch their young within a few feet of the intruding wayfarer, and whose tameness, attributed to the miraculous working of the saint, has procured for them the name of "Saint Cuthbert's Chickens". Was it the loneliness of these weather-beaten rocks or the sad cry of the sea-birds that procured for them the evil reputation of being "unfit for human habitation by reason of the number of malign spirits by whom they were haunted"? Howsoever that may be, it is admitted that at the approach of the man of God the evil spirits departed and the place at his prayer became completely habitable. Here then Cuthbert built for himself a little round cell made of large unwrought stones and turf, and so constructed that he could see from it nothing of earth or sea, but was forced to keep his eyes ever fixed on the heaven above him. Here, after dismissing the few brethren who had helped him in his labours, Cuthbert lived absolutely alone for eight years, enjoying the heavenly visions, but also wrestling with the awful spiritual terrors, which have ever been the portion of the anchorite.

At length in 684, Tunberct, Bishop of Hexham, one of Theodore's intruding prelates, having been for some reason deposed from his see, a synod was held at "Twyford" on the

Alne (probably the modern Alnmouth) to consider the question of the appointment of his successor. In this synod, at which Theodore himself presided, the name of Cuthbert was suggested and received with unanimous approval. It was, however, no easy matter to induce the anchorite thus to return to the common abodes of men. At last a deputation of nobles and ecclesiastics, headed by King Egfrid himself and by Trumwine, Bishop of Pictland, accomplished the difficult task, and on March 26, 685, Cuthbert received at York the episcopal charge at the hands of Theodore and six other bishops. He still, however, remained so far faithful to the wind-swept shores of the North Sea that he chose Holy Island for his episcopal seat, persuading his old friend Eata to migrate from thence to the busier diocese of Hexham.

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It must have been during the long negotiations which preceded the consecration of St. Cuthbert that he pressed upon the unwilling king his vain dissuasions against the barbarous Irish expedition. Equally vain, as we have seen, was his attempt to dissuade Egfrid from that disastrous expedition against the Picts, which was undertaken in the very first months of Cuthbert's episcopate. At the time of Egfrid's invasion of Scotland Cuthbert was abiding at the Roman city of Luguwallium (Carlisle), which had been bestowed upon him by the king at his consecration. There also was dwelling the queen, Ermenburga, Wilfrid's enemy, who had gone for shelter during this warlike time to a convent ruled by her sister. While Cuthbert was going round the walls of the city on the afternoon of Saturday, May 20, escorted by the king's reeve, Paga, and by a multitude of the citizens, he suddenly stood still, leaning on his staff. With downcast face he gazed upon the ground, then looked up at the darkening sky and said with a deep groan: "Perhaps even now the conflict is decided". He would not more plainly impart his fears, even to his own clerical companions, but hastening to the convent warned the queen to be ready to depart on the Monday for York "lest haply the king should have fallen". On Sunday he preached a sermon which hinted at some coming trouble. On Monday came the tidings of the fatal field of Nechtansmere, fought on the very day and hour when Cuthbert had his telepathic warning of the disaster.

Egfrid's widow, Ermenburga, according to her enemy

CHAP. Eddius, "after the slaughter of the king, from a she-wolf
XII. became one of God's lambs and was changed into a perfect abbess and a most excellent mother of her [monastic] family". Apparently there was no issue of her marriage with Egfrid, who was succeeded by his half-brother or nephew Aldfrid, either a son or grandson of King Oswy. He had been for some years an exile in Ireland and the Hebrides, and had acquired a considerable store of learning in the Celtic monasteries, so that he was generally known as Aldfrid the Learned. The twenty years' reign of Aldfrid (685-705) was marked by few striking events. Northumbria, as we have seen, was now shorn of her greatness and was no longer the leading power in Britain. It was probably as much as Aldfrid could do to preserve his weakened and diminished kingdom from conquest by its Pictish and Mercian neighbours. It will suffice briefly to indicate the further fortunes of the three great Churchmen whose lives had been of late so closely intertwined with that of Egfrid.

The newly consecrated bishop Cuthbert did not long sustain the weight of the uncongenial mitre. In 686 he made another journey to Carlisle, on which occasion he gave the nun's veil to the widowed Ermenburga. Here also he received a visit from an old friend of his named Herbert, who like him led the life of an island-hermit but amid far different scenes from the stormy Farnes. Herbert dwelt on an island of "that very large lake from which the young waters of the Derwent issue forth"—in other words, on St. Herbert's Isle in Derwent-water—and had been accustomed to pay a yearly visit to Cuthbert and to hear from him counsels concerning the life eternal. He now besought his friend, whose whole soul was filled with thoughts of his coming end, to pray that they might both die at the same time, a longing which was in fact fulfilled. Soon after Christmas Cuthbert returned to his lonely dwelling on the Farnes: at the end of February he was seized by his last illness. The monks of Holy Island prayed to be allowed to minister to him in his extreme weakness, but it was not till near the very end that he suffered them to enter his cell. In the morning of March 20, 687, after many faintly uttered words of advice and farewell, the great anchorite passed away. There was no English saint, till Thomas Becket was slain before the altar in Canterbury, who filled half as large a space in the memories of

the English people, at any rate in the North of England, as Cuthbert of Lindisfarne. The strange migrations of his corpse in later centuries, the magnificence of its final resting-place, the wide domains and princely revenues of the Bishops of Durham, whose chief claim to lordship was derived from the fact that they were the guardians of his tomb—all these things fixed deep in the mind of the medieval Englishman the greatness and the glory of the shepherd of the Lammermoors. Eight centuries after his death we find the soldiers of “the bishopric” rejoicing over the fall of James IV. on the field of Flodden, and tracing therein the manifest workings of the anger of the saint, whom he had offended by the demolition of his castles at Ford and Norham.

We pass from the hermit to the archbishop. Of Theodore of Tarsus there is little more which need be related here save that soon after Egfrid's death he became reconciled to Wilfrid; asked him to come to London to meet him, and (according to Eddius) made him a full apology for all the injustices which he had committed towards him, even expressing a desire that Wilfrid might succeed him in his archbishopric. He died on September 19, 690, in the eighty-eighth year of his age after an archiepiscopate of twenty-two years, and was laid to rest in the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, along with many other primates and princes of Kent.

The long exiled Bishop Wilfrid was at last, soon after the death of Egfrid, permitted to return home and restored to some portion of his lost grandeur (686-87). The death of the hostile king, interpreted by Wilfrid's partisans as the judgment of heaven on his despoiler, had probably something to do with this change of policy, to which also his reconciliation with the archbishop largely contributed. His restoration was not, however, by any means to all his old dignities, though he was once again in possession of his favourite abbeys of Hexham and Ripon. And even this restoration was only for a time. After five years of peace the eternal dispute broke out again on Wilfrid's refusal to acknowledge the lawfulness of some of the acts of Theodore. He was banished from Northumbria and took refuge in Mercia, where he dwelt for ten years (692-702). Then came one more journey to Rome, undertaken by the brave old man in the sixty-ninth year of his age. His appeal

CHAP. succeeded, but, as before, the decree in his favour failed to
XII. change the purpose of the Northumbrian king. Aldfrid was still immutably fixed in his determination to modify nothing in that decision "which formerly the kings, my predecessors, and the archbishop with their councillors did form, and which afterwards we, with the archbishop sent us from the apostolic see and with almost all the [spiritual] rulers of our race in Britain, confirmed. That decision," said he to Wilfrid's messengers, "so long as I live I will never change for the writings which, as you say, you have received from the apostolic see." Scarcely had this answer been returned when the Northumbrian king was stricken with mortal sickness, an event in which the partisans of Wilfrid not unnaturally thought that they could trace the vengeance of Heaven for his audacious contempt of the papal mandate. It was believed that on his death-bed he repented of his behaviour towards Wilfrid and expressed his intention of being reconciled with him in the event of his recovery, but he died in 705 after lying speechless for many days, and was unable to give effect to his intentions if such intentions ever existed.

On the death of Aldfrid a certain Eadulf, of whose relationship to the royal family nothing is known, usurped the throne. Aldfrid's son Osred was a boy of eight years old, but the faithful friends of his father, headed by Berthfrid, who is described as "a noble next in dignity to the king," gathered round him in the fortress-city of Bamburgh. To quote Berthfrid's words, as related to us by Wilfrid's biographer who, of course, views all events in relation to the fortunes of his hero: "When we were besieged in the city which is called Bebbanburg and everywhere girt round by the forces of the enemy, having only that narrow rock on which to dwell, we came to the conclusion amongst ourselves that if God would grant to our royal boy the kingdom of his father, we would promise God to fulfil those things which the apostolic authority had ordained concerning Bishop Wilfrid. No sooner had we made this vow than the hearts of our enemies were changed: with quickened steps they turned towards us swearing to be our friends; the doors were opened; we were freed from that narrow dwelling; our enemies fled and we recovered the kingdom."

This is all the information that we possess concerning a domestic revolution which, probably on account of its extremely

short duration, is unnoticed by Bede. It seems to be clear that during the two months of his usurped reign Eadulf absolutely refused to redress the grievances of Wilfrid, but that in the early months of Osred's reign a great synod was held near the river Nidd in Yorkshire to settle finally the wearisome business. The boy-king presided: Bertwald of Canterbury was there with all the bishops and abbots in his obedience. There, too, was Elfeda, the daughter long ago vowed by Oswy to the service of God, now and for many years past sitting in the seat of the venerated Hilda as abbess of Whitby: "a most wise virgin," says the biographer, "ever the best consoler and counsellor of the whole province". She was a great friend of Cuthbert, and had probably at one time shared the general Northumbrian or, at least, Bernician dislike to the all-grasping Bishop of York; but the letter which the aged Theodore had written, almost from his death-bed, beseeching her to become reconciled to Wilfrid had perhaps changed her mind towards him, and she now strongly pressed his claims and vouched for the fact that her step-brother Aldfrid on his death-bed declared his intention of complying with all the demands made on his behalf by the apostolic see. The result of the deliberation which followed was that the king, his nobles and all the bishops swore to maintain peace and concord with Wilfrid, and on that same day gave him the kiss of peace and broke the bread of communion with him. At the same time the abbeys of Ripon and Hexham, with all their revenues, were restored to him, and the thirty years' war was at an end. This result was after all a compromise, and, as has been well pointed out by Dr. Bright, a compromise less favourable to Wilfrid than that which had been made before. He had lost the bishopric of York and had to be content with the less important bishopric of Hexham, but he recovered possession of all his domains and monasteries in Northumbria and Mercia.

Wilfrid had now four years of peace at the end of his stormy life. Not long before his death he "invited two abbots and certain very faithful brethren, to the number of eight in all, to meet him at Ripon, and commanded the key-bearer to open his treasury, and to set forth in their sight all the gold and silver with the precious stones, and then ordered them to be divided into four parts according to his judgment". He explained

CHAP. XII. that it had been his intention to make yet another journey to Rome and offer one of these four portions at the shrines of the Virgin and the saints. Should death prevent him from carrying this design into effect, he charged them to send messengers to offer the gifts in his stead. Of the remaining portions one was to be given to the poor for the redemption of his soul ; another was to be divided between the rulers of his two beloved abbeys Hexham and Ripon, " that they may be able by their gifts to win the friendship of kings and bishops " ; the last was to be distributed among the friends and companions of his exile to whom he had not yet given landed possessions. From the minute account which the biographer gives of the whole scene, it seems probable that he was one of the six faithful brethren permitted to gaze on the opened treasury, and one of the companions of the exile who received a share in the bequest.

After some further arrangements about the future government of the abbey of Ripon, Wilfrid journeyed into Mercia, on an invitation from King Ceolred, reached the monastery of Oundle in Northamptonshire, and there, in 709, after a short sickness, ended his days, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. In the forty-six years of his episcopate he had dedicated churches and ordained bishops, priests and deacons past counting. His body was taken to Ripon and there interred with great solemnity. The abbots of his two chief monasteries believed that they had secured in the departed saint a heavenly intercessor of equal power with their apostolic patrons St. Peter and St. Andrew, and their faith was confirmed when, at a great meeting on the anniversary of his death, they beheld at night a white circle in the heavens reaching all round the sky and seeming to encompass the monastery of St. Peter at Ripon with its protecting glory.

The life of Wilfrid with all its strange vicissitudes of triumph and disgrace is confessedly one of the most difficult problems in early Anglo-Saxon history. The enthusiastic panegyric of Eddius, the conventional praise and strange reticence of Bede, leave us still greatly in the dark as to the real cause of the hostility of the leading men of Northumbria, both in Church and State, towards one who seemed made to be a victorious leader of men. The vast blanks in the history can now be supplied only by conjecture, and any such conjectural emenda-

tion would probably be unjust to one or other of the disputants, to Wilfrid, to Theodore or to Egfrid. Only this much may with confidence be asserted, that the dispute, bitter as it was, turned on no question of doctrine or of morals ; hardly in the end on any question of Church government. It is the possession of the great monastic properties, both in Northumbria and Mercia, which seems to be the real bone of contention between Wilfrid and his foes, and when we read of the large possessions wherewith these were endowed, ten "families" to one monastery and thirty to another (domains probably equivalent to at least 1,200 and 3,400 acres), and when we see the well-filled treasury blazing with gold and jewels, which after all his reverses gladdens the aged eyes of Wilfrid at the close of his career, we are, perhaps, enabled to understand a little more clearly what was the unexpressed grievance in the mind of the Northumbrian kings and bishops against their greatest ecclesiastic. With justice he exclaimed again and again, "What are the crimes of which you accuse me?" They had, it would seem, no crimes to allege against him, but the king felt that the vast wealth which he had accumulated made him a dangerous subject, and the bishops thought that he had abused the great position which he had achieved by his victory at Whitby, to secure for himself an unfair share of the new riches of the Church. Whatever view may be taken of the struggle, the very fact of its existence and of the somewhat sordid interests at stake shows us how far we have already travelled in less than two generations from the days of Oswald and Aidan. The victory of the Roman Easter was not all pure gain to the churches of northern Britain.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE LEGISLATION OF KING INE.

CHAP. WE have now nearly reached the end of the seventh century
XIII. of our era, and we may well take note of the fact that it was, not for England only, a century of great religious change. The world-famous Hegira of Mohammed happened in 622, when Edwin was reigning in Deira. Throughout the reigns of the great kings at Bamburgh the invincible armies of Islam were sweeping over Syria and Egypt, overthrowing the ancient kingdom of Persia and for seven long years laying siege, all-but successful siege, to Constantinople. It may be well for us children of the Saxon to be reminded that our profession of Christianity is not older than the Mussulman's allegiance to the faith of the Prophet. Our ancestors were idolators at the same time as the ancestors of our Mohammedan fellow-subjects in the east; the same century saw both our own forefathers and theirs converted from polytheism to monotheism, from chaotic Nature-worships to "the religion of a book".

A very noticeable figure in the south of England at the close of this century was Cadwalla, King of the West Saxons. The kingdom of Wessex had fallen after the death of Cenwalh in 672 into dire confusion and disorder. Cadwalla, who was descended in the fourth generation from the great-fighter Ceawlin, was one of the many claimants for the throne. His first victories, however, were not won over any rival competitors for the West Saxon crown, but over his South Saxon neighbours. Between Wessex and Sussex there seems to have existed in these early centuries an enduring blood-feud. The enmity was not likely to be lessened by remembrance of the fact, already mentioned, that in 661 Wulfhere, King of Mercia, had wrested the Isle of Wight and part of Hampshire from the West Saxons and handed them

over to his convert and godson, Ethelwath of Sussex. Against Sussex, therefore, Cadwalla, "that most strenuous young man of the royal race of the Gewissas," while still an exile, about 685, directed the arms of the followers whom he had gathered round him in the forests of Chiltern. He was at first successful, slaying King Ethelwath and laying waste the land of Sussex with cruel and depopulating slaughter, but was repulsed by two ealdormen who acted as regents after the death of the king. Just at this time, however, Cadwalla seems to have made good his claim to the crown of Wessex, and with the forces of the whole West Saxon kingdom now at his back, he set himself to recover the lost provinces of Wight and the Meonwaras, and at the same time to extirpate the idolatry which still lingered in that conservative Jutish population. Herein he seems to have been abetted by the zealous Wilfrid, who notwithstanding his friendship for Ethelwath was willing to work for the good of the Church with Ethelwath's destroyer, and who received from him as the reward of his co-operation one fourth of the 1,200 hides into which the Isle of Wight was divided.

King Cadwalla, though an apostle of Christianity, reflected, of course, some of the barbarism of his age. There were two lads of royal blood (brothers of the last king of Wight) who had escaped to the mainland, but whose hiding-place was unfortunately discovered. Cadwalla, who had been wounded in the wars and was resting for a time at a house not far distant, ordered that the youths should be slain; but a certain Cyniberct, abbot of the monastery of Redbridge, came to Cadwalla's bedside and made earnest intercession, not for the lives of the hapless lads, but that before their execution "they might be imbued with the sacraments of the Christian faith". The request was granted. The two young princes were converted and baptised, and when the executioner made his appearance "they joyfully submitted to the temporal death by which they doubted not that they should pass over into the everlasting life of the soul".

The war of Wessex with Sussex continued and soon brought in Kent also, which came to the help of its southern neighbour. After two years' ravaging of Kent, the king's brother Mul, by some sudden turn of fortune, fell into the hands of the men of that land (687), and they in their rage and exasperation burned him and twelve of his followers alive, a savage deed, which

CHAP. XIII. was like to have made a truceless war between the West Saxons and the men of Kent. Strange to say, however, this work of revenge was not long engaged in by the brother of the victim. In the year 688, after little more than two years of bloody reign, Cadwalla, stricken with satiety or remorse, went on pilgrimage to Rome. He had two great desires: "to be baptised at the threshold of the apostles and to be speedily freed from the flesh that he might pass into eternal joy". Both desires were granted. The devout Syrian Pope, Sergius I., baptised him by the name of Peter on April 10, 689, and on the 20th, while yet wearing the white robes of a catechumen, he died of Roman fever. He was buried in the great church of St. Peter, and a Latin epitaph in twelve elegiacs was carved over his tomb. The meteoric career of "the most strenuous Cadwalla" who reigns and ravages for two years and a half, and at thirty dies "in Christ's garments" at Rome, and is buried at St. Peter's, forms one of the strangest pages in Anglo-Saxon history.

Cadwalla's successor, a remote kinsman named Ine, descended from Cerdic, but not from Ceawlin, reigned for thirty-seven years (688-726) over the West Saxons. In the sixth year of his kingship the blood-feud with Kent was ended by a treaty under which the men of Kent bound themselves to pay 30,000 coins of some kind (the denomination is not clearly stated) for the murder of Mul. The West Saxon king seems to have had but little difficulty in holding down Sussex, which before the end of the eighth century altogether disappears from the list of the kingdoms. He probably established some sort of protectorate over Essex, since (apparently about 693) he calls Erconwald, Bishop of London, "my bishop". In 715 he fought with Ceolred, King of Mercia, at Wodensburh.¹ As the result of the battle is not stated we may, perhaps, infer that the victory was doubtful. The chief operations of the West Saxon king seem, however, to have been on his Western borders which were notably extended by him. In 710 he and his kinsman Nun, king of the South Saxons, fought against Geraint, king of the West Welshmen, and it was probably to mark and to secure the increase of territory thus won that Ine built the fortress of Taunton in the valley of the Tone.

¹ The identification of this place with Wanborough, near Swindon, is disapproved by Stevenson (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xvii., 638).

On the other hand there were, as so often happened in the disorganised West Saxon house, troubles with the king's own kinsfolk. In 721 it is said "Ine slew Cynewulf the Etheling". In the next year, Ine's own queen, Ethelburga, appears as the demolisher of the newly raised fortress of Taunton. Apparently, however, she was warring for, not against her husband, and we may, perhaps, safely connect this entry with those which immediately follow it: "Ealdbert went into banishment into Surrey and Sussex, and Ine fought with the South Saxons," and (725) "Ine fought with the South Saxons and there slew Ealdbert the Etheling whom he had before expelled from his kingdom". If we are not erroneously combining these scanty notices, Ealdbert an Etheling of the royal house rebelled against his kinsman, seized the new fort of Taunton, was besieged therein by the martial consort of Ine, and on the storming of that stronghold fled into Sussex, where, three years after, he was defeated and slain by the West Saxon king.

In 726, sated apparently with rule and strife and victory, the elderly Ine followed the example of his predecessor, resigned the crown to a kinsman—apparently a remote kinsman—named Ethelheard, and performed the great pilgrimage to Rome, "desiring in this life to wander round the neighbourhood of the holy places, that he might win a kinder reception from the holy ones in heaven". According to William of Malmesbury¹ the king's wavering and procrastinating temper was definitely turned towards the Roman pilgrimage by the exhortations of his wife Ethelburga who acted the following parable in order to give weight to her words. It happened upon a day that the king and his court left a certain *tun* in which they had been dwelling with a profusion of regal luxury. By Ethelburga's orders the steward filled the rooms of the royal abode with rubbish, allowed cattle to wander through it, defiling its floors, and placed a sow which had just littered, in the royal couch. Persuading the king, on some pretext or other, to go back to the *tun*, she turned his natural surprise at the hideous change into an argument for relinquishing the world. "Where, lord husband, are now the pomps and delights of yesterday? Like a river hastening to the sea is all the glory of man. As hath been the delight of our life here so shall

¹ *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, i., 35 (first recension).

CHAP. XIII. be our torments hereafter." With these words and with the sight of the squalid habitation, she persuaded him at once to perform the great renunciation for which she had so long vainly laboured. The death of Ine was apparently not so sudden or so dramatic as that of his predecessor, but there can be no doubt that he died in Rome and never returned to his native land.

The especial interest, for us, of the reign of Ine lies in the fact that he was the first King of Wessex who published written laws for the guidance of his subjects. Till his time such legislative activity as existed among our ancestors had been confined to the kingdom of Kent, where it had evidently been called into being by the organising and civilising influence of the Roman ecclesiastics. "These are the dooms which Ethelbert the king gave forth in Augustine's days": so runs the title of the document which now stands first in the collection of Anglo-Saxon laws. This document is little more than a schedule of the fines to be paid for various offences committed. Though later legislators are a little less dry and curt in their utterances, the general character of their work is not greatly different. As with most of the barbarian codes the repression of crime and the redress of injuries is their first care. They say little about rights, much about wrongs. The rules which guided the devolution of property, and the various customs which made up "folkright" were, no doubt, deeply engraved on the minds and hearts of the people, and it is not from any formal enactment of a royal legislator, only from casual allusions to them, that we have to learn their nature and their history.

After the death of Ethelbert, law-making activity seems to have slumbered for two generations. Then about the year 680, Hlothere and Eadric, who were apparently joint kings of Kent, put forth a small collection of "dooms" adding some items to Ethelbert's list of offences and penalties. Eadric's son, Wihtred, in the year 696, issued another set of laws, dealing more with offences against morality and religion—with adultery, Sabbath-breaking, the worship of devils, the eating of flesh in Lent, and so forth. The strong ecclesiastical influence under which Wihtred's laws were framed is evidenced by the preface which is to this effect: "When Wihtred the most gracious king of Kent was ruling, in the fifth year of his reign (696), . . . the 6th day of October, in the place which is called Berkhamstead,

there was gathered together for counsel an assembly of great men. There was Berwald, archbishop of the Britons, also Gybmund, bishop of Rochester: and every rank of the churches of the land spake in concord with the obedient people. Then did the great men with the consent of all men 'find' these dooms and added them to the law-customs of Kent, as is hereafter said and spoken."

The expressions used in this and many similar prefaces in the collection of Anglo-Saxon laws indicate that which is probably incapable of definition, the sort of share which the leading men of Church and State had in the royal legislation. Laws are passed in the name and by the authority of the king, but he is no uncontrolled autocrat, and for any important change in the "law-customs" of the people, the great men of the realm must share the responsibility.

We may now turn from the rather obscure and elliptical "dooms" of the Kentish kings to the much fuller and more interesting laws of Ine of Wessex which seem to have been promulgated about 693, a year or two before those of Wihtred. Like the latter they were framed "with the counsel and consent of my two bishops, Hedde of Winchester and Erconwald of London, and of all mine ealdormen and the oldest *witan* of my people and also of a great assembly of the servants of God". "My father Cenred" is also named among the royal advisers, thereby raising a difficult question as to Ine's accession to the throne while his father was still living. The preface ends, "And let no ealdorman nor any of our subjects after this seek to turn aside any of these our dooms".

As it is impossible to give here anything like a complete digest of the Anglo-Saxon laws, we may leave unnoticed the ordinances for the repression of crime—especially the crime of theft—which constitute the larger part of the document before us, and may confine our attention to those paragraphs which deal with the tenure of land and with the ranks and orders in the West Saxon state.

In all the earlier stages of a nation's life, before the people have begun to flock into great cities, there is no subject of more vital importance than the relation of the Folk to the Land. In the seventh century in England this was doubtless governed chiefly by old unwritten customs which needed not to be form-

CHAP. XIII. ally enunciated because they were universally understood. Two precious sentences, however, in Ine's laws give us a glimpse of the agricultural life of that day, and, combined with information drawn from other sources, enable us in some measure to reconstruct the rural community as it then existed. "A ceorl's home-¹stead¹ should be fenced in, winter and summer. If he be unfenced and his neighbour's beast rush in by the opening which he has left, he shall receive nothing on account of [the damage done by] that beast, but must drive it out and bear the loss" (§ 40). "If ceorls have a common meadow² or other divided land³ to fence, and some have fenced their portion, others not, and [stray beasts⁴] eat their common arable or pasture, then those who are responsible for the opening shall pay the others who have fenced their portion for the injury that is done and take such compensation as is due from the [owners of the intruding] cattle" (§ 42).

This law shows clearly that we are here in presence of an institution, the existence of which is proved by sentences of Tacitus, by charters of Anglo-Saxon kings, by manor-rolls of many succeeding generations down to the very last century, the so-called Open Field System. This system was not socialistic nor what we understand by the word communistic, and yet it may truly be described in terms drawn from the life of to-day as a system which formed "a community of shareholders".⁵ Such a community was settled, by what means, peaceful or warlike, we need not inquire, on some land cleared, perhaps, from the forest where they founded what we should call a village, but what they called a *tun* or a *ham*,⁶ to which they gave the name of their own little tribe or kinship. The memory of the Yslings may have quite died out from suburban Islington, and Birmingham is no longer the little Mercian *ham* where once the Beormings clustered, but there seems no sufficient reason to doubt that from some such settlements as these sprang the

¹ Weorthige.

² Gaers-tun.

³ Gedal-land. Mr. Seebohm translates "land divided into strips".

⁴ There is evidently an omission of some such words.

⁵ Vinogradoff, *The Growth of the Manor*, p. 150.

⁶ The nature of the difference between the *tun* and the *ham* has perhaps yet to be discovered. For brevity's sake the former word only will be used in the following discussion. Neither "town" nor "township" is a quite satisfactory translation.

numerous *tons* and *hams* which dot the map of England and have given their names to a stalwart progeny in America and at the Antipodes.¹

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In the village settlements thus formed, of course, the main business of the inhabitants was agriculture, and this appears to have been conducted mainly on the Three Field System in which the land that was not reserved for pasture was put one year under wheat sown in the winter, the next year under oats or barley sown in the spring, and the third year lay fallow. Now the peculiarity of the Open Field System is this, that instead of each owner having his own bit of land separate from the rest, in which he could practise this rotation of crops by himself, the community as a whole had three large districts undergoing that rotation, and in each of these districts the *ceorl* (as the Anglo-Saxon village shareholder was called) had a number of separate strips of land, as a rule not adjacent to one another, assigned to him, and in the cultivation of these strips he was probably for ever helping or being helped by the owners of the strips adjoining. The system appears to us inconceivably complicated and absurd: it can hardly be even understood without reference to a map² in which we see the strips of varying width, but generally a furlong in length, lying side by side for a while, and then in another group starting off at right angles to their former direction, but always preserving this strip-like formation. Looking on such a map we can better understand what King Ine meant when he talked of the *gedal-land* or divided land which it was the duty of the *ceorl* owner to fence; since, obviously, if the end of his strip abutted on the forest or on the pasture in which the cows of the community were feeding, his carelessness in leaving it unfenced would work annoyance and loss to many others besides himself.

The causes and the origin of this remarkable system are lost in prehistoric darkness. It has been well said³ that "it is the more remarkable, because with all its inconveniences of

¹ The theory that place-names containing the element *ing* necessarily points to a settlement by a community, though generally accepted, is contested by Prof. Earle and Mr. Stevenson, who consider that *ing* is sometimes merely the equivalent of the genitive singular (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, iv., 356).

² Such as those in Seebohm's *Village Community*.

³ By Vinogradoff, *l.c.*, 176; compare also Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 337.

CHAP. communication, all its backwardness in regard to improvements,
XIII. all its trammels on individual enterprise and thrift, all its awkward dependence of the individual on the behaviour of his neighbours, it repeats itself over and over again for centuries, not only over the whole of England but over a great part of Europe". One thinks that some idea of future repartitions, some desire to prevent any one individual or family from getting too strong a grip of the land, must have been at work here as with the Germans in the first Christian century, of whom Tacitus wrote: "They change their fields year by year, and there is still land left over".¹ To continue the previous quotation: "the system was particularly adapted to the requirements of a community of shareholders who were closely joined together in the performance of their work, the assertion of their rights, the fulfilment of their duties and the payment of their dues".

If we now inquire what was the extent of the land thus strangely divided which was generally owned in the seventh century by the Anglo-Saxon ceorl, we shall find that the determining factor is his ability to grapple with the necessary cultivation of the soil; or, in other words, the size of his estate is expressed in terms of his ploughing power. The normal English plough-team consisted of eight oxen yoked two and two together; and the land which it was possible to plough by such an ox-team was called in English a *hide*, in the Latin of the later lawyers a *carucate*.² The extent of a hide was not always precisely the same even in the earliest times,³ and in later times there are puzzling differences in its dimensions, but as a rule it seems safe to estimate it at 120 acres.

If a husbandman had only two oxen (in which case he would generally have to rely on co-operation with his neighbours to get his land tilled) he could only hope to cultivate the fourth part of a hide. This was called a *yard-land* in Old English, or

¹ *Germania*, xxvi.

² From *caruca*, a plough. There is a general correspondence between the two terms hide and carucate, but it would not be safe to treat them as always precisely equivalent to one another.

³ The size of a hide might partly depend on the nature of the soil. Obviously in some soils a team of six oxen would accomplish a much larger day's work than in others. Kemble, *The Saxons in England*, i., 101, argues for a hide of about 33 acres.

a *virgate*¹ in legal Latin. An even smaller division was the *ox-gang* or *bovate* (the eighth of a hide), which belonged to the husbandman who had but one ox to contribute to the common ploughing.²

The question now arises, "What was the ordinary holding of the Anglo-Saxon ceorl during the first ages after his settlement in the land, and what was his social position?" The answer, of course, must be mainly conjectural, but especially when we consider the language of Bede, and his Anglo-Saxon translators, who use "family" as the equivalent of "hide," it seems probable that the hide, whatever its dimensions may have been, was the normal holding of the ceorl in his day, and all the indications derived from the history of the seventh century seem to point to the conclusion that the ceorl was a free man, proprietor of the land which he cultivated, liable to service in the *fyrð* or national army, and to certain ecclesiastical payments, but in every other relation independent. Metaphors are dangerous things, but we may probably with safety characterise the numerous and sturdy class of ceorls as the backbone of the Anglo-Saxon community.

On the other hand, whatever the normal property of the ceorl might be, it is certain that in the course of time holdings would be split up and the size of proprietorships would vary. While some ceorls—as we shall see later on—might become owners of as many as five hides and thus "attain unto thegn-right," many more would see their holdings dwindle into virgates and bovates; perhaps even³ the virgate or yard-land would become the typical holding of the descendant of the original ceorl-settlers. The owner of 15 acres or even of 30 acres in those days when "intensive" cultivation was unknown, would not be able to do much more than provide food for himself and his family, and in a rough, undemocratic age would be

¹ From *virga* = a yard.

² For convenience of reference the following table is appended, but it must be remembered that these are rather average results than scientifically exact formulæ. See Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*, p. 239, for varying sizes of Hides, Virgates and Bovates.

1 Bovate or Ox-gang = 15 acres.

2 Bovates = 1 Virgate or Yard-land = 30 acres.

8 Bovates or 4 Virgates = 1 Carucate or Hide = 120 acres.

³ As alleged by Mr. Seebohm.

CHAP. XIII. deemed a person of little account in comparison with the great thegn or the abbot of a wealthy monastery who sat in the king's council and affixed his cross to the king's charters. Thus we can easily understand how the *status* of some, by no means of all the ceorls might already towards the close of the seventh century be slowly changing from absolute independence into ill-defined subjection or payment of rent to some great neighbouring land-owner whom he was learning to call his *hlaford*, or lord.¹

Owing to the peculiar mode of its division the arable land of the *tun* has attracted the largest share of our attention. It is not to be forgotten, however, that surrounding the three great open fields which at one time or another came under the plough, there was also a large meadow in which there was "common of pasture" for the cattle belonging to the members of the *tun*. Surrounding this, again, and disparting one tun or ham from its neighbour, there would generally be found a belt of forest-land, as to which we have some interesting utterances from the mouth of the West Saxon legislator. The great economic use of the forest, in addition to the provision of fuel, was its supply of "mast" for the swine, whose flesh was an important part of the food of the people. In the forty-fourth of Ine's laws it is ordained that if any one cut down a tree under which thirty swine could take shelter he shall pay a fine of thirty shillings. In the twentieth law we are introduced to "a foreigner or other stranger"—probably in most cases a Welshman—pushing towards us through a trackless forest. "Comest thou peaceably?" is evidently the question that rises to the lips of the Saxon ceorl as he sees the figure in outlandish garb dimly moving through the trees. If the stranger would dispel suspicion he must either wind his horn or shout at frequent intervals; otherwise the West Saxon may assume that he is a thief and either slay him or capture and hold him to ransom. In the former alternative, however, he must at once make the matter known and swear that he took the dead man for a thief; otherwise he will be liable to judicial process at the hands of the dead man's kinsmen. Again,² if a man burns a single tree in a forest, and is afterwards convicted, he shall pay the full fine of sixty

¹ The laws of Ine which speak of the subjection of a free man to a lord are 3, 21, 27, 39, 67 and 74.

² Law 43.

shillings, for "Fire," says the law-giver, "is a thief," a secret, furtive creature that may do much mischief. But if a man goes boldly into the forest and cuts down trees for his own use, he shall be fined thirty shillings for the first tree so felled and so on up to ninety shillings, but no more, however extensive may have been his depredations, for "The axe is a tell-tale". He could not have wielded it so long in the forest without a ringing sound which should have arrested the attention of the forester.

Of course there was an exception to the general law of the mutability of holdings in the case of the house of the ceorl with the little bit of land surrounding it. This, which we should call a homestead, was called in Anglo-Saxon a *weorthig*, and the fortieth law (already quoted) warned the ceorl that this must be kept always well fenced winter and summer, and that if any gaps were left in the hedge surrounding it he would have no claim against a neighbour for any damage that might be done by that neighbour's beast rushing in through the opening.

The whole of the labour on the land of a ceorl who had the normal holding of a hide would certainly not be performed by himself and his family. We have frequent references in the laws to a servile class, generally known as *theows*, but sometimes—chiefly in the laws of the Kentish kings—as *esnes*. We may conjecture that this class was originally formed for the most part out of vanquished Britons spared by their conquerors; probably also from among the descendants of yet earlier strata of population, enslaved by the Britons themselves. It was certainly recruited by the so-called *wite-theows*, men probably originally of the class of ceorls, who having committed some crime and being unable to pay the pecuniary penalty for their offence were condemned to penal servitude, and in such a case generally forfeited the freedom of their descendants as well as their own. Probably the larger number of theows were in bondage to land-owners of higher rank than the ceorl, but one of the laws of Ethelbert of Kent¹ shows that at any rate the possession of a slave by a ceorl was not a thing altogether unknown. Our information as to this servile class is, however, very imperfect,

¹ Law 16. *Ceorles birele* evidently means a ceorl's female slave.
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CHAP. and relates chiefly to the floggings to which they may be
XIII. subjected for various offences.¹

Though the position of the great body of the ceorls, if it has been rightly stated here, was that of partners in a free and independent agricultural community, it must be admitted, as previously said, that we have already in the laws of Ine traces of another, probably an increasing class of *gafol gelders* or rent-payers. Land in these cases was held by free men under a lord, to whom payments had to be made in kind whenever the lord visited the tenant. In Saxon Britain, as in Frankish Gaul, the king and his chief nobles lived on the produce of their estates, not by drawing half-yearly rents and converting them into money, to be spent in their own distant palaces, but by moving about from *tun* to *tun*, from *vill* to *vill*, and calling upon their tenants for supplies of food which were consumed upon the spot by themselves and their retainers, doubtless with much wassail and jollity. From an estate of ten hides the lord was entitled to claim ten vessels of honey, three hundred loaves, twelve *ambers* of Welsh ale, thirty *ambers* of clear ale, two full-grown oxen or ten rams, ten geese, twenty hens, ten cheeses, a full *amber* of butter, five salmon, twenty pounds weight of fodder, and a hundred eels.²

From the consideration of the middle and lower classes of Anglo-Saxon society we ascend to consider the rather difficult questions connected with the higher ranks of that society, the thegns, the eorls, the ealdormen, about whom the Laws and the Chronicles inform us. In this examination we should be left in almost hopeless darkness were it not for two institutions both well known in all the collections of primitive Teutonic law, and both very repugnant to our modern ideas of justice, *werigild* and (so-called) *compurgation*.

The essential principle of the *werigild* was compensation

¹ Vinogradoff (*Growth of Manor*, 202) minimises the element of personal slavery in the early Anglo-Saxon community: "Even in the earliest stage of English life it could not be said that English society was a slave-holding one. . . . Slavery turns out not to be a fit economic and social basis for a primitive, half-agricultural, half-pastoral society: the slaves are difficult to keep and awkward to deal with. . . . They are mostly provided with small households of their own and used as coloni."

² Ine, 70. The *amber* is said to have contained four bushels, but Maitland (*Domesday Book*, etc., p. 440, n. 6) doubts its having been so large.

in money to the kindred of a murdered man, in order to induce them to abstain from righting or avenging themselves by force. Far back in the dimmest ages of the Teutonic foreworld the historical student discerns a period when all wrongs were avenged by the stroke of the broad-sword. The right, and more than the right, the sacred duty, of vengeance was handed on from father to son, and the circle widened from kinsman to kinsman, till the terrible blood-feud was like to destroy a tribe or even a nation. Then at some period far back in the ages, the idea was conceived of exorcising the spirit of revenge by the wand of pecuniary compensation. Let the relatives of a murdered man receive a *wer*, a payment in money, proportioned to his rank and position in the tribe, and, the family honour being thus satisfied, let them forego the right to revenge. If the injury were something less than death—if it were maiming, mutilation, the abduction of a wife, unprovoked words of insult—a proportionate payment in the nature of *wer* was made to the sufferer himself. The *wer* was purposely fixed high according to the value of money in those days, and if the offender were unable to pay it, he and sometimes his family with him became the bondslaves of the injured party. There was thus an element of prevention as well as of compensation in the punishment inflicted. But in all this we do not find any thought of punishment inflicted by the state to avenge the injured majesty of the law; nothing of that feeling which now makes the murder of the most degraded outcast a matter which must be inquired into with the utmost diligence by the police and punished by the hands of the executioner. This thought was indeed in some degree expressed by the *wite* or fine for murder, breach of the peace and so on, which was paid to the king or to one of his officers, but this fine was generally less in amount and always less in importance than the venerable wergild payable to the kindred.

The amount of *wergild* was elaborately proportioned to the station in society of the injured party—twice as high for the nobleman as for the squire, three times as high for the squire as for the yeoman (if one may be permitted to use as a very rough approximation the terms current in modern society); but it is important to remember that obligation in this system of law went hand in hand with privilege. If the *wer* for an injured

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thegn was high, it was on the level of that *wer* that he would have to atone to the king for offences committed by him against the law of the land.¹ The *wergild* tariff, however, though frequently referred to, is not regularly set forth in the laws either of Ethelbert or of Ine, an omission common to it with many of the other Teutonic codes, especially that of the Lombards. Probably the amount of *wer* payable in each case was so well known through long usage that the legislator deemed it needless to set it forth anew, but it is possible also that there was a variable element left, in some cases, to be the subject of bargaining between the two kins of the injurer and the injured. Some broad lines of demarcation, however, may be clearly traced. We know that the *ceorl* was called a *twy-hynd* man, because the ordinary compensation for his violent death was 200 shillings. A Welshman, however, who owned that single hide of land which seems to have been the normal property of the well-to-do *ceorl*, was entitled to a *wergild* of only 120 shillings, but if he so prospered as to become the owner of five hides of English soil then his *wergild* rose to the proportionate amount of 600 shillings.

The class next above the *ceorl*, the class corresponding with the gentry of modern times, the large land-holders who do not happen to hold any official position at the king's court, were in the ninth century spoken of as *thegns*; and that word may, for convenience, be used here, though it is perhaps doubtful whether it was yet used as the simple designation of a class. In the word thegn the thought of soldiership and of service to the king seem almost inseparably blended. In the poem of Beowulf thegns seems to be equivalent to warriors; while in the charters of Anglo-Saxon kings the Latin equivalent of thegn is almost invariably *minister*. In the laws of Ine these men seem to be generally spoken of as *gesithcund*, men who by birth were entitled to be comrades and attendants of the king; and it is almost certain that they are identical with the *twelf-hyndemen*, their *wergild* being fixed at 1,200 shillings. Higher than this these laws do not enable us to go, but the tenor of later legislation supports the conjecture that the *wergild* for an ealdorman or for a bishop was 4,800 shillings, for an archbishop or etheling

¹ Ine, 11, 12.

(member of the royal house), 9,000 shillings, and for the king himself, 18,000 shillings.¹

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It will be seen that the Ealdorman is here put on a level with the Bishop. At the point of West Saxon history which we have now reached, there seems to have been one ealdorman to every shire. He commanded the *fyrd* of his shire in battle, he presided along with the bishop and the reeve in the shire-gemot, of which later laws than Ine's inform us: and altogether his position may perhaps be best imagined by comparing it with that of a modern lord-lieutenant of a county.

Some further light on the ranks and orders in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms is shown by the rather copious ordinances on the subject of that judicial process which is generally called compurgation. This name is not technically correct, as it is of ecclesiastical origin and belongs to later times than those with which we are now dealing; but we have not yet naturalised "oath-helping" as the Germans have naturalised *eid-hilfe*, and the word *ath-fultum*, occasionally used in the Anglo-Saxon laws, has not yet attained the same degree of currency as *wergild*. With the word "compurgation," therefore, we must for the present rest satisfied.

We first meet with this custom in the fourteenth law of King Ine, who says, "If any one be accused of brigandage he shall clear himself by 120 hides or pay accordingly". We naturally inquire what is meant by "clearing oneself by 14,400 acres," and we receive further light on the question when we come to law 19 which tells us that "a king's retainer (*geneat*) if his wer is 1,200 shillings may swear for 60 hides if he be a communicant," on which the later Latin translator adds the gloss, "for 60 hides, that is for six men".

We now see more plainly the meaning of "swearing by 120 hides". A man accused of such a grave crime against society as brigandage must, in order to prove his innocence, procure the attestation of at least two king's tenants (each presumably holding sixty hides of land) or twelve land-owners (each owner of ten hides), and they must swear that they believe him innocent. This is "oath-helping" or "compurgation". This swearing process is, as has been often pointed out, not in the

¹ There seems to have been a tendency as legislation advanced to increase the distance in respect of *wergilds* between the king and his subjects.

CHAP. least like our modern examination of sworn witnesses to fact,
XIII. nor does it contain the promise of our modern trial by jury. It is much more akin to the privilege allowed to the defendant of "calling witnesses to character," a privilege which, where the evidence is only circumstantial, often has an important influence on the verdict. It must be admitted that even with us the force of such evidence frequently depends in some measure on the social status of the witness-bearers, but we should shrink from making the bald statement that a man accused of murder must produce two persons paying income-tax on £10,000 a year, or twenty persons at £1,000 a year, to declare their belief in his innocence.

The amount of "swearing power," if it may be so called, belonging to each class of men is not very clearly stated. From the passage quoted above, with its Latin gloss, one is inclined to suppose that the ordinary ceorl swore for ten hides. It has been recently argued¹ that he swore only for five or perhaps six hides. There is, however, evidently something factitious in the ownership of land thus theoretically assigned to him. We may say, certainly, that the ordinary ceorl did not possess five, much less ten hides of land; nor were all thegns, who had probably the same swearing power as the king's *geneat*, possessed of sixty hides, say 7,200 acres. We may therefore rather look upon the number of hides for which ceorl, thegn and king's thegn were entitled to swear as a conventional mode of stating for the guidance of the judge, the weight that was to be attached to their testimony when they gave it on behalf of a man accused of crime. Perhaps also there was in this curious tariff of credibility an attempt to ascertain the extent to which the belief of the vicinage could be relied on in the prisoner's behalf. The ordinary ceorl, cultivating perhaps only one hide, but mingling with a certain number of his fellow ceorls in the exercise of his daily toil, might vouch for the opinion of the owners of ten hides; while the king's retainer, from his wider field of observation, could vouch for the belief of a district six times as large.

From a consideration of the laws of Ine and other nearly contemporary sources, we may, perhaps, safely arrive at the following general conclusions as to the nature of the social edifice in the eighth century. At the summit of that edifice

¹ Chadwick, *Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 144-48.

we find, of course, the king. He is king as yet of only a few English shires, a monarch of far less importance than the Frankish kings before they sank into inefficiency, yet a much greater man than many who had borne the same title in preceding centuries. In the early history and charters of the Anglo-Saxons we are struck with the large number of persons who bear the title of *cyning* or *rex*. Edwin slays five kings when fighting against the Saxons. Four kings were reigning at the same time in Sussex, three in Essex. There were kings of the Hwiccas (Worcestershire and Warwickshire) and a separate kingdom of the Middle Angles and of Lindsey, all of which vanished leaving no trace in the so-called "Heptarchy" of later historians.¹

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All this, though partly accounted for by the tendency to treat the kingdom as a family estate and to divide it up at the king's death among his surviving sons, shows also that there must have been a strong movement in the opposite direction, a tendency towards unity and consolidation to produce the three comparatively large and powerful kingdoms of Mercia, Wessex and Northumbria, which are practically all that are of historic importance in the eighth century.

It may have been partly on account of the increasing majesty of the royal name that the nobility (if we may thus speak of the classes reaching from the throne down to the lowest stratum of thegn-hood) became, what perhaps they had not been originally, a class of *ministri* and *milites*, servants to the king in peace and in war. Writers on the early constitution of the Germanic states are accustomed to dwell on the distinction between the primeval "nobility by birth" and its successor, "nobility by service". Without denying the probability that nobles of the first kind existed among the invaders of England, we must admit that in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms as we know them it is the second species, "nobility by service," in the king's court with which we find ourselves chiefly brought in contact. When the king takes counsel with his *witan* it is with the archbishop and bishops, with the ealdormen, the king's thegns and the "exalted councillors" (*gethungenan witan*) in their various degrees that he deliberates, with their concurrence that he makes laws for the welfare of the realm, and by their cross-made signatures that

¹ See Chadwick, chapter viii., for references on this point.

CHAP. his charters granting land are attested. We do not appear to
XIII. have any accurate information as to the time of meeting of the *witan* (*witenagemot*). Nor was the place of meeting by any means always the same even for each Saxon kingdom, though Winchester, Kingston, and in later times London, were frequent homes of the West Saxon *witenagemot*.

The functions of this great council of the wise men of the realm, the degree to which they shared or controlled the royal power in matters of legislation, of finance, of the defence of the country, are better learned by watching the course of national history than from any attempt to frame a definition of that which was essentially vague, fluctuating and incoherent. The relation between the *witenagemot* and the medieval parliaments of the Plantagenets must be felt to be only one of rather faint analogy. In some respects the contemporary ecclesiastical councils of Visigothic Spain, at any rate in their later phases, present a much closer correspondence of type. It certainly seems, from the language of the Chronicle, that the English *witan*, like those councils, had a powerful voice in the election of the king, though, unlike the Spanish councillors, the Wise Men of Wessex were, in their choice, for the greater part of the time confined to one royal line, the men "whose descent goeth unto Cerdic".¹

NOTE ON ANGLO-SAXON MONEY.

To understand properly the information about wergilds supplied to us by the Anglo-Saxon laws, we must devote a little attention to the Anglo-Saxon currency. Our ancestors a thousand years ago used for the most part the same pecuniary language that we use to-day. They generally spoke of pounds, shillings and pence; and the clerkly ecclesiastics who had to translate these words into Latin employed the *Libra*, *Solidus* and *Denarius*, which have given us the well-known symbols £ s. d. This translation, however, into the terms of Roman currency has done nothing but confuse our own monetary history. *Libra* as the translation of pound is unobjectionable, but *solidus*—the only coin of that name that obtained wide currency, the *solidus aureus* of Constantinople—was a gold coin of which 72 went to the pound of gold, and was in intrinsic value equal to about thirteen

¹ Chadwick (*Excursus*, iv.) takes a different view and practically denies the elective power of the *witan*.

shillings of our present money. No *scilling* that any Anglo-Saxon legislator ever dealt with had any such intrinsic value as this. Similarly the *denarius*, the true denarius of the republic and of the early empire, was a silver coin intrinsically worth about eightpence of our present currency. No penny in any Anglo-Saxon coinage ever approached this value; and the translation of denarius by penny has introduced confusion even into some well-known passages of the English Bible. Let us, therefore, for the sake of clearness, wholly disregard the pretended Roman equivalents, and confine our attention to the true, long-enduring Saxon denominations, the *pund*, the *scilling* and the *penig*.

1. The *pund* meant a pound's weight of silver. It was purely a "money of account," as no coin representing this value was ever struck by any Anglo-Saxon king. According to the present value of metals, it would be worth intrinsically somewhat less than £2 sterling.

2. The *scilling* was also only a money of account, represented by no actual coin. Its derivation (from *scylan*, to divide) seems to point to the fact, that it was originally a portion of a silver ornament, probably a torque or an armlet broken off and cast into the scale, for payment by weight of the trader's demand. Even so, as we may remember, St. Oswald ordered his beautiful silver dish to be broken up and distributed to the starving crowd, who would take these *scyllingas* into the market and exchange them there for the needed food. At a later time the *scilling* acquired a definite value, which, however, varied much in the different English kingdoms. The Kentish *scilling* was one-twelfth of a pound; the Wessex *scilling*, one-forty-eighth; and the Mercian, one-sixtieth.

3. But however much the *scilling* might vary, the penny (*pending*, *pening* or *penig*) seems in all the English kingdoms to have ever borne the same proportion to the pound which it bears at present, namely, as 1 to 240. This enables us to state the varying values of the *scilling* in the following manner:—

The <i>scilling</i> of Kent	=	20 peningas.
Do. Wessex	=	5 ¹ „
Do. Mercia	=	4 „

Here at last, in this lowest and humblest denomination, we get something which is not a mere "money of account". The silver pennies of the Anglo-Saxon kings, which reach from the middle of the eighth century right down to the Norman conquest, and whose successors

¹ There are some indications that in early times the shilling of Wessex may have contained only 4 peningas.

CHAP. XIII. } formed practically the only money of the country until the reign of Edward III., are the glory of the numismatic collector, but suggest strange thoughts as to the stage of civilisation reached by a country whose only coin was a little bit of silver, one-twentieth of an ounce in weight.

A few words must be said (1) as to the intrinsic value, and (2) as to the purchasing power of these moneys.

(1) As to the first question we are met by the practical difficulty of deciding what is the present value of silver. Not thirty years ago silver was worth fully 4s. 6d. an ounce, or £2 14s. a pound; now it fetches about half that price. But if we take, for convenience, the larger quotation, representing the old-fashioned ratio between gold and silver of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, we get roughly the following results:—

The *pund* = £2 14s. in intrinsic value.

Scilling of Kent = $\frac{1}{18}$ of a pound = 4s. 6d. in intrinsic value.

Do. Wessex = $\frac{1}{8}$ „ = 1s. 1½d. „

Do. Mercia = $\frac{1}{6}$ „ = 10½ pence „

The *penig* = about two pence and three farthings „

(2) The “purchasing power” of money in those days is of course a different and a far more difficult question. As every one knows, since the discovery of America and the opening up of enormous fresh sources of supply of the precious metals, prices have been altogether revolutionised, and the “purchasing power” of an ounce of gold or silver has been enormously lessened.

The following are a few indications given us by the laws of Ine and some of his successors as to the prices prevalent in his time:—

1. An ewe with one lamb, 1 scilling (= 1s. 1½d.).

Present value, £2 10s. Ratio 1 to 44.

2. Maintenance of a peasant's child, 6 scillings (6s. 9d.) per annum *plus* a cow in summer and an ox in winter.

Equivalent to our time to about £6. Ratio 1 to 17.

3. A peasant's blouse was worth 6 penings (1s. 4d.).

This was probably a rather elaborate affair, and if hand-worked might be worth at the present time £1 10s.

Ratio 1 to 22.

4. A sheep's fleece, 2 penings (5½d.).

Present price, 7s. Ratio 1 to 15.

From the laws of Athelstan:—

5. A good horse, 24 scillings (£1 7s.).

Present price, £40. Ratio 1 to 30 nearly.

6. A sheep, 1 scilling (1s. 1½d.).

Present price, £2. Ratio 1 to 35.

From the law concerning the Dunsæte (Welsh mountaineers) (tenth century):—

7. A mare, 20 scillings (£1 2s. 6d.).

Present price, £25. Ratio 1 to 22.

8. A "swine," 1⅔ scilling (1s. 10d.).

Present price, £1 10s. Ratio 1 to 16.

9. A sheep, 1 scilling (1s. 1½d.).

Present price, £2. Ratio 1 to 35.

10. A goat, ⅔ of a scilling (5½d.).

Present price, 15s. Ratio 1 to 33.

It will be seen from the above rough calculations how impossible it is to get any fixed proportion between the purchasing power of money in Anglo-Saxon times and in our own. As to one very important element, the price of grain, we have no satisfactory information; but from the records of later centuries (from the thirteenth onwards) it seems probable that, with frequent and violent fluctuations, it generally ruled relatively higher than the price of cattle.

On the whole, for historical purposes, if the reader mentally translates the scilling of Wessex into the pound sterling of our own day he will probably not go far wrong.

It may be well to add a few other monetary terms belonging chiefly to the later centuries of Anglo-Saxon history.

1. The *Mancus* was one-eighth of a pund: or 30 penings. The name is said to be derived from the Arabic. The Mancus in the time of Athelstan was the standard price of an ox.

2. The *Thrymsa* of Mercia was originally a gold coin (derived from the Roman *tremissis*), but afterwards the word was used to denote a unit of value, the equivalent of 3 penings.

3. The *Scætt* was very nearly equivalent to the pening; but 250 not 240 went to the pund.

4. The *Mark*, a Danish word, denotes the equivalent of half a pound.

5. The *Ora* was the eighth part of a mark. It was held to be equivalent to 2½ scillings of Wessex, but there is some difficulty in the equation of these Danish and Saxon currencies. According to *Domesday Book* the Ore contained 20 pence, and accordingly the Mark would be equal not to 120 but to 160 pence. On the other hand, Ethelred's laws, iv., 9, say that the pound contained 15 ores. This would make the Mark if it was half a pound equivalent to 7½ ores.

(See Chadwick, *l.c.*, chapter i., for a discussion of this perplexing question.)

CHAPTER XIV.

THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

CHAP. THE eighth century was in many ways a memorable one for
XIV. Europe and Asia. In the east it was the period of the greatest splendour of the Caliphs of Baghdad; at Constantinople it saw the rule of the strong, stern iconoclastic emperors who set the spiritual authority of the popes at defiance; in Italy it beheld the downfall of Lombard rule, in Spain the subjection of nine-tenths of the country to the domination of the Moors.

Even more important than any of these events were the changes which were going forward in the wide regions subject to the dominion of the Franks. Here the star of the great Austrasian house, which was represented by Charles Martel, Pippin and Charlemagne, was steadily rising. In this century they shouldered aside the last feeble representative of the Merovingian race, and seated themselves visibly on that Frankish throne behind which they and their sires had stood so long as mayors of the palace; and in the end, aspiring yet higher, at the very end of the century the greatest of the race received the imperial crown and was hailed as Carolus Augustus by the people of Rome in the city of the Cæsars.

In this last series of events, as it happened, Englishmen self-exiled from their country took a prominent part. Willibrord, the apostle of the Frisians, baptised Pippin and foretold the exaltation of his house. Wynfrith, otherwise known as Boniface, following in his footsteps, persuaded or compelled Frisians, Thuringians and Hessians to embrace that religion which his own forefathers had accepted only three generations before, and with the religion induced them to accept also the ecclesiastical discipline of Rome. In his later missionary operations, gentle or forcible, he was strongly supported by the

Austrasian Pippin, whom he repaid for that support by crowning him King of the Franks just half-way through the century. Moreover, it was another Englishman, the Northumbrian Alcuin, head of the great school for ecclesiastics attached to the church of York, who towards the close of the century accepted Charlemagne's invitation to take up his abode at the Frankish court; became, so to speak, his literary prime minister, and being full himself of the memories of classical Rome, had no inconsiderable share in persuading his patron to revive the glories of the great world-empire, to pass from the condition of a mere King of the Franks into that of Roman Emperor.

Thus, in this eighth century the Anglo-Saxon race was in various ways making its mark on Europe; and in our own island its literary history during this period is not without interest; but politically the century is one of the most sterile in all our annals. It was an age of little men, of decaying faith, of slumberous inaction, or else of sanguinary and chaotic strife. Northumbria especially, during this period, was falling fast and far from her former high estate. Mercia and Wessex were engaged in perpetual objectless war, not ennobled by any great names or chivalrous deeds. Yet possibly even this dreary time was looked back upon in the next century as a golden age, for it was, almost till its close, unmarked by foreign invasion. In the year 793 a new and more disastrous chapter was opened by the appearance on the horizon of the ships of the Vikings.

The unsatisfactory character of this portion of English history is no doubt partly due to the fact that at an early stage we lose the guidance of that great writer to whom we are indebted for almost all that gives freshness and life to the preceding narratives. Bede, the father of English history, finished his great work in 731, and died four years later, in 735. Hitherto he has been speaking to us about the lives of other men; it is now time to listen to what his disciples have told us concerning his own. Born about the year 672, soon after the death of Oswy, Bede was taken as a child of seven years old to the newly founded monastery of Monkwearmouth, and there or in the sister monastery of Jarrow he passed the rest of his life. He was thus not only the child of the convent but in a pre-eminent degree the spiritual heir of Benedict Biscop, the nobly born and cultured Northumbrian, who had founded these two

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monasteries, had built in their precincts two stately stone churches "after the manner of the Romans which he always loved" (far superior doubtless to the uncouth wooden churches which satisfied most of the Anglo-Saxon builders), had enriched their libraries with precious manuscripts and pictures—the trophies of five journeys to Rome—and had imported artisans from Gaul to teach the Anglo-Saxon the hitherto unknown mystery of the manufacture of glass. It is an interesting fact that of both these two foundations of Benedict Biscop some vestiges still remain, almost unique specimens of early Anglo-Saxon art. In the porch of the parish church of Monkwearmouth are some cylindrical "baluster-shafts," and some slabs covered with beautiful Anglo-Saxon knot-work. In the parish church of Jarrow, surrounded as it now is by smoking furnaces and clanging steam-hammers, there are portions of a wall undoubtedly anterior to the Norman conquest, and possibly belonging to the very fabric which, as an inscription tells us, was dedicated in the fifteenth year of king Egfrid and the fourth year of abbot Ceolfrid (probably 685). Under this abbot, who ruled Wearmouth as well as Jarrow, Bede spent more than thirty years of his life, the years of boyhood, youth and early middle age. With him, according to the pathetic story already related, he probably sustained as a boy of fourteen the whole burden of chanting the antiphones, when all the rest of the choir were laid low by the terrible pestilence. By him doubtless his studies were directed in later life, when as a studious youth he entered the convent library and began to pore over the manuscripts, sacred and profane, the splendid copies of the Vulgate, the treatises of the Fathers, the poems of Lucretius, Horace, Ovid and Virgil, wherewith the literary enthusiasm of Benedict had enriched his monastery.

In 716 the abbot Ceolfrid, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, resigned his office and started on a pilgrimage to Rome. He travelled slowly, and had only reached the city of Langres in Champagne, when the weakness of age conquered him, and he lay down and died. His attempted pilgrimage has, however, a special interest for us, since it has recently been discovered that one of the manuscripts which he took with him on his journey as an offering to the Holy Father was none other than the celebrated Codex Amiatinus, now preserved in the

Laurentian Library, at Florence and, by the admission of all scholars, the chief authority for the text of Jerome's great translation of the Scriptures. CHAP. XIV.

Bede survived his old preceptor nearly twenty years, following up with patient industry the literary career upon which Ceolfrid had started him. In 731 he completed the great work on *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, which has made his name immortal ; but besides this he wrote a vast number of treatises: on *The Interpretation of Scripture*, on *The Nature of Things*, on *Grammar* and on *Astronomy*, and two chronological works entitled *De Temporibus* and *De Temporum Ratione*. His books show an especial interest in the computation of time, the natural result of his study of the great Easter controversy, the echoes of which must have been still resounding in the days of his childhood. He was unquestionably the most learned man of his age, perhaps one might safely say the most learned man of the early Middle Ages. He was—what even the great Pope Gregory was not—a Greek scholar ; and his Latin style, formed doubtless on a careful study of the classical authors in the library of the convent, is eminently pure, and free from turgidity and affectation. His history, in fact, comes as a delightful surprise to the student who has had to struggle with the barbarous Latinity of papal epistles, or the astounding grammatical blunders of Bede's Frankish counterpart, Gregory of Tours. All this intellectual attainment on the part of the monk of Jarrow is the more surprising when we remember how short was the interval which separated him from actual barbarism. Bede's father possibly, his grandfather almost certainly, were rude illiterate pagans ; yet we find their near descendant writing Latin which might almost have passed muster at the court of Augustus, and by his saintly life and happy death illustrating the noblest qualities of the Christian character.

Bede's life ended on May 9, 735. Though the story of his death is one of the best known in English history, it may hardly be omitted here. For some months before the end he had suffered much from difficulty of breathing. The long and weary night watches were gladdened with psalmody ; sometimes with the repetition of his own Anglo-Saxon verses, one of which may be thus translated :—

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Let not man take thought too deeply
 Ere his last and lonely journey.
 Ponder as he may, he knows not
 What of good and what of evil
 Shall befall his parting spirit.

He wept with his weeping disciples ; then he changed to rejoicing and gave thanks to God for all, even for his chastisements. "As Ambrose said, so can I say, too, 'I have not so lived that I need be ashamed to abide longer with you ; yet neither do I fear to die, for we have a good Lord'." In the intervals of sacred song he continued his literary labours, dictating to a youth by his bedside a translation of the early chapters of John's gospel, together with some extracts from a treatise by Isidore of Seville. This latter was probably one of the Spanish bishop's scientific works, for Bede said : "I do not want my lads to read that which is false, nor that after my death they should spend fruitless labour on this thing". The amanuensis said, "There is yet one chapter of the book which thou art dictating, but I think it too hard work for thee" ; but Bede answered, "No, it is easy ; take thy pen and write speedily". When the dictation was all-but ended, he distributed his little treasures, spices, napkins and incense, among his friends in the monastery. Then said the scribe, "There is yet one more sentence not written down". This was dictated. The scribe said, "It is done". "Thou hast said truly," answered Bede. "It is finished. Help me to sit in yonder place where I have been wont to pray, that sitting there I may call upon the name of the Father." And thus, seated on the pavement of his cell and chanting with laboured breath the *Gloria Patri*, the father of English history passed away.

In connexion with the name of Bede, allusion must be made to one or two of his contemporaries who made this period illustrious in the history of English literature. The herdsman-poet Caedmon has already been mentioned in connexion with the conference at Whitby. The date of his death is not recorded, but it probably occurred before the close of the seventh century. Though recent criticism has thrown some doubt on his authorship of the poems which were formerly attributed to him, there can be no doubt that his was a great name in the young literature of the Anglo-Saxon race, and if Bede, though writing in Latin, may be considered as stand-

ing by the fountain-head of English prose, Caedmon must be allowed to hold the same place in relation to English poetry.

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Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury and first bishop of Sherborne, was probably considered by his contemporaries the greatest scholar of his age. Like so many of the great ecclesiastics of this period, Aldhelm was of noble birth, a kinsman, said some, of King Ine himself. Trained in the monastic school of Hadrian at Canterbury he imbibed from his Italian instructors a large amount of classical learning, but not that purity of taste which caused his younger contemporary Bede to use his learning with discretion. Whatever may have been his literary failings, there was a fascination about his personal presence and an earnestness in his religious character which won for him a large number of loyal disciples, enabled him to develop the little community gathered by an Irish saint into the famous monastery of Malmesbury, and made him the literary apostle of Wessex. According to his great panegyrist, William of Malmesbury, he combined in his style the excellencies of various nations. Some fastidious readers in the twelfth century found his works heavy reading. "Unreasonable judges are they," said William, "who do not know that every nation has its own different style of writing. For the Greeks write in an involved style, the Latins in a guarded one, the Gauls write with splendour, the English with pomp. . . . But if you will carefully read Aldhelm's writings you will think him a Greek by the acuteness of his intellect, a Roman by his brilliancy, and an Englishman by his pomp." The "pomposity," or in other words, the turgidity of his style has been found quite intolerable by later scholars, but was probably considered an enviable gift by his countrymen, only just emerged from barbarism. At any rate even to the pompous and somewhat pedantic churchman much may be pardoned in consideration of the charming anecdote, related on the authority of King Alfred, that Aldhelm in his younger days seeing the "semi-barbarous" people accustomed, as soon as Mass was finished, to stream away to their houses without listening to the words of the preacher, took his station on the bridge by which they needs must pass and there sang merry ballads of his own composition, till he had gained the ear of the hurrying crowd, after which he

CHAP. changed his tune, gradually interwove with his song the words
XIV. of Scripture, began to speak to them of serious things, and, in short, won back to sanity and devotion the citizens whom he might vainly have endeavoured to coerce by the terrors of excommunication. Aldhelm was chosen Bishop of Sherborne in 705 and died in 709.

The names just mentioned are those of men of a somewhat earlier generation than Bede, and belong, in fact, rather to the seventh century than to the eighth. Not so with the last upon our list, Cynewulf, who was born not many years before the death of Bede and whose literary activity was displayed in the latter half of the eighth century. We have in this poet a remarkable instance of a man whose very existence had been forgotten by his countrymen, and whose name, till a few years ago, was absent from the most carefully written histories of our literature. In the year 1857, however, a German professor¹ discovered Cynewulf's name in a charade prefixed to a collection of Anglo-Saxon riddles. The clue thus followed led to other discoveries, and now by the general consent of scholars many poems formerly attributed to Caedmon are reclaimed for his fellow-Northumbrian Cynewulf. The Riddles which are sometimes attributed to this poet are considered by those who have studied them to show, amid much misplaced ingenuity, considerable sensitiveness to the beauties of Nature, and some power of description of the battle and the banquet. It is interesting to observe how rapidly in these early Middle Ages a literary fashion spread from country to country over the whole west of Europe. Almost at the same time when the Northumbrian poet was composing his curious poetical riddles, Paul the Lombard and Peter of Pisa were discharging at one another acrostic riddles and enigmatic charades at the court of Charlemagne.

The most important of all the poems which have been conjecturally assigned to this author is the beautiful "Vision of the Holy Rood," some lines of which are carved upon the Ruthwell Cross still existing in Dumfriesshire. In this poem the author describes the appearance to him in a dream of the holy wood which had once been a tree in the forest, and was then cut down and fashioned into a cross for the punishment of criminals, but

¹ Heinrich Leo.

received with awe upon its arms the sacred body of the Lord of mankind. The Rood speaks :—

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Then the young hero, who was mightiest God,
Strong and with steadfast mind,
Up to the cross with steps unflinching trod
There to redeem mankind.
I trembled, but I durst not fail,
I on my shoulders bare the glorious King.
They pierce my sides with many a darksome nail,
And on us both their cruel curses fling.

The death, the burial and the resurrection of the Lord are related in a similar strain of reverent compassion for the Almighty Sufferer, and the Rood finally charges the poet to reveal the vision to all men, inasmuch as the day is coming when Christ will ask who there is that for His name will taste of bitter death as He did on the cross.

There is something which must needs move our sympathy when we see the passion of pitying love with which these simple-hearted sons of warriors received the story of the suffering Saviour. But, as has been already said, the tide of religious emotion which had flowed so freely in the seventh was already beginning to ebb in the eighth century. This decay of religious life in England, or at any rate in Northumbria, is vouched for in the memorable letter which Bede wrote shortly before his death to his friend Egbert, who had just been consecrated bishop and was shortly to become Archbishop of York. The letter itself is a model of wise exhortation, boldly but respectfully tendered by an aged saint to a man, his junior in years but his superior in ecclesiastical rank. Bede is evidently sure of the goodness of his pupil's intentions, but anxious lest he should not have sufficient force of character to make head against the corruption of the times. Ever since the death of King Aldfrid, which happened thirty years before (705), the decline in morals had gone on at a rapid pace. He holds the bishops largely responsible for this degeneracy. They have insisted on retaining dioceses larger than any one man could possibly administer. They have, for filthy lucre, given their consent to all sorts of grants which should never have been made. They and their clergy have clutched eagerly at the shepherd's hire, leaving the flock unfed. "There are, as we hear, many farms and villages on lonely mountains or in

CHAP. brambly wildernesses, in which for many years the face of a
XIV. priest has never been seen, and neither baptisms nor confirmations are ever performed, and yet not one of the dwellers in such places is ever allowed to escape from the payment of church-dues."

But the greatest scandal of all in Bede's day seems to have been the foundation of pseudo-monasteries by noble and wealthy laymen, who intended anything rather than the leading of a life of religious austerity. Intent apparently on securing the creature-comforts which a well-endowed monastery afforded; intent also on escaping under the pretence of a religious life the duties of military service for their king and country, these pseudo-abbots would obtain a large grant of land from the king, and would there rear their unholy convents, in which, freed from all laws, human or divine, they would live their lives of licentious ease, waited on by troops of menial monks, who had generally been themselves expelled from genuine monasteries, by reason of their irregular lives. Nay, sometimes these impostors would go even further, and persuade a foolish king to grant them a piece of land adjoining the first donation, and would there erect a nunnery in which their wives might, without taking any regular vows, pretend to be the guides and rulers of maidens vowed to Christ.

These abuses had gone so far that the service of the state was seriously impaired thereby. The lavish grants of land, both to the genuine and the sham monasteries, had so impoverished the king that he had no reserve land, from which to reward the sons of his thegns or poor soldiers who had served him well in war. Hence these young men either sped across the seas to countries which held out the hope of a better career, or, being unable to marry, abandoned themselves to illicit love and sank down into the lowest depths of sloth and immorality. Bede's recommendation was that as there were so many of these places which were profitable neither to God nor man, with no true service to God performed in them, and quite useless for the defence of the realm, they, or at any rate one of them, should be seized and converted into the seat of a new and much-needed bishopric. Such a deed, far from being blamable as sacrilege, would deserve the praise due to a most virtuous action. Subjection of all monasteries to some external

supervision and control ; the suppression of as many as possible of those nests of hypocrisy and vice, the sham monasteries ; and the formation of many new bishoprics—these were the remedial measures which lay nearest to the heart of Bede. Whether Archbishop Egbert, a noble and pure-minded man, friend of one king (Ceolwulf) and brother of another (Eadbert), was able to carry into effect any of Bede's reforms it is impossible to say ; but the subsequent course of Anglo-Saxon history seems to point to a negative conclusion. It was, perhaps, partly in these paradises of sin, in the pseudo-monasteries of England, that the virility of the nation was sapped and the way prepared for so many a miserable surrender to the Danish invaders.

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In the general decline of morals during the eighth century NORTHUMBRIA was especially conspicuous, if we may draw any conclusion from its political history. In the course of that century fifteen kings swayed the sceptre, and of these, five were deposed, five murdered, two voluntarily abdicated the throne. It is no wonder that Northumbria, once so glorious, now became the basest of the kingdoms ; that Charlemagne, on hearing of one of these murders, called the Northumbrian Angles "a perfidious and perverse nation, worse than the pagans, murderers of their lords" ; or that the northern kingdom was found utterly unable to cope with the storm of Danish invasion when it beat upon its shores. It would serve no good purpose to give the names and dates of accession of all these kings, most of whom are to us mere names in an arid chronicle, but we may single out for special notice two who reigned in the first half of the century, Ceolwulf and Eadbert.

Ceolwulf, a descendant of Ida but not of Oswald's line, in the words of William of Malmesbury "mounted the trembling summit of the kingdom" in the year 729. He is memorable for us as the friend of Bede and the sovereign to whom he showed and dedicated his *Ecclesiastical History* ; and for his liberality to the Church he was looked upon with much favour by ecclesiastics. But the throne did not cease to tremble when he ascended it. In 731 he was taken prisoner, no doubt, by some of his rebellious subjects, was forcibly tonsured and consigned to a monastery. He was, however, soon restored to his kingdom and reigned, it would seem, with comparative tranquillity for six years, during which time he must have received

CHAP. XIV. and may have read the *Ecclesiastical History*. In 737 "thinking it contrary to the gravity of the Christian character to be immersed in worldly affairs," he abdicated the kingdom and became a monk at Lindisfarne. The abdication and the monastic profession were this time probably voluntary. The rare sanctity which he displayed in the convent procured for him the honour of burial near the tomb of St. Cuthbert and miracles were believed to be wrought at his grave.

The chosen successor of Ceolwulf was his cousin Eadbert (737-58), a strong and strenuous ruler who once more pushed the Northumbrian border far into Scotland, adding a part of Ayrshire to his dominions, and so impressing the surrounding states with the terror of his name that the Angles of Mercia, the Picts, the Scots and the Britons of Strathclyde, all remained at peace with him during the greater part of his reign and delighted to do him honour. By a combination of circumstances, probably unique in English history, the brother of this powerful king was Egbert, archbishop of York (734-66), the prelate to whom Bede addressed the letter of counsel just quoted. Egbert's tenure of the see was in itself memorable. He was the first occupant of that see after Paulinus to hold the rank of archbishop and to receive his *pallium* from the pope. He did for the church library at York what Benedict had done for Jarrow and Wearmouth, obtaining for it large stores of precious manuscripts and laying the foundation of that great ecclesiastical school the glory of which culminated in Alcuin. As for his brother, King Eadbert, his fame spread far and wide, and in him the glory of Oswald and of Oswy seemed about to be revived. But towards the close of his reign his fortune changed. In the year 756, when he had been nineteen years on the throne, he, in alliance with the King of the Picts, led an army against the strong city of Alclyde, the modern Dumbarton, which was the capital of the kingdom of Strathclyde. The allied operations were at first successful. Alcuith surrendered on August 1, but only nine days later almost the whole of Eadbert's army perished in its march through Perthshire. We have no hint of the cause of the disaster, but we may, if we like, imagine a well-planned ambushade in some Perthshire glen, an anticipation by nearly a thousand years of the battle of Killiecrankie,

Was it depression of spirits at this lamentable change in his fortunes, or was it merely that weariness of reigning which overcame so many Anglian kings, that drove Eadbert into the monastery? In the twenty-first year of his reign, notwithstanding the earnest dissuasion of his neighbour-kings, some of whom, we are told, offered to add part of their realms to his if he would continue to reign, Eadbert, "for the love of God, and desiring to take the heavenly country by storm, received on his head St. Peter's tonsure," and handed over his kingdom to his son Oswulf. He continued in his religious seclusion for ten years till his death in 768, and was buried at York in the same *porticus* of the church which held his brother, the archbishop, who had died two years before him. There is some reason to suppose that after the unfortunate issue of Eadbert's campaign in 756, the border of Bernicia being withdrawn a long way to the south, the capital of that kingdom was transferred from Bamburgh to Corbridge in the valley of the Tyne, some seventy miles south-west of Bamburgh. Corbridge was the *Corstopitum* of the Romans, a station on the northern Watling Street, and still shows some interesting relics of Roman occupation. About the same time we find indications that Cataractonium, now Catterick, the most northerly Roman station within the limits of Yorkshire, became a royal residence, perhaps as a supplemental palace to that at Eboracum. Thus we see that even four centuries after the departure of the legions the charm of Roman civilisation still lingered round the places where they had dwelt, though these are represented in our own day by villages whose very names are obscure except to antiquaries.

In the latter half of the century the lawful line of Northumbrian kings, the sons of Ida, was frequently broken by usurpers of unknown lineage, chief among whom were a certain Ethelwald Moll and his son Ethelred. The latter, an *impiissimus rex*, in the language of the chronicler, reigned from 774 to 779, was expelled in the latter year, and returned in 790 to wreak vengeance on the princes of the lawful line. The two sons of his predecessor, when apparently little more than children, were lured from their sanctuary in the cathedral at York by promises of safety and protection, and were drowned in Windermere by order of the usurper. Their cousin Osred,

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who had for a short time worn the crown, was similarly enticed from the Isle of Man, captured and slain. Ethelred sought to strengthen himself by an alliance with Offa, the powerful King of Mercia, whose daughter Elfreda he married at Catterick in 792, the year of Osred's murder. But for all his precautions he could not escape the usual fate of Northumbrian kings. In 796 he was slain "by his own people" at Corbridge.

The man who sat upon "the trembling throne" at the end of the century was a certain ealdorman named Eardulf, who six years before his accession had had a narrow and, as some men thought, miraculous escape from death. The tyrant Ethelred, whose anger he had somehow incurred, ordered him to be executed outside the gates of the monastery of Ripon. The monks with solemn chants bore his body to the church for burial and left it for the night at the lych-gate. There soon after midnight some faithful follower found him still alive and helped him to escape. His resurrection seems to have been concealed from Ethelred, and, as has been said, the year 800 found him reigning as king over Northumbria.

From Northumbria we turn to the central kingdom of MERCIA. The eighth century was the time of the greatest glory of that kingdom, and for many years it seemed as if from that quarter rather than from Wessex would come the needed consolidation of England; as if Lichfield, rather than Winchester or even London, might be the destined capital of the country. It was chiefly under two kings, Ethelbald and Offa, whose united reigns occupied eighty years (from 716 to 796), that Mercia attained this high position. Penda's grandson, Ceolred, King of Mercia, died insane in 716, being thus punished, according to St. Boniface, for the sins which he had committed in defrauding the Church of her possessions and making the vowed virgins of her convents minister to his lusts. He was succeeded by a remote relation, Ethelbald, who was not a lineal descendant of Penda, and whom, jealous of his great qualities, Ceolred had driven forth from his court. In his fugitive wanderings Ethelbald had visited more than once the far-famed sanctuary of Crowland,¹ where amidst the vast fens of Lincoln and Cambridgeshire, dotted over with desolate forest-islands,

¹ This name, or rather Cruland, was afterwards corrupted into Croyland.

the holy man Guthlac, the Cuthbert of Mercia, had made for himself a hermit's retreat, and, with only two servants for his companions in that infinite loneliness, had practised austerities surpassing those of the hermits of the Thebaid. Guthlac had the usual experiences of the fever-stricken solitary, being assailed at night by demons with great heads, hideous faces, long horse-like teeth and horrible harsh voices, which croaked forth temptation, in the language not of the Angle but of the Briton. This sorely buffeted but eminently holy man, who died in 714 at the age of forty-one, and whose life in the wilderness lasted only fifteen years, had during that term acquired great renown as a saint. His fame spread far and wide through Mercia, and people of all ranks flocked to him for healing or for counsel. Among these was the outcast Ethelbald, to whom Guthlac predicted that he should soon without strife possess the Mercian throne, a prophecy which was shortly fulfilled when his cousin and enemy was stricken with madness, while sitting at the banquet with his *gesiths* all round him.

Ethelbald swayed the sceptre of Mercia for forty-one years (716-57). He was evidently a strong and strenuous, if somewhat unscrupulous ruler. In the early part of his reign he had so completely cowed Wessex and conquered the other four southern kingdoms, that Bede, writing the concluding paragraphs of his history in 731, could say: "All the southern provinces up to the boundary of the Humber, with their respective kings, are subject to Ethelbald, King of the Mercians". In 733 we find him capturing Somerton, the chief town of the Sumorsaetas; in 740 he turns his arms northwards and takes advantage of Eadbert's absence on his Pictish campaign to ravage Northumbria. But in his last years fortune frowned upon him. In 750 Cuthred II., King of Wessex, apparently an active and valiant man, rose in rebellion, and in 752 won a great victory over Ethelbald at Burford on the slopes of the Cotswolds, putting him to ignominious flight. Never apparently did Mercia recover the supremacy over Wessex which she lost on that battlefield, and in 757 Ethelbald, who must have been an unpopular master of his household, perished by a night attack of his own guards. Notwithstanding his early friendship for St. Guthlac, Ethelbald was not a pious nor even a moral king. There is preserved a remarkable letter addressed to him by St.

CHAP. Boniface,¹ in which the apostle of Germany, while praising the
XIV. vigour and justice of his government, rebukes him for his outrageous profligacy, and expresses his fear that some great national judgment, like the Moorish conquest of Spain, will fall upon the kings and peoples of England for their luxury and immorality—a remarkable prophecy, as it must have seemed to later generations, of the Danish ravages.

After a short interval of unrest the Mercian throne was filled by Offa, a distant relation of Ethelbald, who reigned for nearly forty years (757-96), and who in some ways seems to deserve the title of the greatest of Mercian kings. The everlasting contest with Wessex was renewed, and Offa's victory at Bensington in Oxfordshire (779) did something towards obliterating the disgrace of Burford and probably gave what is now the county of Oxford to the middle kingdom. From various causes Offa had now acquired so great a predominance that he was able to carry into effect a change in the ecclesiastical geography of England which was little less than a revolution. This was the creation of a new archbishopric for the Midlands. We may imagine that he reasoned in this wise: "Northumbria has now its archbishopric at York. The archbishop of Canterbury is too much overshadowed by the greatness of my rival of Wessex. Why should not I, the most powerful king in Britain, have an archbishop of my own here in Mercia?" This reasoning prevailed. In 787 a synod, ever after known as "the contentious synod," was held at Chelsea, and thereat, we are told, seven out of the twelve dioceses of the southern province were placed under the archbishop of Lichfield, being rent away from their dependence on Canterbury. The meaning of this change is obvious. There were now three great English kingdoms: Northumbria, Wessex and Mercia, and three corresponding archbishoprics, York, Lichfield and Canterbury. The Thames was the boundary between the central and southern provinces, except that Essex with Middlesex was included in the latter. East Anglia was evidently, in ecclesiastical matters as well as in things political, subject to Mercia, a fact which accounts for the abrupt entry in the Chronicle for 792²

¹ Ep. 73 (Mon. Hist. Germ., Epist. iii., 340).

² It is now recognised that the dates in the Chronicle from 754 to 851 are two, or in some cases three years behind the true dates.

(794): "Offa, King of the Mercians, ordered the head of Ethelbert, King [of the East Angles], to be struck off". The new ecclesiastical arrangement lasted for only sixteen years. In 803 Offa's successor Cenwulf voluntarily restored all the metropolitan rights of the see of Canterbury.

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There is one still existing memorial by which the name of Offa yet survives in the mouths of men. This is Offa's Dyke (called by the Welsh *Clawdd Offa*), a great earthen rampart flanked by a ditch, which ran from the mouth of the Dee to the mouth of the Wye, a distance of some 130 miles, and divided the territories of the Mercians from those of the Welsh. For a considerable portion of its course this rampart is still visible, in some places only as a low bank but in others showing a height of 30 feet to the summit of the mound from the bottom of the ditch on its western side. It nearly corresponds with the present boundary between England and Wales, except that it cuts off from England a portion of Hereford and the whole of Monmouth. In part of its course it is duplicated by another embankment called Wat's Dyke, about three miles to the east of it, and this work also, in the belief of some antiquaries, belongs to the age of Offa. Though we are distinctly told, on good authority, that the object of this huge work was military defence, it is probable that, like the *Vallum* in Northumberland and the *Pfahlgraben* in Germany, it was also a geographical boundary, and served a useful purpose in time of peace, as marking the limit of two rival jurisdictions and clearly indicating to which of them pertained the duty of punishing robbery or murder committed on either side of the border. This dyke probably commemorates the result of the "Devastation of the southern Britons wrought by Offa" which is noted by the *Cambrian Annals* under the years 778 and 784; and the effect of these campaigns seems to have been to push back the Welsh frontier from the Severn to the Wye—no unimportant augmentation of the Mercian kingdom.

The diplomatic correspondence of the period shows us how large loomed the figure of Offa in the eyes of his contemporaries. Pope Hadrian I. in writing to Charlemagne calls him absolutely "rex Anglorum," and at the same time earnestly expresses his disbelief in a rumour which had reached his ears that the two kings of the Franks and the Angles were plotting his own

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deposition from the papacy, and the appointment of a Frankish ecclesiastic in his place. This, however, was probably an idle rumour, set afloat by some of Hadrian's enemies in order to work upon the fears of the elderly pontiff. Offa, himself, seems to have received the legates of the Holy See with reverence and to have availed himself of their help in regulating the affairs of his new archbishopric. Moreover, he ordained, probably as a thank-offering for the papal assistance in this matter, that his kingdom should send a yearly offering of 365 *mancuses* (about £130), one for each day in the year, to the holy see.

There were, however, some difficulties connected with the frequent English pilgrimages to Rome; too frequent according to Alcuin for the good repute of the Anglo-Saxon dames who engaged in them; and too frequent, as the tax collectors of Charles the Great considered, by reason of the number of merchants who, under the guise of holiness, transacted a profitable business in the transport of specie and merchandise. These difficulties were, however, set right by a friendly letter from Charles to the effect that true pilgrims should receive all due protection from him, but that merchants masquerading as pilgrims must pay the regular customs dues. This letter, written in 796, was accompanied by the present of a belt, a Hunnish sword and two silken vestments, part of the huge spoil taken in the previous year from the robber hold of the Avars. It seems to have healed an old estrangement between the two kings dating from 789, the result of the failure of matrimonial negotiations between them. Charles had solicited the hand of Offa's daughter for his son and namesake, and Offa had been willing to consent, on condition that Charles's daughter, Bertha, should become the bride of his son, Ecgerth. On this point, however, the negotiations broke down, owing to Charles's well-known reluctance to part with any of his daughters. For a short time the relations between the two kingdoms were sorely strained, and decrees forbidding the entrance of merchants were issued by either angry sovereign, but gradually the dispute died down, perhaps partly owing to the mediation of Alcuin, who was English by birth and loyal to his English friends, but Frank by adoption and a true subject to Charles. At last, as we have seen, all wounds were healed by the application of an Avar baldric, a sword and two mantles.

Offa died in 796, and his son and successor Ecgferth followed him to the grave in four months. This untimely death of a young and hopeful prince was, according to monastic writers, a punishment for the many crimes of his father, especially for the execution of the East Anglian Ethelbert. Cenwulf, who succeeded to the Mercian throne, was not of Offa's line, though like him a collateral descendant of Penda. Of his reign, which lasted well on into the ninth century (796-821), nothing need here be said, save that in its third year he invaded Kent, which had revolted from his rule and set up a rival king named Edbert Pren, possibly a descendant of the old Kentish line. Edbert was defeated and taken prisoner by the soldiers of Offa, who, after cutting out his tongue and chopping off his hands, sent him as a prisoner into Mercia. With all its vaunted prosperity, the central kingdom does not seem to have made great progress in civilisation since the days of Penda.

Save for some conflicts with Wales, in which the Cymri appear generally to have been worsted, the history of the WEST SAXON kingdom in the eighth century consisted chiefly of that protracted struggle with Mercia which has been briefly sketched in the foregoing pages. But the story of the death of Cynewulf in 786 is told in the Chronicle with such vividness and in such detail that an attempt must be made to reproduce it here. Cynewulf, a kinsman of the victorious Cuthred, had expelled that king's successor, Sigebert, and driven him into exile. After thirty years of reigning, Cynewulf had to meet the face of the avenger, Sigebert's brother, Cyneheard, who is called in the Chronicle "the Etheling". Learning that the king, slenderly guarded, was visiting a woman at Merton, Cyneheard with a band of his *gesiths* surrounded the house and rode through the gate of the great courtyard to the door of the lady's bower. Surprised and unable to summon his guards, the king rushed to the door, and in the narrow entrance defended himself bravely and with success till he caught sight of the Etheling. Then with a sudden burst of rage he dashed forward, sorely wounded his enemy, but was himself surrounded and slain by Cyneheard's men. Meantime the lady's cries aroused the king's thegns who were in the great hall, ignorant of what had happened, and they hastened to the scene of tumult, each

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XIV. with them, offered them quarter and money in return for peace, but they refused his terms and continued fighting, outnumbered as they were, till they were all slain but one man, "and he," says the chronicler apologetically, "was [only] a Welshman, a hostage and already sorely wounded".

Next morning, when the main body of the king's thegns, whom he had left behind when he rode to Merton, heard what had happened, they galloped to the house, headed by the Ealdorman Osric, but found the Etheling in possession and the gate of the courtyard closed against them. A parley was called, and Cyneheard offered the new-comers their own terms in money and land if they would join his party and win for him the kingdom, adding with uncomprehended irony: "There are kinsmen of yours now with me in the house, and they, I know, will never leave me". "No kinsman," answered the thegns, "can be dearer to us than our lord, and we will never follow his murderer." The offer of quarter which they in turn made to the Etheling's *gesiths* was rejected with equal scorn. "We care no more for your offer," said they, "than did your comrades for ours, and they"—now at last the truth came out—"were all slain with the king." Then followed fierce fighting round the gates, till at last the king's thegns, who were the stronger party, forced their way in and slew the Etheling and all the men with him, save one who had already received many wounds and was godson to Ealdorman Osric by whom his life was preserved. Once again we note the unshakable fidelity of the "comrades" to their lord.

On the death of Cynewulf, Beorhtric (786-802), a distant kinsman, succeeded to the West Saxon throne. Royal genealogies were by this time in much confusion, and all that the chronicler could say concerning his descent was that "his right father's kin goeth unto Cerdic". Beorhtric's reign, in itself unimportant, is chiefly interesting to us by reason of a certain competitor, for the time an unsuccessful competitor, for the crown. This was none other than a young man named Egbert, who, it was said, could trace his line back through a brother of King Ine to Ceawlin and so to Cerdic. His father, Ealhmund, had been under-king of Kent, whether under Mercia or Wessex it would be difficult to say; indeed the whole of Egbert's early

career is veiled in obscurity. All that seems to be certain is that he had pretensions of some kind to the kingship of Wessex, which made him obnoxious to Beorhtric and forced him to seek shelter at the Mercian court. Thence, however, he was driven in 789 when Beorhtric obtained in marriage the hand of Offa's daughter, Eadburh. Ethelred of Northumbria having soon after married another daughter of the same house, there was evidently no safe resting-place in England for the fugitive prince, who betook himself to the court of Charles the Great and there abode for thirteen years till the death of his rival. In 802, Beorhtric died, and Egbert, returning to England, seems to have been without opposition raised to the West Saxon throne.

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According to Asser, the biographer of Alfred the Great, the death of Beorhtric was due to his wife. That daughter of Offa, if Asser may be trusted, as soon as she had established her influence in the West Saxon palace, "began in her father's manner to act tyrannically". She undermined to the utmost of her power the king's best counsellors by slandering them to her husband, and those whom she could not thus displace she removed by poison. A draught of poison which she had thus prepared for a young man greatly beloved by Beorhtric was inadvertently tasted by the king and caused his death, which of course involved Eadburh's downfall. Carrying with her great hoards of treasure, she sought the Frankish court where her husband's rival, Egbert, had so lately been sheltered. As she stood in the hall of audience and offered rich presents to the emperor, Charles said to her, perhaps in jest: "Choose, Eadburh, which you will have, me or my son who stands here with me under the dais". She thoughtlessly answered: "If I may really have my choice, I choose your son, inasmuch as he is the younger of the two". Whereupon Charles answered with a smile: "If you had chosen me, you should have had my son, but now since you have chosen him you shall have neither". An improbable story truly, but one which shows the sort of legend which already ere the end of the ninth century was springing up around the name of Charlemagne. Eadburh, however, received from the emperor the gift of a great abbey which she ruled for some time. Then, being convicted of unchastity, she was expelled from the convent, wandered over Europe, begging her daily bread, and died at last in misery at Pavia.

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XIV. detestable, says Asser, was the memory of Eadburh's crimes
that for generations the West Saxons would not allow the wife
of one of their kings to be called queen, but would only allow
her the title of consort.

CHAPTER XV.

EARLY DANISH INVASIONS—EGBERT AND ETHELWULF.

TWO entries which strictly belong to the eighth century have been reserved for this place, because they are rather foreshadowings of what was to befall in the years after 800, than characteristic of what was happening in the years preceding it. At some unnamed date in the reign of Beorhtric, King of Wessex, but probably about the year 790, the Chronicle tells us that "first came three ships of Northmen.¹ And then the reeve rode thereto and would fain drive them to the king's vill, for he knew not what [manner of men] they were and there they slew him. These were the first ships of Danish men that sought the land of the English race." This short but ominous entry is a tocsin ringing in 300 years of strife. The words of the Chronicle and of its copyist Ethelweard seem to suggest that the ships' crews came with peaceful intent; that the king's reeve—a man whose office was something like that of steward or bailiff—tried to exact some payment from them, and for that purpose to force them to enter some royal settlement, but found to his cost that these were no sheep that would stand quiet for his shearing, but fierce war-wolves, capable of turning upon him with hungry teeth and rending him in pieces.

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This first affray with the Danes evidently took place in Wessex; and, if we may believe the historian Ethelweard, the royal vill where the reeve resided was Dorchester. But the Scandinavians having seen, as the Saxons did before them, "the nothingness of the natives," of course came again, and

¹ The words from Haerethaland which follow in the text are thought by Steenstrup (*Normannerne*, ii., 15-20) to be an interpolation. In the following chapters the example of the Chronicle will generally be followed, in calling the Scandinavian invaders Danes, without entering on the debated question which of them came from Denmark proper and which from Norway.

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this time (793) to Northumbria. Dire presentiments had already cowed the hearts of the people; hurricanes blew and lightnings flashed, and (if we like to trust the chronicler) fiery flying serpents hurtled through the air. Then came a great famine, and then (June 8) "the heathen men" [Danes] "miserably destroyed God's church at Lindisfarne with rapine and slaughter". The desecration of so holy a place shed horror through western Christendom. "It is now," wrote Alcuin to the Northumbrian King Ethelred, "about 350 years that we and our fathers have dwelt in this most beautiful country, and never before has such a terrible thing befallen Britain as that which we have now suffered from the pagans. Nor was it, in fact, thought possible that a voyage of that kind could ever have been made"—a strange illustration of the lost seamanship of the Anglo-Saxons. "Lo now the church of St. Cuthbert is stained with the blood of the priests of God. It is despoiled of all its ornaments. The most venerable place in Britain has been given to pagan nations for a prey."

The ninth century, upon which we now enter, too truly verified the forebodings of the prophets of evil. It began indeed in glory, with Charles the Frank acclaimed at Rome as Augustus, and meditating the revival of the old Roman empire in all its splendour, the protection of the widow and the fatherless, the humbling of all lawless power, the foundation of St. Augustine's City of God. But the new empire had scarcely been founded when it began to crumble; all through the middle years of the century it sank lower and lower into the morass. With the deposition of Charles the Fat in 887 and his death in 888 the last Carolingian emperor vanished from the scene. Saracen pirates ravaged the shores of the Mediterranean, besieged Rome (846), rifled the tombs of the apostles and hurled their lances at the mosaic picture of Christ in the apse of St. Peter's. Ere the century was ended, Hungarian Arpad was renewing in Central Europe the ravages of Attila. Everywhere there was "distress of nations with perplexity"—perplexity made all the more terrible by the fact that the popes themselves, the men to whom Europe looked for counsel and for cheer, were throughout this century for the most part men of poor and feeble character. It was the age which saw the posthumous condemnation of Pope Formosus, the age in which the malevo-

lent credulity of a later generation placed the fable of Pope Joan. CHAP.
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But greater than all the other calamities which befel Europe during this period was unquestionably the misery caused by the raids of Scandinavian free-booters. A well-known story describes how Charles the Great saw the ships of the Northmen approaching the city in Provence where he then dwelt. As soon as the pirates perceived that they would have to deal with the great emperor himself, they sheered off in well-advised caution, but Charles stood at the eastern window of his palace gazing at their departing sails, and as he gazed he wept. None of his courtiers durst ask him the reason of his tears, but he himself deigned thus to explain them: "I weep for sorrow that they should have dared in my lifetime to approach this coast, and because I foresee how much misery they will cause to those who come after me". Whatever may be the truth of this story, there is no doubt that Charles's alleged prophecy was fatally verified. Engrossed as we generally are by the story of Danish ravages in England, we are apt to forget that, at least in the ninth century, France and Germany suffered nearly as much from the same calamity. All round the coast from Denmark to Spain, wherever a broad estuary invited their presence, there the Danish pirates entered and ravaged. The Elbe, the Rhine, the Seine, the Loire and the Garonne were all furrowed by their keels. Hamburg, Paris, Rouen, Bordeaux, Marseilles and countless other cities were sacked by them; some, especially Paris, more than once.

A student of Scandinavian history may well inquire, not why the raids of the Northmen were terrible in the ninth and two following centuries, but why they had not begun long before. Here was a poor and hardy population, inhabiting a country so deeply indented by the sea that it was impossible for its sons to be mere landmen; in fact a population which for more than a thousand years has been more enthusiastically seafaring than any other in the world. Within a few days' sail of their homes were the shores of Britain and of Gaul, countries peopled by races which had lost their old love of the sea, and were for the most part sunk in swinish pleasures; rich countries, too, according to the estimate of that day, everywhere studded with convents in which pious women or unwarlike men were

CHAP. hoarding up gold and silver and jewels for the glory of the
XV. White Christ. There was yet no settled order in any of the Northmen's own lands. The history of Denmark, Sweden and Norway in the seventh and eighth centuries is mere chaos. The title of king was easily earned and easily lost. In the sagas of the *Heimskringla* piracy is treated as the normal occupation of every young Northman of noble birth. "Eric's sons warred much in the eastern lands, but sometimes they harried in Norway." "There harried Olaf and slew many men, and burned some out of house and home, and took much wealth." Entries such as these (though of a rather later date than we have yet reached) occur on almost every other page of the great Icelandic epic, and give us the impression that the young Scandinavian gathered ships together and "harried" the Baltic lands or the shores of the German or Atlantic Ocean, in the same way in which the young Englishman went the grand tour in the eighteenth century, or in the nineteenth became owner of a ranch.

The ships of the vikings, if we may judge from the few specimens preserved in the museums of Denmark and Norway, though well built of their kind, were not much better than large open boats, undecked, averaging about seventy feet long, and drawing not more than four feet of water. They had only one mast with a square sail, and they trusted rather to rowing than to sailing for their progress. Except on the largest ships, about fifteen or sixteen men at a time, with a like number relieving them, and sixty or seventy fighting men, or a hundred in all, may have been the complement of a viking ship. There was no difference between prow and stern, and the vessel could be worked in either direction, the steering being managed by an oar at the side. The high-pointed prow at either end was often fashioned into the likeness of some animal, generally a dragon or a serpent. It is evident that such a craft as these, however well adapted for navigation in the long sheltered fiords of Norway, would not be very safe in an Atlantic storm.¹ It is probable, therefore, that the Northmen would be careful observers of the weather, and would generally choose a season of calm weather for slipping across the German Ocean. Once arrived at the English or Irish coast, they would choose some island near to the

¹ See Keary, *The Vikings in Western Christendom*, pp. 139-42.

mainland and make it their lair, from whence they might issue forth to plunder and destroy. Especially convenient for their purpose, as for that of their Saxon predecessors, were such islands as Sheppey and Thanet, separated from fertile Kent only by narrow channels in which the dragon-ships could lie sheltered from winds and waves. Dear also to the heart of the Northman buccaneer were the estuaries of great rivers, Humber, Severn, Thames, Seine and Loire. Here they could collect their ships, scattered perchance in the course of their passage over the ocean, could watch the movements of the militia gathering for the defence of the country, and then at the right moment could row rapidly up the broad stream, capture and sack some unsuspecting city, and gather great store of gold and jewels from some rich cathedral. This, the collection of treasures from the more civilised lands of the south, was, after all, the chief incentive to the early vikings in their wild sea-rovings. Herein they were like the first generation of Elizabethan adventurers in the Spanish main, to whom the plunder of the Plate-fleet seemed the supreme object of desire, though with the viking, as with the buccaneer, thoughts of settlement and of conquest came later, and they who had come to ravage remained to rule.

The *Here*,¹ the great Danish armament which appears and reappears so often in the pages of the Chronicle—one imagines the studious monk in his *scriptorium* trembling as he writes the very word—seems to have been generally composed of foot soldiers hewing with swords or wielding their great two-handed battle-axes, armed with strong round shields and with byrnie or coats-of-mail, and beginning the fight by sending a cloud of javelins at their foes. Gradually, however, they learned the advantage of possessing a force of cavalry; and one of their first exploits on landing was to scour the country for horses, by means of which they could ravage the land far and wide where their ships could not carry them. They were, however, in strictness mounted infantry rather than cavalry. Their horses bore them swiftly to the battle-field. When they had reached it they dismounted and fought on foot.

¹ *Here* is simply the Anglo-Saxon equivalent for army; but in the Chronicle it almost invariably means the Danish army, while *fyrð* is the word used for the English troops, which were in the nature of a militia.

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Not even the Icelandic Sagas with all their poetic fire can win us to unmixed admiration of the lives of these freebooters. They had some noble qualities, but notwithstanding these they were still barbarians. They were ancestors of the most chivalrous nations of Europe, and they possessed some of the qualities inherent in chivalry, such as courage, endurance, loyalty, honour to the women of their tribe. But on the other hand—if any reliance is to be placed on the statements of the Chronicle—they would often swear most solemnly to a treaty and then ride away and break it. They often tortured their captives; their hands were heavy on the weak, on little children and on women. This is the less to be wondered at, since owing to the poverty of their country they often left their own new-born children to perish. Their blows fell with especial ferocity on the churches and monasteries of Britain: a fact which may probably be accounted for by the fact that these were the chief treasure-houses of the invaded lands.

The assaults of the Danes upon the Saxons, like those of the Saxons upon the Romanised Britons, fall naturally into three periods,¹ the first of robbery, the second of settlement, and the third of conquest. The chronological limits of these three periods may be approximately fixed as follows: pillage, from 790 to 851; settlement, from 851 to 897; conquest (after a pause of nearly a century), from 980 to 1016.

Terrible as were the ravages of the Scandinavian invaders, it is generally admitted that on the whole the benefit which resulted therefrom was greater than the suffering. That benefit was the consolidation of Anglo-Saxon England into one kingdom. In the thirty-seven years of the reign of Egbert of Wessex he attained, by steps which we are about to trace, to a supremacy which was probably wider than that of any of the Bretwaldas who had preceded him, and which in some degree justifies the popular conception of his position as founder of the English monarchy, though the unity of England was not in truth realised till a century later. But other Bretwaldas had been nearly as powerful as Egbert, and their overlordship in the hands of feeble descendants had melted away, while the

¹ This fact has been especially emphasised by Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, i., 43-45.

"particularism" of the several lesser kingdoms had again successfully asserted itself. It may be doubted whether Egbert's supremacy would not have gone the way of all the previous supremacies, but for that terrible series of Scandinavian invasions which seemed at the time to threaten not merely the prosperity but the very life of the Anglo-Saxon peoples. For a century the terrible struggle continued and then ended for a time, to be renewed indeed with almost equal fury after an interval of rest; but the effect of that first fierce discipline was greatly to weaken if not altogether to destroy the spirit of particularism in the Anglo-Saxon states. After Athelstan's death in 940 there was scarcely any serious thought of re-establishing Mercia or Northumbria as a separate kingdom from Wessex. Hard and cruel were the blows stricken by the hammer of Thor, but they had the effect of welding Angles, Saxons and Jutes into one people.

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The upward career of EGBERT of Wessex (802-839) must now be briefly described. As has been said, he returned from exile on the death of his foe, Beorhtric, and apparently without a contest was raised to the West Saxon throne. On the very day of his accession there was a great fight between the Mercians, commanded by the Ealdorman of the Hwiccas and the West Saxons under the generalship of the Ealdorman of Wilts. Both Ealdormen were slain, but victory is said to have rested with the men of Wiltshire. With this exception, the first thirteen years of Egbert's reign passed in peace. Cenwulf of Mercia, whose dominions, including, as they did, Kent, Sussex, Surrey and Essex, wrapped Wessex all round to the east, was too powerful to be lightly assailed. When Egbert's old patron, Charlemagne, died in 814, there was nothing to betoken that the exile whom he had befriended would achieve anything more than a petty and precarious West Saxon royalty. In the following year, however, the long-interrupted movement westward was once more resumed. Egbert "harried West Wales from east to west"; in other words, he overran Cornwall from the Tamar to the Land's End. Though the process of subjugation was not yet complete, this was the beginning of the end of Cornish independence.

In 821 Cenwulf, the powerful King of Mercia, died, and there were troubles in the palace at Lichfield. After the

CHAP. murder of his son, a child of seven years old, and the deposi-
XV. tion of his brother, an usurper named Beornwulf obtained the crown. The discords thus caused gave Egbert the opportunity for which he had probably long waited. He declared war on Beornwulf, met him in battle at Ellandune, probably in the north of Wiltshire, and after a most bloody fight completely defeated him. Intent on gathering at once the most important fruits of victory, Egbert sent his son Ethelwulf to the region of Kent, where his own father had once held sway. Baldred, King of Kent, the vassal of Mercia, was expelled; the three south-eastern counties and Essex, which included the city of London, gladly accepted the rule of Egbert, who was represented by his son Ethelwulf as under-king, and the long struggle between Mercia and Wessex for the possession of that corner of England was at an end. East Anglia, with her bitter memories of Mercian perfidy, to which her King Ethelbert had fallen a victim thirty years before, now rose in rebellion, relying on the protection of Egbert, and succeeded in defeating and slaying the Mercian king (826?). After Beornwulf's death Mercia could no longer offer any effectual resistance. Egbert was soon acknowledged as overlord, and thus by about the year 829 he had brought under his supremacy, though not under his personal rule, the whole of England south of the Humber, and acquired the mysterious title of Bretwalda, which (if the Saxon Chronicle may be trusted) had been borne by no other sovereign since the death of Oswy, a century and a half before.

The conqueror next moved against Northumbria, whose king Eanred did not dare to accept the offer of battle. At Dore, among the hills of North Derbyshire, not far from Sheffield, "the Northumbrians met him and offered him obedience and peace, and with that they separated the one from the other". This transaction undoubtedly meant the acceptance of Egbert as overlord, and his supremacy was thus at last assured over the whole English portion of the island. Nor did he rest content herewith, for in the next year "he led an army against the men of North Wales and reduced them to humble" (though not permanent) "obedience".

The last four years of Egbert's life were disturbed by the raids of the Danish invaders. For forty-one years after the

raids in which the Northumbrian sanctuaries were pillaged, the Northmen seem to have left England unmolested, but during this time they had been sailing round the north of Scotland, occupying the Hebrides and grievously harrying, all but conquering, Ireland. Now in 835 Egbert, already a man advanced in years, heard the grievous tidings that "heathen men were ravaging the Isle of Sheppey". Thus the Danes, like the Jutes four centuries earlier, began their hostile operations with one of those curious semi-islands which clustered round the coast of Kent. Sheppey, however, was higher up the estuary of the Thames than Hengest's Isle of Thanet. Next year the Danes appeared on the coast of West Dorset. The crews of thirty-five ships appeared off Charmouth, not far from Lyme Regis. Egbert himself led his men to battle; there was a terrible slaughter, in which two bishops and two ealdormen fell, and—ominous confession of the West Saxon chronicler—"the Danes held the place of slaughter". Still, however, we have no hint of permanent occupation.

Two years later, in 838, there was a perilous combination of Northman and Celt. "A mighty fleet" [evidently Danish] "came to West Wales and they" [Danes and Cornishmen] "made an alliance to fight against Egbert. When he heard that, he went forth and fought with them at Hengestdune, and there he put to flight both Welshmen [Cornishmen] and Danes." At Hingston Down, a high moorland overlooking the Tamar, about four miles north of the place where the great Saltash bridge now spans the creek, this important victory was won. It was the last piece of work that the old warrior accomplished. In 839 he "fared forth," surely not without some dark forebodings of the hard struggle that lay before his descendants; and *ETHELWULF* his son reigned in his stead. The new king seems to have ruled in person only over the ancestral Wessex, forming the recently acquired kingdoms in the south-east of the island into a dependency, of which his brother Athelstan was made under-king.

The teacher to whom the education of Ethelwulf when a boy had been entrusted by his father, and who retained considerable influence over him in manhood, was an ecclesiastic of noble birth named Swithun, who is chiefly now remembered on account of the meteorological phenomena connected with the

CHAP. day devoted to him in the calendar (July 15, 971).¹ The gentle
XV. and devout character of Ethelwulf seems to have retained through life the impress of the teaching of the unworldly St. Swithun, but he had also another counsellor by whom he was often braced to the performance of the difficult work of reigning. This was Ealhstan, a stirring warrior-prelate, who in 848 won a great and bloody victory over the Danes, at the mouth of the Parret, in Bridgwater Bay, fighting side by side with the ealdormen of Somerset and Dorset. Ealhstan was bishop of the great diocese of Sherborne (including the counties of Somerset and Devon), while Swithun in 852, towards the end of Ethelwulf's reign, was enthroned in the more dignified see of Winchester.

The influence, in some respects the diverging influence, of these two counsellors of the king is probably described with truth by the twelfth century historian, William of Malmesbury. "These two eminent bishops, seeing the king to be of somewhat dull and lethargic temperament, stirred him up by frequent admonitions to the performance of his kingly duties. Swithun, who looked on worldly things with disgust, moulded the mind of his lord to the love of things heavenly. Ealhstan, who thought that secular matters also should not be neglected, animated him to the war against the Danes, himself often furnishing money to the royal treasury, himself setting the battle in array. Any one who reads our annals will find that many such affairs were resolutely begun and gloriously ended by him." The historian, however, remarks that he cannot give Ealhstan the unmingled praise which he would willingly offer, because of his unjust encroachments on the rights of the monastery of Malmesbury.

Almost every year of Ethelwulf's reign has its annal in the Chronicle, telling of Danish ravages. The storm beat most persistently on Wessex. Southampton (840), Portland (840), Charmouth (843), the mouth of the Parret (848), Wembury (?) (854), were all scenes of battle with the Danes, generally, but not always, disastrous for the English. The other parts of the country did not escape unharmed. In 841 Lindsey, East Anglia and Kent saw widespread slaughter. In 844 Redwulf, King of

¹ This date, as will be seen, is not that of his original burial, which probably took place near the beginning of July, 862, but the date of the "translation" of his remains to the cathedral, which was accomplished more than a century later.

Northumbria, met his death at the hands of the invaders. In 851, three hundred and fifty ships came to the mouth of the Thames; their crews took Canterbury and London by storm, and put to flight the king of the Mercians who had advanced to meet them. There, however, their success ended. Crossing the Thames into Surrey, they were met by Ethelwulf and his eldest son Ethelbald leading the West Saxon *fyrð*. Battle was joined at Ockley, on the edge of the chalk downs which look into the adjoining county of Sussex, and there the West Saxon king in the words of the Chronicle, "made the greatest slaughter among the heathen army that we have heard of till this present day, and there gained the victory".

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However complete the victory of Ockley might be, its importance is much diminished by the entry which precedes it in the Chronicle: "And the heathen men for the first time took up their quarters over winter in Thanet". We thus enter on the second of the above-mentioned periods—the stage of settlement, that in which the Danes came to England, not merely to plunder and then depart, but to fix their abode permanently in the country. This choice of Thanet as their winter quarters must, to the men of Kent who knew anything of the history of their ancestors, have seemed an ominous recurrence to the strategy of Hengest and Horsa four centuries previously. There was trouble also from an older enemy. The men of Wales were now governed by one of the greatest of their early kings, Rhodri Mawr (Roderick the Great, 844-77); and it seems that the distress of the Saxons under the Danish attacks gave the Welsh courage to rise against the traditional enemies of their race. In 853 Burhred, King of Mercia, acting by the advice of his *witan*, made formal application to Ethelwulf for help against "the men of North Wales". The very fact that such an application was needed, and that it came from the king and council of the Mercian realm, shows how far England was from having yet attained to that complete unity which has been incorrectly associated with the name of Egbert. However, the expedition which Ethelwulf now undertook against the Cymri, in alliance with Mercia, seems to have been successful, and the marriage of Burhred to Ethelwulf's daughter, celebrated at Easter-tide, doubtless cemented the alliance and may have been a step towards federation.

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Again in this year 853 there was fighting both by land and sea against the heathen in Thanet. Many men on both sides were slain and drowned. The two ealdormen who led the forces of Kent and Surrey were at first victorious, but—as often happened—let victory slip from their unskilful hands, and both fell on the field of battle. This and many similar entries bring vividly before us the typical Saxon ealdorman, leading the *fyrð* or militia of his shire to battle, displaying plenty of courage and risking his life freely in the service of his country, but showing little skill in organising a campaign or even in grasping its fruits when they fell into his lap. On the other side we see the men of the Scandinavian islands and long fiords, children of the sea, equally ready to fight on it or on the land—artful, ruthless, courageous, and with a splendid ignorance of defeat. Such were the ravens who were now fixing their talons deep in our exhausted England. Our next entry is: “In this year” [855] “heathen men first remained over winter in Sheppey”.

It might have been supposed that the West Saxon king would need all his energies to put his kingdom in an adequate state of defence and to organise all round the coast an efficient system of resistance to the all-penetrating Northmen. Instead of this we find him, with some surprise, in this very year 855, “going to Rome with much pomp,” remaining there for a twelve-month, visiting the Frankish court on his way back, and returning, elderly widower that he was, with a bride thirteen years old. This strange episode of the pilgrimage was the fulfilment of a long-cherished design, and may have been partly due to the pious counsels of St. Swithun, but certainly does not raise our opinion of the king’s wisdom, while the marriage adventure looks like mere fatuity. Before Ethelwulf’s departure he made that celebrated donation to the Church which used to be considered as the introduction of the tithe-system into England, but which was really “the devotion of a tenth part of his private property to ecclesiastical purposes”.¹ He took with him his youngest and favourite son Alfred, who though still but a little child had already, two years before, made the same pilgrimage. Travelling through France he was received with royal honours by Charles the Bald, king of that country, and escorted by

¹ Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, i., 249, and 258.

him to the boundary of his kingdom. He perhaps arrived in Rome in time to see the pontiff Leo IV., who on Alfred's previous visit had laid his hands in benediction on the head of the child. On July 17, however (855), the old pope died, and Ethelwulf and his boy must have witnessed the tumultuous proceedings which followed, and the state of practical civil war between the Lateran and St. Peter's which filled the streets of Rome with clamour, till at last about the end of September the iconoclast anti-pope Anastasius was finally overthrown and Benedict III. took his seat on the chair of St. Peter. It is a curious fact, but probably a mere coincidence, that precisely at this point of papal history the romancing chroniclers of the Middle Ages have inserted the fable of "Pope Joan," the learned and eloquent Englishwoman who, as they averred, came to Rome in male attire, habited as an ecclesiastic, was unanimously chosen pope and wore the tiara for some months or even years, till her sex was unfortunately disclosed in the midst of a public procession. If any further proof were needed of the absurdity of this story (which is no Protestant invention but passed current through many medieval centuries), it might be furnished by the absolute silence of the English chroniclers, some of whom may well have conversed with members of the retinue of the West Saxon king.

Ethelwulf's devout liberality is recorded by the contemporary papal biographer, though his Italian ear has failed to catch or to retain his barbarous name: "At this time a king of the Saxons named . . . leaving his goods and his own kingdom, came for prayer with a multitude of followers to the thresholds of the Apostles Peter and Paul in Rome. And he gave to St. Peter a crown of pure gold weighing four pounds; vessels of pure gold weighing two pounds; a sword bound with pure gold; two smaller images of pure gold; a paten of silver gilt, Saxon work, four pounds; a vestment of purple with a golden border; a white surplice all of silk, embroidered and gold bordered; two large curtains of gold tapestry.¹ Then the Saxon king, on Pope Benedict's request that he would employ the gold and silver [which he had brought with him] in giving largesse to the people in St. Peter's church, dispensed gold to the bishops, presbyters,

¹ The translation of some of the terms used is conjectural.

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XV. but he gave small silver coins to the common people."¹

A more obviously useful exercise of Ethelwulf's liberality was connected with the Schola Saxonum, which is said to have been founded by his predecessor, Ine, or by the Mercian Offa. In this schola (something probably between a convent and an academic hostel) young Anglo-Saxons destined for the ecclesiastical profession probably dwelt for months or years, learning the Latin of the missal and the tones of Gregorian plain-song. Its memory even yet lingers in Rome, for the Church of the Holy Spirit in "the Leonine city" having been placed near the school of the Saxons still bears the name of "*San Spirito in Sassia*". The schola had, however, been unfortunately destroyed by fire in the year before Ethelwulf's visit, and patriotism as well as piety prompted him to spend on its restoration some part of the treasure which he had brought from England.²

After a year's residence in Rome, Ethelwulf returned to England, visiting on the way the court of his much younger contemporary, Charles the Bald,³ whose daughter Judith, a young girl of thirteen, he brought home with him as his wife, much to the astonishment, doubtless, of his subjects and to the annoyance of his sons by his first marriage. Though it is nowhere distinctly so stated, it seems probable that this extraordinary second marriage of Ethelwulf had some connexion with an event which clouded the last years of his life, the rebellion of his eldest son Ethelbald. This young man had probably exercised some of the functions of a regent during his father's absence, and now stood arrayed in arms to repel him from his kingdom. The fact that he was abetted by the energetic Bishop Ealhstan and by the ealdorman of Somerset, who had helped Ealhstan to win his great victory over the Danes in Bridgwater

¹ *Liber Pontificalis*, ii., 148 (ed. Duchesne).

² This restoration of the Schola Saxonum rests only on the authority of William of Malmesbury, and is doubted, but hardly disproved, by Mr. Stevenson in his edition of Asser, pp. 245-46. Notwithstanding the high authority of Monseigneur Duchesne, quoted by Mr. Stevenson, it does not seem to me probable that the *scholæ peregrinorum* were essentially military establishments, though they may have assumed somewhat of that character under the stress of the Saracen invasions in the ninth century.

³ Charles the Bald was at this time thirty-two years of age. Ethelwulf cannot have been less than fifty and may have been considerably older.

Bay, suggests the possibility that this rebellion may not have been due merely to the ambition of an undutiful son, but may have been prompted by a patriotic desire to wrest the helm of the state from the hands of an inefficient pilot. Happily, though Æthelwulf had many partisans, shocked by what they deemed the unnatural conduct of Æthelbald, civil war was avoided. The gentle old man agreed without much difficulty to an arrangement whereby the western portion of the kingdom, the richer and fairer part, was handed over to his son, he himself retaining the eastern portion. The young Queen Judith, who had been crowned before her departure from France, now took her place on the royal throne side by side with her husband, notwithstanding the "infamous custom" of Wessex which, as has been said, on account of the evil example of the daughter of Offa, forbade the consorts of West Saxon kings to sit on the throne or to bear the name of queen. CHAP.
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Less than two years after his return from Rome, on January 13, 858, Æthelwulf died. His will was much talked of and was considered by his biographers a model for all future generations. After directing how his kingdom and his property should be divided between his sons, he ordained that throughout his dominions one man in ten, whether a native or a foreigner, should be supplied with meat, drink and clothing by his successors until the Day of Judgment, always supposing "that there should still be men and cattle in the land and that the country should not have become quite desolate," a striking evidence of the anxieties caused by the Danish invasions. True to the last to his affection for Rome, he left a hundred mancuses (twelve and a half pounds of silver) to buy oil for the lights of St. Peter's, the same sum for the lights of St. Paul's (outside the city), and another hundred for the apostolic pontiff's own private use. It does not seem possible to accept the theories of some recent writers who would fain represent Æthelwulf as a wise and capable statesman, the deviser of large continental alliances for defence against the Northmen. On the contrary, he was probably a man of slender intellect and feeble will, but devout, unworldly and affectionate, by no means the least lovable of Anglo-Saxon sovereigns.

CHAPTER XVI.

ETHELWULF'S SONS—DANISH INVASIONS TO THE BAPTISM OF GUTHRUM.

CHAP. XVI. DURING the twenty years which followed the death of Ethelwulf four of his sons successively filled the West Saxon throne, namely, Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethelred, and Alfred. As the last named is to us incomparably the most interesting figure, it will be well to insert here some particulars relating to his childhood which were purposely omitted from the preceding chapter. For these particulars, as for almost all that makes the great king a living reality to us, we are indebted to the little book *De Rebus Gestis Aelfredi*, written by the Welsh ecclesiastic, Asser.¹

The question of the date of Alfred's birth is beset with some difficulty, but on the whole it seems safest to assign it to the year 848. The place of his birth was undoubtedly Wantage in Berkshire, about twenty-five miles from Reading. Throughout his life his chief exploits had reference to the valley of the middle Thames, and if any one county more than another may claim an interest in his glory, it is that county which, as Asser says, "has its name from the wood of Berroc, where the boxtree grows most plentifully". The mother of Alfred was Osburga, whom Asser describes as "a very religious woman, noble of intellect and noble by birth, daughter of Oslac, the renowned butler of King Ethelwulf, and descended from the old Jutish kings of the Isle of Wight".

In 853, when Alfred was only four or five years old, he was sent by his father to Rome "with an honourable train of nobles

¹ The reader is referred to the Appendix for an account of the controversies which have arisen respecting this book. It is enough to say here that we seem to be justified in accepting it as a contemporary, and in the main a truthful account of the life of the great king. It ends, however, with the year 887.

and others". The Chronicle says that Pope Leo "anointed him as king and adopted him as his godson". The pope himself, in a still extant letter to Ethelwulf, tells the king that he has "invested his son with the girdle, insignia and robes of the consulate after the manner of Roman consuls". It is difficult to suppose that Ethelwulf, who had four strong sons older than Alfred, can have wished the little five-year-old child, much as he loved him, to be anointed as king. It has been suggested as a possible explanation of the ceremony that some of the West Saxon retinue, who saw the child invested in the splendid *trabea* of the consul, and were told that these were the robes once worn by the men who wielded kingly power in Rome, attached to the ceremony a political importance greater than was its due. Two years later the boy again went to Rome, accompanying his father on the visit already described. He returned with him through France, and doubtless witnessed the marriage ceremony which gave him a step-mother six years older than himself.

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It is probably to the interval between his first and second visits to Rome that we must refer the episode of the ballad-book prize, the best-known story of Alfred's childhood. That story must be told in Asser's own words:—

"His father and mother loved him greatly, more than all his brethren; and so, too, did all men in his father's court, in which he was ever nourished. As infancy grew into boyhood, he appeared more comely than all his brethren and pleasanter in countenance, in speech and in manners. From his very cradle, notwithstanding the practical bent of his disposition, his intellect, noble as his birth, inspired him with an earnest desire for wisdom, but, sad to say, through the shameful neglect of his parents and guardians, he remained unlettered till the twelfth year of his age or even later. He was, however, both by night and day an earnest and frequent listener to the recitation of Saxon poems, and being an apt pupil he easily retained them in his memory. . . .

"Now one day his mother showed to him and his brothers a certain Saxon book of poetry which she had in her hand, and said: 'Whoever shall soonest learn this *codex* to him will I give it,' at which word he, being urged by some Divine inspiration, and also attracted by the beauty of an initial letter in the book,

CHAP. anticipating his brothers (older than he in years but not in grace)
XVI. answered his mother thus: 'Will you really give that book to him who shall soonest understand and repeat it to you?' 'Yes, I will,' said she with a happy smile. Hereupon he at once took the book from her hand, went to a master and read it,¹ and having read it he took it back to his mother and recited it to her." It is probable that Asser here intended only to describe the quickness of the child's apprehension and the strength of his memory. The story has nothing really to do with Alfred's learning to read, which, as we are told, did not take place till his twelfth year or even later. He took the book to his master, learned the contents from him and repeated them accurately to his mother. The words "and read it," which are the sole stumbling-block to those who would thus understand the narrative, are possibly due to some slip of the copyist² or to the confused way in which Asser tells his tale.

From the story of Alfred's childhood we return to the main stream of Anglo-Saxon history. As has been said, Ethelwulf died in the beginning of 858. His second son, Ethelbert, probably succeeded him in the eastern half of his kingdom, while ETHELBALD, the eldest, and possibly the over-lord, reigned in the west. The only notable fact, and that a disgraceful one, in Ethelbald's reign was his marriage to his father's young widow, Judith of France. Though the first marriage was perhaps one only in name, the unlawful union excited the disapprobation of all Western Europe, and the premature death of Ethelbald in 860 was probably regarded as a Divine judgment on the sinner. Soon after her second husband's death Judith returned to France, and having after two years eloped with her father's handsome forester, Baldwin, obtained with difficulty the paternal forgiveness, and permission to contract lawful wedlock with her lover. Baldwin, who received a grant of the borderland of Flanders with the title of count or marquis, was the ancestor by Judith of a long line of Baldwins, who gave to their dominions the name of Baldwinsland, and one of whom in 1204 donned the imperial buskins and was crowned by his fellow-crusaders at

¹ Tunc ille statim tollens librum de manu sua magistrum adiit et legit. Quo lecto matri retulit et recitavit.—Asser, *De Rebus Gestis Aelfredi*, § 23.

² As Mr. Stevenson suggests, if *et* be a copyist's mistake for *qui* (both represented by contractions), the difficulty would vanish.

Constantinople Emperor of Rome. From the same romantic union of Baldwin and Judith sprang also in the seventh generation Matilda, the wife of William the Conqueror. CHAP.
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ETHELBERT, the second son of Ethelwulf, who succeeded to the throne and reigned for six years (860-66), probably added the western half of the kingdom to the eastern, and thus ruled over the whole country south of the Thames. He held it, says the chronicler, "in good agreement and much peacefulness," but already upon his reign was cast the shadow of coming calamity. "In his days," says the Chronicle, "there came a great fleet to land and broke down Winchester." It is true that the invaders were afterwards defeated and put to flight by the ealdormen of Hampshire and Berkshire, but it is alarming to see the facility with which they gained possession of the capital of Wessex. No doubt this was owing to the fact that the English had made no systematic attempt to keep up the great fortresses which they had inherited from the Romans and which they themselves in their earlier invasion had laid in ruins.¹ All this was to be altered ere the end of the century by the fortifying hand of Alfred.

On the death of Ethelbert the third brother, ETHELRED, mounted the menaced throne and reigned for five troublous years (866-71). He was assisted in the labour of governing and fighting by his brother Alfred, who bore the title, unique in Anglo-Saxon history, of *Secundarius*. Apparently he and Alfred were fonder of one another than any others of the royal brethren, and had it not been for his early death he had perhaps achieved renown as enduring as that of his successor. The West Saxon was indeed a menaced throne. Already a year before the death of Ethelbert the fiercest of all the Scandinavian storm-winds had begun to blow. The Danes were now bent upon settlement, not merely on pillage. In 865 "the heathen army encamped in Thanet and made peace with the men of Kent, who promised them money therefor, and under cover of the peace and the promised money, the army stole away by night up country and harried all Kent eastwards". Thus was set the fatal precedent of the payment of ransom. We hear with no surprise that next year there came a mighty heathen

¹This is pointed out by Mr. Oman in "Collected Essays" in *Alfred the Great*.

CHAP. army to England and took up their winter quarters in East
XVI. Anglia. There the sailors supplied themselves with horses and made peace—such peace as it was—with the inhabitants.

Next year (867) the heathen host moved northwards, crossed the Humber and made for York. The affairs of Northumbria were in their usual confusion. Osbert, the lawful king, had been driven out, and another king of non-royal blood named Ella had grasped the reins of power. This is that Ella to whom, in sagas, is assigned the possession of the pit full of serpents into which was thrown the viking Ragnar Lodbrog. Late in the year the two rivals agreed to join their powers and march against "the army". Having mustered a large force, they marched to York, already occupied by the Danes, and took the city by storm. Some of the Northumbrians, too confident of victory, entered the city. The walls which were still standing severed their army in twain. A terrible slaughter was made of them, "some within and some without". Both the rival kings were slain and the miserable Northumbrian remnant made peace with "the army". In the next year, 868, the Danes, who had now no thought of returning home, invaded Mercia and took up their winter quarters at Nottingham. Burhred, King of Mercia, by the advice of his *witan* called on his West Saxon brothers-in-law for help. They marched with the *fyrð* of Wessex to Nottingham, but finding the Danes strongly entrenched durst not attack them. "There was no serious fighting there"; the men of Mercia had to make their own peace, and the West Saxon *fyrð* returned inglorious to their homes.

In 869 "the army" remained quartered in York, doubtless strengthening their hold on Deira, which was rapidly becoming a mere Danish province. But next year (870) witnessed an event, one of the most memorable in the whole story of Scandinavian invasion, an event which led to the canonisation of an English prince, and called into existence the stateliest but one of English monasteries. The king of East Anglia at this time was a young man named Edmund, of pure and noble character. The legends of later centuries have been busy with the story of his boyhood, representing him as a native of Nuremberg, chosen as his heir by an East Anglian king as he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, sent to England, and after many romantic ad-

ventures, obtaining the kingdom of his patron. Though this traditional history be set aside as altogether untrustworthy, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that there was some strain of foreign blood in King Edmund's ancestry, regal though it seems to have been.¹ However this may be, all the authorities agree in fixing his accession to the throne at a very early period of his life, and it is probable that, though he had already reigned for about sixteen years, he was not much past the thirtieth year of his age when in 870 the Danes, under the command of two brothers named Ingvar and Ubba, leaving Mercia, invaded East Anglia and took up their winter quarters at Thetford. Battle was joined on November 20, and the invaders won a decisive victory, of which they made use to spread themselves over the country and destroy all the monasteries which abounded in that pious land.

Both the Chronicle and Asser seem to imply that King Edmund, "fighting fiercely," was slain on the field of battle; but it is hardly possible altogether to reject another widely credited version of the story, according to which the young king was taken prisoner on the battle-field; was offered his life by Ingvar on condition of renouncing his faith and accepting the heathens as his over-lords; steadfastly refused in any way to compromise his profession of Christianity; was tied to a tree and made a target for the Northmen's arrows; till at last the Danish leaders took pity on his sufferings and ordered the executioner to strike off his head. This story, which is said to have been often told by Dunstan, who had it from Edmund's armour-bearer, was universally believed two generations after his death, and procured for the East Anglian king the title of saint and the crown of martyrdom.

The battle in which St. Edmund was defeated was fought at Hoxne, about twenty miles east of Thetford. The martyr's body, according to the legend, was found miraculously guarded by a wolf, and after an interval of thirty-three years was transferred to the town of Beadoricesworth, about ten miles south

¹ Florence of Worcester's words (borrowed from St. Edmund's earliest biographer Abbo), "*Ex antiquorum Saxonum prosapia oriundus*," seem, according to the usage of the time, to refer to the Old Saxons of the continent. If he had meant merely to say "from an old Saxon family," he would probably have said "*antiqua*" rather than "*antiquorum*".

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of Thetford, where, in the course of time, the magnificent abbey of Bury St. Edmund's rose above the relics of the saint. Strange to say, the Danish King Canute was the most enthusiastic of the earlier benefactors of this monastery and ever professed an especial reverence for the memory of the martyred king. St. Edmund soon became one of the most popular of English saints, a popularity sufficiently attested by the ancient churches, between fifty and sixty in number, distributed throughout more than half the counties of England from Durham to Devonshire, which are still dedicated to his memory.¹

In the course of the same campaign, Inguar and Ubba came to Peterborough, then called Medeshamstede, and, as a monk of that abbey pathetically relates, "they burned and brake, slew abbot and monks, and so dealt with what they found there, which was erewhile full rich that they brought it to nothing". And thus ended the year 870.

The year 871, a famous date in English history, "the year of battles," the date of Alfred's accession, now dawned upon the distracted land.² Berkshire was the great battle-ground which was invaded in January by a Danish host fresh from the slaughter of St. Edmund and his East Anglians. They came to "the royal town which is called Reading," situated on the southern bank of the Thames, took it and entrenched a camp on its southward side between Thames and Kennet. A party of plunderers headed by two *jarls*³ rode westwards as far as the little village of Englefield, about six miles from Reading, where they were stopped by Ethelwulf, ealdorman of Berkshire, who had taken up a position on a hill overlooking the valley of the Pang. In the encounter which followed, the Danes were defeated, one of the jarls named Sidroc was slain, and the scanty remnant of his troops crept back to the Danish camp at Reading. Four days after this engagement, the royal brothers Ethelred and Alfred, having mustered the troops of Wessex, came to Reading, cut off many of the straggling plunderers,

¹ *Studies in Church Dedications* (ii., 327), by Miss Arnold-Forster.

² In describing the events of this year the writer follows the guidance of the late Mr. W. H. Simcox, who personally identified most of the battle-sites, and the results of whose investigations are contained in an excellent paper in the *English Historical Review*, i., 218-34.

³ The title of the Danish battle leaders, next in rank to the king.

and tried to storm the Danish camp. But the heathen made a fierce sally; the Christians were repulsed; the brave ealdorman Ethelwulf was slain, and the enemy held the field of slaughter.

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Emboldened by this victory the Danes again sped westward, possibly intending to harry Somerset and Wiltshire, and occupied Aescesdune, which Asser translates "the hill of the ash,"¹ and which has been generally identified with what are now known as the Downs or as Ashdown Hills. These are a chalk ridge some 600 or 700 feet in height, which runs for about ten miles east and west through the northern part of Berkshire and divides the valley of the Thames from that of the Kennet. The Saxons marched after the enemy in haste and both nations arrayed themselves for battle. The Danes held the higher ground: the centre of their army being commanded by their two kings, Halfdene, brother of Inguar, and Bagseg; while the wings were under the command of the numerous jarls who followed their standard. On the Saxon side it was arranged that Ethelred should encounter the kings and Alfred the jarls. But when the heathens began to march down the hill, and the Saxons should have received the word to spring forward to meet them, that signal was not given from the royal tent. There knelt Ethelred, listening to Mass, and refusing to stir till the rite was ended. "He would not," he said, "abandon the service of God for that of men." On Alfred, therefore, rested the responsibility of assuming the chief command and leading the whole army to battle. It is probable, though not distinctly so stated by Asser, that Ethelred, against whose personal courage no imputation is made, soon emerged from his tent and hastened after his fighting "*fyrð*" men. A single stunted thorn-tree, still standing apparently when Asser wrote, marked the spot where the clash of the opposing armies was deadliest and where the battle-shouts were heard the loudest. Long and desperate was the encounter, but at last, near night-fall, the Saxons prevailed and the heathens fled in utter con-

¹ On philological grounds Mr. Stevenson disputes the propriety of this translation and asserts that Aesc must be the name of a person. The present appearance of Ashdown Hills seems, however, to correspond admirably with Asser's description. It is better not to complicate the discussion by an argument derived from the strange figure of a White Horse (so-called) cut upon their northern side, as that figure, with all its picturesque interest, is not a safe guide to a historical identification.

CHAP. fusion, leaving dead on the field Bagseg, the king, five jarls and
XVI. many thousands of the rank and file, whose bodies covered the whole broad ridge of Ashdown.

It was a great victory, certainly, but like so many other battles in this strange campaign it was utterly indecisive. The Danes who had succeeded in reaching their stronghold, now marched southward, apparently threatening Winchester: Ethelred and Alfred followed them, and after another tough fight were defeated at Basing, near to the site of that far-famed "Loyalty House" which eight centuries later was held so gallantly and so long by the Marquis of Winchester for Charles I. against the army of the Parliament. The Danish victory at Basing, however, was, as we are expressly told, "a victory without spoils". The invaders seem to have renounced their intended attack on Winchester and turned back to their entrenched camp at Reading. Two months pass, during which some of the nameless battles that bring the tale of this year's conflicts up to nine, may have been fought. When the veil again lifts we find the Danes apparently attempting to turn the English left, marching the whole length of Berkshire to Hungerford, and seeking to penetrate into Wiltshire. The next battle was fought on the edge of Savernake Forest; Ethelred and Alfred each put their enemies to flight, "and far into the day they had the victory," but after many had fallen on either side, the Danes held the field of slaughter. The chronicler's entry is extremely enigmatical, and we are perhaps allowed to conjecture that in the moment of victory Ethelred received a mortal wound which changed the fortunes of the day, for our next entry is as follows: "And the Easter after King Ethelred died, having reigned five years, and his body lieth at Wimborne". As we are told at the same time that "a mickle summer army came to Reading," we may consider that two events stand out clearly in these April days of 871, the arrival from over-seas of a great fresh body of troops, who had not wintered in England, to reinforce their countrymen at Reading; and the death of King Ethelred, whose body was not taken to be buried in his own city of Winchester, but, probably owing to the disturbed state of the country, had to be interred in the nearer minster of Wimborne in Dorsetshire. There his epitaph (not contemporary) records that he died "by the hands of the pagans".

The accession of ALFRED to the throne, in 871, on his brother's death, seems to have passed almost unnoticed in the deadly earnestness of the great encounter. There were battles at Reading and at Wilton, in which, as usual, the Saxons seemed to be on the point of winning when the Danes, turning at the right moment on their disorderly pursuers, changed defeat into victory, and kept possession of the battle-field. They were, however, by this time as much wearied and wasted by the events of this awful year as the Saxons themselves, with whom they now made peace, a peace which, as the historian remarks with surprise, they kept for four years unbroken.

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During these years, however, from 872 to 875, they were greatly strengthening their hold on the northern kingdoms. After besieging London and putting it to a heavy ransom, they marched through Mercia, occupied successively Torksey on the Trent and Repton in Derbyshire, dethroned Alfred's brother-in-law, Burhred (874), and set up in his stead "a foolish thegn named Ceolwulf," who bound himself by oaths and hostages to hand Mercia back to his new lords whenever they should demand it. Burhred, heart-weary of the strife and the toil of his twenty-two years of reigning, went to the paradise of Anglo-Saxons, Rome, died there and was buried in the new church of St. Mary which Pope Leo IV. had built in the precincts of the Saxon school.

In the next year, 875, while part of the Danish force went to Cambridge and took up their quarters there, a vigorous detachment, headed by the fierce Halfdene, crossed the Tyne and invaded Bernicia, whose inhabitants had driven out a puppet-king named Egbert, reigning there as vassal of the Danes. This spasmodic stroke for liberty was cruelly avenged by the ravage of the till then unharried province. It was probably at this time that the Christian civilisation of Northumbria, such as we find it in the pages of Bede, received its death-stroke. Under the leadership of Halfdene, as Symeon of Durham informs us, the Danish army indulged in a wild revel of cruelty, first mocking and then slaying the servants and handmaidens of God, and in short spreading murder and conflagration from the eastern to the western sea. The devastation was not confined to the Anglian kingdom; the Picts

CHAP. on the north and the Britons of Strathclyde on the north-west
XVI. shared in the general ruin.

↙ This invasion of Halfdene's set in motion a pilgrimage which was full of significance for the ecclesiastical history of Northumbria, the memorable migration of the body of Saint Cuthbert. Now, at last, under the terror of the pagan hosts, the little isle of Lindisfarne, which for 240 years had been the spiritual capital of Bernicia, relapsed into its pristine loneliness. Seeing the widespread ravage wrought by the heathen men, bishop Eardulf resolved on flight, but could not bear to leave behind the uncorrupted body of the patron saint. He called into council Edred, abbot of St. Cuthbert's monastery at Carlisle, who reminded him of the saint's own words: "Dig ye up my bones and find a home elsewhere as God may direct you, rather than consent to the iniquity of the schismatics". St. Cuthbert's forebodings perhaps pointed to a recrudescence of the Easter controversy, but the churchmen rightly held that they were applicable to the far more terrible invasion of the Danes. Accordingly they took up the body of the saint (still incorrupt, according to the legend): they took also its companion relics, the head of St. Oswald, some bones of St. Aidan and of the three bishops who followed him; and provided with these precious talismans they set forth on their first great pilgrimage. For eight years they wandered: at first like sheep over the moors of Northumbria; then they came down to the western coast at Workington, and were on the point of setting sail for Ireland when a wind which sprang up, as if by miracle, drove them back upon the shore. In the hurry of the abortive embarkation they dropped into the sea the precious and beautifully illuminated *Lindisfarne Gospels*, but miraculously recovered the treasure after many days. This manuscript is still preserved in the British Museum, showing stains as if of sea-water on its pages.

At last, in 883, five years after the peace which will mark the conclusion of this chapter, the uncorrupted body and its weary guardians found rest at the old Roman station of Chester-le-Street, eight miles south of Newcastle, under the shelter of the rule of a converted Dane, Guthred, son of Harthacnut. "He gave them," says the chronicler, "all the land between Wear and Tyne for a perpetual possession, and ordained that

the church which they were about to build should be constituted a sanctuary, that whosoever for any cause should flee to the saint's body should have respite for thirty-seven days from his pursuers." Such were the magnificent possessions and privileges bestowed on the minster which now rose at Chester-le-Street by the old Roman highway, and which, after a little more than a century, were to be transferred in 995 to the more famous sanctuary at Durham.

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The year 876 marked the end of the truce and the renewal of the Danish attacks on Wessex. Three Danish kings, one of whom was the famous Guthrum, after wintering in Cambridge, stole past the West Saxon *fyrð*, and apparently by a series of night marches succeeded in reaching Wareham. Here, surrounded by the rivers Piddle and Frome, they could feel themselves as secure as in the islands of Thanet or Sheppey. Worst of all, however, by blockade rather than by battle, the Danish kings came to terms with Alfred. They gave hostages once more of their most honourable men and swore upon a certain sacred armlet—an oath, says the chronicler, which they had never given to any other people—that they would truly depart out of the kingdom. Not all of "the army," however, kept this solemn compact. Hostages and oath notwithstanding, the mounted men rode off to Exeter and entrenched themselves there. King Alfred's pursuit with the infantry of the *fyrð* was vain. Fortunately, however, the fleet which should have co-operated with the Danes was overtaken by a fierce storm, and 120 ships filled with warriors were dashed to pieces on the rocks of Purbeck. Disheartened by this calamity, the Northmen at Exeter once more swore great oaths, gave hostages and marched forth from Wessex to their own now vassal kingdom of Mercia.

This happened in the autumn of 877. Soon after Twelfth night, at the beginning of 878, another gang of plunderers came suddenly to the "royal villa" of Chippenham, probably hoping to capture the king himself. With a small band of followers Alfred escaped to the woods and morasses of Athelney in Somerset; but though they thus missed their chief prize, this invasion of Wessex, for some reason unknown to us, came nearer to success than any which had preceded it. From Chippenham as a centre the Danes harried the country far and wide; they

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drove many of the inhabitants across the sea; those who remained had to accept them as their lords; it seemed as if Wessex would have to follow the example of Mercia and Northumbria, and bow its neck to the Danish yoke. Meanwhile Alfred, in the little island of Athelney—an island then, because surrounded on all sides by marshes, but an island now no longer—was gathering his faithful followers round him and quietly preparing for the recovery of his throne.¹ The little band of his followers wrought at the construction of a rude fortress, which was finished by Easter, and which proved impregnable by the heathen assailants. Behind this earthwork the West Saxon king “greatly stood at bay,” and from hence he and the men of the Somerset *fyrð*, who gathered round him under their ealdorman Ethelnoth, made several successful sallies against the enemy.

Ere long there came to cheer them the tidings of a great victory gained by the men of Devon, near Bideford Bay, over a Danish army which seems to have been commanded by Ubba, the murderer of St. Edmund. After wintering in South Wales, Ubba had crossed the Bristol Channel, landed in Devonshire and besieged the soldiers of the *fyrð* in a poorly fortified stronghold which they had constructed and which was called Cynuit.² The fort had no spring of water near it, and the victory of the invaders seemed assured, but despair gave courage to the besieged, who sallied forth at dawn, took the besiegers by surprise, and slew of them eight hundred. Only a scanty remnant escaped to their ships; the great raven standard, the flapping of whose wings betokened victory, was taken, and Ubba himself was among the slain. The death of the royal martyr of East Anglia was thus at length avenged.

At last, close upon Whitsuntide, Alfred emerged from the forest of Selwood, which seems to have hitherto served him as cover, collected round him at “Egbert’s Stone” the men of three counties, Somerset, Wilts and Hants (who, as the chronicler beautifully says, “were fain of their recovered king”), and

¹ At this point the *Chronicle of St. Neots*, a late and untrustworthy authority written perhaps early in the twelfth century, inserts the well-known story of the burning of the cakes, which does not form part of the genuine text of Asser’s *Life*.

² The site of this fortress has been much discussed but is not yet satisfactorily settled. See Stevenson’s *Asser*, p. 262.

by two days' marches came up with the Danish army at Ethen-dune.¹ Here he won a crushing victory. The Danes fled to their fortified camp, probably at Chippenham; Alfred pursued them, shut them up in their stronghold and besieged it for a fortnight. Then came offers of submission, and a promise to withdraw from Wessex. Hostages and oaths were again offered to the conqueror, and—what was more significant—"the army promised that their king, Guthrum, should receive the rite of baptism".

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Alfred returned to the neighbourhood of Athelney, and there waited for the pagan chief's fulfilment of his promise. He was not disappointed; Guthrum came with thirty of his chiefs to Aller, near Athelney, was baptised and received in rising from the font the Saxon name of Athelstan. It is probable, though not expressly stated, that his thirty warriors were baptised with him. The two kings then went together to Wedmore, a royal vill under the Mendips, where Alfred for twelve nights gave the new convert hospitable entertainment. Guthrum-Athelstan laid aside the white robes of the catechumen at the end of a week, and departed laden with gifts by his spiritual father. "The army" cleared out of Wessex and marched to Cirencester. The most dangerous of Alfred's wars with the Danes was ended, and the land had rest for fourteen years.

¹ Edington in Wiltshire, a little east of Westbury. Near this place is another White Horse, at Bratton Castle, but we have not sufficient evidence to connect this with Alfred's victory.

CHAPTER XVII.

ALFRED AT PEACE.

CHAP. THE fourteen years which followed the Peace of Wedmore (878
XVII. to 892) were, as has been said, in the main years of peace, and may be considered to justify the heading of this chapter; yet that peace was not all unbroken, nor was Alfred's Danish godson always a placid and peaceful Christian. There were still some slight heavings of the barbarian sea, which must be shortly described before we turn to the much more interesting subject of Alfred's peaceful labours. The main condition of the Peace of Wedmore was that the Danes should evacuate Wessex. The agreement that the Watling Street should be the boundary between the two nations cannot be stated to have been one of the conditions of the peace now concluded. We have, in fact, no accurate information as to the territorial arrangements of 878. The extremely interesting document called *Aelfredes and Guthrumes Frith* (the peace of Alfred and Guthrum) must belong to some later year than the meeting at Wedmore, and the course of the history seems to justify us in assigning it to the year 885 or thereabouts.¹

After Guthrum and his men had lingered for some time in the neighbourhood of Cirencester, they marched across England to East Anglia (879), and made a permanent settlement there, "occupying and dividing the land". This probably means that they exchanged the destructive excitement of the life of the viking for the peaceful existence of the husbandman. But when, five years later, in 884, a division of "the army" which had been ravaging Gaul came to Kent and besieged Rochester, the sight of their fellow-countrymen, harrying on the other side

¹ This was pointed out half a century ago by Dr. Reinhold Schmid, the accurate German editor of the Anglo-Saxon laws.

of the Thames estuary, seems to have been too much for Danish self-control. Guthrum "broke peace with King Alfred," and probably sent some of his men to help in the siege. Alfred, however, set to work to besiege the besiegers, who had "wrought another fastness round themselves," and in the end forced them to abandon their enterprise, leave their horses as the prize of victory, and depart over seas. He then proceeded to chastise the East Anglian Danes for their breach of faith, sending a fleet against them from Kent which won a signal victory. Notwithstanding a subsequent defeat, his operations must have been on the whole successful, for he rescued London from the Danish yoke and concluded, probably in 885, that treaty with Guthrum which as before said is still extant, bearing the title of Alfred's and Guthrum's *frith*.

If the provisions of Wedmore had made the Watling Street the boundary between the two nationalities, which is doubtful, the treaty now concluded was certainly more favourable to the English. It went from the Thames northwards "up the Lea to its source, then straight on to Bedford, and then up along the Ouse to the Watling Street," which throughout a large part of its further course became practically the boundary of the two nations. This line gave to the English king London, previously abandoned to the Danes, and with London the region round it north of the Thames and west of the Lea, which had previously formed part of the kingdom of Essex, but which now, perhaps, received a special organisation of its own, and the name that it has since borne for ten centuries, Middlesex. It also gave to Alfred the larger and fairer half of Mercia, being in fact all that portion of the midland counties which lies south and west of the London and North Western Railway,¹ together with half of Hertfordshire and two-thirds of Bedfordshire. But then, on the other hand, it is true that the rest of Mercia, East Anglia, Essex (mutilated) and Northumbria were practically handed over to the Danes, either as personal rulers or as over-lords. This surrender has often been treated as a wise and politic act of self-sacrifice on

¹ It is interesting to note that the Watling Street is still the chief boundary between the counties of Warwick and Leicester. Through a large part of its course the London and North Western Railway so nearly coincides with this old Roman road that the traveller faring northwards may consider himself to be looking forth from the right-hand window over the "Danelaw" and from the left over "Saxony".

CHAP. Alfred's part, a view which was the natural result of the his-
XVII. torical teaching which spoke of Egbert and his descendants as unquestioned monarchs of all Anglo-Saxon Britain. Now, however, that we see what a precarious and shadowy thing was the supremacy of the ninth century Kings of Wessex over northern and midland England, a supremacy which under a feeble king like Ethelwulf perhaps almost vanished into nothingness, we can see that the settlement which generally (though incorrectly) goes by the name of the Peace of Wedmore was not so great a sacrifice on Alfred's part as we used to imagine. Bitter doubtless it was to Alfred as to every patriotic heart among the "Angel-cyn" to see the Dane so firmly rooted in the north and east of England, but that was the actual position of affairs, and he, as a statesman, was bound to recognise it. On the other hand, the larger half of Mercia now came under Alfred's personal rule and was irrevocably joined to his realm, and this great new kingdom was now preparing to enter the lists against the Scandinavian invaders with a fairer prospect of success than could ever have been entertained by the disunited, mutually suspicious states of the "Heptarchy". As has been already pointed out, the Dane was the real though involuntary creator of a united England.

It is worth our while to notice the language of the great *frith* which thus settled the boundary of the two races. It professes to be concluded "between Alfred, king, and Guthrum, king, and all the *witan* of the English kinship, and all the folk that is in East Anglia, for themselves and for their offspring". "If any man be slain, as we hold all equally dear, both Englishmen and Danes, the penalty shall be eight half-marks of pure gold,¹ but if he be a *ceorl* or freed-man on *gafol* [rented] land, the penalty shall be 200 scillings." "And we all agreed on this day when men swore their [mutual] oaths that neither bond nor free shall fare unto the [Danish] army without leave, nor shall any one of them come to us. Should it happen that one

¹ The value of the mark of pure gold is not yet clearly ascertained. Mr. Chadwick (*Studies in Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, p. 50) argues from this passage that a single mark of gold = 300 scillings, and that the fine hereby imposed was 1,200 scillings, equal to the wergild of a West Saxon noble. But in that case one would have expected to have some more distinct indication of rank than is contained in the words "gif man ofslagen weorthe".

of them wishes to have business with us, or one of us with them, in respect of land or cattle, that is to be permitted only on condition of his giving hostages for the observance of the peace and as a testimony that he has a clean back," in other words, that his past record is that of a peaceable neighbour.

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Evidently the continuance of friendly relations between the two races, parted only by two small streams and the old Roman road, was felt to be precarious, and both rulers agreed that the less they mingled with one another the better.

It is pleasant to turn from the monotonous story of the conflict with the Danes to the subject of Alfred's family life. In 868, three years before "the year of battles" and his own accession to the throne, he married a noble Mercian lady named Ealhswith, daughter of Ethelred, ealdorman of the Gaini (?), and descended on her mother's side from the royal family of Mercia. By this lady (who survived him three years) Alfred had five children who grew up. The eldest, Ethelfled, when little more than a child, was given in marriage to Ethelred, ealdorman of the Mercians, and became, after her father's death, a personage of great importance, ruling her mother's country with spirit and success under the proud title of "Lady of the Mercians". The next child, Edward, who was eventually his father's successor, had for his especial companion his sister Elfrida. "When he was not hunting or engaged in other manly exercises, he was with her learning the psalter or books of Saxon poetry, showing affability and gentleness towards all, both natives and foreigners, and ever in complete subjection to his father." In after life the two playmates were widely separated. The boy became Edward the Elder, one of the greatest of English kings; the girl was sent across the seas to become the wife of Baldwin II. of Flanders, son of Judith of France, and her husband the handsome forester. After more than two centuries the brother and sister playmates were once more to meet in the persons of their progeny, when Elfrida's descendant Henry Beauclerk, son of Matilda of Flanders, married Matilda of Scotland, descended in the seventh degree from Edward the Elder. Of the two other children of Alfred, we know only that Ethelgiva was early dedicated to the monastic life, becoming Abbess of Shaftesbury; and that Ethel-

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weard, the youngest of the family, was a pupil in a court school founded by his father, probably in imitation of the similar institutions founded by Charlemagne, in which the sons of the nobility and some others were taught to read books both Latin and Anglo-Saxon, and also learned to write. Ethelweard (who must not be confounded with his kinsman of the same name, author of a chronicle) seems to have specially profited by this training, and was probably the most learned member of his family.

An obscure statement of Asser's with reference to Alfred's marriage reveals to us the fact that the great king's life was in some mysterious way one long battle with disease. From early boyhood he suffered from some malady which caused him grievous pain. In his twentieth year, just about the time of his marriage, this malady left him, but was succeeded by another which caused him at intervals yet sharper pain, and always kept him in terror of its recurrence. This affliction endured from his twentieth till his forty-fifth year, if not longer.¹ These hints, obscure as they are, heighten our admiration of the heroic spirit with which Alfred, often suffering from acute bodily pain, with the ever-present fear of attacks either by disease or by the Danes, set himself to fulfil his duties towards his subjects in the wide and comprehensive sense in which he understood them. Of his wisely planned and efficient schemes for the defence of his realm from hostile invasion something will be said in the next chapter. We are now concerned with his earnest endeavours to dispel the intellectual darkness which brooded over his country, yet of which only the king himself and a few chosen friends were fully conscious.

It is clear that in the course of the century which elapsed between the death of Bede and the birth of Alfred, the intellect of England had suffered a terrible relapse into ignorance and barbarism. It was not the inroads of the Northmen alone which had brought about this result, though, of course, the ruin of so many Northumbrian monasteries and the destruction of so many manuscripts were influences unfavourable to the cause of learning. But independently of Scandinavian ravages, England herself was becoming barbarised. In Northumbria the beacon light of Christianity and culture, which had once shone

¹ For some valuable suggestions on the mysterious subject of Alfred's diseases see Plummer's *Life and Times of Alfred the Great*, pp. 28, 214.

so brightly, was quenched in the blood of her kings, murdered and murderers. In Mercia there was a little more interest in literary pursuits, but apparently there only; East Anglia and Wessex were intellectually dead. As Alfred himself says, in the preface to his translation of Pope Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis*: "Even before all this burning and ravaging [by the Danes in the reigns of Ethelwulf and his sons], when the churches were still filled with books and sacred vessels, and God's servants abounded, yet they knew very little of the contents of their books, because they were not written in their own idiom". "Formerly men came from beyond our borders, seeking wisdom in our own land; now, if we are to have it at all, we must look for it abroad. So great was the decay of learning among Englishmen that there were very few on this side Humber, and I ween not many north of it, who could understand the ritual [of Mass] or translate a letter from Latin into English. No, I cannot remember one such, south of the Thames, when I came to the throne."

To help him in the arduous task of once more bringing the English race under the influence of literary culture, nay, rather to teach him who yearned to be the teacher of his people, Alfred sought the aid of learned ecclesiastics beyond his own borders. With much earnestness he invited the Welshman Asser, his future biographer, to repair to his court. From Mercia he imported Plegmund, who became in 890 archbishop of Canterbury, and Werferth, who eventually returned to the midlands as bishop of Worcester. From St. Omer came Grimbald, who was consecrated abbot of the new minster founded by Alfred at Winchester; and from the lands near the mouth of the Elbe came John the Old Saxon, whose ancestors had probably fought hard for heathenism against Charlemagne, but who was himself a learned ecclesiastic. He helped Alfred much in his literary work, and was made by him abbot of his monastery at Athelney; an uneasy post, for two of his monks contrived a villainous plot against his life and his reputation, but were foiled by the vigorous resistance made by the stalwart Old Saxon, who had been a warrior in his youth, when the would-be murderers set upon him by night in the lonely convent church.

These were the chief of Alfred's literary assistants, and with their help he enriched his people with translations of some

CHAP. of the most highly prized works which the dying Roman world
XVII. had bequeathed to Teutonic Europe.

1. The passage quoted above concerning the decay of learning in England comes from the king's translation of Pope Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis*, or as Alfred calls it his *Herd-book*. In this book the great pope to whom England was so largely indebted for her Christianity, gave many excellent hints as to the character, duties and special temptations of the Christian pastor. In his preface, King Alfred explained the reasons which had moved him to undertake the work of a translator. He marvelled that none of the good and wise men who had been in England before him had anticipated him in the work, but concluded that this was because they expected that learning would flourish yet more instead of decaying, and that another generation would be so familiar with Latin as to need no translations. Then on the other hand he remembered how the Old Testament itself had been translated from the Hebrew, first into Greek and then into Latin, and from thence, at any rate in part, into the languages of the other Christian nations of Europe; and on this precedent he resolved to act. "For it seems to me desirable," he said, "that we should turn some of the books which all men ought to know into that language which we can all understand, and so bring it to pass (as we certainly may do if we only have rest from our enemies) that all the free youth of England, sons of men of substance, shall devote themselves to learning in their early years before they are fit for other occupations; that they shall first learn to read English writing, and then if they are still willing to continue as pupils and desire to rise to the higher ranks of the state, that they shall be taught the Latin language."

The king then proceeds to describe his mode of translation: "sometimes word for word and sometimes meaning for meaning; as I learned the sense from Plegmund, mine archbishop, and Asser, my bishop, and Grimbald and John my mass-priests". He describes the measures which he has taken to supply every see in his kingdom with a copy of the book, enriched with an *aestel* (clasp or book-marker?) worth 300 scillings, and commands in God's name that no man shall take the *aestel* from the book or the book from the minster. "Thank God! we have now abundance of learned bishops, but we know not how

long this may continue; and I therefore ordain that each book be always kept in the place to which now I send it, unless the bishop himself desire to borrow it, or give a written order for its loan to another.”

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2. In order that his subjects might have some knowledge of the history of that great and splendid Roman past which lay in ruins behind them, Alfred, always with the help of his ecclesiastic friends, translated the seven books of the *History of Paulus Orosius against the Pagans*. The selection was in many respects an excellent one, for Orosius, a Spanish ecclesiastic of the fifth century and a friend of St. Augustine, has here set forth, in a concise manner and fairly interesting style, all that his contemporaries knew of the history of the world from the building of Babylon to Alaric's capture of Rome. He was credulous and inaccurate, and his work, except for the events of his own age, has no scientific value, but as a manual of ancient history for the young Anglo-Saxon nobleman it could hardly have been surpassed. Both Alfred, however, and his readers must have been somewhat unnecessarily depressed by its perusal; for as the book had a polemical bearing, *adversus Paganos*, and was intended to show that the calamities which were befalling the Roman empire in the fifth century were not due to its adoption of the Christian faith, its author was naturally led to exaggerate the misery of the world in preceding ages. While enumerating, therefore, all the murders, pestilences and earthquakes of which he could find mention in the 5,617 years that had elapsed since the creation of the world, he omits to notice the long interspaces of quiet happiness which there had been in some ages and some countries of the world, and he has no praise for the progress which Humanity had made in some departments of life from Sardanapalus to Constantine.

King Alfred and his teachers were evidently sometimes at a loss to understand the meaning of their author, and it is amusing to see the ingenious arts by which in such cases they evaded the difficulty. They decided, no doubt wisely, that the unabridged history would be too long for their Saxon students, and therefore practised severe compression. Unfortunately for us this compression applies much more to the later portions of the history, where Orosius's testimony is valuable, and where his translators might have added something of importance, than to

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the earlier books where neither he nor they have anything to say that we care to hear. The long account of Cæsar's campaign in Gaul is reduced within the limits of a single sentence, and even the story of his British campaigns is shortened, though here we derive from the translation the fact that in Alfred's opinion the site of Cæsar's third battle was "near the river that is called Thames, near the ford that is called Wallingford".

Incomparably the most interesting, however, of Alfred's interpolations is made at the very beginning of the history, in the long geographical description which Orosius thought it his duty to prefix to his work. In translating this chapter the king has allowed himself very great freedom and sometimes has not improved upon his author; as when he volunteers a statement, borrowed doubtless from some classical geographer, that Scotland (by which, of course, he means Ireland) lies over against the Wendel Sea (or Mediterranean) at its western end. But when he comes to speak of the Teutonic and Scandinavian lands, he breaks quite away from Orosius and gives us a detailed ethnological description of Northern Europe, which, though in some of its details not easy of interpretation, is far more valuable than the meagre Orosian sentences for which it is exchanged. And then, suddenly, without any pretence of following his author's guidance, he introduces the weather-beaten forms of two Norwegian pilots, Ohthere and Wulfstan, and imparts to his subjects and to posterity the information which they had given him as to their voyages in the North Sea and the Baltic.

Of these two men Ohthere, "who dwelt northmost of all the Northmen," was the most adventurous. He told how he had sailed northward as far as any of the whale-hunters go, keeping the waste land on his right and the wide sea on his left hand. Then, leaving even the whalers behind, he had sailed northward for three days more, at the end of which time he found the coast turning suddenly to the east and then to the south. After this he had anchored his ship at the mouth of a great river. In other words, this bold seaman had doubled the North Cape, entered the White Sea, and probably cast anchor at the mouth of the river Dwina, somewhere near the site of the modern Archangel. The conversation of this old salt concerning the whales and walruses of the Polar Sea, the Fins and their rein-

deer, their accumulated skins of martens and bears, and feathers of sea-birds, which constituted the sole wealth of those desolate regions, evidently made a deep impression on the mind of "his lord King Alfred". Though we may be inclined to smile at the naïve literary device which introduced all these details into the history of a Spanish presbyter who lived some five centuries earlier, we must be grateful to the king who preserved for us this record of the exploits of the Franklins and the Nansens of that long-vanished age.

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3. It was not, however, only the history of the Biblical and classical ages which Alfred desired to render accessible to his people. He knew that the deeds of their own forefathers since they had entered the land of Britain, were worthy of their remembrance, and he rightly judged that the great struggle with the Danes, in which he was himself engaged, would soon be History, as memorable as anything that was recorded in the pages of Orosius. With this view, as Geoffrey Gaimar, a historian of the twelfth century, says, "He caused to be written an English book of adventures and of laws of the land and of the kings who made war". In other words, Alfred's orders brought into being the *Saxon Chronicle*. As its latest editor¹ says: "The popular answer is in this case the right one. The Chronicle is the work of Alfred the Great. The idea of a national chronicle, as opposed to merely local annals, was his, and that this idea was realised under his direction and supervision, I most firmly believe. And we may, I think, safely place in the forefront of the Chronicle the inscription which encircles Alfred's jewel [found at Athelney in 1693 and now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford], AELFRED MEC HEHT GEWYRCAN, 'Alfred ordered me to be made'."

4. In further pursuance of the same plan a translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* from Latin into Anglo-Saxon was made, as we have reason to believe, either by Alfred's own hand or under his immediate supervision. As this book had become a kind of classic among churchmen, Alfred allowed himself here less liberty than in some of his other translations. Some letters, epitaphs and similar documents are omitted, and there is an almost complete erasure of the chapters relating to the wearisome Paschal controversy. In other respects the king's

¹ Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles*, ii., civ.

CHAP. translation seems to be a fairly accurate reproduction of the
XVII. original work.

5. Last, and in some ways most interesting of all the literary labours of Alfred, comes his translation of the *Consolation of Philosophy by Boethius*. This is a book which, after enjoying during the early Middle Ages a popularity perhaps somewhat greater than its merits, has fallen since the revival of learning into much less deserved oblivion. In it Boethius, a Roman nobleman who was cast into prison and eventually executed by order of the Gothic king Theodoric, sets forth the comfort which came to him in his wearisome imprisonment by meditations on Divine Philosophy. The problem which perplexed him and which Philosophy, the spiritual companion of his solitude, sought to solve, was the world-old one, "Why do the wicked flourish and why are the righteous afflicted?" Strange to say, though Boethius was a Christian, and was even in a certain sense a martyr for the Catholic faith, the Christian solution of the problem is kept almost entirely out of sight, and the answers suggested are such as might have been given by Socrates or Epictetus. Boethius believes in a Divine Ruler of the universe, and the general tendency of the book is towards the strengthening of belief, but it is belief rather of a theistic than of a definitely Christian type. However with all its defects and all its strange silences, the book was one which had a great attraction for many of the noblest minds of a bewildered Europe, and not least for the great West Saxon king, who, struggling against the depressing influences of disease, and ever dreading a fresh outburst of the Danish volcano, felt that he, too, like the author, had much need of "the Consolation of Philosophy". In his other translations he had been working for his people; in this, which was probably executed towards the close of his reign, he was, perhaps, working rather for himself, for the solace and fortification of his own troubled spirit.

We have seen that Alfred did not take a slavish view of the duties of a translator; and in his *Boethius* he is more lordly than ever, omitting, adding, altering with a sublime contempt for mere verbal accuracy. It is, however, these very changes which make the book so precious to a student of Alfred's own character. We see therein what were the thoughts which were most akin to his nature; we learn something of the secret

springs of his actions ; we can almost listen to the conversations which he held with his bishops and thegns in the great wooden palace at Winchester. CHAP.
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In the first place, he gives to the whole inquiry a more religious turn than he found in the original. For "Nature" he substitutes "God" ; he sometimes introduces the name of Christ ; he speaks of the Judgment-day, and his language has throughout that distinctly religious tone which is so strangely absent from the meditations of Boethius. He takes us into his royal council and tells us the principles upon which he has sought to administer the state, using for his instruments three sorts of ministers, men of prayer, men of war, and men of work, for all of whom suitable maintenance must be found out of the land. He expands a slight sentence of Boethius in praise of friendship into a noble passage, in which he declares that true friendship is not an earthly but a heavenly blessing ; that all other objects of desire in this world are sought after in obedience to some selfish motive, but a true friend we love for love's own sake and because of our trust in his truth, hoping for no other return. "Nature joins friends together and unites them with an inseparable love, whereas by our worldly goods and the wealth of this life we more often make foes than friends."¹

Boethius puts into the mouth of Philosophy some words deprecatory of too great regard for noble birth ; but Alfred says boldly on his own account that "true high birth is that of the mind not of the flesh," a memorable utterance in the mouth of the man whose lineage "went unto Cerdic" and who according to the songs of Saxon bards was descended from Woden. There are also in this most interesting translation many passages which show Alfred's keen perception of the beauties of Nature, his unfailing interest in geography, and his knowledge of Saxon folk-lore (as illustrated by his allusion to the bones of Weland the Smith), besides some which reveal his naïve ignorance of well-known facts of ancient history, as when he describes the *sella curulis* as a kind of carriage, or when he tells us that Cassius was another name for Brutus. One sees with pleasure that the wise king had a certain gift of humour, and that he

¹Quotations are given from Mr. Sedgefield's translation, which has the great merit of distinguishing Alfred's interpolations by a different type from the original text.

CHAP. could at times be even sarcastic. He alone, not his author, is
XVII. responsible for the following remark attributed to Philosophy :
"Two things honour and power can do, if they fall into the hands of a fool : they can cause him to be respected and even revered by other fools". Whosoever would get at the heart of this great man, the true founder of the English kingdom, and discover his inmost thoughts, should carefully study Alfred's translation of Boethius, and observe where he neglects and where he reinforces from his own experience the maxims and arguments of the Roman statesman.

To the interval of comparative peace with which we are now dealing we may probably assign the reorganisation of the royal household. Apparently service in the palace was conducted on parallel lines with service in the army, being performed in both cases by men who had houses of their own to govern and lands of their own to cultivate. The king, therefore, ordained that the household should be divided into three portions, each of which should take palace-duty ("night and day," says the biographer) for one month, and then, being relieved by another detachment, return home for two months' furlough. The same principle of threefold division prevailed partially in the simple budget of Alfred's exchequer. He divided, says Asser, all the revenue which was yearly collected by his officers into two parts, one of which was devoted to secular and the other to religious uses. Of the secular portion one-third was paid to the household, according to their respective dignities and special services; one-third to the workmen of various nationalities whom he had gathered about him for his great works of building and restoration; and one-third to the foreigners—probably for the most part scholars or professors of some liberal art—who flocked in great numbers to his court. Of the religious half of his revenue, one-quarter went to the poor, one-quarter to the two new monasteries founded by him at Winchester and Athelney, one-quarter to the court school, and the remainder promiscuously to the various monasteries in Wessex and Mercia, and the needy churches in Britain and even in Gaul and Ireland.

One of the most extraordinary of the king's benefactions, one which we might well have doubted had it not been vouched for by the contemporary evidence of the Chronicle, is thus de-

scribed therein: "And that same year [883 for 882] Sighelm and Athelstan carried to Rome the alms which he had vowed to send thither when he was fighting the [Danish] army at London: and also to India to St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew". Of the campaign before London in the course of which this vow was made we have no more definite information. The sending of alms to Rome is easily understood, but the mission of West Saxon almoners to "St. Thomas's Christians" in India is indeed a marvellous fact if true. Unfortunately the tendency of modern criticism is somewhat unfavourable to the genuineness of the entry.¹

Though we know not the exact year when Alfred's Doms were compiled, this will be the best place for a brief statement of the legislative work of the great king.

"These are the dooms which Alfred the king chose, in order that no man should deem them otherwise than according to his will." Such is the opening sentence of the laws. Then follows an elaborate table of contents including Ine's laws as well as his own; and then, strangely enough, we have almost the whole of four chapters of the book of Exodus (xx.-xxiii.), containing the Ten Commandments and the Mosaic code of civil law in all its archaic simplicity and with all its Draconian sternness: the principle of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth"; "who-soever doeth this or that he shall surely die," the keynote of the whole. Then, however, comes a reference to the mission of "the Lord's Son, our God, who is Jesus Christ, who came into the world, not to destroy the law but to fulfil it, and to increase it with all good things. With mild-heartedness and humility did He teach."

Thereupon follows a description of the Council of Jerusalem as given in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and a rehearsal of its decrees about "abstaining from fornication, from things offered in sacrifice to idols, from things strangled and from blood". The acts of this council end with the Golden Rule (omitted from the manuscripts on which the Received

¹ Against the genuineness of the passage are its omission from *Ä*, the earliest and best MS. of the Chronicle, from Asser, and from the original text of Florence of Worcester. See Stevenson, *Asser*, pp. 287-90.

CHAP. Text of the New Testament is founded, but inserted in *Codex*
 XVII. *Besae* and several early authorities), "And that which ye will that other men should not do to you, do not ye to other men". "On this one doom," says the king, "let each man meditate that he may judge each one rightly; nor needs he any other law-book. Let him seek for no other doom upon his neighbour than he would be willing to have pronounced upon himself."

But, as Alfred proceeds to show, since the conversion of many nations to Christianity, synods have been held at which bishops and other distinguished *witan* have been present, and these assemblies, for the sake of the "mild-heartedness" which Christ taught, have commuted the death-penalty for the offences named in the Mosaic law to money payments on the scale set forth by them; and such payments may, therefore, without sin be taken by the secular lords to whom they are made payable. Only, there is one crime for which no money payment must be suffered to atone; and that is treason against a man's rightful lord, because Almighty God ordained no remission of punishment to those who despised Himself, nor could His Son give any such remission to the traitor who delivered Him to death; and He ordered that a man should love his lord even as himself.

These passages give us an interesting glimpse of the mental process which governed the compilation of Alfred's law-book. In the same spirit in which he translated Orosius and Gregory for his subjects' benefit, he sets before them what he considers the source of all legislation, the divine ordinances given amidst the thunders of Sinai. He then shows how that law was modified by the teaching of Christ; he rehearses the several points of the decree of the Council of Jerusalem, and thence glides by an easy transition to that tariff of compensations and fines (payment of *wergild* and *wite*) by which, in his day, atonement might be made for all offences, with the one exception here so emphatically insisted on, the crime of treason against a man's natural lord. Of course, modern historical science cannot concede to Church synods the credit of this great change, which we believe to have been wrought possibly through long ages in the forests of Germany—namely, the change by which the blood feud slowly gave place to the exacted *wer*: but doubtless Christian ecclesiastics accepted the principle,

perhaps in many instances regulated its application ; and King Alfred was so far right in claiming the authority of the Church for the practice of money compensation instead of the relentless severity of some of the ordinances of Exodus. The conclusion of Alfred's Prologue is important as indicating what was the legislative competence of the king and how he shared it with the witan.

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"I then, King Alfred, gathered these laws together and caused them to be written down, selecting many which pleased me from among those ordained by my predecessors. And many of those which I liked not I abrogated by the counsel of my Witan, ordaining some different way for the future. For I did not dare to set down in writing many of my own suggestions, not knowing how they would be liked by those who should come after. But whenever I found in the laws passed in the days of my kinsman Ine, or of Offa, King of Mercia, or of Ethelbert, the first English convert to Christianity, anything that seemed to me to be most justly decided, such laws I gathered in and the others I left out."

Generally speaking, Alfred's laws differ from those of Ine, and still more from those of Kentish Ethelbert, in the direction of greater leniency, the amount of fine payable for injuries to the person being almost always considerably reduced. This tendency, when we compare Alfred's and Ethelbert's laws, is at first sight obscured by the fact that the fines imposed by the latter are expressed in terms of the Kentish scilling, which was worth four times as much as that of Wessex, but when we have made the necessary correction for this difference, it comes out very clearly. Thus the fine for cutting off the thumb was in Ethelbert's code the equivalent of 80 shillings of Wessex, while under Alfred it was only 30. For the like injury to the middle finger it was respectively 32 and 15 shillings ; for the "gold" or ring finger, 24 and 17.

This remarkable diminution in the scale of pecuniary punishments was probably due, not simply to "mild-heartedness" on the part of the king and his *witan*, but also to the economic effect of the Danish ravages. So much of the portable wealth of the country had been carried off from hall and monastery to the homesteads of Scandinavia, that the value of gold and silver remaining in the land was sensibly increased, and a fine which

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was reasonable at the beginning of the eighth century became exorbitant at the close of the ninth. This abatement of pecuniary penalty is modified in a singular way in the case of forest trespass. It may be remembered that by the laws of Ine, a man going into a forest and felling timber for his own use was liable to a fine of 30 scillings for each tree so felled, up to three, but that 90 scillings was the maximum penalty. Now, by the laws of Alfred the penalty for each tree so felled was only 5 scillings, but there was no maximum. A forest-thief, therefore, who cut down twenty trees would fare worse under the new law than under the old. One would like to know what were the developments in English forestry which led to this singular modification of the law.

Our attention begins to be directed to the public assemblies for the transaction of business, the local *moots* which, as we know from other sources, had judicial as well as administrative duties to discharge, arranging the levy of men for the *fyrð* and raising money for the equipment of ships, as well as settling important questions of inheritance and disputes about property. It was important that such meetings should not be disturbed by the brawls of unruly partisans of the litigants, and accordingly we find it enacted that "if any man fight before the king's ealdorman in the *gemot* (meeting), he shall pay his *wer* and *wite* as the law ordains for any assault that he may have committed, and in addition shall pay a fine (*wite*) of 120 scillings to the ealdorman".

Law 42 in Alfred's code illustrates in an interesting manner that gradual transition from the blood-feud to the law-suit which was perhaps the most important conquest of Teutonic civilisation. By the various sections of this law it is provided that no man who has a grievance against another shall fight his foe until he has first demanded justice of him. That done, however, and justice denied, he may, if he have a sufficiently strong body of friends to back him, besiege the defendant for seven days. Should that blockade bring about a surrender and a disarmament, he must keep his adversary in custody for thirty days, sending word to his kinship that they may come and pay the mulct for which the prisoner is liable. What is to happen if the surrender does not take place at the end of the seven days, or the payment at the end of the thirty, we are

not informed, but it seems to be implied that the claimant may then fight and even slay his enemy without guilt. If the plaintiff have not sufficient power to besiege his foe, he must ride to the ealdorman and demand his aid. Failing that, he must seek redress of the king, before he takes it upon himself to fight his foe. Moreover, a man might always fight for his lord or his kinsman without incurring the penalties of blood-guiltiness, and so too he could wage "lawful war" with the seducer of his wife, his sister, or his mother. We see that the ideas of the old blood-feud and of the so-called "Fist-right" still lingered in the mind even of so wise and religious a legislator as Alfred. Redress of wrongs by the action of courts of law might be the ideal, but in the actual Saxon world private warfare must still be allowed, and all that the king could hope to accomplish was to confine it within narrow bounds and regulate its procedure.

On the condition of the servile class, the *theows* and *esnes*, in the time of Alfred, not much light is thrown by Alfred's Doom-book. We learn, however, that there was already a large class of free-men working for wages, for whose holidays, amounting in all to about thirty-six days in the year, the forty-third of Alfred's laws made provision. From this enactment the *theows* and *esnes* are expressly excluded, but it is provided that all men in servile condition shall have the four Wednesdays in the Ember-weeks, on which days they are graciously permitted to make a present of their labour to any one who may have helped them in God's name, or even to work for themselves. There is also a curious provision (law 20) exempting from liability the lord of a monk who has received money on deposit which he has failed to restore. This passage coincides with some others which seem to indicate that owing to the ruin of the monasteries wrought by the Danes, many of the monks, in order to keep body and soul together, accepted a servile position on the estate or in the house of some great landowner.

There are other indications that during the two centuries which had elapsed since the legislation of Ine, the tendency which was even then observable, towards the formation of large landed estates and the lessening of the number of free and independent ceorls, had been going forward. One cause which probably contributed to this result was the conversion of Folk-

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land into Bookland: two terms which, after puzzling a whole generation of English historians, have at last, it may be hoped, yielded up their secret to the patient research of a foreign student of our institutions.¹ Folkland, it seems now safe to say, was "family land held by common right and without written evidence".² Bookland was, as it is called by a Latin interpreter,³ *terra testamentalis*, land over which the owner had full power of disposition by will, and his right to which rested on some "book" or written document, not on folk-right and immemorial custom. A striking illustration of the difference between the two kinds of property is afforded by the will of a certain ealdorman Alfred who was a contemporary of his great namesake the king.⁴ This nobleman leaves the bulk of his large property, which is expressly stated to be bookland, to his widow and "our common bairn" Aldryth: but there is also a son, probably not born in wedlock, for whom he wishes to make provision. After leaving him a certain small "bookland" property, he adds: "If the king will let him have the folkland in addition to this bookland, then let him have and enjoy it"; if not, the widow is to convey to him certain other bookland estates. It is argued with much force that here we have the case of a nobleman owning large properties which have been conveyed to him by perhaps recent "books," written instruments of purchase and sale, royal donations and the like. But he has inherited also another, probably smaller, property which has been in his family from time immemorial, is his by folk-right, and is called folkland. But this property is held subject to certain customary laws of inheritance, and is perhaps liable to reversion to other members of the kinship in default of male heirs. The ealdorman hopes for the king's intervention on behalf of his son should any difficulty be made about his succession to the folkland, and, failing that, desires that the loss shall be made up to him out of the bookland estate, over which his disposing power is incontestable.

¹ Professor Vinogradoff in his essay on Folkland contributed to the *English Historical Review*, vol. viii.; further illustrated by his *Growth of the Manor*.

² "Terra popularis, communi jure et sine scripto possessa." This was Spelman's definition (1626), and Vinogradoff shows good ground for reverting to it with a slight modification, instead of adopting Allen's theory that the folkland was land owned by the nation like the *ager publicus* of Rome.

³ See Cnut's laws, ii., 13.

⁴ Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. 317; Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, No. 558.

If, as there is reason to believe, the cases of conversion of folkland into bookland were frequent throughout the later Saxon centuries, if the slumbering rights of succession of distant members of the kinship were being barred by "books" granting the land to members of the royal household, to convents and churches, or simply confirming ordinary commercial transactions of sale and exchange, it is easy to see that the class of "twy-hind" ceorls would be sensibly diminished and the possessions of the "twelf-hynd" man, the thegn or the king's retainer visibly increased. All these causes would augment the number of poor and struggling freemen who, especially in times of war and invasion during "the clash of mighty opposites," were glad to sacrifice some part of their precarious independence by "commending" themselves to the protection of some powerful landowner.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

ALFRED'S LAST DAYS.

CHAP. FROM the peaceful labours which had occupied him for the last
XVIII. seven years, Alfred was recalled to the weary work of war by tidings of the return of the dreaded *here* to the English coast. During those seven years the chronicler had been nervously noting the deeds of "the army" beyond seas. They had been fighting chiefly in the north of Gaul, pressing up the rivers Somme, Seine and Marne, and even laying close siege for ten months (November, 885, to September, 886) to the city of Paris itself, a siege which the Emperor Charles the Fat had raised, not by arms but by the ignominious payment of tribute. It is easy to trace a connexion between these vehement attacks on Frankish territory and the resistance which, in our own country, from Athelney onwards, had been so valiantly offered by Alfred. But now the process was reversed, and the Northmen, severely handled by a Frankish king, were thrown back upon England. In the year 887 Charles the Fat, who had disgusted his subjects by his ignominious treaty with the Danes, was deposed from his imperial dignity, and Arnulf, his nephew, was chosen king by the Franks east of the Rhine, by whose aid he won for himself, nine years after, the grander title of emperor. In 891 he won a great victory over the Danes near the modern city of Louvain. Hereupon the Scandinavians, recognising that "Francia" was for the present closed against them by the might of this new German king, decided to try their fortune once more on the other side of the channel.

The operations of the five years that followed (892-896¹) are described by the Chronicle in great detail and with unusual vividness and vigour. A recent editor² calls the six or seven

¹ Not 893-97 as in the Chronicle.

² Earle, *Two Saxon Chronicles* (1865), p. xvi.

pages devoted to these campaigns "the most remarkable piece of writing in the whole series of chronicles". It is allowable to conjecture that such a narrative, if not from Alfred's own pen, comes from some person in the immediate neighbourhood of the king. Fresh and vivid, however, as the narrative is, it is not easy to discover therefrom the precise sequence of events. Different bands of Danes are seen to be operating in different parts of the kingdom, and the difficulty which they probably felt in combining their efforts meets also the historian who seeks to combine their narratives. Here it will be sufficient to indicate some of the principal stages of the contest.

The invasion of 892 seems to have been made by two bodies of Danes, acting to some extent independently of each other. "The great army" which had been defeated by Arnulf at Louvain, went westwards from Flanders to Boulogne, embarked from the latter port "with horses and all" in a fleet of 250 ships, and sailed across to the Kentish coast. According to their usual custom they made use of a river channel to penetrate into the interior; but the river up which they fared and which probably entered the sea at Lymne, has long since disappeared in that region of silted-up streams. Up the river they towed their ships for four miles, and there they found a "work" half finished and defended by a few rustics. Their capture of this work well illustrates a remark of Asser's that "of the many forts which Alfred ordered to be built, some were never begun and others, begun too late, were not finished when the enemy broke in upon them by land and sea," causing tardy repentance and shame on the part of the disobedient builders. The Danish army then constructed for themselves a "work" at Appledore, some twenty miles west of Hythe. The nature of these "works," of which we hear so much at this point of the history, is explained to us by the Frankish chronicler who describes the Emperor Arnulf's victory in 891, and who tells us that the Northmen "had according to their usual manner fortified themselves with wood and heaped-up earth".¹ The description points to a mound crowned with a palisading, such as the Romans had used to protect their encampments.

Meanwhile another horde, not so large as the first, and fleeing,

¹ *Reginonis Chronicon*, a. 891.

CHAP. not so much from the conquering sword of Arnulf, as from the
XVIII. famine which waited upon their own destructive footsteps, having crossed the channel with eighty ships, had entered the Thames and made a "work" in Kent near the Isle of Sheppey. The leader of this band was the far-famed Haesten or Hasting, a pirate who had sailed up the Loire to ravage Central Gaul in the year 866, and in the twenty-six years which followed had not often rested from the work of devastation. Between these two invading armies Alfred took up a position (893) in the great Andredesweald which stretched along the whole length of Kent and Sussex dividing the two counties, and from thence or from the *burhs* or fortresses which he had erected, forays were constantly made with some success on the unwelcome visitors. So things seem to have remained through the winter. At Easter the larger host, having broken up from Appledore, wandered through Hants and Berks, ravaging as they went. The young "Etheling" Edward, son of Alfred, being informed of their movements, and having collected his troops, pursued the spoil-laden plunderers and came up with them at Farnham. He fought them and gained a complete victory; the booty was all recovered and the robbers in their desperation swam the Thames without waiting to find a ford, and made their way up the little stream of the Hertfordshire Colne to the river island of Thorney. There apparently Edward was forced to leave them, for the *fyrð* was divided into two parts, each bound to serve for six months only. The time for relieving guard had now arrived, and while one half was marching "thitherward" (to the front) and the other half homeward, the favourable moment passed away for pursuing the Danes, whose king had been wounded in the late encounter. Some of the enemy penetrated to the coast, collected a hundred ships and sailed westward to make a raid on Devonshire, whither Alfred was forced to follow them.

Leaving "the great army" for a time, we turn to follow the fortunes of Hasting. It seems that he had pretended to imitate the example of Guthrum (who had died three years before, at peace with Alfred), and had expressed his willingness to become a Christian. He gave hostages, swore oaths of peace and friendship, and was probably baptised along with his two sons, the godfathers being Alfred and his son-in-law Ethelred of Mercia, his stout ally in all these campaigns. But some turn in

the fortunes of war, perhaps the disloyal attitude of the Danes of Northumbria and Mercia, who were hungering for war, sent Hasting again into armed opposition. He made a "work" at Benfleet in the south-east corner of Essex, and as soon as it was finished he began, as the chronicler says with indignation, to harry that realm of Mercia which Ethelred, his godfather, was bound to defend. Alfred, who had been summoned to Exeter by the tidings of another Danish raid, now returned rapidly to London where a strong *burh* had been built, a stout-hearted body of citizens having been sworn to defend it. Marching forth with these and with his own troops, he assailed the "work" at Benfleet and carried it by storm. Great spoil was found there as well as many women and children—a sure token that the Northmen had come to settle in the land. All the treasure was gathered within the safe shelter of London-burh, but Alfred, recognising the obligations of spiritual kindred, though Hasting had so soon forgotten them, restored to the old pirate his wife and her two sons. After this the two Danish armies seem to have united and to have made a great "work" at Shoebury in Essex, not far from the abandoned Benfleet. Hasting henceforward fades out of the narrative, possibly unwilling to continue to fight against his generous foe.¹

The avowed union of all the men of the "Danelaw" (as the district settled by the Danes was now called), both in East Anglia and Northumbria, gave a new character to the war. It was no longer a mere descent of sea-rovers on Kent or Devonshire; it was a terrible internal struggle, and all along the Watling Street, the boundary between the two kingdoms, the shuttle of war flew swiftly. Leaving their camp at Shoebury, the Danes marched up the valley of the Thames and across the country to the Severn. But now the whole forces of the kingdom were collected for the contest. Not only Ethelred of Mercia but "the Ealdormen of Wilts and Somerset and such of the king's thegns as were then at home at the works, gathered together from every town east of the Parret, from both sides of Selwood, from the north of the Thames and the west of the Severn, and with them came also"—a memorable addition—"some part of the North Welsh race". Evidently the Welshmen

¹ In *Eng. Hist. Rev.* (1898), xiii., 444, Mr. W. C. Abbott argues that Hasting is possibly identical with Hásteinn, one of the first settlers of Iceland.

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had learned by experience that there were worse enemies than the Saxons, and probably also the righteous rule of Alfred had won their confidence. The army thus collected marched after the Danes and came up with them at a place called Buttington on the Severn. For many weeks the two armies sat watching each other, the river flowing between them. At last, after the Danes had eaten most of their horses, they sallied forth and crossed the river to fight. The battle which followed was a bloody one, many of the king's thegns falling; but the slaughter on the Danish side was greater, and victory remained with the English. Back into Essex fled the beaten remnant of the army, but having ere winter gathered to them many helpers from the Danelaw, and having entrusted ships and wives and property to the care of the East Angles, they once more followed the Watling Street into Cheshire, which for some reason or other (possibly connected with the Danish conquest of Ireland) they persistently made the objective of their campaign. Day and night they marched, till they came to the estuary of the Dee. Here, still surrounded by its grass-grown walls, lay the silent and ruined city which had for near four centuries resounded to the shouts of the twentieth legion, "Valerian and Victorious". In its desolation it yet bore the name of "the camp of the legions" (*lega-ceaster*), but it was "a waste Chester". A Chester it is still, by its picturesque medieval architecture pre-eminent above all others of its kind, but happily no longer waste. The *fyrð* hastened with all speed after the *here*, but failed to overtake them ere they had taken refuge in the ghostly city. They had, therefore, to be satisfied with destroying all the cattle and corn in the neighbourhood, slaying some straggling Danes and leaving nought but a hungry wilderness round the survivors. The blockade of Chester (894) was not a strict one; before long the Danes, urged by famine, broke out of the city, and escaping into the friendly Danelaw marched across the country to the island of Mersea at the mouth of the Blackwater, not far from their old winter quarters in Essex. At the same time the invaders who had been troubling Devonshire sailed homeward, but on their way harried the west of Sussex, until the *burg-ware* (townsfolk) of Chichester issued forth to battle, routed them, slew many hundreds, and captured some of their ships. Throughout this second Danish

war, the martial ardour of the inhabitants of the *burhs* built or refortified by the king is very conspicuous. CHAP.
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It was now apparently 895, the fourth year since the great *scip-here* had appeared off the coast of Kent. The Danes who had wintered in Mersea, still hankering doubtless after the spoil of London, sailed round to the estuary of the Thames and towed their ships up the sluggish waters of the Lea, which now forms the boundary between Essex and Middlesex. Here, about twenty miles above London—that is, probably in the neighbourhood of Bishop Stortford—they wrought a “work,” and remained encamped for six months. When summer came a multitude of the *burg-ware* of London marched forth to storm the Danish work. This time, unfortunately, civic valour did not triumph. The *burg-ware* were put to flight, and four of the king’s thegns, who had been acting as their leaders, were slain.

Autumn was now approaching and it was important that the men of Essex should not be attacked while they were gathering in their harvest. Accordingly Alfred encamped in the neighbourhood of London. One day he rode up the Lea to reconnoitre the Danish position, and something in the course of the river suggested to his mind, fertile in expedients and enriched by the study of ancient historians, that it might be possible so to obstruct it as to hinder the escape of the Danes. The scheme ripened; he set two bodies of troops to erect works above and below the station of the ships. Ere the works were finished the Danes saw that their position was being made untenable; they abandoned the ships—probably by night—and marched off, still no doubt through the friendly Danelaw, till they came to Bridgnorth on the Severn, where they again wrought a work and fixed their winter quarters. While the *fyrð* rode after them towards the north, the men of London-burh came out and captured the ships, some of which they broke up and others, the more serviceable, they towed down stream to London. Such was the strange campaign of the Lea. Any one who knows the Lea in its present conditions, who has seen the sleepy bargemen gliding along from lock to lock, the anglers sitting all day on the banks which Izaak Walton has made classic ground, all the indescribable restfulness and tranquillity of the scene, will feel the contrast between this peaceful Present and the days when Alfred’s men were toiling

CHAP. at their noisy labours and when the heathens howled forth their
XVIII. execrations on finding their passage barred by the Saxons.

In the following summer (896) "the *here* went some to East Anglia, some to Northumbria, and those who were moneyless got them ships and fared over sea to the Seine. Thus had the army," says the chronicler, "not utterly broken all the English race. But they were more fearfully broken during those three years by pestilence both of cattle and of men, especially because the most eminent of the king's thegns died in those three years." The chronicler then gives the name and rank of the chief victims of the plague: the bishops of Rochester and Dorchester, the ealdormen of Kent, Essex and Hants, a king's thegn of Sussex, the town-reeve of Winchester, a grand constable (king's horse-thegn) and many others.

Though the great land invasion was thus defeated, the king had still to deal with a harassing swarm of sea-pirates, whose long ships named "ashes," built of the wood of the ill-omened ash tree, were constantly appearing off the southern coast, often manned by insurgent Danes from East Anglia and Northumbria. In order to grapple with these pestilent enemies Alfred turned shipbuilder. He may have already taken some steps towards this end, but the following entry in the Chronicle for the year 897 (=896) is the earliest definite information that we receive as to the beginnings of England's navy: "Then King Alfred bade build long ships against the ashes; they were full nigh twice as long as the others. Some had sixty oars, some more. They were both swifter and steadier and eke higher than the others. They were not built on Frisian nor yet on Danish lines, but as he himself thought that they might be most serviceable."

An engagement of no great importance, which is, however, described in great detail by the chronicler, took place between the pirates and nine of the new ships which had been despatched by Alfred to stop their depredations, and had sealed them up in some estuary or land-locked bay (such as Brading harbour) in the Isle of Wight. While the tide was high the crews of the big English ships captured and slew to their hearts' content, but when the tide ebbed they were left aground, as the chronicler says, "very inconveniently" half on one side of the estuary and half on the other, with the Danish ashes, also aground,

between them. At dead low water the shore was firm enough for the Danish pirates to climb down out of their ship, paddle across the sands and challenge a fight with the crews of the three English ships nearest to them. For such small contending forces the battle seems to have been a bloody one. One hundred and twenty Danes fell and sixty-two English, but among these latter were many men of high rank, a king's reeve and a king's companion (*geneat*), and also many of the Frisian captains and sailors whom Alfred, knowing their nautical skill, had attracted to his service. When the battle was ended, in came the flowing tide, on which the Danish ships could float out to sea while the larger ships of the new navy were still lying "very inconveniently aground". So the three pirate ships escaped for the time, but they were sorely strained and damaged, so that they could not all sail round the coast of Sussex. Two were wrecked on that coast, and their crews being brought to Winchester and led into the king's presence, were ordered by him to be hanged. This order was not like the usual clemency of the king, but he probably felt that it was necessary to repress with a strong hand movements which were now no longer warfare but mere brigandage. The third ship escaped both the winds and the English pursuers, and landed her crew, a troop of sore-wounded and weary men, on the East Anglian coast.

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Not more than four years of rest seem to have been granted to Alfred after the repulse of this last invasion before death ended his labours. There can be little doubt that some part at least of that plentiful literary harvest which was described in the preceding chapter belongs to these closing years. Especially interesting is it to note that, according to the judgment of the most careful modern inquirers, the king's metrical translation of Boethius should be referred to this period. The proem to that translation alludes to "the manifold worldly cares that oft troubled him both in mind and body" when he was turning it from Latin into English prose, and then again to the cares, apparently the yet heavier cares, "that in his days came upon the kingdom to which he had succeeded," but which did not prevent him—so high was his value for the great *Consolatio*—from "working it up once more into verse" as the reader may now behold it. All these cares were now at an end, and ended,

CHAP. too, all his noble toil for the defence, the enlightenment and the
XVIII. guidance of his people. He died on October 26, 900,¹ in the fifty-third year of his age, and was buried in St. Swithun's monastery at Winchester. In 903, however (according to the legend told by William of Malmesbury), as "the delirious fancies of the canons" declared that the king's ghost, resuming possession of his corpse, wandered at night through their cells, the royal remains were transferred to the New Minster, founded by his son in fulfilment of a plan which Alfred himself had formed and had confided to his friend and spiritual adviser, Grimbold the Frank. In the reign of Henry I. the monks of New Minster migrated from their narrow domain within the city to a large and convenient site called Hyde Mead, on its northern side, and in their migration they took with them the body of the king. At the suppression of the monasteries Hyde Abbey fell into decay, and near the close of the eighteenth century the Hampshire magistrates purchased the site for the purpose of erecting thereon a county jail. The tombs were ruthlessly opened, the stone coffins were turned into horse troughs, the lead which covered a coffin, presumably Alfred's, was sold for two guineas, and apparently the dust of the great king himself was scattered to the winds. No leader of the Danish army could have shown greater zest in the work of desecration. This New Minster at Winchester was consecrated by one of Alfred's friends, Archbishop Plegmund, and numbered another of his friends, Grimbold, as first on its list of abbots. Its records, known as the *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, furnish us with some valuable information concerning the reigns of Alfred and his sons.

As for the great king himself, several of the chroniclers, especially his kinsman, Ethelweard, and Florence of Worcester, have celebrated his praises in fitting terms, but his best epitaph is contained in three simple words of an unknown scribe of the twelfth century, "Alfred, England's Darling". His fame and the glory of his noble character have grown brighter as the centuries have rolled by, and at this day he is really nearer to the hearts of Englishmen than all, save one, of his successors.

¹ Probably; but the Chronicle gives the date 901, and Mr. Stevenson, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* (1898), xiii., 71, argues strongly for 899.

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ON THE EXTENT OF THE DANELAW.

The political boundaries of the Danish state recognised after the Peace of Wedmore have been sufficiently indicated by historians, and it may be said that for all practical purposes they nearly coincide with the old Roman road called the Watling Street, the sphere of Danish influence lying to the north and east, that of Saxon influence and rule to the south and west of that line, which, as previously remarked, coincides very nearly with the line of the London and North Western Railway. There is, however, another question both interesting and important: "To what extent did the Danish population fill up the district thus assigned to them?" In other words, "How far did the ethnological coincide with the political boundary?" This is a question which we have not as yet sufficient materials to answer fully or accurately. Much study and much patient research on the part of our local antiquaries, study of dialects and research in sepulchral tumuli, will probably be needed before we can say with certainty: "Here the old Anglian population remained preponderant, and here the Danish or Norwegian immigrants so filled the land as to make it practically a Scandinavian district." But in the meantime some help is gained from a consideration of the place-names in the several districts of England; only we must beware of looking at the conclusions thus arrived at as final and irreversible.

Broadly, however, we may say with some confidence that place-names ending in *ton*, *ham*, *yard* and *worth* are Saxon or Anglian; those ending in *by*, *thorpe* and *toft* are Danish; in *thwaite*, *garth*, *beck*, *haugh*, and *fell*, Norwegian; in *borough*, probably Anglian; in *wick* or *wich*, if inland, Saxon, if near the sea-coast, Danish. Applying these tests we find evidence of considerable Danish settlements, but no Danish preponderance, in Norfolk and Suffolk. The great fen district round Peterborough seems to have been an impassable barrier, and we find no Danish names to the west of it; on the other hand, the Humber and the Wash must have been constantly visited by the ships of the vikings, for their shores swarm with Danish names. As has been said by Mr. Isaac Taylor,¹ "A district in Lincolnshire, about nine miles by twelve, between Tattersall, New Bolingbroke, Horncastle and Spilsby, would appear to have been more exclusively Danish than any other in the kingdom. In this small space there are some forty unmistakably Danish village names, such as Kirby,

¹ *Words and Places*, pp. 175-76.

CHAP. Moorby, Enderby, etc., all denoting the fixed residence of a Danish
XVIII. population." "The Danish local names radiate from the Wash.¹ In Leicestershire, Rutland, Northamptonshire and Yorkshire the Danish names preponderate over those of the Anglo-Saxon type; while Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire and the adjacent counties, protected by the fens, present scarcely a single Danish name." There can be no more striking proof of the absolute preponderance of the Danish element in the north-east corner of Yorkshire (where probably the influence of the invaders radiated from the estuary of the Tees) than the fact that Streanæshalc itself, the Anglian sanctuary, home of St. Hilda and meeting-place of the great Paschal Synod, meekly bowed its head to the alien yoke and accepted the Danish name of Whitby.

In the midland counties the most striking proof of the numerical superiority of the Danes was exhibited by the powerful confederation of the five boroughs, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford and Derby. It is true that only one of these bore an unmistakably Danish name, but the part which they played politically, their strong offensive and defensive alliance, seems to confirm the generally accepted conclusion that the five boroughs were essentially a Danish confederation. Going further north we find very slight indications of Danish settlement in Durham and Northumberland. This part of Northumbria the invaders seem to have visited only for ravage, not for settlement, being satisfied to leave it under the rule of some subservient earl, who might or might not be of their own race. Further north still, across the Scottish border, Danish names die out altogether; but when we go far enough we find abundant traces of the other great stream of Scandinavian invasion, the Norwegian, and about this a few words must be said in reference, not to Scotland (Shetland, Orkney, Hebrides, etc.), but to the western coast of England.

The place-names of Cumberland and Westmorland must always have arrested the attention of careful philologists. While the names of mountains and rivers, such as Helvellyn, Blencathra, Glaramara, Derwent, are for the most part of Celtic origin, we find a great number of names of villages and some also of hills and streams which evidently are Scandinavian rather than Celtic. Such are all the multitudinous *thwaites* and *ghylls*, the *garths* and *haughs*, and the frequently recurring *beck* for a stream, and *fell* for a high hill. Mr. Robert Ferguson called attention to the fact that this multitude of non-Celtic terminations—so remarkable in a country which actually bears

¹ Might it not be added "and from the Humber?"

the name of the Cymri—pointed to a large immigration of Scandinavians, not, however, of the Danish but of the Norwegian type. Of such immigration we have scarcely a hint in the chroniclers, but the philological evidence adduced by Mr. Ferguson¹ is so strong that his conclusion has been generally accepted by ethnologists. As to the date of this migration, his theory is that after the Saxon king Edmund in 945 had overrun the district of Cumbria and had left it wasted and bare of people, the Norwegians from their stronghold in the Isle of Man, discerning their advantage, covered the Solway with their ships, and pouring into that land of mountains and lakes and long stream-watered valleys—a land so like their fatherland—settled there and made it their own. This migration he would therefore place in the latter part of the tenth century, between the just mentioned Cumbrian campaign of Edmund (945) and the similar campaign of Ethelred (1000) which was undertaken, Henry of Huntingdon says, against “the Danes” yet involved the ravaging of Cumberland.

However this question of the date may hereafter be settled, there can be little doubt that the race which peoples these two most picturesque counties of England is pre-eminently of Norwegian origin. There seems to have been two other settlements of Scandinavians which deserve remark. One was in that curious peninsula of Cheshire, called the Wirral, between the estuaries of Dee and Mersey, a region which teems with Norse names; and the other, an exceptional instance of a Norse settlement south of the Watling Street, was in the promontory of Pembrokeshire, where a number of towns and villages, of which the best known is the watering-place of Tenby, attest by their names their Danish origin.

¹ *The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland* (1856).

CHAPTER XIX.

EDWARD AND HIS SONS.

CHAP. WITH the death of Alfred and the accession of his son EDWARD
XIX. (called in later times "the Elder," to distinguish him from his descendants, "the Martyr" and "the Confessor") we enter upon a new century. Like its predecessor, the tenth century was for Europe generally a time of gloom, dismay and depression. The break-up of the empire of Charlemagne went on with increasing rapidity, the imperial title itself becoming the prize of obscure Italian princes until, about the middle of the century, the great Otto I. of Saxony (962-73) did something to restore its lustre and to bring back the Italian peninsula within the sphere of the imperial unity. In some measure, too, he succeeded in rehabilitating the office of the papacy, cruelly discredited by the intrigues of two profligate women, Theodora and Marozia, who had placed their lovers, their husbands and their young and licentious sons on the most venerated throne in Christendom. In France the Carolingian line was yielding to the same process of decay which had destroyed its Merovingian predecessor; and thirteen years before the end of the century Hugh Capet followed the example of Pippin and, thrusting the descendants of Charlemagne into the background, became the acknowledged king of the diminished territory of France; a position in which he was somewhat overshadowed by the greatness of his nominal vassals, the Norman dukes descended from Rollo. For France and Germany it is true that the invasions of the Northmen had practically ceased, but the ravages of the Hungarians during the first half of the century were a terror to Europe. In England, however, this age was not nearly so dark a time as many of its predecessors. In fact the tenth century saw the Anglo-Saxon monarchy attain its

highest point of power and prosperity, though it also before its close saw it sink to the lowest depths of misery and degradation. CHAP. XIX.

The first five years of Edward's reign¹ were disturbed by the rebellion of his cousin Ethelwald, son of Ethelred. According to the theories of strict hereditary succession which have since prevailed, Ethelwald's title as representative of an elder son was incontestable, and in fact Alfred himself according to these theories was but a usurper, yet it need hardly be said that these theories had no place in the Anglo-Saxon polity. The son, if a minor, or for any other reason unsuitable, had no indefeasible right to wear his dead father's crown. Among the Saxons, as with most of the other Teutonic nations, the two principles of inheritance and election were closely, we are inclined to say illogically, blended. The new king must be of the royal race; in the case of Wessex his line must "go unto Cerdic"; but he must also be "chosen and raised to be king" by the *witan*, the wise men or senators of the kingdom. This ceremony had been duly complied with at Edward's accession, and therefore he was rightful king though sprung from a younger branch of the royal house. Moreover it was a matter of reproach against Ethelwald that he had "without the king's leave and against the bishop's ordinance married or cohabited with a woman who had before been hallowed as a nun". Yet for all this he did not lack adherents, some of whom probably held that he was wrongfully excluded from the throne.

Ethelwald's rebellion was announced to the world by his occupation of a royal vill at Badbury in Dorsetshire, near his father's sepulchre at Wimborne. Thither rode the new king with a portion of the local *fyrð*, but found all the approaches to the place blocked by order of the insurgent Etheling. It was rumoured that Ethelwald had said to his followers, "Here will I die or here will I lie": nevertheless his heart failed him when it came to the pinch, and he stole away by night to Northumbria, vainly pursued by the men of King Edward. The Danish army in the northern realm accepted him for their king; the men of East Anglia joined them, and after three years all marched through Mercia, ravaging as they went, as

¹ Edward's reign probably lasted from 900 to 924, but owing to discrepancies between the MSS. of the Chronicles no date in the reign can be stated with certainty, the differences varying from one to three years.

CHAP. far as Cricklade in Wiltshire. At the approach of Edward with
XIX. his *fyrð*, the insurgents moved rapidly northwards with the spoil which they had gathered. Edward pursued, and ravaged all their land between the Cambridgeshire dykes and the river Ouse, as far northward as the fens. He then sounded a retreat, but the men of Kent, eager for the fight, though seven times ordered to withdraw, continued to face the enemy. The battle which ensued was evidently a defeat of the Saxons, and cost the lives of two ealdormen and many distinguished nobles of Kent. Practically however it was as good as a victory, since Ethelwald, "who enticed the Danes to that breach of the peace," lay dead upon the field. Peace seems naturally to have followed upon his death, and thus was ended in 905 what might have been a dangerous civil war.

The chief work of Edward's reign was the conquest of the new Danish kingdoms of East Anglia, Essex and the remainder of Mercia. The settlement which followed the Peace of Wedmore, a wise and statesmanlike compromise at the time, had ceased to be applicable to the existing state of affairs. At every serious crisis of the West Saxon state the Danes beyond Watling Street at once broke the *frith*, and their dreaded "army" crossed the Saxon border. It was time that this intolerable state of things should be brought to an end, and to its termination Edward, himself "a man of war from his youth," and with an army of Saxon veterans at his back, now successfully devoted himself. We hear of him in 910 beating the Danes at Tettenhall in Staffordshire; in 911, at some place unnamed, winning a great victory over the Northumbrian Danes—a victory in which two kings, many *jarls* and *holds* (earls and chief captains) and thousands of soldiers of meaner rank were slain. Then, in 912, he "took possession of London and Oxford, and all the lands thereto belonging". This however was apparently no fresh conquest, but only a peaceful resumption of territories previously appertaining to Mercia. In 913 he fortified Hertford, encamped at Maldon in Essex, and received the submission of the greater part of that kingdom. In 914 and 915 the chief victories seem to have been won not by the king in person, but by the warlike energies of the local militia. In the former year they defeated a plundering host of Northamptonshire and Leicestershire Danes at Leighton

Buzzard, and stripped them of their accumulated spoil. In the latter, operations after a long interval were begun anew by marauders from beyond sea. A *scip-here*, or naval armament, from the coast of Brittany, made its unwelcome appearance at the mouth of the Severn and captured a Welsh bishop whom Edward ransomed for forty pounds (of silver); and then the men of Hereford, of Gloucester and of all the nearest *burhs* came out against them, slew one of the two jarls who commanded them and the brother of his colleague, and drove them into a "park" or enclosed space, which the men of the *fyrð* beset so closely that the Danes were forced to give hostages for their peaceable departure from the country. Apparently, however, they broke their promises, stole away by night and made two hostile descents on the coast of Somerset, one at Watchet and one at Porlock, both of which were successfully repulsed. After betaking themselves to the two islands of Flatholme and Steepholme, in the middle of the Bristol Channel, and seeing many of their number die of sheer starvation on those desolate islands, the remnant departed, first to South Wales and then to Ireland, and were heard of no more.

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The largest share of the credit for the conquest of Danish Mercia must be given to Edward's manlike sister, Ethelfled, "lady of the Mercians". Daughter herself of a Mercian princess and married to a husband (Ethelred) who was probably related to the royal line of Offa, she seems after her husband's death in 911 to have still commanded, to an extraordinary degree, the love and loyalty of the Mercian people, and to have wielded the warlike resources of the Midland kingdom with wonderful energy and success. Each year she struck a heavy blow either at the men of the Danelaw, on her right, or at the Welsh of Gwynedd—now no longer friendly to the Saxon—on her left. With her, as with her brother, the plan of campaign, generally centred round some *burh* which the English ruler built in the hostile territory and defended against all comers. After Chester had been repaired, probably by Ethelred, the chief fortresses built and defended by his widow were Bromesberrow, near Ledbury in Herefordshire, Shrewsbury, Bridgnorth, Stafford, Eddisbury in the forest of Delamere, Warwick, Chirk in Denbighshire, Warburton and Runcorn in the south of Lancashire. While some of these forts were within, most of them were

CHAP. XIX. decidedly beyond the Watling Street line, and their erection betokened the recovery for the English of an important portion of the Danelaw. The Denbighshire fort is evidence of the determination of the high-hearted "lady of the Mercians" to reduce her Welsh neighbours to obedience; a determination which was shown still more plainly when in June 19, 916, she sent the Mercian *fyrð* into South Wales, took Brecon by storm and captured the wife of the Welsh king with thirty-four other persons, probably nobles of his court.

By this time, however, the conquering career of Ethelfled was drawing to a close. Towards the end of July, 917, she "with the aid of God obtained the *burh* which is called Derby, with all pertaining thereto". The victory, however, was not bloodless. "There were slain within the gates four of her thegns, of those who were dearest unto her." The next year by the same Divine aid "she gained peaceable possession of the *burh* of Leicester and subdued to herself the largest part of the *here* that owned allegiance thereto. Also the men of York promised obedience, and some gave bail, while others confirmed with oaths their covenant to be under her rule." Apparently the Lady of Mercia was destined to become also Lady of Northumbria. Not so, however. "Very swiftly after this covenant was made, twelve nights before midsummer (918) she died at Tamworth, in the eighth year that she had held power with right lordship over the Mercians. And her body lieth at Gloucester in the east porch of St. Peter's Church." From this entry it appears probable that Tamworth was the favourite residence of the Lady of the Mercians as it had been of her royal predecessors.¹ What was the precise nature of the political relation between Ethelfled and her royal brother, it is perhaps impossible to discover. Clearly the status of Ethelred and his wife was not kingly. He is correctly spoken of as *ealdorman* and as *hlaford* (lord), while she is described as *hlæfdige* (lady); yet in all her actions, in her military movements, her sieges and her treaties, she seems to act as independently as Penda or Offa. Probably the term which is sometimes used in the Chronicle, *mund-bora* (protector), most

¹ Offa calls it his *palatium regale* in one of his charters (Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, 240).

fittingly expresses the relation which during Ethelfled's lifetime Edward held toward his sister. She is not absolutely independent, yet she governs her subjects, marches her armies about, and promotes her well-beloved thegns to honour, as seems meet to her. She is a subject-ally, most faithful and most valiant of all allies, and he, should she ever need to call upon him for help, will not fail as her "protector".

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Whatever may have been the precise nature of the peculiar relation between Wessex and Mercia, it came to an end soon after the death of Ethelfled. She left, indeed, a daughter named Elfwyn, who seems for about eighteen months to have wielded her mother's authority, but in 919, "three weeks before mid-winter," she was deprived of all power over the Mercians and led away into Wessex. There are some slight indications in the Chronicle that this obliteration of Mercia as a semi-independent state was not altogether acceptable to the people of the middle kingdom. However this may have been, Edward, now sending forth into the field the united armies of Wessex and Mercia, carried forward with irresistible might the process of the unification of the kingdom. The *burhs* which he erected between 913 and 924 rounded off the work of Ethelfled. These were Hertford, Bedford, Huntingdon and Towcester in the East Midlands, Maldon and Colchester in Essex, Stamford in Lincolnshire, Nottingham and Bakewell in the country of the Peak, Thelwall in Cheshire, and Manchester, the last being expressly stated to have been "in Northumbria". The work of subduing and over-aweing the Welsh was not forgotten. In 921 Edward built a *burh* at Wigmore in Herefordshire, in sight of the long range of Radnor Forest, and another at the mouth of the Cleddau in Pembrokeshire, a proof that his arms had penetrated as far as to Milford Haven.

Round all these newly built *burhs* the tide of battle fiercely ebbed and flowed ere the people whom they were meant to hold down patiently submitted to their domination. Thus we hear of an unsuccessful assault by "the army" of East Anglia and Mercia on the *burh* at Wigmore; of "the army" breaking the *frith* and marching against Towcester. "And they fought against it all day and thought to carry it by storm, but the folk that were therein defended it till help came, whereupon they departed ravaging as they went." In consequence of this

CHAP. attack, unsuccessful as it was, Edward surrounded Towcester
XIX. with a stone wall which it had not previously possessed. The enemy vainly endeavoured to imitate Edward's castle-building policy. The Danes of Huntingdon and East Anglia built a great fort at Tempsford on the river Ouse (a little south of St. Neots), "and thought that they should therefrom with battle and un-peace win back to themselves more of this land". But they were disappointed, for the people from the nearest *burhs* having gathered themselves together, fought against Tempsford and overthrew it, slaying the Danish king and two of his jarls, and all who were found fighting therein.

The year which is marked in the chief manuscript of the Chronicle as 921 but which probably was in truth 918, saw the full tide of English successes, and in consequence we now hear of the complete submission of East Anglia and Essex to the rule of Edward. "To him submitted much folk both of the East Angles and the East Saxons, who had been erewhile under the Danish power, and all the 'army' in East Anglia swore to oneness with him, that they would all will that which he willed, and be at peace with those with whom he was at peace, whether by sea or land. And the *here* that belonged to Cambridge chose him specially for lord and protector (*mund-bora*) and confirmed this by oaths as he commanded them." In 919, the year after the death of Ethelfled, three kings of North Wales and all the North Welsh kin sought Edward to be their lord. His conquest of Nottingham followed, and here we observe with interest that he garrisoned the newly captured fort with Danes as well as with Englishmen; also that all the folk that were in Mercia submitted to his rule, whether they were Danes or Englishmen.

Thus then we now have Edward not wielding the shadowy power of a Bretwalda, but actual king, personally ruling over all the lands south of the Humber, acknowledged as over-lord by North Wales, probably also by Northumbria. Did his overlordship extend yet farther north? Did Scotland recognise him as supreme king? That question seems to be answered decisively in the affirmative by the celebrated entry in the Chronicle for the year 924 which probably should be corrected to 921. After describing Edward's operations in the midlands, his building a bridge over the Trent between the two *burhs*

of Nottingham, his going from thence into the Peak country and ordering a *burh* to be built as near as possible to Bakewell, the chronicler thus proceeds: "Him chose as father and lord the Scottish king and all the Scottish people; and Raegnald, Eadulf's son [king of Northumbria], and all the dwellers in Northumbria whether they were Englishmen or Danes or Northmen or any others, and eke the king of the Welsh of Strathclyde and all his people [did the like]". The facts here related, as far as they concern the men of Strathclyde and Northumbria, are not seriously disputed, though one may note in passing the distinction now first met with between "Danes" and "Northmen" or Norwegians. But how as to Edward's over-lordship of Scotland, which seems to be vouched for by the beginning of the sentence, and which was made, four centuries later by his namesake, Edward Plantagenet, the basis of a claim to exercise the rights of lord paramount? The answer to that question has involved historians on both sides of the Border in fierce debate. It is, of course, impossible here to do more than sketch the bare outline of the controversy, but so much as this must be attempted.

The champions of the English claim to supremacy over Scotland¹ maintain that "in 921 Edward received—what no West Saxon king had ever before received—the submission of the Scots and the Strathclyde Welsh. . . . In the Latin phrase they *commended* themselves to him; they promised him fidelity and put themselves under his protection." "There was nothing strange or degrading in this relation; it was the relation in which in theory all other princes stood to the Emperor."² "From this time to the fourteenth century the vassalage of Scotland was an essential part of the public law of the isle of Britain. No doubt many attempts were made to cast off the dependent relation which had been voluntarily incurred; but when a king of the English had once been chosen 'to father and to lord,' his successors never willingly gave up the position which had thus been bestowed upon them."³ On the other

¹ Especially Freeman, whose words are quoted in the rest of this paragraph. But see also for a later vindication of the correctness of the chronicler's statement, Plummer, *Saxon Chronicles*, ii., 131.

² *Historical Essays*, i., 60, 62.

³ *Norman Conquest*, i., 59.

CHAP. side, Scottish historians¹ naturally point to the fact that it is
XIX. a Saxon chronicler who makes the statement from which such mighty consequences are deduced. The law does not allow a suitor to make evidence for himself; but here is an alleged "commendation" of which we have no hint in the records of the king and the nation by whom it is alleged to have been made; only in the chronicles of the pretended receiver. They further throw doubt on the genuineness of the passage and suggest that it may be a late interpolation. One argument against its genuineness is that it seems to represent the "commendation" as taking place in the heart of Derbyshire, whereas such a transaction would naturally have been performed on the boundary of the two kingdoms. Another and more serious objection is that Raegnald of Northumbria is here named as taking part in the "commendation" in the year 924, whereas "in the Irish annals, at this period most accurate and trustworthy authorities for all that relates to the family of Raegnald,"² the death of this chieftain is assigned to a date three years earlier, 921.

The question at issue, now merely academic but once of vital importance to the two countries, has been much complicated by subsequent transactions, alleged cessions of Lothian and Strathclyde on terms of feudal dependence, homage rendered by Scottish kings for possessions in England and so forth. The allegation of fact made by the English chronicler seems entirely worthy of credit. Doubtless for polemical purposes such a statement if made by a Scottish authority would have been more valuable; but the writer of the Chronicle was a contemporary; his work though not very luminous and often careless of strict chronological accuracy, certainly impresses one's mind with a general feeling of its honesty and good faith; there is no trace of interpolation in the manuscripts (which are all long antecedent to the reign of Edward I.); nor is there any very obvious reason why a monastic scribe writing at Winchester or Canterbury should have invented the transactions here detailed if they never happened. When the entry is carefully examined and compared with similar passages in the same Chronicle, it is seen that the writer is not committed to the statement that the interview took place at Bakewell. Nor will the objection

¹ Robertson, Skene and Lang.

² Robertson, *Scotland under her Early Kings*, ii., 397.

drawn from the date of Raegnald's death appear formidable to any one who knows how loose is the chronology of the Chronicle everywhere, but especially in this part of it, in which, for reasons quite unconnected with this controversy, its latest editor considers that all the events are post-dated by three years.

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If then we accept as probably true the statement that "the Scottish king [Constantine II.] and all the Scottish people chose Edward as father and as lord," what does that statement imply? It is perhaps a mistake to introduce the word "commendation," though that word may pretty nearly describe the nature of the transaction. But the word itself, though known to the Franks and occurring in the Bavarian law-book, does not seem to have been ever used by our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. The Teutonic word *mund-byrd* (protection), which most nearly corresponds to it, is not used of the transactions of 921, though it is used shortly before concerning the men of Huntingdon who "bowed to King Edward and sought his *frith* (peace) and his *mund-byrd*". In such a difficult and obscure discussion, it is surely better to keep quite close to the original words of the historian, avoiding all mention of "commendation" and far more of "vassalage," which last term, as all agree, does not correctly represent any relation established in Britain early in the tenth century. Let us repeat simply that the King of Scots "chose Edward as father and as lord".

What then was the meaning of that choice? Did it make "the vassalage of Scotland an essential part of the public law of the isle of Britain"? The word "vassalage" no one would insist upon; but may we not also demur to the expression "the public law of the isle of Britain" at this period of its history? Where is there a trace in that age of such a refined juristic conception? Is not everything in the relation between the races and kingdoms of Britain vague, ill-defined, anarchic? The Danes make a *frith* and break it; the West Saxons establish some kind of supremacy over the Mercians; Edward's personal rule is advanced as far as the Humber; he becomes thereby undoubtedly the most powerful man in Britain; Scots, Northumbrians and Britons of Strathclyde take note of the fact and desire to become allies—we may safely say subject-allies—of so mighty a prince, whom they accordingly take "as father and as lord". That is all that has yet happened. There was

CHAP. something here which on the one hand, as the current of the age
XIX. swept on towards feudalism, might have been developed into lordship and vassalage, or, on the other, might have utterly disappeared. In the next reign the very districts which have thus acknowledged the superiority of Edward are found fighting against his son. Under such a weak king as Ethelred the germ involved in the transaction of 921 must have disappeared altogether. No one can suppose that the Redeless King, who could not defend his own throne against the attacks of the Danes, was in any sense "father and lord" of Scotland. Thus the question, which is academic to us now, was or should have been equally academic in the thirteenth century. Whatever other grounds Edward I. might have for claiming high-lordship over Scotland, the dead and buried rights or duties or courtesies of 921 ought not to have been imported into the controversy.

Shortly after the events last described, at the end of 924 or the beginning of 925, King Edward died at Farndon¹ in Mercia. Only sixteen days after his death his son Elfweard died also, and father and son were both buried in the New Minster at Winchester. Edward, though one of the noblest of his race, was a man much less richly endowed with intellectual gifts than his father. We cease to hear of works undertaken for the instruction of his subjects, and the great Chronicle begins to languish in his reign. His character also seems to lack some of the beauty of his father's; one can hardly imagine Alfred dealing with Ethelwald or with Elfwyn exactly in the same manner as his son. But he was essentially a soldier, probably a strict disciplinarian, and he, with the help of that Amazon, his sister, carried strongly and steadily forward the great work which their father had begun, the recovery of England for the English.

• ATHELSTAN, who now succeeded to the throne, and who reigned, probably, from 924 to 940, was much the eldest of the remaining sons of Edward. The others were but children, while he was thirty years of age at his father's death. Although he cannot have been more than six years old when Alfred died, we are told that his comely face and winning ways so endeared

¹ It was pointed out in the *Athenæum* for Nov. 4, 1905, that this place rather than Farrington, in Berkshire, corresponds with the Farndune of the Chronicle.

him to his grandfather that the latter made him "a premature soldier," robing him in a scarlet mantle and girding him with a little sword, golden-scabbarded, and hung round his neck by a jewelled baldric. Moreover, Alfred is said to have prayed that the royal child might one day have a prosperous reign. It is not very easy to reconcile these stories with the fact, alleged by William of Malmesbury, that the stain of illegitimacy rested on his birth. The same authority tells us that he was the son of Egwinna, a noble lady, and then in another place describes her as the daughter of a shepherd, marked out by a dream for high destiny, and introduced to Edward by his old nurse, at whose cottage he was visiting. It is difficult entirely to reject the statement that there was something irregular about Athelstan's birth which caused difficulties about his accession even in that age, not fastidious about the strict principles of legitimacy. There is also something slightly suspicious about the emphasis which the chroniclers lay on the premature death of his half-brother, Elfweard, as if, had that event not occurred, he would have been at least a partner in the throne, if not its sole occupant. We need not, perhaps, greatly concern ourselves with William of Malmesbury's story of a certain Alfred, the rival of Athelstan, who opposed his elevation to the throne on the ground of his illegitimacy, went to Rome to state his case before the Pope and died in the act of taking an oath, presumably a false oath, in its support. All this, though it raises a suspicion that for some reason or other the accession of Athelstan was not wholly unopposed, is too doubtful and legendary to be made the ground-work of serious history. We can only say that Athelstan's day was a glorious one, if there were some clouds which hung round its sunrise. It should, perhaps, also be mentioned that Athelstan when a boy had been entrusted by his grandfather to the care of Ethelred and Ethelfled, and seems before his accession to the West Saxon throne to have been specially connected with Mercia.

The coronation of Athelstan took place at Kingston-on-Thames, which for the rest of this century was the chief crowning place of English kings. In the new king, whatever may have been the clouds overhanging his birth, or the difficulties attending his accession, we have a more splendid type of English royalty than has yet been displayed even by the great

CHAP. kings of Northumbria. By his family alliances, by the re-
XIX. known which he inherited from his father, and by that which he
achieved for himself as the successful champion of his people, he
obtained a commanding position among the rulers of western
Europe, and he early assumed and not doubtfully vindicated
for himself the proud title of "lord of the whole of Britain".

By the marriages of his half-sisters, the daughters of Edward, Athelstan was brought into close connexion with the most powerful rulers of France and Germany. Not powerful it is true, though highly placed, was his brother-in-law, the unfortunate Charles the Simple, King of France (893-929), who married Edgiva, was dethroned and died in a dungeon; but his son, Louis IV. ("*d'outre mer*"), after having been smuggled out of Laon in a truss of straw, was brought to England by his devoted mother; was reared at the court of Athelstan; recalled to his native country and played the part of the king of France not altogether unsuccessfully for eighteen years (936-54). A too powerful subject of these Carolingian kings, one whose greatness overshadowed their throne and whose son eventually succeeded in winning it for himself, was Hugh the Great, Duke of France. This nobleman sought another of Athelstan's sisters in marriage, even the Lady Eadhilda, in whom as a chronicler says "all the elements of beauty which other women have in part, naturally flowed together in one". The messenger who came to urge this suit, and who was himself Athelstan's first cousin,¹ brought with him gorgeous gifts, precious relics, consecrated swords, lances and banners. Among the presents may be specially noted an onyx vase (surely of antique workmanship) so skilfully carved that on it you seemed to see the corn waving, the vines putting forth their shoots, the figures of men moving, and swift horses prancing in their golden trappings. The pleadings of the ambassador or the splendour of the gifts prevailed. The lovely Eadhilda became the wife of Hugh the Great, though not for her but for a successor was reserved the honour of being the mother of the new line of kings of France. When German Otto, the future Roman emperor, wished to wed one of the same royal sisterhood, he seems not to have proffered so humble a request, but in lordly fashion to have signified his pleasure that a princess should be sent unto him. Thereupon, Athelstan

¹ Adolf, son of Baldwin of Flanders.

sent two of his sisters, Edgitha and Elfgiva, that Otto might choose between them. He chose Edgitha, whose marriage seems to have been a happy one, and who was much loved by the German people. Elfgiva, who remained on the continent, had to be satisfied with the humbler position of wife of a sub-Alpine prince.

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A striking feature of Athelstan's policy was his friendship for the Scandinavian powers. He probably saw that notwithstanding all that England had suffered at the hands of the Danes, the Northmen were tending towards the condition of an organised state, and that it would be wise for "the lord of all Britain" to cultivate their friendship. His reign coincided with the last years of the long reign of Harold the Fair-haired, the first king of Norway, and the legend of the dealings of the two kings with one another, though probably untrue in the letter, may well illustrate the relations between the two kings as remembered by the people.

"One day a messenger of Athelstan appeared at the court of Haarfager (the Fair-haired one) bearing a sword whose hilt was enwrought with gold and silver and set with most precious gems. The messenger said: 'Here is a sword which King Athelstan sendeth thee, bidding thee take it withal'. Harold grasped the sword, and the envoy completed his message thus: 'Now hast thou taken the sword according to our king's bidding. Henceforth thou must needs be his thegn.' Harold dissembled his vexation and next year sent a ship to England under the command of his favourite champion, Hawk High-breech, into whose keeping he gave the little Hakon, the son of his old age by his bondwoman, Thora. Norseman Hawk was hospitably entertained by the king and bidden to a right worthy feast in the city of London. After due greetings interchanged, the old captain took the boy and set him on Athelstan's knee. 'Why dost thou do that?' said the king. 'Because King Harold thus ordereth thee to foster the child of his bondwoman,' was the reply. The king was angry and began to feel for his sword, but the messenger said: 'Thou hast set him on thy knee, and now thou mayest murder him if thou wilt, but not so wilt thou make an end of the sons of King Harold'." ¹ These sons were in truth an almost countless throng, and the wars and tumults

¹ Heinskringla, *Story of Haarfager*, 41 and 42.

CHAP. of them, their sons and grandsons, kept Norway in an uproar
XIX. for a century. The little lad, however, who sat on Athelstan's knee at the great London banquet was actually reared at the English court and grew up to be King of Norway, being known as Hakon the Good, and endeavouring with no great success to convert his people to Christianity.

The determination of Athelstan to be "lord of all Britain" naturally urged him northwards, since all the region south of the Humber was, or seemed to be, securely resting under the dominion of Wessex. Into the extremely difficult and obscure history of the Kings of Northumbria after the death of Guthred, the friend of the monks of St. Cuthbert, it is not necessary here to enter. A variety of Sihtrics, Anlafs and Godfreys flit across the scene, and the confusion is increased by the fact that there are generally two contemporaneous princes bearing the same name. It may be remarked in passing, however, that this is the period of Danish pre-eminence in Ireland (whose capital, Dublin, is a memorial of Danish rule), and that the fortunes of the two sets of invaders in Northumbria and in Ireland were almost inextricably intertwined. Also that we have traces of an Anglian dynasty still existing at Bamburgh, though probably owning the overlordship of Danish kings.

Almost immediately after his father's death, Athelstan had an interview at the Mercian capital, Tamworth, with Sihtric the Dane, King of the Northumbrians. Sihtric received Athelstan's sister (his only sister of the full blood) in marriage, and probably agreed, as part of the compact, to embrace Christianity. Next year, however, he died, after having, according to some of the chroniclers, repudiated both his new wife and his new religion. Hereupon Athelstan marched northward (probably in 926), expelled Sihtric's successor, Guthfred, and his son, Anlaf, from the country, and "assumed the kingdom of the Northumbrians," thus for a time—it was only a short time—governing directly and not as overlord the whole of what is now England except Strathclyde.¹ The Chronicle adds that he subjugated all the

¹ It was probably at this time that Athelstan, as we learn from William of Malmesbury, rased to the ground the fortress which the Danes had aforetime built in York, "that there might be no place in which these perfidious ones could take refuge," and generously divided among his men the vast booty which he found there.

kings who were in this island—Howel, King of the West Welsh (Cornishmen); Constantine, King of Scots; Owen, King of Gwent (North Wales); and Ealdred, son of Eardulf of Bamburgh. One of the conditions of the peace which was ratified (probably at Emmet in Holderness) on July 12, 926, was that all idolatry should be strictly forbidden. Possibly we have here a combination of the Christian powers in Britain; Saxon, Anglian and Celtic against the heathen Danes.

If such a combination were formed, it did not long endure, for eight years later, in 934, we find Athelstan again moving northward to fight against the kings of Scotland and Strathclyde. The monk of Durham who records this fact takes care to mention that on his journey Athelstan presented the church of St. Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street with many costly ornaments and no fewer than twelve *vills*, and that he charged his brother, Edmund, in the event of his falling in battle, to bring his body back to St. Cuthbert's minster and bury it there. "Having defeated the two kings both by sea and land, he subdued Scotland to himself," says the same chronicler. This was certainly a most precarious subjugation if it ever took place, for after the lapse of three years, in 937, Athelstan had to face the mightiest combination of his foes that any English king had yet had to encounter; and the very soul and centre of that combination was the hoary Scottish king, Constantine, who had chosen Edward "to father and to lord," and whom in this entry he is represented as having utterly subdued.

The chief factors in this combination were besides Constantine, his son-in-law, Anlaf (son of the Northumbrian Sihtric), king of the Danes settled in Ireland; another Anlaf, cousin of the former, and also king of the Irish Danes; and Eugenius, king of Strathclyde. Such a formidable combination between two pagan and two Christian kings is in itself a proof of the fear inspired by the growing power of Athelstan. King Anlaf is said¹ to have owned 615 ships with which he sailed to join his allies of Scotland and Cumberland.²

¹ By Symeon of Durham, not by the Chronicle, which here is singularly barren of information except such as is contained in the "Lay of Brunanburh".

² The twelfth century chronicler, Florence of Worcester, says that with these ships he entered the Humber; and this statement has been frequently copied by later historians. It is not, however, to be found in any contemporary

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The great battle of Brunanburh, in which Athelstan defeated the confederate army, has been celebrated in a war-song which is in some respects the most interesting relic that has been preserved of Anglo-Saxon literature. Unfortunately a tantalising obscurity rests upon the site of the battle. Numerous identifications have been suggested, but without discussing or criticising these it may be allowable here to mention one, of which it may at least be said that it has not been proved to be impossible. On the coast of Dumfriesshire in Scotland rises a range of mountains which look across the sandy Solway to the mountains in Cumberland, and according to popular tradition have strange weather-sympathy with their Cumbrian brethren. Here is the high hill of Criffel, which whenever Skiddaw is wrapped in cloud, wears his cloud-cap likewise, and here is the long, flat-topped, altar-shaped hill of Burnswark which overlooks Annandale and once dominated the old Roman road, the northern continuation of the Watling Street. This road led in the second century from the wall of Hadrian to the wall of Antoninus, from Carlisle to the neighbourhood of Glasgow. The multitude of Roman camps which skirt this hill or are to be found in its near vicinity, show that it was once a most important military position, and such in some measure it may well have continued to be far on into Anglo-Saxon times; the Roman roads still, after the lapse of so many centuries, being the best, often the only, roads available for the march of armies.

One of these Roman camps bears, and apparently has always borne since the Anglian occupation, the name of Birrens, which is evidently connected with the name Birrenswork or Burnswark given to the altar-shaped hill above it. Now the scene of the great battle was evidently close to some great hill-fortress. This is testified by the varying forms of the name, which is called by Ethelweard *Brunandune*, by Florence of Worcester *Brunanburgh*, by Symeon of Durham *Weondune* or *Ethbrunnanwerc* or *Brunanbyrig*, and by Geoffrey Gaimar (a twelfth century writer, but one who often gives us curious little scraps of valuable information) *Bruneswerce* or *Burneweste*.

or nearly contemporary record, and it is now generally regarded with suspicion, for the obvious reason that an invader, coming from Ireland with the intention of co-operating with the Kings of Cumberland and Scotland, would be more likely to land on the western than on the eastern coast of Britain.

It is evident that in these last forms the name approaches very near to the local form, Burnswark, which has finally prevailed. It seems probable that Athelstan, marching rapidly northward to meet the confederate hostile armies, met them in the great north-western road in Annandale, near the point where Anlaf Sihtricson had just landed his troops; that the battle raged, as the ballad tells us, *ymbe Brunnanburh*, all round the camp-scarred hill of Burnswark, and that when Anlaf fled "over the yellow sea" (*on fealene fiod*) it was the sand-laden waters of the shallow Solway Firth that witnessed his ignominious flight.

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The ballad which is here inserted in the Chronicle, lightening up its dull pages with a gleam of Homeric brilliance, is familiar to every English student,¹ and it will therefore not be necessary to do more than to gather up the information—not very copious or minute—which is vouchsafed to us by the minstrel in his rushing career of song. The two chief English heroes were King Athelstan himself, "liberal bestower of bracelets," and his half-brother Edmund Atheling, a youth about seventeen years old. Under their guidance the men of Wessex and Mercia broke down the stubborn shield-wall of the confederate army. The battle began at sunrise and lasted as long as the daylight.

Five young kings put asleep by the sword-stroke,
Seven strong earls of the army of Anlaf
Fell on the war-field, numberless numbers
Shipmen and Scotsmen.

The Danish leader was hard pressed by the victorious army; with few followers he escaped to his warship and saved his life by a scurrying voyage "over the fallow flood". Especially does the minstrel triumph over the humiliation of the old Scottish king, Constantine, the same who thirteen years before had chosen Athelstan's sire "to father and to lord".

Also the crafty one, Constantinus,
Crept to his North again, hoar-headed hero.
Slender reason had *he* to be glad of
The clash of the war-glaive—
Traitor and trickster and spurner of treaties,—
He nor had Anlaf
With armies so broken a reason for bragging
That they had the better in perils of battle
On places of slaughter,—

¹ Especially since it was turned into spirited yet closely literal English verse by Tennyson, from whose poem a few passages are here quoted.

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The struggle of standards, the rush of the javelins,
The crash of the chargers, the wielding of weapons,
The play that they played with the children of Edward.

Never had huger slaughter of heroes
Slain by the sword-edge, such as old writers
Have writ of in histories,
Happed in this isle, since up from the East hither
Saxon and Angle from over the broad billow
Broke into Britain with haughty war-workers who
Harried the Welshman, when Earls that were lured by the
Hunger of glory gat hold of the land.

The Anglo-Saxon Tyrtæus in this shrill song of triumph naturally makes no mention of the losses on his own side, but we learn from another source¹ that two of Athelstan's cousins, Elwin and Ethelwin, fell "in the war against Anlaf," which probably means at Brunanburh. However, one-sided as all our information is about the great battle, it cannot be doubted that it was a real and important victory for the English.

The campaigns in Northumbria were apparently the most memorable events in the reign of Athelstan, but we hear also of his forcing the king of Wales to pay him tribute, of his visiting Cornwall, probably in hostile guise, of his expelling the "West Welsh" from Exeter and turning it into a purely Saxon city. He thus fixed the Tamar as the limit against the old British population in the south of England, as the Wye had been fixed further north.² It is clear that he came somewhat nearer than any of his predecessors to the position which would have been described in feudal times as lord paramount over the whole island. It is not only that he is generally described in the charters, which he granted with lavish hand to the monasteries, as *rex totius Britannia*, sometimes substituting for Britannia the half-mythical word Albion, which he must have learned from his ecclesiastical friends. Nor is it only that he first uses of himself the Greek word *Basileus*, which was regarded with awe throughout Western Europe as expressing the mysterious majesty of the Cæsars at Constantinople. These titles might be regarded as only the ornaments of style affected by the clerks of this period, or as the pompous assumptions of regal vanity; but when we find the meetings of the *witan* attended, and Athelstan's charters signed, by Welsh kings (Howel, Juthwal

¹ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii., 135.² *Ibid.*, 134.

and Morcant) who are styled *sub-reguli*; when we find, even at a meeting of the *witan* held as far south as Buckingham (in 934), the attesting signature of "*Ego Constantinus subregulus*," and when we know that this is Constantine II., King of Scots (900-43), we feel that there was something real in Athelstan's claim to be lord of all Britain; and the story of Constantine's commendation of himself to Edward the Elder becomes decidedly more probable, even though "that old deceiver" did afterwards break his *frith* and stand in arms against his patron on the field of Brunanburh.

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Athelstan does not seem to have ever married, and we may perhaps conjecture that he purposely abstained from leaving issue who might contest the claims of the legitimate descendants of his father. With one doubtful exception his relations with all his half-brothers and sisters seem to have been not only friendly but affectionate. That exception relates to his half-brother Edwin, as to whom the Chronicle for the year 933 simply asserts: "Now the Etheling Edwin was drowned in the sea". Symeon of Durham, however, or rather the Cuthbertine annalist from whom he quotes,¹ has this ugly entry under the same date: "King Athelstan ordered his brother Edwin to be drowned in the sea". This annal grew by the time of William of Malmesbury into a long and fanciful narrative, which William himself only half believed, and which connected the death of Edwin with some opposition to Athelstan at the time of his accession to the throne, on the ground of his illegitimacy. This evidently legendary story need not weigh greatly with us, and is at least balanced by the statement of Henry of Huntingdon, that Athelstan "was moved to tears by the news of the drowning of his brother, a youth of great vigour and of fine disposition".²

The person and character of Athelstan are painted in bright colours by later historians; his manly stature, his yellow hair interwoven with threads of gold, his free and easy manner of joking with laymen, while meek and reverent towards ecclesiastics, his majestic deportment towards the nobles of his realm, and his condescension to the poor; qualities all of which so endeared him to his subjects that we should probably not err

¹ Probably of the tenth century, therefore nearly contemporary.

² See Plummer, *Saxon Chronicles*, ii., 137, and Freeman, *Hist. Essays*, i., 10-15, for a full discussion of the question.

CHAP. in calling him the most popular of all the West Saxon kings.
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Athelstan was succeeded by EDMUND, who reigned from 940 to 946, and he by Edred, who reigned from 946 to 955. The reigns of these two young kings, sons of Edward the Elder, will be best considered together, as they make but one act in the drama, the struggle with Danish revolts in the northern kingdoms. The personal history of the two brothers, as far as we know it, is soon told. Edmund, "the dear deed-doer" of Anglo-Saxon minstrelsy, who had already fought well at Brunanburh, was eighteen years old when he came to the throne. He was twice married: his first wife, Elgiva, who after her death was recognised as a saint, bore him two sons, Edwy and Edgar, both of whom reigned after him. His second marriage was childless. Edmund was evidently a man of much force of character, and if his policy in some respects differed from that of his predecessor—the *Heimskringla*, contrasting him with Athelstan, says that "he could not away with Northmen"—still, had his reign been prolonged for the thirty or forty years which might reasonably have been expected, he might have rivalled the glories of Edward or of Athelstan. In fact, however, it was prematurely cut short by a felon stroke, the story of which gives us a strange picture of life in the West Saxon court. It was the feast of St. Augustine, May 26, 946; the king and his thegns were banqueting at the royal vill at Pucklechurch in Gloucestershire. A robber named Liofa, who six years before had been banished for his crimes, entered the hall, and striding up to an ealdorman to whom the king had just sent a dish from the royal table, sat himself down beside him. The guests, deeply drinking, did not notice the intrusion, but the king's dish-thegn bade him begone and was at once assaulted by the robber.

¹ See Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 656.

Enraged at the man's insolence the king leaped up from his seat, grasped Liofa by the hair and hurled him to the ground. Hereupon the robber unsheathed a dagger and drove it with all his force into the king's heart. The royal servants rushed upon him, and after receiving many wounds, succeeded in tearing him limb from limb. But the robber had dealt a mortal stroke. The valiant deed-doer, Edmund, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, was laid in the tomb at Glastonbury, near the flowering thorn of St. Joseph of Arimathea, and Edred, his brother, reigned in his stead.

EDRED, who was probably about twenty-three when he was solemnly crowned at Kingston-on-Thames, suffered from chronic dyspepsia and died when but little over thirty. Thus his reign, like that of his great ancestor, Alfred, was one long battle with disease, but he seems to have followed that ancestor's example and not to have neglected his kingly duties for all his sufferings. He came much under the influence of the rising churchman Dunstan, and was also in some measure guided by the counsels of his mother, the widowed Edgiva. Faint as are the colours of Edred's portrait, he seems to have been not the least deserving of the princes of his line. The attitude of these two brothers towards the other rulers of Britain is somewhat less lordly than that of Athelstan. The proud claim to be "King of all Britain" disappears almost entirely from their charters, and is generally replaced by the more modest title "King of the English," to which, however, is often added "governor and ruler of the other nations round about". Thus the claim to predominance in Britain is not wholly dropped, but it is put in a somewhat less offensive form than by the victor of Brunanburh. The Greek word "Basileus," doubtless attractive by reason of its very strangeness, still sometimes makes its appearance; but Edmund's favourite epithet for himself is "Industrious," probably a translation of the Saxon "*daed-fruma*" (deed-doer), by which the minstrels of the people sang his praises. In a world which had seen, not long before, the degenerate race of the *fainéant* kings of France, deed-doer was an epithet full of meaning.

Let us pass to the history of Danish revolts and their suppression. From the short and often obscure statements of the chroniclers, it is hard to discover what amount of permanent

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success resulted from the victories of even the most prosperous kings. It certainly seemed as if Athelstan had made himself undisputed King of Mercia and overlord of Northumbria, yet, if we may trust Symeon of Durham, Edmund at the very outset of his reign had once more to accept the Watling Street as the boundary between himself and a Danish ruler, that ruler being apparently Anlaf Sihtricson who had been defeated at Brunanburh, but who now reappeared in Northumbria and fixed his capital at York. In the next year (942) a fragment of ballad assigns to "the dear deed-doer" the deliverance of the Five Boroughs (Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford and Derby) from Danish thralldom. But these very five boroughs, though undoubtedly containing a large Danish population, were expressly or by implication included in the conquests of Edward and Ethelfled. Evidently much is left unwritten of this portion of English history. It seems probable that at the coming of Anlaf there had been a general rising of the Danelaw, and that the suppression of this revolt, being more complete than the earlier conquest, took a stronger hold on the popular imagination. Hence it was that the poet chronicler of Edmund's reign attributes to him, not to his predecessors, the deliverance of the native population:—

Under the Northmen need-constrained
In heathen bondage long time chained.

The result of Edmund's Mercian campaign seems to have been a treaty of peace, negotiated by the two archbishops Oda and Wulfstan on the lines of the peace between Alfred and Guthrum. Anlaf and his brother-king Raegnald were baptised, Edmund acting as their sponsor; and the Watling Street was again made the boundary between Englishman and Dane. The peace thus concluded lasted but a year. In 943 Anlaf and his Danes were again in Mercia, and—ominous conjunction—Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, was abetting the invaders. They stormed Tamworth, they took much spoil and great was the slaughter, but on Edmund's approach they retired to Leicester where they were besieged by the king. Notwithstanding the escape of Anlaf and the rebel archbishop, Edmund was victorious, and next year (944) he invaded Northumbria and drove out his two rebellious god-sons, who appear no more upon the scene.

In the following year, 945, Edmund ravaged all "Cumberland," a region which probably included all that was left of the old kingdom of Strathclyde south of the Solway, the northern portion having been gradually appropriated by the Scottish kings. We now come to another of the great academic battle-fields between English and Scottish historians. We are told by the chronicler that having ravaged Cumberland, "he let it all to Malcolm, King of Scotland, on condition that he should be his fellow-worker both on sea and land". What was the relation thus established between Edmund and Malcolm I. who had succeeded "the hoary old deceiver" Constantine? Of course a feudal lawyer of the twelfth century pondering these words would discover in them a regular case of the relation of lord and vassal. But they do not in themselves seem to imply more than friendship and alliance, and it is admitted that the fully developed feudal theory was not yet known in England. As with the "commendation" of 921, we may probably conclude that the transaction would mean anything or nothing according to the after course of events, and the shifting of the centre of gravity between the two contracting parties. In itself this "cession of Cumberland" was probably a politic measure, as it enlisted the sympathies of the Scottish "fellow-worker" on the English side and interposed a barrier between the vikings of Dublin and their Northumbrian fellow-countrymen.

On the assassination of Edmund in 946, Edred seems to have taken up the endless task and laboured at it successfully. "He took to the kingdom and soon subdued all Northumbria to his power, and the Scots swore to him oaths that they would do all his will." Wulfstan, the turbulent or patriotic archbishop of York, plays a prominent and singular part in Northumbrian politics during the reign of Edred; and princes of the royal houses of Norway and Denmark also bear a hand in the perplexing game. One such was Eric Blood-axe, son of fair-haired Harold of Norway, who when driven forth from his kingdom by Hakon the Good, Athelstan's foster-son, sailed for the Orkneys, ravaged Scotland and the northern parts of England, but on receiving a message from Athelstan, who reminded him of the old friendship between himself and his father, made peace, consented to be baptised along with his wife and children, and became for a time the peaceful under-king of Northum-

CHAP. bria. This settlement had endured during the life of Athelstan,
XIX. but on Edmund's accession, Eric, knowing that he was not beloved of the new king, and hearing a rumour that he would set another king over Northumberland, renounced his allegiance to Winchester, resumed his viking life, gathered together a new "*scip-here*," chiefly from among the Irish Danes, harried Wales and all the southern coasts of England, but ere long fell in battle against the English.

Another Eric, the son of another Harold, then appeared upon the scene. This was the son of Harold Blue-Tooth, King of Denmark. In 948 the *witan* of Northumbria, headed by Archbishop Wulfstan, chose this Danish prince for their king, though but a year before they had solemnly plighted faith to Edred. Enraged hereat the Saxon king marched northwards and "harried over all Northumberland". So ruthless or so careless was the work of destruction that even Wilfrid's famous minster at Ripon perished in the flames. During Edred's homeward march the Danish garrison of York sallied forth, and overtaking the rear of his army at Chesterford¹ inflicted upon it grievous slaughter. Exasperated by the defeat, Edred, whose weak health perhaps made him exceptionally irritable, meditated a second ravage of Northumbria, but consented to forego his revenge when the *witan* of the northern kingdom expelled Eric and paid compensation for the injury which had been inflicted by their countrymen. We need not follow minutely the fortunes of King Eric. Expelled and restored twice, if not thrice, in the anarchy of Northumbria, he is said to have perished in 954, "deceitfully slain" (according to Roger of Wendover) "with his son and his brother in a lonely place which is called Stainmoor, by the treasonable contrivance of Earl Oswulf". This event is memorable as finally closing the book of Northumbrian royalty. Oswulf of Bamburgh succeeds to the chief place in the northern province with the title of earl, and henceforth we hear no more of kings in Northumbria.

The strange career of the rebel archbishop, Wulfstan, came speedily to an end. In 952 Edred ordered him to be imprisoned in a fortress "because he had been often accused to the king," or according to William of Malmesbury, "because he meditated desertion to his countrymen". Probably the phrase

¹ Possibly Chesterfield.

“his countrymen” means merely the men of Northumbria. It is, however, possible that Wulfstan may have been of Danish descent. We have clearer information as to the Danish descent of his contemporary Oda, Archbishop of Canterbury. It certainly throws a strange light on the relation of the two races, as well as on the ecclesiastical history of the period, that the first and possibly the second of the highest places in the English Church should have been filled by scions of that still barely Christianised stock. In 954, the year of the extinction of the Northumbrian kingdom, Edred thought himself safe in giving to Wulfstan the Mercian bishopric of Dorchester, where, three years after, he died. The only other noteworthy event in the reign of Edred was “a great slaughter” which in his usual passionate way he ordered to be made among the inhabitants, probably the Danish inhabitants, of Thetford in East Anglia in revenge for their murder of the abbot Eadhelm (952). Three years after this, on Nov. 23, 955, Edred died at Frome in Somerset and was buried in the old monastery at Winchester. No nightly appearances in his case, as in that of his great ancestor, seem to have troubled the repose of the dwellers in the convent.

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CHAPTER XX.

EDGAR AND DUNSTAN.

CHAP. "ON the death of Edred, EADWIG [or EDWY] succeeded to the
XX. kingdom. Two years afterwards, his younger brother Edgar succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians."

"In 958, Oda, Archbishop of Canterbury, separated King Edwy from his wife Elfgifu, because they were too near akin."

"In 959, King Edwy died on the 1st of October, and Edgar his brother succeeded to the kingdom as well of the West Saxons as of the Northumbrians and Mercians, being then about sixteen years old."

Such is the only information (with one important exception) vouchsafed us in the Chronicle concerning the short reign of the unfortunate Edwy, who when about fifteen years of age succeeded his father Edmund. These sentences suggest much—internal discord, fraternal rivalry, a matrimonial union condemned by the Church, the early death of a broken-hearted husband—but they tell us nothing as to the causes of these events. Later historians have believed that they found the clue to the mystery in the one sentence which has not yet been quoted. "And in the same year [957] Abbot Dunstan was driven away over sea." However this may be, the story of Edwy's reign is so inextricably intertwined with the life of this man, the most famous English saint between Cuthbert and Becket, that for a little space history must give place to biography.

Dunstan was born about the year 925, near the commencement of the reign of Athelstan. His birthplace was in the immediate neighbourhood of the great Abbey of Glastonbury; his parents must have belonged to the higher ranks of Anglo-Saxon society, since he numbered two bishops and certain members of the royal household among his near kinsmen and

was in some way related to a niece of Athelstan's. Glastonbury was probably the only great sanctuary in which the religious life of the Celt had flowed on without interruption into a Teutonic channel; and it may have been on account of its old British traditions that it became the resort of "certain Irish pilgrims who looked on that place with great affection, especially on account of their reverence for the younger Patrick, who is said to be there resting in the Lord".¹ Taught by these men, the boy early acquired great familiarity with Scripture; he received the tonsure and performed some of an acolyte's duties in the church of the Virgin, but was not as yet definitely vowed to a religious life. He seems to have been admitted as a lad to some place about the court of King Athelstan, who probably often visited the royal estate of his own great ancestor at Wedmore, a few miles from Glastonbury. But the future archbishop's experience of court life was not a pleasant one. He was evidently a lad of quick intelligence with a nervous and sensitive frame, a soul much exercised by the joys and the terrors of the world of spirits. He had already seen some visions, and in the delirium of fever had climbed to the roof of the church at Glastonbury, his safe descent wherefrom was accounted a miracle. His young kinsmen, the pages of the court, with their rough and fleshly natures, could not tolerate this pale and pious playfellow, and they treated him as bullying schoolboys in later generations have often treated an unpopular comrade. At last, by an accusation of extracting from Latin books a knowledge of unholy arts, they obtained an order for his expulsion from court, which they emphasised in their own brutal way by throwing him into a marshy pool, and then trampling him down into the stinking mud. The poor victim escaped to the neighbouring house of one of his friends, but on arriving there was set upon by the dogs, who in his besmirched figure scarcely recognised a human being, much less one of their master's friends. When they heard his voice, however, they at once gave him a warm canine greeting, whereupon the young saint wept at the contrast between the friendliness of the dog and the cruel animosity of man.

At this point Dunstan had come to the parting of the ways. "The ancient enemy of mankind," says his biographer, "sorely

¹ *Life of Dunstan*, by B. (a Saxon monk, nearly contemporary).

CHAP. tempted him with suggestions of the delightfulness of family
XX. life, and the love of woman," but, on the other hand, his kinsman, Elphege, Bishop of Winchester, strongly urged him to become a monk, and to this advice he yielded after a sharp attack of some sickness, in the nature of bubonic plague, from which he was like to have died. It was no doubt the great monastery of Glastonbury in which he made his profession. Near to that monastery was the dwelling of an elderly lady named Ethelfled, a relative and patroness of Dunstan. The saint in his old age sometimes told the story of the barrel of mead which in answer to Ethelfled's prayers was miraculously replenished, when a sudden visit from her uncle Athelstan found her without sufficient provision of liquor for all his thirsty courtiers. He told too of the white dove which he saw alighting on the roof of the blessed matron's house when she lay a-dying, and of the converse which on his entering her room he found her holding with an invisible heavenly visitor.

In Dunstan's monastic life, both now and later on when he had attained to high office in the Church, there was always room left for other occupations besides prayer and psalmody. We are told that "in the intervals of his study of sacred literature, he diligently cultivated his talent for playing on the harp, as well as for painting, and that he became a skilful judge of all articles used in the household". At the request of a devout lady who was his friend, he sketched out for her a design for a stole with various kinds of patterns, which she could afterwards embroider with gold and gems. A bell was long preserved at Canterbury fashioned by the saint's own fingers; and late in life he presented to Malmesbury Abbey an organ, bells and stoup for holy water, all of his own manufacture.

After the accession of Edmund, Dunstan, who was still but a youth, was recalled to court, and probably on account of his literary qualifications "was numbered among the royal chiefs and princes of the palace". What precise official rank these words betoken it would be difficult to say; but whatever it may have been, he soon lost it through the machinations of his enemies, who probably again whispered in Edmund's ear the old accusation, "Dunstan traffics with the powers of darkness". Bowing his head to the storm, Dunstan prepared to quit the realm, and taking advantage of the presence at court of certain messengers

from "the eastern kingdom," he begged them to procure him an asylum in that land. What is the meaning of these words "the eastern kingdom" is by no means clear. Germany has been suggested, but on the whole it is perhaps slightly more probable that the biographer—not a very accurate writer—means by these words to describe East Anglia. That region, though not strictly a kingdom, was still bound by a somewhat loose tie to Wessex, and was at this time ruled by a great noble named Athelstan, who, though properly speaking he was only an ealdorman, was known in the common speech of men as "the half-king".

Whatever may have been the exact name of Dunstan's intended place of refuge, it was not, in fact, necessary for him to betake himself thither. The court was at this time staying at Cheddar, that well-known and beautiful village at the foot of the Mendips, where steep cliffs and stalactite caves attest the wonder-working presence of the limestone formation. One day Edmund, while hunting, became separated from his companions, and found himself following the hounds and the stag alone. In its desperation the hunted animal made for the cliffs, leaped from the top and was dashed to pieces. The hounds followed, and the king followed also, pulling in vain at the bridle of a hard-mouthed horse, and seeing a terrible death immediately before him. In that moment Edmund reviewed his past life, and thought with satisfaction: "I do not remember to have ever wittingly injured any man". But then Dunstan's name came into his mind. "Too true! I have injured Dunstan. O God, if Thou wilt preserve my life, I will be reconciled to Thy servant." The horse stopped, on the very edge of the precipice, and the king's life was saved.

Meanwhile, however, the first act of the delivered king was to send for Dunstan, provide him with a horse and ride with him to Glastonbury. After offering prayer, the king took the monk's right hand, gave him the kiss of peace, led him up to the abbot's chair and seated him thereon, saying: "Be thou occupant of this seat and a faithful abbot of this church. Whatever may be lacking for the performance of divine service and the due observance of your holy rule, I will supply it from my royal bounty." Thus was Dunstan, still in very early manhood, installed as abbot in the great historic house of Glastonbury.

CHAP. XX. The Benedictine rule, if it had been adopted in this monastery, had become much relaxed, but Dunstan at once set to work to restore the discipline of the brotherhood. He enlarged the buildings, and collected round him a crowd of young followers, whom he instructed in Holy Scripture, so that from this monastery, as from a school of the prophets, many deans, abbots, bishops, even some archbishops went forth to guide and govern the English Church. At this point of the story we hear much of Dunstan's conflicts with the Powers of Darkness, conflicts which were believed to endure throughout his monastic life. Now the Evil One appeared to him in the form of a bear, now as a dog, now as a fox, shaking his tail in terror and shrinking from the keen glance of the holy man. All these appearances and others like them, which later ages delighted to record and to magnify, belong to the intellectual pathology of the cloister and are not to be specially attributed to the spiritual discernment or the cerebral excitability of this particular recluse, though we may be permitted to observe that they occupy a more prominent place and are of a more grotesque character in the authentic Lives of Dunstan than in the pages of Bede. Unfortunately they have, by their frequent repetition, somewhat obscured the real greatness of the alleged devil-fighter, both as ecclesiastic and as statesman.¹

After the death of Edmund (of which the saint is said to have had supernatural warnings) his successor Edred took Dunstan into high favour and committed to him the charge of his treasure and of many of the deeds relating to his various estates, besides the precious things accumulated by the old kings his predecessors. All these were deposited at Glastonbury. Moreover, Edred desired to make his friend bishop of Crediton, but Dunstan refused, nor could even the entreaties of the king's mother, Edgiva, though she had great influence with him, prevail upon him to consent to take the nominal charge of so distant a diocese. When Edred's long struggle with disease was nearing its end, he ordered Dunstan to bring to him the treasures committed to his charge that he might make a

¹ The celebrated story of the Devil and the hot tongs is not told by any contemporary of Dunstan's, but by the much-romancing Osbern about 130 years after his death. The identical pair of tongs with which the saint is said to have seized the Devil's nose is still shown at the priory of Mayfield in Sussex.

death-bed division of them among his kinsfolk. The saint complied with the order, visited Glastonbury and had gone several stages on the return journey, when he heard a voice from heaven saying: "Behold! now King Edred has departed in peace". A yet greater marvel! his horse, hearing the same voice and "being unable to bear the presence of the angelic sublimity," fell down and died on the road. When Dunstan reached the palace he found that his patron's death had taken place at the very same hour at which he had received the heavenly communication.

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We have now reached the same point in Dunstan's life at which we had already arrived in the history of the kingdom. Edred dead, and the boy-king Edwy seated on the throne (955), we come to the well-known scene at the coronation banquet. Dunstan's biographer tells us that after the great ceremony had been performed, when according to the unanimous choice of all the English nobles, Edwy had been anointed and halloved as king, he suddenly leaped up and left the merry banquet and the company of his own nobles, whom he forsook for the companionship of two high-born dames, Ethelgiva and her daughter Elfgiva. These ladies were of royal descent, Edwy's near relations; and it is a plausible conjecture, though only a conjecture, that the elder lady may have acted as foster-mother to the king, who had lost his own mother in childhood. It was natural, if not politic, for the boy-king (still scarcely fifteen years of age) to leave the company of the grim warriors and hoary churchmen who composed his *witan*, and to refresh himself with the livelier talk of his child-sweetheart and her mother. But the nobles of the *witan* felt themselves insulted by the king's departure, and Oda, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had Danish blood in his veins, in a loud and angry voice gave utterance to the general discontent. "Let some one," he said, "be chosen who shall bring back the king to take his place, as is fitting, at our merry banquet." All others refused, not liking to face the women's wrath, but at last Abbot Dunstan and his relative Kinsige, Bishop of Lichfield, were chosen for the disagreeable task. When they entered the royal apartment they found the crown cast carelessly on the ground and the king seated on a couch between the two ladies. "We are sent," said they, "by the nobles to beg you to return

CHAP. at once to your fitting place at the board and not to disdain
XX. to mingle in the joyous feast of your *thegns*." The boy at first refused and the women scolded, but Dunstan raised the king from the couch, put his crown becomingly on his head and led him back, an obviously reluctant banqueter, to the company of his nobles. Such was the scene, natural and intelligible enough and worth studying for the sake of the light thrown by it on the habits of our forefathers in the tenth century, but by no means justifying either the praise or the blame which have been bestowed on the chief actors therein, especially the foul imputations which the monkish biographer has cast upon the characters of "the two she-wolves," as he terms them, the ladies Ethelgiva and Elfgiva.¹

Dunstan's intervention at such a time was not likely to recommend him to royal favour, and it is with no surprise that we read the Chronicle's entry for the year 957: "In this year abbot Dunstan was driven away over sea". Even his own friends were partially alienated from him, for his biographer lays the blame of his banishment and the confiscation of his goods not only on "the impudent virago, that Jezebel," Ethelgiva, but also on "the secret machinations of his own disciples, whom he himself had nurtured in their tender years with the nectareous sweetness of his teaching". This is one of several indications that the struggle, a very obscure one and difficult to understand, which took place during Edwy's short reign, was not, as was formerly supposed, a struggle between the boy-king on the one hand and an arrogant and united Church-party on the other. There were ecclesiastics on both sides, and Edwy, at any rate, was no declared enemy of the Anglo-Saxon Church. There are in the Saxon Cartulary copies of grants made by him to Glastonbury, to Bath, to Worcester, to Abingdon and many other monasteries. But there are also grants made by him in surprising numbers to the thegns of his court, and this lavish generosity looks like a sign of weakness and may have had something to do with the revolt against his authority.²

Notwithstanding the uproar at Edwy's coronation, the lady

¹ An excellent summing up of the whole case will be found in E. W. Robertson's *Historical Essays*, p. 192.

² The short reign of Edwy furnishes 150 pages to the *Cartularium Saxonicum*.

Elfgiva, who was one of the persons blamed for his absence from the feast, became soon afterwards his wife. To one document which is assigned to the year 956 the names of Elfgiva, "king's wife," and Ethelgiva, "king's wife's mother," are attached as witnesses. It was not till two years after this time that, according to the Chronicle, "Oda, Archbishop of Canterbury, separated King Edwy from his wife Elfgiva because they were too near akin" (958). At this point Edwy's wife and her mother disappear from authentic history. Writers of little judgment, the earliest of whom lived a century and a half after the event, tell us distressing stories of the branding of Elfgiva's face with a hot iron, of her or her mother's flight into Ireland, return and miserable death under the cruel operation of ham-stringing. The authority for these tales is poor, their style legendary, the confusion which they make between Ethelgiva and Elfgiva an additional reason for distrust. On the whole, though a painful suspicion may rest on our minds that there was some basis of fact underlying these ghastly traditions, we are not bound to accept them as history. In any case no one has a right to impute these cruelties, if ever committed, to Dunstan, who was almost certainly still in exile at the alleged date of their infliction.

The cartularies further show us that under the reign of Edwy his venerable grandmother Edgiva, widow of Edward the Elder, was deprived of some portion of her property, which she recovered after the accession of Edgar. It is evident, from this and other indications, that many personal and political questions were involved in the revolution which has next to be described; and it is probable that the great ecclesiastical controversy which sounded so loud through the next twenty years had no connexion therewith. Of that revolution itself we have most scanty details. The chiefs of the realm, we are told, dissatisfied with Edwy's government, proclaimed as king his brother EDGAR, a boy of some thirteen years old. We hear of no battles. A compromise was soon arranged, by the terms of which Edgar reigned in the lands north of the Thames, and Edwy south of that boundary. We may probably trace here some remains of the old jealousy between the kingdoms. Edwy retained the allegiance of loyal Wessex, while Mercia, glad of any pretext for recovering her lost independence, rallied round the standard of his brother and was joined by East Anglia, under whose

CHAP. XX. "half-king" Athelstan and his wife Elfwen, Edgar had been reared from infancy. This compromise was arranged in 957, and in the following year, or in 959, Edwy died and Edgar reigned alone over the whole kingdom. There is no suggestion of foul play, but it is natural to conjecture that Edwy's early death was caused by worry and disappointment at the unfortunate turn which his affairs had taken both in his household and in his kingdom.

The accession of Edgar to the Mercian throne was speedily followed by the recall of Dunstan from exile.¹ When the young abbot was sent away "over-sea" by the offended Edwy, he sought shelter in Flanders, then ruled by a grandson of Alfred the Great, Count Arnulf the Old. His temporary home was the great monastery of St. Peter's at Ghent, and his observation of the strict discipline there maintained by the abbot doubtless stirred his emulation to begin similar reforms in the monasteries of England. On his return from banishment he was promoted to the office of bishop of the Mercian see of Worcester. To Worcester in 959 the see of London was added, a strange instance of plurality but probably a temporary expedient resulting from the determination of the old queen Edgiva and the other advisers of Edgar that the highest place in the English Church should eventually be filled by the great reformer. The old Danish archbishop Oda died, probably in 958. His immediate successor, Elfsige, of whom it was related that he spake vaunting and contemptuous words of the late archbishop, striking with a staff insultingly on his grave, was soon punished for his irreverence. On his way to Rome to receive the pallium, he caught so severe a chill in the snows of St. Bernard that he died in the land of the stranger. A second successor, Beorhthelm, was appointed in 959, immediately before Edwy's death, but was unceremoniously deposed by Edgar in the following year to make room for Dunstan. This great saint, who had now reached the zenith of his orbit, ruled the Church of England with eminent wisdom and success for twenty-eight years, from 960 to 988, but evidently his sphere of action was not confined to the Church. It is probable that

¹ The Chronicle and the biographers agree in postponing Dunstan's return till after Edgar's accession to the undivided realm, but his signatures to charters seem to require an earlier date.

much of the success of the undoubtedly successful reign of Edgar was due to the advice of Dunstan, and if the saint's biographers would but have retrenched one half of the miracles which they have recorded in his honour, and would have described some of the affairs of state which he guided to a right issue, they would have conferred a great benefit on history, and they would probably have placed their favourite's name high beyond the reach of doubt among the Christian statesmen of England. At present that reputation, great as it is and much as it has grown of recent years, is rather a matter of highly probable inference than of actual proof.

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Politically the reign of Edgar the Peaceful, as we know it, is somewhat barren of events and seems to have been characterised by almost unbroken tranquillity. Save for the facts that in 966 "Thored son of Gunner harried Westmorland," and that three years later "King Edgar commanded the land of Thanet to be ravaged," no military operations are recorded in the Chronicle; and so great is the obscurity that we do not even know whether the first operation was undertaken in obedience to, or in defiance of, the orders of the king. Nor can we tell whether the ravage of the Isle of Thanet was a penalty for some movement of revolt or a precaution against its occupation by the Danes. On the whole, the latter hypothesis is perhaps somewhat the more probable.

But by far the most memorable event in Edgar's reign, and the event with which his name and Dunstan's are chiefly connected, was of an ecclesiastical kind, the famous monastic reform. This movement was not, as it used sometimes to be considered, primarily a struggle like Hildebrand's on behalf of the celibacy of the clergy: it was essentially a struggle for the reform of the relaxed discipline of the convents, and the restoration to monks, strictly so called, of houses and lands which had been gradually filched from them by the hybrid order of *canonici*. These men may be considered as occupying a half-way position between the parish priest and the professed monk. Following the *canon*, the rule framed by Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, in the latter part of the eighth century, these *canonici*, priests leading a collegiate life, were bound to chastity and obedience but not to the renunciation of all private property. Thus their standard was in some respects lower than that of

CHAP. the regular monks, and if their rivals are to be trusted—which
XX. is perhaps doubtful—they fell far below even that lowered standard. The staid and decorous William of Malmesbury laments that his beloved monastery had been turned into “a stable of clerics”. Florence of Worcester says that Edgar “cast out from the convents the impostures of clerics,” and many similar passages might be quoted, in which the monks speak with the utmost bitterness of their *canonical* rivals.

The great reform, however, with which the names of Edgar and Dunstan are associated, consisted not merely in the casting forth of the canons and the restoration of Benedictine regulars to their homes. It was also part of a great general movement for the purification of conventual life and the uplifting of the standard of morals in the whole Christian community; a movement which began in Eastern France, spread thence over Flanders, Germany and Italy, and will be for ever associated with the venerable name of the monastery of Cluny, founded in 910 by William, Duke of Aquitaine. In the monastery of Cluny and the religious houses which followed its example, the rule of St. Benedict was restored in more than its old strictness. The chanting of the whole Psalter every twenty-four hours; silence so nearly total that the monks almost lost the habit of speech; the entire prohibition of the flesh of four-footed animals for food; coarse clothing of a dun colour; absolute obedience to the ecclesiastical superior, and the entire prohibition of private property; these were the chief points of the restored monastic discipline which Dunstan brought back with him from the Continent.

Three other ecclesiastics besides Dunstan threw their weight into the reforming scale. The first was the venerable archbishop, Oda the Dane, who, however, died in 958 or 959 while the movement was still in its infancy. His nephew Oswald, who was consecrated bishop of Worcester in 961, and who eleven years later received in addition to that dignity the archiepiscopal mitre of York, was after Dunstan the most eminent churchman of the age, and zealously seconded the efforts of his brother of Canterbury. The most active, however, as well as the harshest and most un pitying of the reformers, was Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, who was, like his teacher Dunstan, of noble birth and had served as a lad in Athelstan's palace. He was also

like Dunstan skilful with his hands, and left behind him bells and other implements of religious service, the products of his own cunning handicraft. After ruling the monastery of Abingdon he was, in 963, consecrated to the see of Winchester, where he carried out the work of reform with a high hand. Both the Old and New Minsters at Winchester had been filled with *canonici* many of whom were married. To all Ethelwold offered but one choice: "Assume the monastic habit or depart hence". All but three departed, and Chertsey and Milton Abbas in Dorsetshire were then similarly purged. The last monastery was situated without the bounds of Ethelwold's diocese, but he seems to have held from the king a kind of roving commission to rebuild and reform monasteries wherever he would. In pursuance of this commission Ethelwold next visited the great monasteries of the fen country, Ely and Medeshamstede (now known as Peterborough). In their most flourishing time these monasteries must have worn a somewhat desolate appearance, standing as they did in the midst of the waste of waters which then covered half Cambridgeshire. Of Peterborough the chronicler expressly tells us that owing to its having been "fore-done by heathen folk, Ethelwold found nothing but old walls and wild woods". Here then no extrusion was necessary; all that the reformer had to do was to rebuild the fabrics and once more to instal in the restored abbeys the industrious monks, who would again make these oases in the fen lands to blossom as the rose.

The Abingdon chronicler tells us of these good deeds of Ethelwold, naturally magnifying the glory of his convent's most famous abbot. Strangely enough we do not hear of any actual foundation of a new monastery at Canterbury, or expulsion of *canonici* from the precincts of the old one, by Dunstan himself, though we know that he was heart and soul with the new movement. In fact, Dunstan's tolerance of the canons, even at Canterbury, and his abstention from deeds of violence in furtherance of the reform, are singularly at variance with the character for persecuting harshness which he has somehow acquired in English history. So, too, his fellow archbishop, Oswald, far gentler than Ethelwold, if a little more energetic than Dunstan, seems always to have preferred persuasion to force. At Worcester, instead of expelling the canons from the cathedral church of

CHAP. SS. Mary and Peter, he founded a new monastery which he
XX. attached to a new cathedral, and these younger institutions gradually supplanted the old in popular favour.

Next to ecclesiastical affairs the pageants of the peaceful king's reign seem most to have attracted the attention of his contemporaries. When he had been already reigning as sole king for more than thirteen years and had attained the thirtieth year of his age, he was solemnly "hallowed" as king on Whitsunday in the old Roman city of Bath (973). The reason for this long delay in the king's coronation is not obvious, but possibly, as the words of the coronation service seem to have expressly hailed him as "King of the Saxons, Mercians and Northumbrians,"¹ the ceremony may have been postponed till some unrecorded transactions, peaceful or warlike, with the chiefs of the Danelaw secured their presence at the pageant and showed that the words of the coronation service were not an idle vaunt. "And straightway after the hallowing," says the *Chronicle*, "the king led all his naval force to Laegeceaster [Chester], and there came unto him six kings to meet him, and all plighted faith with him that they would be his fellow-workers on sea and on land." This is that celebrated meeting of Edgar with his British under-kings of which later chroniclers are so proud. Both Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury, writing in the early part of the twelfth century, record that *eight* kings were constrained by Edgar to come to his Witenagemot, to bind themselves to him by an oath of perpetual fidelity, and then to row him in solemn pomp upon the river Dee, while he sat in the barge's prow in regal magnificence. "He is reported to have said that now at last his successors might boast that they were truly kings of the English since they would inherit the honourable precedence which was thus accorded him." The two historians give us the names of these eight kings: Kenneth of Scotland, Malcolm of Cumberland, Maccus, "the archpirate" (that is, the Viking), "king of many islands" (possibly Man and the Hebrides), and five Welsh kings whose names need not here be recorded, especially as one at least of them is incorrectly reported. It is interesting, however, to find this act of vassalage admitted by a Welsh

¹ See Robertson's, *Historical Essays*, p. 211.

annalist, though the scene of it is transferred, with much probability, from Chester to Caerleon-upon-Usk—much nearer than the former city to the scene of Edgar's coronation. "And five kings from Cymry," says the *Brut-y-Tywysogion*, "Edgar compelled to come to his court, and in Kaerllion-ar-Wyse he commanded them to row him in a bark while he himself sat at its prow." Upon the whole, this celebrated water procession seems to be attested upon sufficient and trustworthy authority.¹

In this connexion a romantic legend may be related which meets us in the pages of William of Malmesbury. He tells us that Edgar, though strong and wiry, was of small stature, and that this caused Kenneth of Scotland to remark that he marvelled why such great territories should be willing to be subject to such a pigmy of a king. The saying was carried by tale-bearers to Edgar, who sent for Kenneth as if he were about to consult him on some most important secret of state. He drew him apart into a lonely wood, offered him his choice of two swords which he had brought with him, and called upon him to prove his strength in a hand-to-hand encounter. "For it is a base thing for a king to babble at a banquet and not be willing to prove his words in fight." Hereupon Kenneth fell at Edgar's feet and implored his forgiveness for words which, as he protested, had only been spoken in jest.

From the same source—one, it must be admitted, of secondary authority—we derive the well-known story of the yearly tribute of 300 wolves' heads which he imposed on the Welsh king, Juthwal, a tribute which is said to have been paid for three years and then of necessity discontinued because the breed of wolves was exterminated. Magnifying in similar fashion the resources and the renown of the peaceful king, Florence of Worcester tells us that he collected a fleet of 3,600 strong ships, one-third of which, when Easter was past, were ordered to muster in the north of the island and sail to the Straits of Dover, one-third on the east for a voyage to the Land's End,

¹ As pointed out by Mr. W. H. Stevenson in the *English Historical Review* (1898), xiii., 506, an important attestation to the meeting of the kings (though not to the water procession) is furnished by the ecclesiastical author Elfric, himself a contemporary of Edgar and a pupil and friend of bishop Ethelwold. In his poetical *Life of St. Swithin*, written about 996, he contrasts the happy days of Edgar with the disastrous reign of his son, and says: "All the kings of this island of Cymri and of Scots, eight kings, came to Edgar once upon a time on one day and they all bowed to Edgar's government".

CHAP. and one-third on the west which sailed to Cape Wrath. Thus
XX. was the whole island circumnavigated and safeguarded against invasion by a foreign foe. There is probably some historic fact at the bottom of this story, but no one need accept the enormous numbers vouched for by Florence.

The chief characteristic of Edgar's reign was the peace which he maintained in the land and which contrasted so painfully with the troubled reign of his son. Hence, doubtless, was derived the surname of the Peaceful, which is that by which he is known in the pages of Florence of Worcester. There was something brilliant and attractive in his personality, and the staunch support which he gave to the victorious party in the Church was sufficient guarantee that his good deeds would not be forgotten. Yet even the monastic chronicler, as an honest man, could not dissemble the fact that the bright and comely little king was no saint. He quotes from a poem which after praising the piety of Edgar and magnifying his power "before whom mighty kings and earls gladly bowed" concludes thus:—

But one misdeed he did, aye all too oft,
The evil customs of strange folk he loved,
And heathen manners into this our land
Too fast he brought,
And hither introduced outlandish men
And hurtful people drew unto the realm.

But God's grace grant him that his well-done deeds
Weigh heavier in the balance than his sins,
And guard his soul upon the longsome road.

It will be seen that the poet speaks of introducing foreign vices and hurtful heathenish customs, but does not distinctly charge Edgar with personal immorality. Later historians, more out-spoken, tell a story, which seems to have some foundation in fact, about his seduction of a novice named Wulfthryth, whom he is said to have carried off from the abbey of Wilton, and by whom he had a daughter named Edith, who took the vows of a nun and died an abbess. The long delay of Edgar's coronation (which happened, as we have seen, in the fourteenth year of his reign) has been connected by later writers with this intrigue, and with an alleged penance inflicted on the king by Dunstan, who is said to have forbidden him to wear his crown for seven years. Chronological arguments, however, prove the untruth of

this theory.¹ Edgar's first wedded wife was apparently Ethelfled the Fair, who was known also by the epithet of "the Duck". She was the daughter of a certain Ordmaer whom Edgar seems to have ennobled by bestowing upon him forty hides of land at Hatfield, thus giving him the appanage of an earl, though his birth would appear to have been insufficient to qualify him for exalted office.² By this lady Edgar was the father of a son known in English history as Edward the Martyr. The married life of the beautiful Ethelfled, however terminated, whether by her death or divorce, must have been a short one, for in 964 Edgar married another woman celebrated for her beauty, Elfthryth or Elfrida, daughter of the Earl Ordgar, who became ealdorman of Devon and possibly of the two adjoining counties of Somerset and Dorset.³ Elfrida, however, had been previously married, her first husband being Ethelwold, ealdorman of East Anglia and son of "the half-king" Athelstan. Elfrida exercised undoubtedly a baneful influence on English history throughout the closing years of the tenth century; and arguing perhaps from these known tendencies of her character and from Edgar's evil record for sexual immorality, later writers, especially the poetical historian, Geoffrey Gaimar, have constructed a long and unsavoury romance, according to which Ethelwold, having first deceived his master as to Elfrida's beauty and thus secured her for himself, was afterwards murdered like Uriah the Hittite in order to make way for his royal rival. This story, also, though long accepted by historians, vanishes at the touch of criticism which clearly shows that Elfrida's first husband died at least two years before her marriage with Edgar.⁴ But however innocent may have been the story of the peaceful king's courtship of his second wife, there can be no doubt that when she was once seated in the palace her influence on the lives of its inmates was disastrous.

Edgar survived his coronation but two years. He died in the thirty-third year of his age, July 8, 975, and was buried in the Abbey of Glastonbury, which he and his father had so highly favoured.

¹ Robertson's *Historical Essays*, p. 203.

² *Ibid.*, p. 169.

³ As stated by Robertson, *ibid.*, p. 168.

⁴ See Freeman's *Historical Essays*, first series, 15-25, for a refutation of the legend of Elfrida's marriage.

CHAPTER XXI.

EDWARD THE MARTYR—OLD AGE OF DUNSTAN—NORMANS AND NORTHMEN.

CHAP. XXI. OF the two sons left by Edgar, one, EDWARD, son of "Ethelfled the Duck," was about thirteen years old, and the other, Elfrida's son, Ethelred, was but seven at the death of their father. This being so, it is surprising that there should have been any debate as to which son should succeed to the vacant throne. Possibly the kinsfolk of Elfrida, a powerful clan, may have raised doubts as to the regularity of Edgar's marriage to Ethelfled, or they may have insisted on the superior position of the child Ethelred as the son of a queen, for Elfrida, first of all royal consorts since Judith, wife of Ethelwulf, had been permitted to bear that envied name.¹ The debate was, however, decided, apparently by the united influence of the two archbishops, Dunstan and Oswald, in favour of Edward, upon whose head the crown of England was placed by the kindly hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The politics of the short reign of Edward, which lasted barely four years, are as obscure and difficult to trace as the cause of its premature close. It is clear, however, that immediately on the death of Edgar there was a certain reaction against that king's monastic policy. It was in Mercia that this reaction was most powerful, and the leader in the movement was the ealdorman Elfhre, "enemy of the monks," as the Chronicle calls him; "most wicked of consuls," as he is styled by the classically minded Henry of Huntingdon. There was a certain Oslac, earl of Northumbria, who was driven into

¹ See Robertson's *Historical Essays*, pp. 166-71. There is no evidence that Elfrida shared her husband's coronation, but she is the first king's wife after Judith to sign charters as *Regina*.

banishment by Elfhære, and from the way in which his name is mentioned we are led to conjecture that he was a partisan of the monks.

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XXI.

Then was in Mercia's land, as I have heard,
Widely and everywhere the Maker's praise
Laid low on earth ; then many were out-driven,
God's learned ministers. Then much must mourn
The man who in his breast bore burning love
To God who made him. Then the Glorious King,
The Lord of Victories, Who the heavens doth rule,
Was too much scorned, and shattered were His rights,
Then forth was driven the hero bold of mood,
Oslac, the hoary-headed veteran,
The wise, the eloquent. He forth must fare,
Forth from the land, over the billow's roll,
Over the gannet's bath, the whale's domain.
Yea, o'er the water's throng, bereft of home.
Then too was seen, high in the firmament,
That star appearing, which brave men of old,
Men wise of soul and skilled interpreters,
Widely denoted by the comet's name ;
Thus through the nations was the Ruler's wrath
Broadly proclaimed and Famine marked its path.

Thus sings the monk of Winchester. He of Peterborough, after also deviating into verse, adds in quiet prose : " In this year (975) there were great disturbances throughout England ; and Elfhære the ealdorman ordered the demolition of many monasteries which king Edgar had erewhile ordered the holy bishop Ethelwold to establish. And at the same time the great earl Oslac was banished from England."

There are hints, especially in the life of St. Oswald of York, that Elfhære's anti-monastic policy was connected with a certain amount of spoliation of the abbey lands, which were probably in some measure distributed among his followers. On the other hand, we hear that Ethelwin, Ealdorman of East Anglia, son of " half-king " Athelstan and brother-in-law of Elfrida, zealously opposed Elfhære's policy and championed the cause of the monks. A yet more strenuous defender of the order was his brother, Alfwold, who slew a certain man accused by him of fraudulently obtaining some of the abbey lands of Peterborough. Desiring to obtain absolution for the deed he went to Winchester to beg it of bishop Ethelwold. In his penitence and remorse, Alfwold in his hostel unloosed his shoes and went, humble and barefooted, to meet the great bishop. But Ethel-

CHAP. wold, knowing in whose cause he had stricken the blow, would
 XXI. have none of such needless humiliation. He went forth clad in full vestments, with holy water, cross and thurible to meet "the general and defender of the Church". Prayers were offered, the acolytes replaced the shoes on the feet of the Church's champion, and the rest of the day was spent in rejoicings. "Thus did the pious chieftain of the East Angles defend all the possessions of the monasteries with great honour, wherefore he was called the Friend of God."

Concerning the actual cause of the struggle we are very imperfectly informed. The East Anglian chiefs were joined by Brihtnoth, ealdorman of Essex, brother-in-law of "the half-king," and for some time it seemed as if the dispute would have to be settled by force of arms. Happily this was averted, and in three meetings of the *witan*, held probably in three successive years, 977, 978 and 979 (the last after the death of Edward), it was perhaps arranged that the two parties should compromise on the basis of *uti possidetis*, the monasteries in East Anglia and Essex not being disturbed, but those in Mercia not being restored to the monks, at any rate during the lifetime of Elfhære.

At the first of these Witenagemots, which was held at Kirtlington, in Oxfordshire, Sideman, the aged Bishop of Crediton, who had been the young King Edward's teacher and guide, suddenly expired. At the second, which was held in an upper chamber at Calne, in Wiltshire, the floor suddenly gave way and "all the chief witan of the English race" were precipitated into the room below. Some were killed and many suffered grievous bodily harm. Apparently almost the only one who escaped quite unhurt was the Archbishop Dunstan, "who stood up upon a beam". Naturally, so remarkable an escape brightened the halo which shone round the archbishop's name. In later legends the accident was magnified into a kind of heavenly judgment between the monks and their opponents; while some modern historians, remembering Dunstan's great mechanical skill, have seen in it a cunning device for ridding himself of his enemies. Happily we are not constrained to adopt either hypothesis, and the last suggestion is certainly inadmissible. It would probably tax the ingenuity of the ablest engineer of modern times to contrive such an apparent accident

so as to kill part of the assembly. Miracle and fraud may therefore both disappear from the discussion. The event, which undoubtedly happened, is only one of several indications of the unsoundness of Anglo-Saxon building. There seems reason to suspect that in the tenth century the political and the domestic architecture of England were both equally insecure, and that the apparent glory of the reign of Edgar the Peaceful rested on many rotten timbers which made easy the collapse of the kingdom under Ethelred the Unready. Perhaps, also, we may conjecture that the deaths of so many of England's chief men and wisest counsellors left the field open for meaner, weaker, more treacherous statesmen.

In the same year (978) Edward's short reign came to a bloody end. The circumstances of his death are somewhat obscure, though there can be no doubt that he was foully murdered on March 18 at Corfe in Dorsetshire. We have no contemporary evidence directly connecting his step-mother with the crime, but this silence, as all chroniclers for the next thirty years would be somewhat in fear of Elfrida and her son, cannot be counted strong evidence in her favour. On the other hand, there is some evidence that Corfe, the scene of the murder, was the place where Elfrida was at the time dwelling with her boy, and all the later historians speak unhesitatingly as to the quarter from which the blow came, though, unfortunately (as we so often find to be the case), the further removed they are from the date of the event, the more they profess to know about its details. Thus the biographer of St. Oswald, who wrote about thirty years after the murder, tells us that a conspiracy was formed against the king by Ethelred's thegns, and carried into effect when the young king, "desiring the consolation of fraternal love," paid an evening visit to the house where his brother was residing with the queen. The partisans of Ethelred gathered round Edward, who was alone and unguarded. The butler came forward "ready to serve in his lowly office"; one of the thegns seized the king's right hand as if to kiss it; another grasped his left hand and inflicted on him a mortal wound. The king called out in a loud voice: "What are you doing, breaking my hand," and then fell dead from his horse, which was also mortally wounded by the conspirators. "No chant was raised; no proper rites of burial performed; the

CHAP. renowned king of the whole country lay covered with a cheap
XXI. garment, awaiting the resurrection day. After the lapse of a twelvemonth, the glorious duke Elfhre [of Mercia] came to Wareham, found the body lying there naked but incorrupt, and transferred it to Shaftesbury, where it received honourable burial." This account looks a little more like a political conspiracy and less like a mere private assassination than the story told in the twelfth century by William of Malmesbury, according to which the kingly boy returning from the chase, tired and thirsty, called at his step-mother's abode, asked for wine, and while drinking the stirrup-cup was treacherously stabbed by one of Elfrida's henchmen; fell from his horse, and with one foot in the stirrup was dragged along by the frightened steed, a long track through the forest being marked by the blood of the dying king. This, which is in some respects the more romantic version of the story, is that which has found its way into the received text of English history. The feelings of the people concerning this tragedy may be gathered from the ballad which was embodied in the Chronicle.

Never was worse deed done by Englishmen
Than this, since first they sought the British land.
Men murdered him, but God him magnified.
In life Eadward was an earthly king;
Now after death he is a saint in heaven.
His earthly kinsmen durst not him avenge,
But grievous vengeance wrought his Heavenly Sire.
On earth his foes his memory would efface,
But the Supreme Avenger spread abroad
In earth and heaven remembrance of that crime.
They who in life refused him reverence,
Now bow on bended knee before his bones.
Thus may we see how wisdom of mankind,
Their clever counsels, their persuasive words,
Are but as nothing 'gainst the thought of God.

Here we can perceive, deep in the heart of the writer, a smouldering fire of indignation against some persons highly placed and beyond the reach of man's revenge, by whom the deed of wickedness was wrought. The misery which fell upon the nation in the long and dreary reign of Elfrida's son is heaven's answer to the cry of the innocent blood. Without the Church's sanction, without any strict warrant for the epithet, the instinct of the people gave to the victim of Corfe the name which he has ever since borne in history, "Edward the Martyr".

The new king, ETHELRED, a boy of ten years old, was crowned at Kingston-on-Thames a fortnight after Easter, the two archbishops and ten bishops taking part in the ceremony. Dunstan addressed to him, as he had done to his father before him, a sermon on the duties of his kingship, and is said, but on somewhat doubtful authority, to have uttered at the same time foreboding words as to the calamities coming upon the kingdom, in punishment for the crime which had given Ethelred the crown. It seems clear that he withdrew more and more from a share in the civil, perhaps even in the ecclesiastical, government of the realm, and spent the ten years of life which yet remained to him chiefly in religious retirement; in preaching to the crowd of unlearned persons, lay and clerical, male and female, who gathered round him "to be fortified day and night with the heavenly salt"; in practising those mechanical arts which he had loved from boyhood; and in sitting on a bench in the *scriptorium* correcting some of the manuscripts which formed part of the treasure of Canterbury.

In the year 986, however, Dunstan was roused from his meditations by the extraordinary conduct of young Ethelred, who "on account of certain dissensions besieged Rochester, and being unable to take it, invaded and laid waste the patrimony of St. Andrew". Some light is thrown on this remarkable entry by a document¹ issued twelve years later, in which Ethelred laments that his youthful simplicity was imposed upon by a certain Ethelsin, an enemy of God and man, and that by his advice he violently abstracted from the church of Rochester a rural property at Bromley, which he now restores. Dunstan, we are told, warned the king of the punishment which waited on such crimes, and eventually induced him by a ransom of 100 pounds of silver to raise the siege of Rochester. Hereupon he prophesied that "such a king who preferred money to God, silver to the apostle, the gratification of his avarice to the earnestly expressed desire of his spiritual father, would draw down on himself and on his kingdom such calamities as the English nation had never yet experienced. But he himself, as he had been told by the mouth of the Lord, should not live to see this righteous retribution." And so it proved. Two years later, on May 19, 988, Dunstan expired, probably in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

¹ Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, 700.

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That Dunstan was a great saint and a great statesman cannot be doubted. No small man could have produced the impression which he produced on his own and on later generations. But what were his own actual achievements in Church and State it is not easy to discover through the veil of turgid obscurity woven by his biographers, who are more intent on recording childish miracles than on painting for us a truthful and vivid portraiture of the great archbishop. Doubtless the alleged miracles of the saint were not all the accumulation of later ages. Partly on account of his mechanical skill and partly from the peculiarities of his own temperament, a certain thaumaturgic atmosphere seems to have surrounded Dunstan even in his lifetime. With this we can now dispense ; but while we closely study his life, some of the old misconceptions as to his character fall away. He was evidently not the grim and crafty ecclesiastic whom in our childish days we used to fancy him. On the contrary, with all his enthusiasm for monkhood, his influence was in fact a moderating one on the party of monastic reform. Far from being of a cruel nature, he seems, from such indications as are furnished us, to have been a man of genial and lovable disposition. He is now generally regarded as a great administrator, and a man of wide and statesmanlike views ; though, as was before remarked, strict proof of this has hardly yet been adduced. But he seems also to have been through life a man of nervous, perhaps even of hysterical, temperament, renowned and envied for his power of shedding copious floods of tears ; a man who saw visions and dreamed dreams ; and, above all, a man who believed himself to be engaged in a perpetual personal encounter with the Prince of Darkness, who was to him as real and familiar a presence as the ealdorman of Mercia or the *canonici* of Glastonbury.

Before entering on that dreary period of Danish desolation which now lies before us it will be well to say something as to certain events which had been happening in France, Denmark and Norway, and which were about to exercise an enormous influence on the next stages of development of the English nation. The dukes of Normandy, the French kings of the race of Capet, the Angevin ancestors of our Plantagenet monarchs, all date their origin, or at least their greatness, from the

tenth century, from the period between the death of Alfred and the accession of Ethelred. It is necessary also to take note of the immediate ancestors of the Danish kings who were about to make themselves actual sovereigns of England.

The Scandinavian invasions, which tended indirectly towards the consolidation of England, wrought powerfully towards the disintegration of the Frankish empire. The ignominious treaty which the last emperor of the direct line of Charlemagne, his great grandson Charles the Fat, made with the Danes to induce them to desist from the siege of Paris, and which had to be paid for by a large ransom, was one of the causes which led to his deposition from the imperial throne (887). A younger branch of the Carolingian house continued for just a century longer to wear the title of Kings of Francia, but their personal domain became gradually restricted to a little tract of territory surrounding the city of Laon, and they were ever more overshadowed by the greatness of the family of Robert, rightly called the Strong, who, though himself a Saxon alien of somewhat obscure origin, had shown conspicuous valour in the Danish wars, and whose two sons, Odo and Robert, both crowned as Kings of France, were the heroes of the mighty siege of Paris. For thirty-three years (923-56) Hugh the Great, son of this second Robert and grandson of the first, was far the most powerful man in France: Duke of Francia, Burgundy and Aquitaine, Count of Paris and Orleans, Lay Abbot of St. Martin of Tours. But though a kingmaker, son and nephew of kings, he always refused to be king himself. His son, Hugh Capet, more ambitious or less scrupulous, in 987 pushed aside the last powerless descendant of Charlemagne, and ascended that glorious throne which was uninterruptedly occupied by his descendants, Valois, Plantagenet, Bourbon, till the awful day of August, 1792, when the Swiss Guards fell fighting in front of the Tuilleries.

The Norman dukes, who also in this tenth century climbed up into all but regal state, bore an important part in this revolution. The hitherto received story of the settlement of the Northmen under their leader Rolf or Rollo in the fair province to which they gave their name has been subjected of late to much adverse criticism,¹ and has been so seriously shaken that

¹ Especially by Sir H. Howorth, *Archæologia*, xlv., 235-50.

CHAP. hardly anything but the bare fact survives indubitable, that
XXI. there was such a settlement in the early part of the tenth century; that either in 911 or, as is rather more probable, in 921, Rolf "commended" himself to the French king Charles the Simple; and that he became his "man" in return for the cession of a large district on the Lower Seine. This transaction resembled in some respects the arrangement made a generation before, between Alfred and Guthrum. It was the surrender of part of the kingdom to ensure the safety of the remainder, the change of a pertinacious enemy into a fairly faithful friend. The cession of Normandy to Rolf was, however, in some ways a more signal success than Alfred's cession of East Anglia to Guthrum. Though the Frankish historians persisted for generations in calling Rolf's people pirates, the new-comers soon assimilated all and more than all the civilisation of their Frankish neighbours; and Norman literature, Norman chivalry, Norman architecture became the envy of Europe.

On Rolf's death or abdication in 927 his son, William Longsword, became duke and reigned for fifteen years. He was a man of keen and polished intellect, with many noble, even with some holy, aspirations, but with a strange duality in his nature, perhaps the result of the mingled strain of Viking and Romanised Frank that was in his blood, for his mother is said to have been a Frankish lady of noble birth. A conflict had begun between two sections of his subjects, between the men of Rouen and its neighbourhood, who were fast becoming Frenchmen, and the men of the district round Bayeux, who remained obstinate Danes; and in this conflict William veered first to one side, then to the other. Moreover in the confused welter of French politics he played an eminently inconsistent and unwise part, showing that amidst the intriguing, grasping but adroit counts of Northern Gaul he never felt himself completely at home, but was uneasily conscious that he was still looked upon by them as *dux piratarum*. He would fain have been faithful to the royal line, to which his father owed his legalised position in the country; and in 936 he heartily co-operated with Hugh the Great in bringing back Athelstan's nephew, Louis IV. d'Outremer, from his English exile and crowning him king; but, changeable as a weather-cock, he was almost as

often found among the enemies of Louis IV. as in the ranks of his friends. Unfaithfulness beget unfaithfulness; the man who had been on each side in every quarrel made himself enemies all round, and in 942, having been treacherously invited to a conference on an island in the Somme, he was there foully murdered by a band of noble conspirators, among whom we regret to find Arnulf of Flanders, grandson of our own Alfred, first and foremost.

On the death of William Longsword, his little son Richard, though not born in lawful wedlock—this was almost the rule in the Norman line—was unanimously accepted as his successor. The boy, only ten years old, was soon plunged into a whirlpool of troubles, from which even his father's old and faithful counsellors could hardly have extricated him, had he not himself shown that cool, patient, self-sustained courage which earned for him his historical surname, "the Fearless". Though the Norman historians may have somewhat embroidered the romantic history of his captivity and escape, there can be little doubt that two dangerous neighbours, King Louis IV. and Count Hugh the Great, coveted the orphan boy's inheritance; nor that, but for the loyalty of the Norman warriors to the son of their dead chieftain, and the astute management of two or three of his father's old friends, they would have succeeded in making it their own. Soon after the death of William Longsword King Louis came to Rouen, ostensibly as the friend and protector of the little duke. He seems, however, to have practically taken the government of the country into his own hands, while the boy Richard, who was transferred to the court of Laon "that he might be there educated as beseemed a Christian prince," found the school of knighthood every day becoming more like a prison. However, Richard's faithful guardian, Osmund, succeeded in smuggling him out of the castle, according to the legend, "in a truss of hay". The Normans, tired of the financial exactions of the ministers of Louis, rose in open revolt and gathered round their just recovered prince; the invasion of Louis with a formidable army was neutralised by that of Harold, a chieftain from Scandinavia, who, in 945, on the urgent appeal of Richard came to the help of his brother-Northmen. A battle followed, the battle of the Dive, in which Louis was utterly defeated, and he was soon after taken prisoner. Thus

CHAP. were the tables now turned, Louis who was of late the jailer
XXI. being now the captive ; nor did he regain his liberty till he had surrendered the rock fortress of Laon, almost his last remaining possession, to the omnivorous Count Hugh the Great, and had—so say the Norman writers—formally released Duke Richard from all ties of feudal dependence. Whether this be literally true or not, there is no doubt that Richard “commended” himself to the count of Paris. Thus even before Hugh Capet became King of France, the duke of Normandy was already his most powerful vassal. This fact, coupled with the steady and effectual help which Richard gave to the younger Hugh in his patient upward progress to the throne, deserves to be remembered when in later ages we have to deal with the relations, more often hostile than friendly, between the Norman-English vassal and the French lord paramount.

At the period which we have reached in English history, the date of the death of Dunstan (988), Richard the Fearless was a middle-aged man of fifty-five years. He had been reigning for forty-five years, and was the father of a numerous progeny—not born in wedlock—by a Danish woman named Gunnor, whom he married after the death of his lawful wife Emma, sister of Hugh Capet. His marriage with Emma was childless. In the year 996 he died and was succeeded by his son Richard the Good.

The origin of the house, which in after ages bore the name of Plantagenet and which held in the tenth century the countship of Anjou, is hidden in clouds of legend ; but the legend itself does not dare to say that their forebears were always noble, nor to assign to them, as to so many of their princely contemporaries, a descent from the great Emperor Charles. The legendary ancestor of the Counts of Anjou is a certain Tortulf or Tertullus, a Breton forester to whom a doubtful Carolingian king, probably Charles the Bald, is said to have assigned a woodland district known as the Blackbird’s Nest (*Nid de Merle*), on condition of repelling the Danish attacks on the valley of the Loire. The special interest attaching to the history of the Angevin counts, in addition to the fact that they were the ancestors of so many of our English sovereigns, lies in the tenacity of purpose with which they pursued their policy of

aggrandisement, gradually converting their little marchland on the east of Brittany, a small and precarious possession, into an extensive and powerful state in one of the fairest regions of France. With their Breton neighbours on the west, with Maine and Normandy on the north, they were frequently at war, but their most bitter and enduring conflicts were with the Counts of Blois on the east, and it was at their expense that the most important of the Angevin conquests was effected. This is a fact which it will be well to bear in mind when we find Henry of Anjou and Stephen of Blois, heirs of a feud which had already lasted in France for two centuries, contending on English soil for the crown of England.

The history of Denmark during the first century and a half of the Viking raids is involved in great obscurity; but about the time when Edward the Elder was reigning in England we emerge into clearer light, and find a king named Gorm the Old reigning over a united Denmark, with, however, some obligations of vassalage towards the German king, Henry the Saxon. On his death or abdication towards the middle of the tenth century began the long and prosperous reign of Harold Blaataand (Blue-Tooth), which lasted for about fifty years and was the great period of consolidation for the Danish kingdom. In 977 Harold, in conjunction with two Norwegian allies, made an expedition to Norway by which he obtained possession of a considerable part of that country and acquired a sort of feudal supremacy over the whole. In his relations with the German emperors Harold was less fortunate. He was apparently compelled to submit to Otto I., and as one of the conditions of peace, he and his son Sweyn were forced to receive Christian baptism. The conversion of the son at any rate was not sincere, and dissensions broke out between him and his father. The old king was defeated and fled the country. He was restored for a short time, again attacked by Sweyn, and died of his wounds received in battle.

Thus, in the fourteenth year of Ethelred's reign, the throne of Denmark was occupied by the stern pagan Swegen or Sweyn. No tenderness will he show to Christian churches or monasteries in any land that he may invade; and any king or people that shall do him wrong may expect to receive terrible retribution.

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The early, doubtless in large measure legendary, history of Norway, as told in the *Heimskringla Saga*, is full of romantic interest, but is beside our present purpose. The great unifier of the Norwegian kingdom was Harold Fair-hair, whose long reign ended before the middle of the tenth century. In the eleventh year of his age he found himself lord of a small kingdom between Lake Wener and the Dovrefield Mountains. When he came to manhood he wooed the fair Gytha for his wife, but the damsel declared that she would marry no man who did not rule the whole of Norway, as Gorm ruled all Denmark and Eric the whole of Sweden. Hereupon Harold, having vowed not to cut his hair till he had accomplished the prescribed task, began a series of expeditions northwards, which did in the course of years make him master of the whole of what we now call Norway. He married Gytha, but she was only one of many wives and concubines by whom he begat countless children, whose wars and alliances, whose rivalries and reconciliations, fill Norwegian history in the tenth century as English history in the fifteenth is filled by the broils of the Plantagenets. This is that Harold who sent the infant Hakon to be educated at the court of Athelstan ; and Hakon, as has been said, having been educated by his great foster-father in the Christian religion and trained in all arts that became a Saxon Etheling, went back to his fatherland, reigned there after his father's death as Hakon the Good, and vainly endeavoured to Christianise his people. Another Harold and another Hakon followed in quick succession, sometimes owning, sometimes rejecting, the over-lordship of Denmark. At the period which we have now reached, the rising star is that of Olaf Tryggvason, great-grandson of Fair-hair, not yet king of Norway but a great and popular Viking, whose name will be heard with terror in Essex and in Kent, in Sussex and in Hampshire.

CHAPTER XXII.

ETHELRED THE REDELESS.

THE story of the long reign of Ethelred consists of little else than the details of Danish invasions, large payments of ransom to the raiders, and the king's dealings with the Dukes of Normandy, at whose court he was at last obliged to take refuge. CHAP.
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Though many historical verdicts have been reversed in our day, Ethelred the Redeless, the man devoid of counsel—this rather than “the Unready” is the best translation of his distinguishing epithet—still remains unchampioned under the stigma of incompetence as great as was ever displayed by any occupant of the English throne. When we read the record of his disastrous reign, when we see how systematically he left undone the things which he ought to have done, and did, with fitful and foolish energy, the things which he ought not to have done, we are inclined to ask, “Was this man bereft of reason?” If he had been absolutely insane we should probably have had a distinct statement to that effect in the Chronicle, but it may, perhaps, be suggested that there was some hereditary weakness in his family which in his case affected the fibre of his brain. Royal families not renewed by any admixture of plebeian blood have sometimes shown a tendency to become worn out. We must remember that the descendants of Cerdic had now been reigning for five hundred years. As compared with the young and *parvenus* dynasties which were coming up into power from the ranks of sailors and huntsmen and tillers of the soil; as compared with the Norman dukes, the Capetians and the Angevins, the Kings of Wessex were an old and apparently a weakening stock. There was certainly brain-power enough in an Alfred, an Edward and an Athelstan, but perhaps even with them physical hardly kept pace with mental energy. Alfred

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the Great was a life-long sufferer from disease. If he and his son completed each his half century of life, that was more than was attained by most of their immediate descendants. Athelstan lived but to the age of forty-six; Edred, a chronic invalid, died at thirty; Edwy probably under twenty; even Edgar, whose reign seemed a long one, at thirty-two. Edmund and Edward the Martyr died violent deaths, and therefore they do not come into this calculation. Ethelred himself, though he lived long enough to inflict untold misfortunes on his country, died at the age of forty-eight. All this looks like a decay of physical power in the house of Cerdic, which may in some degree account for the fatal "redelessness" of Ethelred. It is true that there was a revival of the old heroic energy in his son Edmund Ironside, but even that is coupled with a very short life (we cannot be sure that his death was due to foul play); and in his half-brother, Edward the Confessor, though he lived to the age of sixty-two, there is a sort of anæmic saintliness which marks him out as the fitting son, intellectually though not morally, of his "redeless" father.

The story of the reign of Ethelred is given us in the Chronicle with a minuteness of detail such as we have not found there since the days of Alfred. It is evidently the work of a contemporary, of one who saw and groaned over the calamities of his people, and who was moved to passionate indignation by the mingled folly and wickedness of the rulers of the land. This part of the Chronicle is then a document of the highest value for the historian, and yet it is one which requires to be used with some caution on account of the motive by which it is unconsciously inspired. That motive is the strong tendency which always leads a beaten army or a beaten nation to argue that the enemy did not fight fairly, or that "the pass was sold" to them by some traitor in the camp. It is quite possible that all the accusations brought by the chronicler are true, especially that the inexplicable treasons of Elfric and Eadric were as monstrous as he describes them; but it is also possible that they may have been magnified by a patriotic scribe, looking round for some scapegoat to bear his people's sins; and in any event what we have to remember is that we are here reading what are virtually the articles of an opposition journalist. It is just possible, therefore, though hardly prob-

able, that in some cases Ethelred's ministers and generals, or even Ethelred himself, if they could be heard in their own defence, might somewhat mitigate the severity of the sentence passed upon them. A few of these criticisms are here inserted, but even these will hardly give a sufficient idea of the tone of condemnation which pervades the whole long reign of Ethelred in the pages of the Chronicle.¹

998. "The Danes came to the mouth of the Frome and ravaged Dorset at their will. The *fyrð* was often gathered together against them, but as soon as they should have all got together, then ever for some cause was flight determined on, and so the Danes in the end always got the victory. So they quartered themselves for the second time in the Isle of Wight, drawing their provisions from Hampshire and Sussex."

999. "The army again came round into the Thames and moved thence up the Medway to Rochester. Then came the Kentish *fyrð* against them and there were they firmly locked in fight. But, alas! the Kentish men too quickly gave way and fled, because they were not supported as they ought to have been. Thus the Danes held the place of slaughter, and took horse and rode far and wide as they chose, and ravaged well-nigh the whole of West Kent. Then the king took counsel with his *witan*, and decided that they must go against the enemy with ship-*fyrð* and also with land-*fyrð*. But when the ships were ready, then some one delayed from day to day and harassed the poor folk who were on board the ships, and ever, when things should have been forwarder they were later, from one time to another, and so they let the army of their enemies grow, and they were always retiring from the sea and the Danes were ever following hard after them. Thus at the end the great ship-*fyrð* accomplished nothing but oppression of the people and waste of money and the emboldening of their foes."

1006. "The Danish fleet came to Sandwich, and the crews did as they had ever done, harrying, burning, murdering where-soever they went. Then the king called out all the people of Wessex and Mercia, and they lay out all the autumn, arrayed against the enemy, but all availed nothing as so often before; for in spite of all this the Danish army marched just where they

¹ The following passages are almost all taken from the Peterborough version of the Chronicle which was based for this part of the narrative on a Canterbury Chronicle. Hence, doubtless, the fulness of the entries relating to Kent.

CHAP. pleased, and the *fyrð* itself did the country folk every harm,
 XXII. while neither the home army (*inn-here*) nor the foreign army (*ut-here*) did them any good. As soon as the weather grew wintry, the *fyrð* went home, and the Danish army after Martinmas, November 11, came to their resting-place in the Isle of Wight and helped themselves to all that they wanted from every quarter. Then in mid-winter they sallied forth through Hants and Berks to their comfortable quarters at Reading, and there did as they pleased, kindling their beacons [blazing villages] wherever they went. Thus fared they to Wallingford which they burned down, and they then went along Ashdown to Cwichelms-law,¹ and there abode, out of pure bravado, because it had been often said that if once they got to Cwichelms-law they would never get back to the sea. They then went home by another way. The *fyrð* was assembled at Cynete (?), and they there joined battle, but soon was that [English] army put to flight, and afterwards they carried their booty down to the sea. Then might the people of Winchester see the invading army, insolent and fearless, marching past their gates to the sea; and they spread over fifty miles from the sea, gathering food and treasure."

It would be tedious to follow the chronicler's example and relate in detail all the events of these successive raids, which recur with melancholy monotony through thirty years. The reader is therefore referred to the accompanying table for the list of the districts successively ravaged by the invaders.

Year.

982 Portland, by three ships' crews landing in Dorsetshire.
 (London burnt; possibly an accidental fire.)

988. Watchet in Somerset. Goda, a Devonshire thegn slain.

991 Ipswich ravaged. Battle of Maldon. Brihtnoth slain.

First payment of *gafol* (tribute) to the Danes.

993 Bamburgh stormed. Great booty taken. Both banks of the Humber ravaged.

994 Brave defence of London, attacked by Olaf and Sweyn.

Essex, Kent, Sussex, Hampshire. Second payment of *gafol*.

997 Cornwall, Devon, Wales, Watchet, Lydford, Tavistock.

¹ Now corrupted into Skutchamfly Barrow, eight and a half miles from the White Horse in Berkshire.

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- 998 Mouth of the Frome, Dorset, Isle of Wight. Sussex and . XXII.
Hants forced to supply provisions.
- 999 Rochester : Kent.
- 1001 Battle at Alton in Hampshire. Devonshire. Taunton
burnt. Exmouth defended. Penhoe and Clist (in
Devon). Bishops Waltham in Hampshire burnt.
- 1002 Marriage of Ethelred with Emma of Normandy. Mas-
sacre of St. Brice's Day. Third payment of *gafol*.
- 1003 Exeter stormed and looted. Wilton, Sarum.
- 1004 Norwich, Thetford. Brave defence of Norfolk by Ulfkytel.
- 1005 Great famine throughout England.
- 1006 Sandwich, Isle of Wight, Reading, Wallingford, Cwichelms-
law.
- 1007 Fourth payment of *gafol*.
- 1008 Ships ordered to be built all over England.
- 1009 Failure of the new navy. Canterbury, Isle of Wight,
Sussex, Hants, Berks, both banks of the Thames,
Oxford. London vainly attacked. Local payment
of *gafol* by East Kent.
- 1010 Ipswich, Thetford, Cambridge, Oxfordshire, Bucks, Bed-
ford, Tempsford (in Bedfordshire), Northampton,
Canning Marsh (in Somerset).
- 1011 Canterbury.
- 1012 Martyrdom of Archbishop Alphege. Fifth payment of
gafol.
- 1013 Mouth of the Humber, Gainsborough. King Sweyn at
Sandwich. Northumbria and all the country north of
Watling Street submit to him. Oxford, Winchester,
Wallingford, Bath, Devon and London submit to
Sweyn. Flight of Ethelred and his family to Nor-
mandy.
- 1014 Death of Sweyn (Feb. 3), Ethelred recalled. Canute, son
of Sweyn, King of the Danes, occupies Lindsey.
Mutilation of Northumbrian hostages by Canute.
Sixth payment of *gafol*.
- 1015 Dorset, Wilts, Somerset ravaged.
- 1016 Warwickshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Hunting-
donshire ; along the fens to Stamford. Lincolnshire,
Nottinghamshire, York, submission of Northumbria,

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London repeatedly attacked. Death of Ethelred (April 23). Edmund Ironside king. Battle of As-sandune. The kingdom divided between Canute and Edmund. Death of Edmund Ironside (Nov. 30). Canute sole king.

Dreary and depressing as is the general course of the narrative of these successive invasions, we have in the early years of the war, not from the chronicler but from an unknown contemporary poet, a graphic account of a battle in which the Northmen were valiantly met and all but defeated. The hero of the battle was Brihtnoth, ealdorman of Essex, brother-in-law of the half-king Athelstan, and champion of the monks against Elfhre of Mercia. The scene was laid at Maldon in Essex, where the dark stream of the Blackwater begins to discharge itself into its broad tidal estuary. The date was 991, the thirteenth year of Ethelred. The poet brings before us the ealdorman Brihtnoth arraying his men-at-arms on the shore of the Blackwater. He rides up and down their ranks, bidding them hold their shields with firm grasp and fear naught. He alights from his horse and stands beside "his friends, his own hearth-warriors," of whose staunch service he has often made proof. While he is standing on the bank a Viking herald shouts forth his threatful message: "The bold sailors have sent me to thee to say that thou must forthwith send to them a ransom of golden rings. It will be for your profit by this payment to forego the flight of spears; and you shall then have peace with the men of the sea." At this Earl Brihtnoth gripped tight his shield and shook his slender ashen spear and poured forth his words of wrath: "The tribute we will give you is naught but flying spears, the edge of deadly iron, the old and trusted sword. Go back and tell the folk who sent thee, that here stands an earl with his warriors who will defend this country, the land of noble Ethelred, to the uttermost. Now that you have visited our land you shall not depart all softly to your homes bearing no marks of battle on your bodies. Rather shall point and edge settle our differences: grim will be the sword-play ere we pay you tribute."

After this interchange of defiances, the troops on either side were drawn up in battle array, but it was some hours before they could close in conflict. The estuary of the Blackwater



was still filled by the flowing tide, and one bridge over the narrower part of the stream, by which the enemy might have crossed, was valiantly defended by three Saxons. "Finding these bridge warders all too bitter," the Northmen moved up stream to find a ford. The earl, in the pride of his soul, allowed many of the hateful people to come to land, shouting aloud: "Listen, warriors! Free space is now granted you to come quickly to us. Come as warriors to the war. God only knows who shall hold the field of slaughter." "The wolves of rapine" tramped through the water, holding high their shields over their heads, and found, when they reached the shore, Earl Brihtnoth waiting to receive them. He had bidden his men "to weave the war-hedge with their shields" (that is to make the shield-wall) and hold it firmly against the foe. Then rose high the war of battle, the ravens gathered together at the sound, and with them came the eagle, greedy for his prey.

With true Homeric fervour the poet describes the incidents of the battle that followed. Brihtnoth was wounded early in the fight by the spear of a Viking, but succeeded in giving his antagonist a death-wound by his javelin.

Blithe was then the chieftain,
Laughed the moody man: "I thank Thee, Lord of heaven,
For this glorious day's work Thou to me hast given".

Soon, however, he received another more deadly wound from a Norse arrow, and though for a little space he still fought on, ere long "to earth fell the golden-hilted sword, nor might he longer hold the hard knife or wield the well-loved weapon". But still the hoary warrior bade the youths fight on and show a bold front to the foe, and as he lay he looked toward heaven and said:—

Thankful I remember, Lord of Nations,
All the joys I in this world have tasted.
Now this one thing do I crave in dying
From Thy hands, O merciful Creator!—
That Thy grace be on my parting spirit,
That my soul in peace to Thee may journey,
To Thy presence, O Thou Lord of Angels,
And that of the Hell-crew none may harm her.

Uttering these words he died, and his corpse was barbarously hacked by the bands of the heathen. Soon were his two squires, Elfnoth and Wulfmaer, lying dead beside him, having freely

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given their lives for their lord. And now was seen the difference between the brave men and the infamous (*nithings*). Now fled from the battle those who loved it not. First in flight was Godric, to whom his good lord had in past days given many a noble steed, but who now leapt on his master's horse and fled fast from the battle, spreading panic among the soldiers, who thought when they saw the well-known steed that it was Brihtnoth himself who was thus fleeing from the encounter. Offa, a thegn of Brihtnoth, upon whom the command of the remnant of the army seems now to have devolved, had said only the day before when they were holding *gemot* (whereat Godric had probably been speaking loud and boastful words):—

Many speak valiant words in council hall,
Who in the time of need from honour fall.

And now Godric's cowardice made vain his words. Then did a young warrior named Elfwine, grandson of an ealdorman of Mercia, speak heart-cheering words to his fellows, reminding them of all the brave old times that they had shared together in Brihtnoth's banquet-hall, drinking mead and talking of hard-won victories.

Now shall not the brave thegns, my countrymen, upbraid me,
That I from this day's fighting have shamefully departed,
And sought my home unwounded, when there my chieftain lieth,
Hacked by the hostile broadswords. That were my worst disaster.
Alas! that there my kinsman, my dead lord, lies before me.
Then many of the sailor host Offa laid low in battle,
But all too soon the chieftain brave himself received his death-blow,
Redeeming thus the promise he to his lord had given,
"Either we twain to castle triumphant ride together
Safe to our homes, or otherwise we both in battle perish,
Sore wounded, life out-bleeding upon the field of slaughter".
So lay the noble Offa all thegn-like by his master.

The poem both begins and ends abruptly, and is evidently a fragment, but we know from the Chronicle that the valour of Brihtnoth's henchmen was vain to restore the battle, and that Maldon was a Northmen's victory. The chief interest of the poem lies in the fact that it so vividly brings before us the devotion of the thegns to their "dear lord" (*wine drihten*), reminding us forcibly of the words of Tacitus concerning the ancestors of these men nine centuries before. "The man is disgraced for the rest of his life who leaves the battle-field

having survived his chief. The chiefs fight for victory, the 'companions' for their chief." Also, unfortunately, the poet reveals to us the existence of treachery and cowardice in the Saxon host. We shall soon come upon notorious instances of men who imitated the panic-breeding flight of the base Godric rather than the noble stand of Brihtnoth and his henchmen.

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We may gather from the lay of Brihtnoth some notions of the manner of fighting in use among the Saxons. The battle was evidently fought on foot, horses being merely used to convey some of the warriors to the field of battle. The chief weapon seems to be the spear (*gar* or *franca*), and next to it the dart (*dareth*), though of course the sword (*sweord*) and dagger or knife (*mece*) are also used. The use of the bow and arrow (*boga* and *flan*) seems still to be rather exceptional, at any rate on the Saxon side. The chief arms of defence are the *byrne* or ringed coat of mail and the *bord* or shield made of linden wood. To "weave the war-hedge" (*wyrcean thone wig-hagan*) with closely interlocked shields is the first duty of an army on the defensive; to break the shield-wall (*brecan thone bordweall*) is the highest act of assailant valour.

At the outset of the battle of Maldon we heard the messenger of "the sea men" suggesting the terms on which they were ready to sell an ignominious immunity from ravage. It was in 991, the very year of that battle, that the first payment of what is generally called Danegeld was made.¹ "And in that year," says the chronicler, "it was first decided that men should pay *gafol* to the Danish men on account of the many terrible things which they wrought on the sea coast. That was at first 10,000 pounds. This was the counsel of Archbishop Siric" (Sigeric of Canterbury, 990-94).² Of course this easy and ignominious remedy for the miseries inflicted by the invaders was only a palliative, not a cure, and the short breathing-time purchased by the payment not having been utilised as it was by

¹ The term Danegeld seems to be properly applicable to the tax imposed on the king's subjects in order to provide for the payment to the Danes. The payment itself is generally called *gafol* in the Chronicle.

² It is stated in Ethelred's Treaty with Olaf (Liebermann, i., 220-228) that the sum promised to the invaders was "22,000 pounds of gold and silver". The document is, on other grounds, an interesting one, as it seems to show a serious effort to secure permanent peace between the two nations.

CHAP. Alfred to put the country in a better state of defence, when
XXII. the importunate beggars came again, they had to be bought off at a higher figure. The following table shows the dates and amounts of the successive payments of *gafol* :—

991	First payment	10,000 pounds (of silver)
994	Second „	16,000
1002	Third „	24,000
1007	Fourth „	36,000 (in two MSS. 30,000)
1009	Local payment, East Kent	3,000
1012	Fifth „	48,000
1014	Sixth „	21,000
		<hr/> 158,000 pounds of silver.

This sum, if we take the pound weight of silver at fifty-four shillings, would be equivalent in intrinsic value to £426,600 sterling, or if we take the “purchasing power” of money in the tenth century at twenty times its present amount, it would be equivalent to a drain of £8,532,000 from a thinly peopled and exhausted country. Probably, as the drain went on, the purchasing power of the silver that remained would be enormously increased and the above estimate may therefore be too small. The chronicler in most cases simply records the fact that the king and his *witan* promised *gafol* to the army (sometimes *gafol* and food) on condition that they should cease from evil; but under the year 1011, after enumerating the districts of England, equivalent to sixteen of our present counties, all of which they had ravaged in that one year, he adds: “All these misfortunes befel us through evil counsel (*un-raed*) because people did not choose either to pay them *gafol* in time or else to fight with them; but when they had done about as much evil as they could possibly do, then people made truce and peace with them. . . . And nevertheless for all this truce and peace and payment of *gafol*, they went everywhere in bands and harried the country and captured and slew our poor people.”

In order to meet these terrible demands upon the treasury, Ethelred imposed the tax called Danegeld, which was possibly the first tax paid in money and not in kind. The amount of this tax in Saxon times does not seem to be clearly stated. Abolished by Edward the Confessor in 1052, it was revived and made much more oppressive by the Conqueror long after all fear of Danish invasion had ceased, and though its discontinuance was frequently talked of, it does not finally disappear

from the treasury rolls till the year 1163.¹ So persistent is the clutch of the tax-gatherer when he has once fastened his claws upon his victim.

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In 992 we have the first of the long series of "inexplicable treasons"² of Elfric, ealdorman of Hampshire and Berkshire. The king and all his *witan* had decided that all the ships that were of any value should be collected in London. The command of this naval armament was entrusted to Ealdorman Elfric, with three colleagues, two of whom were bishops, and they were ordered to intercept the invading host while still upon the high seas. But Elfric gave private warning to the Danish leaders, and on the evening before the day on which the battle was to have been fought, he stole away by himself from the *fyrd*, to his great disgrace. The result was that the Danish fleet escaped, all save one ship, the crew of which was slain; and the Danes in their turn caught the ships of East Anglia and London at a disadvantage, and wrought a mighty slaughter among them, capturing the very ship, all armed and equipped, in which Elfric had been. As a punishment apparently either for this or for yet another treason, his son Elfgar was next year blinded by order of the king. And yet ten years later (1003), when a great *fyrd* had been collected out of Wiltshire and Hampshire, Ealdorman Elfric was again placed in command of it. "But," says the chronicler, "he was again at his old tricks. As soon as the two armies were so near together that they could look into one another's faces, he feigned himself sick and began retching and spewing, and called out that he was suddenly taken ill. Thus did he betray the folk that he should have led to battle. For when the general is cowardly, then is all the army terribly hindered." This is the last time that Elfric is mentioned as in command of an army; but we hear of him (or another ealdorman of the same name) thirteen years later (1016) falling at the battle of Assandune. We may, perhaps, doubt whether he was really a deep-dyed traitor or only a man of weakly and nervous constitution, unable to face "the flight of spears" and quite unfit to be put in command of the smallest detachment of soldiers.

¹ Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, i., 118, 623.

² Freeman, *Hist. of Norm. Conq.*, i., 279.

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In 994 a united effort for the conquest of England was made by a Norwegian and a Danish chieftain. The Norwegian was Olaf Tryggvason, great grandson of Harold Fair-hair, hero of a hundred romantic stories, "fairest and strongest of all men and in prowess surpassing all men talked of by the Northmen". He had already visited England as a foe and had borne a chief part in the battle of Maldon. The Dane was Sweyn, son of Harold Blue-tooth, whose early career has been already described. In the autumn of 994 the two comrades with ninety-four ships sailed up the Thames and fiercely attacked the city of London on September 8, the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, thinking to set it on fire. "But there," says the Chronicle, "God be thanked, they experienced more harm and mischief than they ever thought that any citizens should do unto them. For the holy mother of God showed her mild-heartedness unto those burghers and delivered them from their enemies." The marauding bands then departed and "wrought the most ill that any man could do in burnings and harryings and man-slayings by the sea coast of Essex, in Kent, in Sussex and in Hampshire," and after "they had worked indescribable evil," the king and his *witan* decided to make the second great *gafol* payment of £16,000, and "the army" after once mustering at Southampton, was billeted through the whole land of Wessex while the silver was being collected. The terms of peace being thus settled, Ethelred sent a solemn embassy to Olaf, consisting of Elfsheah and Ethelweard. Both these were in their different ways men worthy of note. Elfsheah or Alphege, who was at this time bishop of Winchester, became twelve years later archbishop of Canterbury, and as we shall see suffered cruel martyrdom at the hands of the Danes. Ethelweard, an ealdorman of Wessex, seems to be clearly identified with the chronicler generally known as Ethelweard, who was of royal blood (being descended from Alfred's elder brother, Ethelred I.), and whose turgid and obscure narrative occasionally sheds a glimmer of light on the dark places of Anglo-Saxon history. The English ambassadors conducted Olaf to Andover; and there he was led "with much worship" into the presence of Ethelred, who bestowed upon him kingly gifts and received him from the bishop's hands, when the baptismal rite had been performed. Under the spell of these new religious influences,

Olaf promised that "he would never again come against the English race in unfriendly guise," a promise which, as the chronicler says, he well fulfilled. Next year (995) he made himself master of the Norwegian kingdom, and succeeded in inducing all the Norwegian chiefs, north and south, to become converts to Christianity. After a reign of five years full of romantic adventures,¹ the Norwegian hero fell in a great sea-fight against the combined forces of his former ally, Sweyn of Denmark, and his namesake, Olaf of Sweden. For fourteen years (1000-14) Norway lay under the yoke of the confederate kings. The increase of power thus obtained by Denmark may have had something to do with the success of Sweyn's schemes for the conquest of England.

Powerless as Ethelred was to defend our island from her foes, he could at least imitate their ravages in that portion of it which was not under his immediate rule. "In the year 1000 he marched into Cumberland and harried very nearly the whole of it." Even here, however, his unrivalled genius for failure showed itself. His ships—the remnant probably of those collected in the previous year—were to have met him at Chester and co-operated in his campaign. This they failed to do, but "they sailed to the Isle of Man and ravaged there". These last words throw a little light on what is otherwise not only an obscure but an utterly purposeless proceeding. We know from other sources that Man was an island stronghold of the Norse pirates, and there are, as we have seen, indications that from thence a stream of Scandinavian settlers passed into Cumberland towards the close of the tenth century. It is true that Norse rather than Danish seems to have been the character of the settlement in the Isle of Man, but as the Scandinavian sea-rovers were still acting generally in concert against the English, this fact need not prevent us from seeing in this Cumbrian raid an act of energy on Ethelred's part against the Danish invaders.

Two strangely contrasted events, a marriage and a massacre, fill up the record for 1002. There had been apparently some

¹ Admirably told to English-speaking readers in Longfellow's "Saga of King Olaf," which is, in fact, a paraphrase of this part of the *Heimskringla*.

CHAP. desultory warfare between Ethelred and Richard the Good, son
XXII. of Richard the Fearless, duke of Normandy. An expedition against the Cotentin, the western horn of Normandy, had proved, like many of Ethelred's undertakings, unsuccessful, and now the English king, his first wife being dead, in order to strengthen himself by a foreign alliance, sued for and obtained the hand of Richard's sister Emma in marriage. The bride was brought over to England with much pomp in the spring of 1002 by the magnates of the realm who had been sent to escort her. An attempt was made to change her name to the Saxon Aelfgyfu (Elgiva), but the Norman "Emma" is that by which she has ever been known in history. She bore to Ethelred two sons, Alfred and Edward (the Confessor). Queen Emma, who was known as the "*gemma Normannorum*," was probably beautiful after the fair type of her Scandinavian ancestors, but her character is not an attractive one, and indirectly her connexion with the royal family of Wessex wrought much harm to England. Henry of Huntingdon (writing of course after the Norman conquest) makes the extraordinary statement that "from this union of an English king with the daughter of a Norman duke, the Normans justly, according to the law of nations, challenged and obtained possession of the English land". He goes on to say, however, that a certain man of God had prophesied that because of the enormous crimes of the English people, their addiction to murder, treason, drunkenness, and neglect of the house of the Lord, "an unlooked-for dominion should come upon them from France, and even the nation of the Scythians, whom they held most vile, should also rule over them to their deserved confusion".

After narrating the payment of the third *gafol* to the Danes (24,000 pounds), the chronicler proceeds: "In that year the king ordered all the Danish men who were in England to be slain on St. Bricius' Day, November 13, because the king was informed that they wished to plot against his life and afterwards against the lives of all his *witan*, and so to have the kingdom easily for themselves". A most extraordinary statement is this, describing an event even more unintelligible than the other events in this inexplicable reign. The alleged murder of all Danish men reminds us of the Sicilian Vespers, but the historical parallel may be deceptive. The Chronicle speaks

only of the murder of "Danish men"; the statements of later Chronicles extending the massacre to women and children are probably oratorical amplifications. Henry of Huntingdon gives us an interesting personal touch when he says: "In our boyhood we heard from some very ancient men that the aforesaid king sent letters to each city, according to which the English on the same day and hour, either hewed down the unsuspecting Danes with their swords or, having suddenly arrested them, burned them with fire". Notwithstanding statements like this, it may be safely asserted that all the thousands of Danish men who were scattered over England, in the Danelaw and elsewhere, did *not* perish on St. Brice's Day. Nor is this probably the Chronicle's meaning. We learn from another version of the Chronicle that in the previous year (1001) Pallig, whom we know to have been a Danish jarl and brother-in-law of King Sweyn, "fell off from Ethelred, contrary to all the assurances that he had given him, although the king had well gifted him with villages and gold and silver"; and that he had joined the Danes who were invading Devonshire. On the somewhat doubtful authority of William of Malmesbury we are assured that this Pallig, his wife and child were killed in the massacre. This may suggest to us that the real character of the event of St. Brice's Day was a kind of *coup d'état*; the summary and treacherous execution of all the Danes who of recent years had flocked into Wessex and taken service in the court and camp of Ethelred. Even so, the deed was sufficiently atrocious, but not impossible, as the murder of all the Danes on English soil would certainly have been.

Passing over some important events, among them the brave defence of East Anglia by its ealdorman Ulfcytel ("No worse hand-play did the Danes ever meet with from Englishmen than that which Ulfcytel gave them"), we come to the year 1008, for which the Chronicle gives us the following important but perplexing entry: "Now the king bade that through all England men should regularly build ships, that is for 300 hides . . . and for 10 hides a skiff, and for 8 hides a helmet and coat of mail".

There is evidently something omitted in this sentence, and it is generally agreed that the "Worcester" version of the Chronicle

CHAP. XXII. which fills up the lacuna with the words "one great ship" has much to recommend it, though the scribe himself may not have understood correctly the meaning of the passage. We may perhaps draw from it this conclusion, that in each county every unit of three hundred hides was called upon to furnish one large warship; the owner of ten hides (1,200 acres?) a light skiff not much bigger than a boat, the owner of eight hides (960 acres?) a helmet and a coat of mail. Whatever difficulty there may be in this obscure passage, it is interesting to note that we have here the origin of "ship-money". The great case of *Rex v. Hampden* in the Exchequer Chamber was connected by a distinct chain of causation with the Danish sea-rovers' movements in the early years of the eleventh century. As usual, these large preparations came to nothing, although (says the chronicler) "as the books tell us, never in no king's day were so many ships seen in England as were now gathered together at Sandwich". But domestic dissension and one man's treachery ruined all (1009).

The new traitor who now emerges from obscurity, and for the next ten years exercises a malign influence on England's fortunes, is Edric Streona, who was in 1007 set over Mercia as ealdorman. Florence of Worcester ascribes to him the murder of Elfhelm, ealdorman of Northumbria, in a forest near Shrewsbury, and thus draws his general character: "The aforesaid Edric, son of Ethelric, was a man of low origin, whose tongue had procured for him riches and rank, clever in wit, pleasant in speech, but one who surpassed all the men of his time in envy, faithlessness and cruelty". We have here a more dangerous type of man than his predecessor Elfric; a man who will not be afraid to lead armies to battle, though it may be to their deliberately planned ruin; a man who will have the courage to plot and execute crimes which would have been too much for the delicate digestion of Elfric. Edric had a large band of brothers, who no doubt shared the profits and the enmities which attended his sudden elevation. One of these named Brihtric accused a nobleman named Child Wulfnoth to the king, evidently hoping to profit by the forfeiture of his estates. Thus driven into rebellion, Wulfnoth took to piracy, persuaded twenty ships' crews out of the king's fleet to join him, and ravaged the southern coast like a Dane. Brihtric with eighty ships went forth against him, boasting

that he would bring back Wulfnoth, alive or dead, but he was overtaken by a terrible storm which battered and thrashed the ships and drove many of them on shore. These Brihtric burned; the others were with difficulty conveyed up the Thames to London. Thus, through the intrigues of one man, Edric's brother, did the great naval force waste its energies on an inglorious civil war, "and we had not," says the chronicler, "the happiness nor the honour that we hoped to derive from an efficient navy any more than in previous years". Of course now, when "the immense hostile army came to Sandwich, there were no ships to meet it". The Danes landed in Kent, besieged Canterbury, were bought off by a special local *gafol* of 3,000 pounds, and marched on into Berkshire, harrying and burning. For once Ethelred showed some energy, made a levy *en masse* of his people, outmarched the Danes and was on the point of cutting off their retreat to their ships. The English peasant soldiers of the *fyrð* were keen to attack them and avenge the burning of their homesteads and the slaughter of their brethren, "but it was all hindered, now as ever, by Edric the ealdorman". In November the invaders took up their winter quarters in Kent, drawing their supplies from the counties on both sides of the Thames, "and many a time they attacked the town of London. But God be thanked, she yet stands sound and well, and they have ever fared ill before her walls."

The years 1011 and 1012 were made sadly memorable by the successful siege of Canterbury and the murder of its archbishop. The siege lasted from September 8 to 29, and it is hinted that it would not so soon have ended but for the treason of Elfmaer, Abbot of St. Augustine's, whose life had once been saved by the archbishop whom he now betrayed. This archbishop was Elfheah or Alphege, whom we met with seventeen years before when he was sent, as bishop of Winchester, to negotiate with Olaf Tryggvason. He had been for six years archbishop of Canterbury, when he had to witness the capture of the hitherto inviolate city of St. Augustine by the pagans. Besides the archbishop, other great persons, a king's reeve, a bishop and an abbeſs were taken prisoners, but these latter seem to have been allowed to ransom themselves. "Abbot Elfmaer"—significant entry—"was suffered to depart."

CHAP. XXII. The Danes searched the city through and through ; and the spoil collected and the ransoms paid doubtless made this raid one of the most profitable of their speculations. The archbishop, however, was a perplexing prize. His captors had formed extravagant ideas of what an archbishop's ransom ought to be, and when they named their price, the archbishop would not hear of his flock being subjected for his sake to such a terrible exaction ; and not only would do nothing himself, but positively forbade all the faithful to take any steps towards procuring his ransom.

Seven months was the venerable captive kept in the Danish camp, while the fruitless negotiations went on. At last on April 19, 1012, when the Danes were all excited by the arrival of the largest *gafol* that Ethelred had yet paid them, a *gafol* amounting to 48,000 pounds weight of silver ; and when their hearts were also merry with wine brought from the shores of the Mediterranean, the archbishop was brought forth from his prison. The rude tribunal before which he was brought bore a name long afterwards well known in England : it was called "the hustings". The time was Saturday evening, the eve of the first Sunday after Easter ; the scene strangely dissonant with the many peaceful vespers of the archbishop's past. The drunken barbarians, singing perchance some of their fathers' rude war-songs, began to pelt the aged prisoner with the bones left over from their banquet, with the skulls of the oxen which they had slaughtered. Even so in Valhalla, according to the Viking mythology, had the gods amused themselves by pelting the invulnerable Balder with stones and other missiles, until the blind Hoder, inspired by mischief-working Loki, hurled the fatal mistletoe, which alone had power to deprive him of life. The brutal game went on and the air was filled with the drunken laughter of the barbarians at the old man's misery. At last one of their number named Thrum, who had been confirmed by the archbishop only the day before, with kind cruelty clave his head with a battle-axe. "He fell down dead with the blow and his holy blood was spilled upon the earth, but his saintly soul went forth into God's kingdom." The martyrdom, for such in truth it was, took place at Greenwich. Next day the barbarians suffered the saint's body to be removed to London, where it was received with all reverence by the bishop and burghers of the city, as well as by the bishop of Dorchester, and by

them deposited in St. Paul's cathedral. "And there," says the Chronicle, "does God now show forth the wonder-working power of the holy martyr." The translation of the remains to Canterbury will be described in a future chapter. Under the altered form of Saint Alphege, the name of the murdered archbishop still appears in the calendar of the English Church, which commemorates the day of his martyrdom, April the 19th.

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Up to this point the Danish invasions of this period have been mere plundering and blackmailing raids, apparently with no thought of permanent conquest. Had that been the aim of the sea-rovers, all this cruel burning and slaughtering would have been beside the mark: for why should a conqueror utterly ruin a land which he meant to rule? In 1013, however, a change came over the character of the invasions. They became part of a regular scheme of conquest; and the old Danish king who brought with him Canute,¹ his son, determined to make the country his own. Sweyn landed in the estuary of the Humber: Northumbria, Lindsey and the Five Boroughs submitted to him and gave him hostages, whom he sent to the ships to be kept under his son's guardianship. He ordered the inhabitants to feed and mount his soldiers; he restored the full Danish dominion over all the country beyond the Watling Street as it existed in the darkest years of the ninth century. He then crossed the Watling Street, harrying the midland counties. Oxford submitted, so did Winchester. He marched against London, losing many of his foolhardy soldiers in crossing the Thames. London as usual made a brave defence. Ethelred was there, and with Ethelred a strange ally, none other than Thurkill the Dane who had commanded the invading army in 1009. It was Thurkill's men who had captured Canterbury and murderously pelted the holy Elfheah; but according to one contemporary authority Thurkill himself had tried to save him, offering the murderers all his treasures, "except only

¹ The name of this well-known historical personage was undoubtedly Knut or Cnut. It is so written both in the Scandinavian *Sagas* and in the English Chronicle. But the Latinised form Canutus preserves the remembrance of a helping vowel which may have been often used, even by contemporaries, at least in England. At this day the Danish name Knothe is always pronounced Kinnoté in Northumberland. The important point is to remember that the accent is on the last syllable: Canúte, not Cánute.

CHAP. his ship," if they would but be merciful. Possibly the remembrance of that scene, or some lessons in Christianity which he may have learned from the captive archbishop, induced him now to lower the Raven-banner and take service under Ethelred. Possibly, too, it was this notable defection which caused Sweyn to come over in person and pluck the ripe fruit, lest it should fall into the hands of one of his subjects.

XXII. The Danish king next moved westward to Bath, and received the submission of that ancient city and of all the western thegns, each one of whom had to give hostages, who were sent like the others to the Humber to be kept under Canute's guardianship. Even the brave citizens of London saw that it was useless further to prolong the contest. They submitted, gave hostages and joined with the rest of England in acknowledging Sweyn as "full king". There are indications that this great revolution was prompted not merely by the desire to end in any manner the dreadful period of Danish ravagings, but also by utter disgust at the character of Ethelred, who seems to have been not merely incapable but also lustful and cruel. In the years which we have been traversing, there are some strange entries in the Chronicle recording executions, blindings, confiscations, no doubt inflicted at the command of Ethelred; and William of Malmesbury, in quoting a letter from Thurkill to Sweyn, makes him thus describe the condition of England and her king. "The land is a fair land and a rich, but the king snores. Devoted to women and wine, he thinks of everything rather than war, and this makes him hateful to his subjects and ridiculous to foreigners. The generals are all jealous of one another: the country-folk are weak, and fly from the field at the first crash of battle." This letter is probably not authentic, but its words show what was the traditional character of "the redeless king".

Recognising that his sceptre was broken, Ethelred sent the Lady Emma and her two sons across the sea to her brother in Normandy. He himself lingered for a while, first on ship-board in the Thames; then in the Isle of Wight, where he seems to have spent his Christmas; and then he too escaped to "Richard's Land," as the chroniclers call the duchy of Normandy. Thus then had Sweyn, the heathen and the parricide, king of Denmark by inheritance and of England by conquest,

reached the summit of his earthly ambition : and having reached it, he was speedily removed by death. According to the legend related by Symeon of Durham, his death was a punishment for his contemptuous behaviour towards St. Edmund of East Anglia. Often had he spoken in a disrespectful manner of this martyred king, declaring that his saintship was an idle tale ; and, what was more serious, he had announced to the monks of St. Edmundsbury that unless by a certain day a heavy tax which he had laid upon their monastery was paid, he would march thither with his men, give the sanctuary to the flames and put its inmates to death with a variety of torments. On the very day before his threatened expedition he was sitting on his horse at Gainsborough surrounded by the armed assembly of his warriors. Suddenly he cried out, " Help me, comrades ! help ! yonder is Saint Edmund who is coming to slay me ". While he was thus speaking, an unseen hand transfixed him with a spear : he fell from his war-horse and died at nightfall in great agony. Such is the legend. The Chronicle records only the simple fact that " at Candlemas on February 3, 1014, Sweyn ended his days, and all the fleet chose Cnut for their king ". The dead monarch seems to have reigned as " full king " over England for barely a month after the flight of Ethelred. His death led to a sudden shifting of the scene.

" Then all the *witan*, lay and clerical, resolved that they would send for King Ethelred, and they said that no lord should be dearer to them than their natural born lord, if only he would govern more righteously than he had done aforetime. Then the king sent hither his son Edward with his messengers, and bade greeting to all his people, and said that he would be to them a gracious lord and would amend all the things of which they complained, and that everything which they had done or said against him should be forgiven, on condition that they would all firmly and loyally adhere to him. Thus was full friendship made fast between them with word and pledge on either side ; and they pronounced every Danish king outlawed from England for ever. Then came King Ethelred in spring-tide home to his own people, and gladly was he received by all of them."

It was an easy matter for the *witan* to declare every Danish

CHAP. king an outlaw ; to expel the young and vigorous Canute from
XXII. the kingdom was a very different affair. At this time the Dane's strongest position was in Lincolnshire, his naval base of operations being still doubtless the estuary of the Humber. The men of Lindsey had resorted to him at Gainsborough, and had undertaken to supply him with horses and to go forth together with him and harry. But now when Ethelred with "a full fyrd" appeared in Lincolnshire, Canute who was not ready for fight, stole away to his ships and sailed forth from the Humber, leaving "the poor folk whom he had deceived" to their king's vengeance. Ethelred then "harried and burned and slew every man who could be got at". Evidently the long years of war had thoroughly brutalised both the combatants. Canute, enraged probably by the proceedings of the *witan*, sailed round to Sandwich, and there landed the luckless hostages who had been delivered to his father by the northern shires in 1013. He chopped off their hands and noses and then, apparently, let them return to their homes. This savage mutilation is the greatest piece of barbarity that stands recorded against him. Meanwhile the portion of the fleet which Thurkill commanded lay at Greenwich, and from thence, though professing to support the cause of Ethelred, ravaged the country as much as they pleased. Thus for the unhappy peasants there was little to choose between Thurkill and Canute.

In the following year, 1015, there was a great meeting of the *witan* at Oxford, and here Edric, of whose treasons we have lately heard but little, distinguished himself by a characteristic piece of villainy. There were two thegns, probably brothers, named Sigeferth and Morcar, men with large estates and holding highest rank in the Five, or as they were now called, the Seven Boroughs (York and Chester were perhaps the two new additions to the old group). These men Edric, when he met them at the *witenagemot*, invited into his chamber and there he treacherously slew them. According to the somewhat doubtful story of William of Malmesbury, he had first made their henchmen drunk, and then when they, too late, sought to avenge their lords, Edric's followers overpowered them, chased them into the church of St. Frideswide and slew them there. The king was evidently consenting to the death of these men, and purposed to bestow their broad lands

on their murderer. But now came a strange overturn. Sigeferth's widow had been by royal order conveyed to Malmesbury, probably with the intention of immuring her in the convent. Thither also, after a short interval, went the king's son, the Etheling Edmund Ironside, whom we now hear of for the first time, but who was to be the protagonist in the next two years' combat. He wooed the widow of Sigeferth; he perhaps promised to take vengeance on her husband's murderers; he married her, contrary to the king's command, and then early in September he marched to the Seven Boroughs, presented himself as the avenger of the murdered thegns and the heir of one of them, made himself master of all their domains and received the submission of their people.

The king was now lying at Cosham,¹ stricken with mortal sickness, and could exercise little influence on the course of events. The hopes of the nation must have all rested on Edmund, who certainly showed in these two years courage and activity, though he may have inherited some of his father's incapacity for reading the characters of men. Thus, notwithstanding the breach between them, which he should have known to be deadly, he accepted the offered help of Edric Streona who repaired to his standard in the north, only to exercise his usual paralysing influence on the army, and then deserted to Canute, inducing the crews of the forty ships at Greenwich to follow his example.

England was now, in 1016, divided in a fashion not seen before. All Wessex was submissive to Canute and gave him horses and hostages, while the district of the Seven Boroughs and probably the whole of Northumbria went with Edmund, heir by marriage of the influence of Sigeferth. He summoned the Mercian *fyrð* to his standard, but the men replied, curiously enough, that "it did not please them to go forth, unless the king were with them, and they had the support of the burgesses of London". Apparently the Etheling Edmund was more than half suspected of being a rebel against his father, and in the strange confusion of the strife the approval of the brave citizens of London was the only irrefragable sign and seal of rightful lordship. With some difficulty the sick king was brought from London, where he then abode, to the northern *fyrð*, but being

¹ In Hampshire, near Portsmouth.

CHAP. alarmed by rumours of a conspiracy against his life, he quitted
XXII. the camp and returned to London. "Thus the summoning of the *fyrð* availed nothing more than it had ever done before."

The junction of Edmund's forces with those of Uhtred, earl of Northumbria, might seem to promise more effectual resistance to the foreigner. Practically, however, it resulted in nothing more than a series of harryings in Shropshire, Staffordshire and Cheshire, from which Uhtred was suddenly recalled by the tidings that Canute had marched northwards and was already nearing York. Uhtred abandoned his harrying and hastened to meet the enemy, but in presence of Canute's superior force was obliged to submit, acknowledge the Dane as his king, and give hostages. The submission availed him naught. After this surrender he and another powerful Northumbrian named Thurcytel were put to death by Canute. This crime also was attributed to the malign influence of Edric Streona. The struggle now centred round London. There was the sick king; thither his son Edmund went to meet him. Thither was Canute sailing with his ships, but ere he arrived, an enemy stronger than he had found entrance. On April 23, 1016, King Ethelred died, and this dreariest of all English reigns came to an end. Old as Ethelred seems to us by reason of the evils which he had so long inflicted on his country, he was still only in the forty-ninth year of his age.

"After the death of Ethelred, all the *witan* that were in London and the citizens chose EDMUND for king, and he boldly defended his kingdom while his time was," which was only for seven months. Canute, who was obstinately set on the conquest of London, made a canal on the south side of the Thames and passed his ships through it, so as to bring them into the main stream above the strongly defended bridge. After two battles in Somerset and Wilts the English king came to the help of the citizens and defeated the Danes at Brentford. His army, however, was somewhat lacking in discipline, for "many English folk were drowned in the river through their own carelessness, pushing on beyond the main body of the *fyrð* in the hope of taking booty". In the battles which followed on the Orwell, in Mercia, in the island of Sheppey, Edmund was generally victorious; but all such success was counterbalanced by the

disastrous return of Edric to the English army and by Edmund's acceptance of his help. "Never was worse counsel adopted than that." The last and greatest of the long series of battles was fought at Assandune, in the flats of Essex between the Thames and the estuary of the Crouch. Here, after a long and fierce encounter, victory fell to the Danes, it is said through the treachery of Edric, who was the first to take flight and who spread panic through the English ranks by displaying a severed head, which, he shouted, was the head of Edmund Ironside. In this battle fell the old traitor Elfric and a very different man, the brave East Anglian Ulfcytel, besides many other thegns. There, in fact, fell the flower of the English manhood.

It seemed clear that neither of the opposing forces could utterly crush the other. By the mediation of Edric a meeting was arranged between the two kings at Olney, an island in the Severn not far from Gloucester. A payment, we are not told of what amount, was made to the Danish army, and the kingdom was divided between the combatants, Wessex to Edmund, Mercia and Northumbria to Canute. London, faithfully following the house of Cerdic, was included in the peace, and the now reconciled Danish mariners were allowed to take up their winter quarters in the city by the Thames. A peculiar relation, somewhat embellished by the fancy of later historians, seems to have been established between the two young partners in the kingdom. Brotherhood in arms was perhaps sworn to between them; it is alleged that the survivor of the twain was assured of the inheritance of his partner. Whatever may have been the precise nature of the tie, it was soon dissolved. On November 30, 1016, Edmund Ironside "fared forth," and was buried by the side of his grandfather, Edgar, at Glastonbury. He was only about twenty-three years of age. A death so opportune for the purposes of Canute and his followers naturally arouses suspicion. Later historians had no hesitation in making Edric the murderer. There is also something in the after-life of Canute which looks like remorse for some great crime committed against his brother-king. On the other hand it is but justice to say that there is no hint of foul play in any contemporary authority; and the death of the young king may perhaps be accounted for by the fearful labours and anxieties of his last two years of warring and reigning.

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The period which we have lately traversed is one of those dreary times which a patriotic historian would gladly blot out from the annals of England, and one is half inclined to resent the exceptional fulness of detail with which it is treated in the Saxon Chronicle. Yet it is a time which the student of our social history cannot afford to overlook. If the thirty years' war in the seventeenth century left deep scars on the face of Germany, which were still visible after the lapse of two hundred years, we must surely believe that the wounds inflicted by the incessant ravages and harryings of the Danes for more than thirty years were also deep and long lasting. The utter demoralisation of king and people, the apparent rottenness of the body politic, as manifested in the course of the struggle, abate much of our first feeling of patriotic regret for the Norman conquest, suggesting as they do the reflection that these Saxons, if left to themselves, would never have made a strong and stable nation. Much as we condemn the conduct of Ethelred, we may be inclined to conjecture that all the mischief was not wrought in his reign. We should perhaps do wisely in mistrusting a good deal that is told us about the glory and the greatness of the reign of Edgar. After all, it was in that king's days that traitors such as Elfric and Edric were growing up into maturity. Had Edgar left the country a really strong, well-organised state, it could hardly have gone down so speedily before the assaults of the sea-rovers. Probably the new and nobler life breathed into the Saxon people by the great Alfred lasted during the reigns of Edward and Athelstan and not much longer.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CANUTE AND HIS SONS.

WHEN in 1016 Edmund Ironside died, there could be little question that CANUTE must be sole King of England. It was true that Edmund had left two sons, Edmund and Edward, but they were mere babes and it was no time for a protracted regency. In the older generation, of the numerous progeny of the redeless Ethelred (nine sons and six daughters), there were still left only three whose claims could deserve consideration. These were Edwy, the son of his first marriage, and two boys, Alfred and Edward, sons of Emma. These latter, however, besides the disadvantage of their youth—they cannot have been more than twelve years of age—were still absent from England, at the court of their uncle Richard, Duke of Normandy. They seem therefore to have been left altogether out of the reckoning at this juncture, though one of them a generation later was to ascend the throne of England, and to be known under the name of Edward the Confessor. There remained, therefore, as claimant, of the immediate family of Ethelred, only his elder son, Edwy, who was probably in his twentieth year, or thereabouts, but who seems to have borne a high character for wisdom and prudence. But there was another shadowy competitor for the crown who also bore the name of Edwy, with the strange epithet, "King of the Churls". In our complete ignorance of this man's previous history we can only guess from whence he emerged. One such guess is that he claimed to be descended from his namesake, the brother of Edgar, and that, having put himself forward as champion of the free tillers of the soil (a class doubtless sorely suffering from thirty years of anarchy), he was called in derision "King of the Ceorls". However this may be, neither Edwy could stand for a moment against the might of the young

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CHAP. Dane, already the acknowledged sovereign of all England north
XXIII. of the Thames, and with the terrible "army" at his back, ready at the giving of a signal to break loose from their winter quarters and resume their terrible harryings of the land. Canute had apparently no difficulty in decreeing that both the Edwys should be banished the realm, nor shortly after in putting the son of Ethelred to death.

The two infant sons of Edmund Ironside were sent by Canute to the King of Sweden, it is said with a request that they might be quietly put out of the way. The Swedish king, however, declined to make himself the Dane's executioner, and passed the children on to the King of Hungary. Forty years after our present date, one of them having returned to England became, not indeed himself a king, but father of a Scottish queen, and ancestor, through her, of many generations of English sovereigns. As to the manner in which Canute acquired the power of dealing thus summarily with the descendants of Cerdic, there is some uncertainty. One version of the Chronicle says that he was "chosen to be King of all England," and so far confirms the elaborate account of Florence of Worcester. This author says that there was a great meeting of the *witan* in London, and that Canute interrogated them as to the nature of the agreement made between him and Edmund Ironside at Olney, whereof they had all been witnesses. "Was anything then said about the right of brothers or sons to succeed Edmund in Wessex, if he should die in Canute's lifetime?" Thus interrogated, they said that they knew for certain that Edmund destined no portion of his kingdom for his brothers, either in his lifetime or after his death, but that he looked to Canute as the future helper and protector of his sons till they should reach the age of kingship. "But herein they called God to witness of a lie," hoping to win the king's favour thereby. According to this story, Canute's election to the throne by the *witan* of London was the result of hard swearing; but the Scandinavian authorities assert, and some modern historians believe, that the exclusion of Edmund's brothers from the succession was really part of the compact of Olney. The question must probably be left unsettled. What is not doubtful is the full and undisputed power which the young Danish conqueror ever thereafter wielded in England, and the peace and com-

parative prosperity which for near twenty years she enjoyed under his sway. Wisely distrustful of his own ability to direct personally the details of government throughout the whole kingdom, Canute at once divided it into five districts, four of which he placed under rulers with delegated power. East Anglia he placed under the government of Thurkill the Dane, once the ally of Ethelred, but now his own henchman. What was once Deira was assigned to Yric or Eric, also a Dane, who seems, as before, to have made York his capital. In old Bernicia English lords of the family of Uhtred still held sway. Mercia was handed over to the notorious Edric Streona, while Wessex, the heart and centre of Anglo-Saxon monarchy, was reserved for Canute's own especial rule. Here, and not in any of the Scandinavian lands across the sea, he resolved to make his home for the remainder of his life. All these great lords-lieutenant (as we should call them) were probably called earls, a title copied from the Danish *jarl* which was now gradually supplanting the old English ealdorman.

Two of these newly appointed earls did not long enjoy their dignities. In 1017 the old traitor Edric Streona was put to death by Canute: "most justly," says the latest recension of the Chronicles. Florence of Worcester asserts that "Canute ordered him to be killed within the palace, because he feared that he might one day be circumvented by his plots, as had often been the fate of his former lords, Ethelred and Edmund". He may have been, as he is depicted in the Chronicle, one of the vilest of men, or he may have been merely a great opportunist, the Talleyrand or the Sunderland of a shifting and difficult period; but even so, it is hard for a man of that stamp to convince his new employer that he has really changed front for the last time. Thurkill of East Anglia fell into disgrace in 1021 and was banished. After two years he was restored to favour, yet not brought back to England, but entrusted with the regency of Denmark. There is some evidence that he, like Edric, had married a daughter of Ethelred; and there is reason to suppose that not only the sons, but even the sons-in-law, of the late king were viewed with suspicion by Canute.¹

In the first year of his reign, on July 31, 1017, the young

¹ This is Freeman's suggestion, *Norman Conquest*, i., 415.

CHAP. Danish king, now about twenty-two years of age, took to wife
XXIII. Emma of Normandy, widow of Ethelred, and probably thirteen years his senior. As to the motives for this somewhat surprising marriage we have no sufficient information. It may have been due to a politic desire to secure the friendship of Normandy; it may have been Canute's wish to present to his English subjects an appearance of continuity in the domestic life of the palace of Winchester; or there may have been—who knows?—a romantic passion engendered when the future bride and bridegroom met during the negotiations after the siege of London.¹ The new queen certainly seems to have faithfully complied with the spirit of the Scriptural precept about the bride's forgetting of former ties, but need she also have forgotten the children of her former marriage? The son whom she bore to Canute, and who was named Harthacnut, was the object of her fondest affection. Canute evidently ousted the memory of the inglorious Ethelred, whose sons Alfred and Edward lingered on at their uncle's court, apparently forgotten by their mother, and with no effort on her part to bring about their return from exile.

It was perhaps only a coincidence, though an unfortunate one, that the second marriage of Emma, like her first, was accompanied, if not by a massacre, by a considerable sacrifice of human life. In 1017 Canute ordered the execution not only of Edwy, of the seed royal, and of Edric the traitor, but of "Northman, son of Leofwine the ealdorman, and Ethelweard, son of Ethelmaer the Fat, and Brihtric, son of Elfheah in Devonshire". The last name is for us meaningless: Ethelweard is interesting as denoting the grandson of Ethelweard the Chronicler, the "Patrician," as he calls himself; the man of royal descent and of pompous diction. The name of Northman, son of Leofwine, deserves further notice as being our first introduction to a family which was to play an important part in the next half-century of English history. For five generations, since the very beginning of the eighth century, the family of Leofwine had borne a high place in the kingdom of Mercia. This Leofwine himself in 997 signed charters as *dux*, that is ealdorman, of the province of the Hwiccas. It was his son Northman who now, we know not on what pretext or under

¹ This also is Freeman's suggestion (*u.s.*, i., 411).

what cloud of suspicion, was put to death by Canute. The king's wrath seems not to have extended to the other members of Northman's family; for his father Leofwine at once received the earldom of Mercia, vacated by the death of Edric, and there are some indications that his son Leofric received a minor earldom, possibly that of Chester, which may have been previously held by the slain Northman.¹

About the same time as the family of Leofwine, a rival family, one which was to engrave its name yet more deeply on the pages of English history, begins to make its appearance, not yet indeed in the Chronicles, but in those invaluable charters which show us by the names of the attesting witnesses who at any given period were the most prominent personages in the English court. Godwine, son of Wulfnoth, is a man over whose ancestry there hangs a cloud of mystery, the result partly of the poverty of Anglo-Saxon nomenclature, which makes it often difficult to identify the particular Wulfnoth or Edric or Ethelweard of whom we are in quest. There are stories about him of a romantic kind, according to which he, as a cowherd's son, had the good fortune to meet a king or an earl who had lost his way after one of the battles between Canute and Edmund; gave him a night's shelter, and was rewarded by patronage which enabled the future Earl Godwine to get his foot planted on the first rung of the official ladder. For these stories, which we find chiefly in chroniclers of a much later age, there appears to be no sufficient foundation. On the whole it seems probable that he was the offspring neither of a *thegn* nor of a *theow*, but sprang from some middle stratum of Anglo-Saxon society. Whatever his origin may have been, he was evidently a man of energy and capacity, and he rose rapidly in the favour of Canute, who was perhaps glad to obtain the services of new men, neither suspected of too strong an attachment to their former master, Ethelred, nor branded with the shame of his betrayal. Already, in 1018, he had the rank of earl, of what district we are not informed. He is said to have accompanied Canute in 1019 on a visit which he paid to Denmark; and to have distinguished himself in a war against the Wends, probably in Pomerania, and on his return to England he

¹ See Freeman, *u.s.*, i., 737-40.

CHAP. was raised to the high and novel position of Earl of the West
XXIII. Saxons. Up to this time the kings of Cerdic's line, while ruling other parts of England by ealdormen or earls, had kept Wessex, the cradle of their dynasty, under their own personal control: and their example was followed by Canute himself at the beginning of his reign. He had now, however, by the death of his obscure and contemptible brother Harold (1016), become the wearer of the Danish crown; and possibly cherishing visions of other and more widely reaching Scandinavian conquests, he determined to keep his hands free from the mere routine of government even in royal Wessex, and therefore handed that province over to the administration of his young and loyal henchman, Godwine. About the same time he further secured the new earl's attachment to the Danish dynasty by marrying him to Gytha, daughter of his cousin, Thurgils Sprakalegg, and sister of his own brother-in-law, Ulf the Jarl. Such a connexion brought the new man, Godwine, very close to Danish royalty. It is possible¹ that, during all the earlier part of his career, Earl Godwine seemed to the English people almost more of a Dane than a Saxon.

The country was now so tranquilly settling down under Canute's rule that he felt himself able to dispense with the presence of "the army". To him, as the chosen and anointed ruler of England, the marches and counter-marches, the harryings and the burnings of these fierce "sea-people" would be as little agreeable as to Alfred or Ethelred. One last and fearfully heavy *gafol*, no less than 72,000 pounds of silver, the equivalent probably of £1,500,000 sterling in our day, had to be raised and paid them, besides a further sum of 10,500 pounds, paid by the citizens of London alone. The army then, in 1018, returned to Denmark, only forty ships and their crews remaining with their peacefully triumphant king. Everything showed Canute's desire to banish the memories of rapine and bloodshed which for so many years had been gathering round his father's name and his own. He is said by one writer to have erected churches on all his battle-fields: he certainly did so (in 1020) on the bloodiest of them all, on Assandune. Earl Thurkill (not yet fallen into disgrace) with the archbishop of York, and many bishops, abbots and monks, joined in hallow-

¹ As suggested by J. R. Green, *Conquest of England*, 479.

ing the minster there erected, a ceremony in which some have seen not only a commemoration of Canute's "crowning mercy" but also an act of reparation for some share, direct or indirect, in the death of his Iron-sided rival. Another object of his devotion was East Anglian Edmund, who had been so barbarously done to death by Ingwar and Hubba. To this saint, it may be remembered, old Sweyn was said to have had a particular aversion, and from his ghostly apparition he was believed to have received his death-stroke. To appease the spirit of this royal martyr was now one of Canute's most cherished desires. He revered his memory with a devotion as especial as his father's hatred, and he, apparently, first gave to the great monastery of St. Edmundsbury that character of magnificence which distinguished it for so many centuries and gave it a place in the foremost rank of English sanctuaries.

In the seventh year of the new reign, 1023, Canute made the greatest of all reparations, that to the memory of the good archbishop whom drunken Danish seamen had brutally slain. The body of St. Alphege had been for some eleven years resting in St. Paul's Church at London. It was more fitting that it should be laid in his own metropolitan church of Canterbury, and thither accordingly it was translated by the king's orders. The delight with which Englishmen saw this tardy reparation to their dead countryman's memory, rendered by a Danish king, shines forth in the enthusiastic pages of the Chronicle. The writer describes how "by full leave" of the king, archbishop Ethelnoth and Bryhtwine, bishop of Sherborne, took up the body from the tomb; how "the glorious king and the archbishop and suffragan bishops and earls and a great multitude, clerical and lay, carried on a ship St. Alphege's holy body over the Thames to Southwark, and committed the holy martyr to the care of Ethelnoth and his companions, who then with a goodly band and with winsome joy bare him to Rochester. Then on the third day came the Lady Emma with her kingly baïrn Harthacnut [aged five], and they all with great pomp and gladness and singing of psalms bare the holy archbishop into Canterbury." The whole proceedings occupied seven days, and on June 15, 1023, the martyr's body was finally deposited on the north side of the altar in Christ Church.

In like manner as Canute had honoured the memory of St.

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CHAP. Edmund of East Anglia and St. Alphege of Canterbury, is he
XXIII. said to have dealt with the sepulchre of Edmund Ironside at Glastonbury. Towards the end of his reign he determined (says William of Malmesbury in his classical style) "to visit the *Manes* of him whom he was wont to call his brother Edmund. Having offered up his prayers, he placed upon the tomb a *pallium* inwoven with divers colours, representing figures of peacocks, which may still be seen there." By his side stood Ethelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, the seventh monk who had gone forth from Glastonbury to preside over the English Church. Before leaving the venerable minster in which rested the bones of so many of his predecessors, Canute gave a charter confirming to the church of the Virgin Mary in Glastonbury all its previous privileges. This charter was said to be given "by the advice of Ethelnoth, the bishops and my nobles, for love of the heavenly kingdom, for the pardon of my crimes and the forgiveness of the sins of my brother King Edmund".

With the description of these expiatory rites our information as to the internal history of England under Canute comes to an end. This part of the Chronicle is extremely meagre, but probably its very sterility is partly an illustration of the proverb, "Happy is the nation that has no annals". After all the agonies of the Danish invasions, now that a wise and masterful Dane sat upon the English throne, the land had rest for twenty years. In external affairs Canute played an important part, which we shall have to consider in relation to (1) Scotland, (2) the Empire and the Papacy, and (3) Norway.

(1) Events of great and lasting significance took place on the Scottish border in the reign of Canute, but to understand them we must go back into the reign of his predecessor, and take up for the last time the story of the wanderings of the incorruptible body of St. Cuthbert. For 112 years that precious relic had reposed at Chester-le-Street, but in 995 Bishop Aldhun, who had for five years presided over the diocese which still bore the name of deserted Lindisfarne, filled with fear of Danish invasions and "forewarned by a heavenly oracle," carried the body farther inland, to the abbey of Ripon. After four months it was considered safe to re-transport it to its former home; but when the bearers reached a certain place on the banks of the Wear, called Wrdelau, the holy body became immovable as a

mountain and refused to be carried an inch farther. It was revealed to a monk named Eadmer that the neighbouring hill of Dunhelm, splendidly and strongly placed in the midst of a fruitful land, and overlooking the windings of a beautiful river, was meant to be the saint's next and final resting-place. Thither accordingly, with joy and gladness, the holy body was carried. The little wattled church which was erected over it was the predecessor of a noble cathedral, the grandest specimen of Norman architecture that our country can boast: and Bishop Aldhun, who lived for twenty-four years after the translation, was the first of the long line of bishops of Durham.

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Almost at once we find the prelates of this see important factors in Northumbrian politics. Aldhun gave his daughter, Ecgfrida (born no doubt before he became an ecclesiastic), in marriage to "a youth of great energy and skilled in military affairs," named Uhtred, who was practically taking the management of affairs out of the hands of his father, Earl Waltheof, as that aged man, self-immured in Bamburgh, was doing naught for the defence of his country. Thus, when in 1006 Malcolm II., King of Scots, taking advantage, doubtless, of the distracted state of England during the Danish invasions, collected the whole army of Scotland, entered Northumbria, laid it waste with fire and sword, and then besieged the new city of Durham, it was Uhtred who gathered troops together and went to the help of the bishop, his father-in-law. As old Waltheof still continued inactive he, on his own responsibility, summoned the *fyrð* of Northumberland, joined it to that of the citizens of York, and with the large army thus collected fell on the Scottish besiegers of Durham and won a complete victory. King Malcolm only escaped with difficulty, and a multitude of his followers were slain. The anonymous chronicler¹ who relates these events, tells us that "the daintier heads of the slain, with their hair inwoven according to the then prevalent fashion, were by Uhtred's orders carried to Durham, fixed on stakes, and placed at intervals round the circuit of the walls, having first been washed by four women, to each of whom he gave a cow as the reward of her labours". That little detail concerning the women's payment for their ghastly toil looks like a bit of genuine tradition.

¹ Author of the tract, *De Obsessione Dunelmi*, added to the history of Symeon of Durham.

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Such was the great English victory of 1006. Now for its fatal reversal twelve years later. The victorious Uhtred, who had become in the meantime Earl of Northumbria and son-in-law of Ethelred, was, as we have seen,¹ put to death by order of Canute, or rather perhaps assassinated at his instigation by a private enemy, just as the struggle between the Danish and English kings was coming to a crisis. The Danish earl, Eric, whom Canute had set over Deira, and the Englishman, Eadwulf Cutel, who had succeeded to some portion of his brother Uhtred's power over Bernicia, were probably known by Malcolm to be inefficient men, not likely to combine for the common defence. In 1018, having made his preparations and formed an alliance with Eugenius the Bald, King of the Cymri of Strathclyde, Malcolm crossed the Firth of Forth and marched through Bernicia as far as the Tweed. The men of Northumbria were already disheartened by the appearance of a comet which for thirty nights had been hanging, ominous, in the midnight sky; and too truly were their forebodings justified. At Carham, a place on the southern bank of the Tweed, a little above Coldstream, almost within sight of the future battlefield of Flodden, the two armies met in fight. "Then were the whole people" (says Symeon of Durham) "from Tees to Tweed on one side, and there was an infinite multitude of Scots on the other." Malcolm's victory on this occasion was far more decisive than his defeat had been twelve years earlier. "Almost the whole English force with its leaders perished." To Aldhun, the aged Bishop of Durham, the tidings of this defeat—all the more bitter because sustained at a place which for three centuries had formed part of the patrimony of St. Cuthbert—came as an actual death-stroke. "Me miserable!" said he, "that I should have lived so long, to behold this lamentable slaughter of St. Cuthbert's men. Now, O Confessor! beloved of the Lord, if I have ever done aught pleasing in thy sight, repay me, I pray thee, by not suffering me any longer to survive thy people." His prayer was granted. After a few days he died: the first but not the last Bishop of Durham to have his life made burdensome by the incursions of the Scots.

This battle of Carham, fought in the second year of Canute's reign, deserves more attention than it has generally received from

¹ See *supra*, p. 396.

English historians. It was more important than Brunanburh, we might perhaps say only a little less important than Hastings, for by it the Border between England and Scotland, which had fluctuated through many centuries, was finally fixed at its present liminary streams and mountains. Edinburgh, it is true, seems to have been lost to the Scots some sixty years before the time that we have now reached,¹ but the rich and beautiful country of the Lothians was only now finally abandoned by the English, "surrendered" (says the anonymous chronicler) "by the very base and cowardly Eadwulf, who feared lest the Scots should revenge upon him the death of all the men of their nation who had fallen in battle against his brother. Thus was Lothian added to the kingdom of the Scots." It was for us English a loss disastrous and irretrievable. Our only compensation is to be found in the fact that the large Anglian population thus transferred to the northern kingdom so leavened its speech, its institutions, its national character, that the Scotland of the Middle Ages was Anglian rather than Gaelic in its dominating tendencies.²

Towards the end of his reign—in 1031 according to the authority, here somewhat doubtful, of the Saxon Chronicle—"Canute went to Scotland, and the Scots' king Malcolm submitted to him and became his man, but that held only a little while. Also two other kings, Maelbaethe and Jehmarc." Of the last of these two kings we know nothing. Maelbaethe seems to be the same person as the Macbeth of Shakespeare's tragedy.³ He was not yet a king, but obtained the Scottish crown in the year 1040 by slaying the young king Duncan, grandson and successor of Malcolm II. It will be seen that the chronicler says nothing about fighting on Canute's part. Malcolm II. seems to have bowed to the inevitable and quietly acknowledged the claim of Canute as English king to the homage of his Scottish neighbour, a claim which might mean anything or nothing according to the characters of him who demanded that homage and him who rendered it. It is interesting to observe that the

¹ In the reign of Indulph (954-962) according to a Pictish chronicle quoted by Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i., 365.

² It does not appear necessary to discuss the previous question of the alleged "cession of Lothian" by Edgar, the evidence for which is very slender.

³ As to this identification, see Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i., 397, 405-6.

CHAP. author of the *Heimskringla*, in his account of the negotiations
XXIII. between Canute and St. Olaf, King of Norway, puts into the mouth of the latter these words: "And now it has come to this, that Cnut rules over Denmark and over England, and moreover has broken a mickle deal of Scotland under his sway". The parleyings here described are supposed to have taken place five or six years before 1031, the actual date of Canute's Scottish expedition, but from traditional history such as this is, minute accuracy as to dates is not to be looked for.

(2) Towards the end of the year 1026¹ Canute made his memorable pilgrimage to Rome, a journey which certainly was an important event in itself, and is almost unique in the history of English royalty. It is true that Ceadwalla, Ine and Ethelwulf had made the same pilgrimage, but after Canute the next crowned English king to visit Rome was His now reigning Majesty, Edward VII. We have, unfortunately, no details of Canute's journey, but we know from foreign sources that he was present at a ceremony of high political importance, the crowning of the "Roman" Emperor Conrad II. and his Empress Gisela on Easter day, 1027.

The line of Saxon emperors, made memorable by the great deeds of the three Ottos, came to an end in 1024 on the death of the ascetic emperor, St. Henry II. The dukes, counts and bishops of the empire, assembled under the open sky on the meadows of Kamba, after some debate chose as his successor Conrad the Salic, a nobleman of Franconia, that beautiful land watered by the Main which now forms the northern half of the kingdom of Bavaria. The dynasty inaugurated by his election lasted for another century (1024-1125), and then gave place to the nearly allied Hohenstauffens of Swabia. This Franconian dynasty it was which, under three emperors bearing the name of Henry, fought with the Papacy the stubborn fight of the Investitures, which "went to Canossa" and warred with Hildebrand. Conrad, the new emperor, was a strong, masterful, knightly man. The pope who crowned him and before whom Canute kneeled in reverence, was John XIX., one of the series of cadets of the

¹ Certainly not 1031, as stated in the Chronicle. Canute's presence at Conrad's coronation makes this date impossible. So considerable an error throws doubt on the chronological accuracy of, at any rate, this part of the Chronicle.

house of Tusculum whom the counts of that little hill-fortress intruded for half a century on the chair of St. Peter. But though this pope's elevation was sudden and irregular—the same day saw him a layman, prefect of the city, and pope—he seems to have borne a respectable character, quite unlike that of his nephew and successor, the dissolute lad who took the name of Benedict IX. (1033-1046). No doubt the aristocratic count-pope bore himself with becoming dignity in the solemn ceremony of the emperor's coronation, which was graced by the presence of two sovereign princes, our own Canute (the splendour of whose retinue and the liberality of whose almsgiving excited general admiration) and Rudolf III., descendant of Charlemagne and last king of Burgundy. There were, however, troubles and disorders in the somewhat anarchic capital of Christendom. The archbishops of Milan and Ravenna had a dispute about precedence, which ended in a street-brawl between their followers and in the flight of him of Ravenna. Worse still, the German soldiers of the emperor had a fight with the people of Rome, in which many lives were lost, and by which Conrad's wrath was so fiercely kindled that it could only be appeased by the appearance of the Roman citizens barefooted and disarmed before the German Augustus, abjectly entreating his forgiveness. All this Canute must have witnessed, but nothing seems to have weakened the impression of awe and reverence for the apostolic city, made by his residence in Rome.

In a letter to his people, written from Rome and preserved for us by two of the twelfth century historians, William and Florence, Canute sends greeting to the two archbishops, the bishops and nobles, and all the English people, gentle and simple. He informs them that his long-cherished desire to visit Rome, there to pray for the forgiveness of his sins and the welfare of his people, has at length been gratified. He has visited the sepulchres of Peter and Paul and every other sanctuary within or without the city. At the great Easter festival he has met not only Pope John and the Emperor Conrad, but all "the princes of the nations," from Mount Garganus (in Apulia) to the Tyrrhene Sea, and has received gifts from all, especially from the emperor; vessels of silver and gold, mantles and robes exceeding precious. Further, from the emperor and from King Rudolf, he has obtained an assurance that none of his subjects,

CHAP. whether English or Dane, shall any longer be harassed with the
XXIII. heavy payments at the mountain passes or the exorbitant customs-
duties with which they have been hitherto afflicted. Nor shall
future archbishops, visiting Rome in quest of the *pallium*, pay
the immense sums which have heretofore been demanded of
them. Finally, the king assures his loving subjects of his desire
to administer equal justice to all. Let no *shire-reeve* or bailiff
think to curry favour with him by the oppression of his sub-
jects. "I have no need that money be accumulated for me
by unjust exactions." "But let all the debts which according
to ancient custom are due from you [to the Church] be regularly
paid; the penny for every *carucate* ploughed; the tithe of the
increase of your flocks and your herds; the penny for St. Peter
at Rome; the tithe of corn in the middle of August, and the
Church-scot at the feast of St. Martin. If all these dues are not
regularly paid, I shall on my return to England execute unpy-
ing justice on the defaulter."

The new emperor was evidently struck by the statesmanlike
character of the Anglo-Danish king, and thought it good policy
to draw closer the relations between them. Canute's daughter,
Gunhild, was betrothed to Conrad's eldest son, and in 1036, when
she had attained a suitable age, the marriage was consummated.
She died, however, after two years of wedlock, leaving an infant
daughter who afterwards became Abbess of Quedlinburg. A
year after her death her husband ascended the imperial throne
under the title of Henry III. Conrad the Salic also ceded to
Canute such rights—perhaps even then vague and ill-defined—
as the empire claimed to possess over the frontier province of
Sleswick, thus making the river Eider the acknowledged bound-
ary between Germany and Denmark. Hence, and from the later
union between the provinces of Sleswick and Holstein, sprang
in the course of ages that bitter controversy which was cruelly
solved in our own day (1864) by the cannonade of Düppel.

(3) The pilgrimage to Rome came midway between two
expeditions to Norway, one, a failure, in 1025-1026, the other,
in 1028, triumphantly successful.

The most renowned King of Norway in Canute's time, and
the great champion of her newly recovered independence, was
that strangely compounded man who was known by his contem-
poraries as Olaf the Thick, but whom after ages have revered

as Saint Olaf (1015-1031). "In stature scarce of the middle height, but very thick-set and strong of limb: with light-red hair, broad-faced, bright and ruddy of countenance, fair-eyed and swift-eyed, so that it was terrible to look him in the face when he was angry," this energetic descendant of Harold Fair-hair, after many reverses, succeeded in establishing himself on the throne of Norway, and at once set to work to destroy the lingering remains of heathenism in the north of his kingdom, smashing idols, making diligent inquiry into the secret "blood-offerings" of horses and oxen, slaying, banishing, fining all who still persisted in idolatrous practices. To strengthen himself against the inevitable revival of the Danish claim of sovereignty, Olaf wooed the elder, and married the younger daughter of his namesake the King of Sweden, and formed a fairly stable alliance with that neighbour state. In the early years of his reign, according to the story of the *Heimskringla* (in which much fiction is, doubtless, blended with fact), Canute the Rich sent an embassy to Olaf, calling upon him peacefully to submit to his claims, to become his man, and thus save him the necessity of coming with war-shield to assert his right. To this demand Olaf sent an indignant negative. "Gorm the Old thought himself a mighty king, ruling over Denmark alone. Why cannot his descendant be satisfied with Denmark, England and a mickle deal of Scotland? Is he minded to rule alone over all the Northlands, or does he mean, he alone, to eat all the kale in England?"

For the time Canute had to be satisfied with this bold reply; but in 1025 he set forth with a great naval armament from England. A great battle followed, at the mouth of the Holy River, at the extreme south of what is now Sweden.¹ Here, by a clever manœuvre of the allied Kings of Norway and Sweden, Canute's great ship, *The Dragon*, was caught in mid-stream and well-nigh sunk by an avalanche of suddenly unloosed floating timbers. He was delivered by the timely appearance of Jarl Ulf with his squadron of ships, but the battle was lost. "There fell many men," says the Chronicle, "on the side of King Canute, both Danes and Englishmen. And the Danes held the place of slaughter."

Soon after this unsuccessful expedition came the event which has left perhaps the deepest of all the stains on the memory of

¹ In Scania, which then belonged to Denmark.

CHAP. Canute, the murder of his brother-in-law and deliverer, Jarl
XXIII. Ulf, "the mightiest man in Denmark after the king". At a noble banquet which Ulf had prepared for his kinsman, the king sat scowling gloomily. To lighten his mood Ulf suggested a game of chess, in the course of which one of the king's knights was placed in jeopardy. "Take back your move," said Canute, "and play something else." Indignant at this style of playing, Ulf knocked over the chess-board and rose to leave the room. "Ha!" said the king, "runnest thou away now, Ulf the Craven?" He turned round in the doorway and said: "Craven thou didst not call me when I came to thy help at the Holy River, when the Swedes were barking round thee like hounds". Night fell: both slept: but next morning Canute said to his page: "Go to Jarl Ulf and slay him". The page went, but returned with bloodless sword, saying that the Jarl had taken refuge in the church of St. Lucius. Another man, less scrupulous, slew him in the church-choir and came back to boast of the deed. After this desecration the monks would fain have closed their church, but Canute insisted on their singing the Hours of divine service there, as if nothing had happened. As usual, his penitence took the form of liberality. So great were the estates with which he endowed the church, that far and wide over the country-side spread the fame of St. Lucius.

When Canute recommenced operations in 1028 after his pilgrimage to Rome, not war but internal revolution gave him the victory. He seems to have had a superiority in naval forces over both the allied kings. The Swedes, being homesick, scattered back to their own dwellings. Olaf fled to Russia, and a *Thing*, summoned by Canute at Trondhjem, proclaimed him king over all the land of Norway. It is evident that Olaf's forceful, sometimes even tyrannical, proceedings had alienated many of his subjects; but moreover Canute the Rich had, we are told, for years been lavishing gifts on the Norwegian nobles. "For it was indeed the truth to say of King Cnut that whenever he met with a man who seemed likely to do him useful service, such a man received from him handfuls of gold, and therefore was he greatly beloved. His bounty was greatest to foreigners, and especially to those who came from furthest off." This description, given us in the *Heimskringla*, of Canute's practisings with the subjects of St. Olaf, suggests the question

whether similar arguments had not been used with Edric Streona, and whether the decision of the Saxon *Witenagemot* in Canute's favour may not have been bought in the same manner as that of the Norwegian *Thing*.

We must not further follow in detail the fortunes of the dethroned King of Norway. Two years after Olaf's expulsion from the kingdom he returned (1030), but fell in battle with his own hostile countrymen. When the inevitable reaction in favour of his memory set in, his body was carried to Trondhjem and buried under the high altar of the cathedral church. Miracles soon began to be wrought by his relics: there was a tide of pity and remorse for their fallen hero in the hearts of his people, who found themselves harshly dealt with by their Danish rulers. Before long Norway recovered her independence, and then Olaf was universally recognised as not only patriot but saint. The Church gave her sanction to the popular verdict, and St. Olaf, or St. Olave, as he was generally called in England, was accepted as one of the legitimate saints in her calendar, July 29 being set apart for his honour. Though not to be compared for holiness of character with our own St. Oswald, or even with Edwin of Deira, he soon became an exceedingly popular saint, especially with his old Danish antagonists. More than a dozen churches were dedicated in his name in England, chiefly in the district where Danes predominated. The most celebrated of these was St. Olave's in Southwark, which gave its name, corrupted and transformed, to the "Tooley Street" of inglorious memory.

Of the closing years of the reign of Canute little is recorded. There are stories, uncertain and mutually contradictory, of hostilities between England and Normandy, arising out of Duke Robert's championship of the claims of the English Ethelings, sons of his aunt Emma. Whatever truth there may be in these narratives, they must be referred to the latter part of Canute's reign, as Duke Robert did not come into possession of the duchy till 1028. We may, if we please, assign to the same period the well-known story of his vain command to the sea to retire, a story which is told us for the first time by Henry of Huntingdon, about 120 years after the death of Canute. As Henry tells it, the courtiers, the blasphemous flatterers of the monarch, disappear from the scene, and it almost seems as if Canute himself, in one of those attacks of megalomania to which successful monarchs

CHAP. are liable, really thought that he could command Nature as if
XXIII. she were one of his own thegns. Learning better doctrine from the voice of the sea, he thenceforth abjured the vain ensigns of royalty and hung his crown on the cross of the Redeemer. To the same peaceful years we may assign the equally well-known incident of Canute being rowed in his barge over the fens in the cold days of early February, and hearing the song of the monks of Ely as they celebrated the Purification of the Virgin Mary:—

Cheerly sang the monks of Ely
As Cnut the king was passing by.
"Row to the shore, knights!" said the king,
"And let us hear these churchmen sing,"

—an interesting ditty for us, as showing that the word "knights" still kept that meaning of "servants" or "retainers" which it had when the New Testament was translated into Anglo-Saxon. In the Gospels the disciples of Christ are always called His "*leorning-cnichts*".

King Canute died at Shaftesbury on November 12, 1035, and was buried at Winchester in the Old Minster where rested so many of the descendants of Cerdic. Owing to his early appearance on the scene and the various parts which he had played, we unconsciously attribute to him a greater age than he actually attained. He was probably little, if at all, over forty years of age when he died. The transformation of character which he underwent, from the hard, unscrupulous robber chieftain to the wise, just and statesmanlike king, is one of the most marvellous things in history. Perhaps the nearest approach to it is to be found in the change wrought in the character of Octavian. Both Canute and Augustus were among the rare examples of men improved by success. :

He left four children, Sweyn and Harold Harefoot by a wife or concubine named Elgiva of Northampton; Harthacnut and Gunhild by Emma of Normandy. The gossip of the day alleged that Sweyn and Harold were not really Elgiva's children, but the sons of ignoble parents foisted by her on her credulous husband. This tale, however, though echoed by the Chronicle, may have been an invention of the partisans of their rivals. What is certain is that both Elgiva and Emma survived Canute. Either, therefore, the former was no legally married wife, or else she was divorced to make room for the Norman "Lady". But

the marriages of these Scandinavian princes, Norse and Norman, were regular only in their irregularity. CHAP.
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Whatever may have been the testamentary intentions of the dying Canute, the practical result of his death was to divide his great empire in the following manner: Norway to Sweyn (who died a few months after his father), Denmark to Harthacnut, and England to HAROLD HAREFOOT. Of the latter, the Peterborough text of the Chronicle says: "Some men said that Harold was son of King Canute and Elgiva, daughter of Ealdorman Elfhelm; but this seemed very incredible to many men". Of the two surviving sons of Canute who now for a few years fill the chief place in English history, it must be said that they represent only the first and worst phase of their father's character, displaying none of the nobler, statesmanlike qualities of his later years. We sometimes see in modern life a man who has struggled upwards from the lowest ranks of society, acquiring a refinement and a culture which he fails to transmit to a wealthy but coarse-fibred son. So was it with the sons of Canute, two dissolute young barbarians who degraded by their vices the ancient throne which they were permitted to occupy.

The events which immediately followed the death of Canute, obscure in themselves, are variously stated by our different authorities; but it seems clear that the old division between Mercia and Wessex again made itself manifest and was connected with another division, that between the two great houses of Godwine and of Leofwine. An assembly of the *witan* was held at Oxford, at which "Earl Leofric (son of Leofwine) and nearly all the thegns north of the Thames and the sailors in London, chose Harold as king over all England," leaving to Harthacnut the rule over Denmark, in which country he was then living and reigning. There was apparently no talk of a reversion to the old line, to the sons of Ethelred or Edmund. The dynasty of Canute represented peace with the Danes, a respite from the terrible ravages of the previous generation; and it was probably valued and clung to for this reason, even as, 500 years later, English parliaments clung to the house of Tudor, notwithstanding all the flaws in their title, as a security against the revival of the Wars of the Roses.

This conclusion, however, was not unanimous. The *witan* at Oxford had to reckon with the opposition of Wessex, under

CHAP. its powerful earl Godwine, with that of "the Lady" Emma,
XXIII. surrounded by a strong body of her dead husband's *house-carls* or body guards (an organisation of which the Chronicle now first makes mention); and with such force as the lad Harthacnut from distant Denmark might be able to bring to bear for the vindication of his claims. A compromise was arranged, which amounted in substance, though perhaps not in form, to a division of the kingdom. "It was decided that Emma, Harthacnut's mother, should sit at Winchester with the *house-carls* of the king, her son, and hold all Wessex under his authority, and Earl Godwine was her most devoted servant."

This arrangement had in it no element of permanence and might at any moment be upset by the arrival of Harthacnut. He was, however, but a lad of eighteen, much involved apparently in the cares of his Danish kingdom. To Harold Harefoot, the Norman exiles, sons of Ethelred and Emma, full-grown men, with a hope of possible support from their cousin, the great Duke of Normandy, might well seem the most dangerous competitors for his crown. In order to entice these rivals into his power, Harold is said to have caused a letter to be forged, purporting to come from "Queen Emma, a queen only in name," and complaining of the daily growing strength of the usurper, "who is incessantly touring about among the cities and villages, and by threats and prayers making for himself friends among the nobles". "But they would much rather," said the letter, "that one of you reigned over them, than he to whom they yield enforced obedience. Wherefore I pray that one of you will come to me swiftly and secretly to receive wholesome counsel from me, and to learn in what way the thing upon which I have set my heart can be accomplished."¹ On the receipt of this message Alfred, the younger of the two brothers, betook himself to the friendly coast of Flanders and thence to England, accompanied by a small band of followers, recruited from among the inhabitants of Boulogne, instead of the large body of troops which Baldwin of Flanders offered him. Finding one part of the coast occupied by a hostile force, he sailed to another, probably nearer

¹ This story of the forged letter is taken from the author of the *Encomium Emmae*, who, as a contemporary, and as one who actually conversed with Queen Emma, seems to be entitled to credence, notwithstanding some strange misstatements, due, perhaps, rather to insincerity than to ignorance.

to Winchester; and set forth to meet his mother, thinking that he had now escaped from all danger. He had not reckoned, however, with the astute Earl Godwine, who was now no longer the zealous adherent of the queen-dowager, but was prepared to make his peace with Harold by the sacrifice of her son.¹ He met the young Etheling, swore to become his "man," guided him to Guildford, billeted his followers about in various inns, caused them to be supplied with meat and drink—especially the latter—in great abundance, and so left them, promising to return on the morrow.

That night, while they were all sleeping the deep sleep of well-plied banqueters, the men of Harold came upon them, stealthily removed their arms, and soon had them all fast in handcuffs and fetters. The cruel vengeance which followed, taken upon disarmed and helpless prisoners, excited the deep indignation of Englishmen, and found vent in a ballad, some lines of which have made their way into that manuscript of the Chronicle which is attributed to Abingdon :—

Some they blinded ; some they maiméd ;
Some they scalped, some bound with chain ;
Some were sold to grievous thraldom ;
Many were with tortures slain,
Never was a bloodier deed done
Since to England came the Dane.

There is a persistently repeated story that a cruel parody of the Roman decimation was inflicted on these unfortunates. By that old custom lots were cast, and every tenth man so selected was handed over to the executioner. Now nine out of ten were slain and only the tenth survived, nor was even he certain of life; for after the massacre it seemed to the tyrant's agents that too many still survived and the sword devoured anew. As for the unhappy Etheling himself, he was taken round by sea to the Isle of Ely and there imprisoned. An order having been received for his blinding, he was held down by four men while the cruel deed was done. He seems to have survived for some weeks or months, and moved about, a saddening figure, among the once cheery monks of Ely; but ere long he died,

¹ Mr. Plummer (*Saxon Chronicles*, ii., 210-15) argues that Godwine's hostile action towards the Etheling was taken in the interest not of Harold but of Harthacnut,

CHAP. either from the shock of the operation, or, as one author hints,
XXIII. from insufficiency of food. It seems clear that these cruelties were not perpetrated by Godwine himself, who judiciously disappeared as soon as he had left the slenderly guarded prince at his supper table at Guildford ; but neither the judgment of his contemporaries nor that of posterity, with one eminent exception,¹ has acquitted the great Earl of Wessex of complicity in the crime.

The abortive expedition of Alfred, and the defection of Earl Godwine, left the dowager-queen in a precarious position. Moreover, the hearts of Englishmen had begun to turn away from Harthacnut who, as they thought, tarried too long in Denmark, and towards Harold, who was, after all, the son of a Saxon mother (whether gentle or base born), and who, notwithstanding the cruelty and craft which he had shown in the affair of the Etheling Alfred, had qualities of physical strength and fleetness which gained for him a sort of rude popularity with his subjects. Thus it came to pass that in 1037 "Queen Emma was driven out of the country," as the chronicler laments, "without any tenderness of heart, against the raging winter". She went to the court of the hospitable Baldwin, her nephew by marriage, who assigned to her a dwelling in the city of Bruges and a princely maintenance. Of this, however, she took only a small part, sufficient for her absolute needs, and gratefully refused the rest, saying that she could do without it. So says the Flemish priest, who doubtlessly met her about this time, and who, in gratitude for favours received, composed the *Encomium Emmae*, on which, in the absence of better sources, we have to rely for many details of her history.

The election of Harold as king of the whole of England, which now took place, did not pass without some opposition, especially from the archbishop of Canterbury, Ethelnoth. When ordered to perform the ceremony of consecration, he flatly refused, declaring that at Canute's command he had vowed to recognise only Emma's son as his lawful successor. He would not presume to keep, in defiance of the king, the crown and sceptre, which had been committed to his charge, but, laying them on the altar he left them to Harold to deal with as he would, only declaring that none of his suffragan bishops should

¹ Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, i., 489-501 and 779-87.

presume, on pain of excommunication, to crown this king or to grant him episcopal benediction. How the dispute ended Emma's partisan does not inform us. Probably Harold, like Napoleon, crowned himself; but we are told that the refusal of the episcopal benediction so rankled in the young king's breast that he relapsed into something like paganism. When others in Christian fashion were silently gliding into church for Divine worship, he (the swift-footed hunter) would be surrounding the woods with his dogs and cheering them on to the chase, or sometimes indulging in less innocent occupations. Clearly, here was a monarch who had little love for the Church, and whose character may therefore have been painted a little too darkly by ecclesiastical chroniclers.

After making an ineffectual appeal for help to Edward, her surviving son by Ethelred, Emma at last succeeded in inducing Harthacnut to leave his beloved Denmark and attempt the invasion of England. He arrived at Bruges, probably towards the end of 1039, with sixty-two ships, and having no doubt made other large preparations for a hostile expedition, but none of these were needed. Harold Harefoot died on March 17, 1040, and was buried at Westminster. On his death a deputation was sent to Bruges to invite HARTHACNUT to assume the crown, "and men deemed that they did well in doing so". Sore, says the encomiast, was the lamentation of the widows and orphans of Bruges, who deemed that by the departure of the Lady Emma they were losing their best friend; but she of course accompanied her son.

Too soon the men of both nations found that they had not done so well as they supposed, in inviting the lad from Denmark to reign over them. The crews of his ships were clamouring for money, and to appease them the new king laid upon his subjects a heavier Danegeld than had been exacted all through the reigns of Canute and Harold. Then the Danegeld had been for sixteen ships, at the rate of eight marks for each rower; now Harthacnut claimed the same rate of pay for his whole fleet of sixty-two ships. It was indeed "a stern geld," and the attempt to levy it caused violent popular commotions. A terrible hurricane had blown the previous year, probably injuring the harvest, and the high price of corn resulting therefrom caused the *gafol* to be felt the more bitterly. "Thus all men that had before

CHAP. yearned after Harthacnut became unfriendly to him. He de-
XXIII. vised no kingly deed during all his reign, and he caused the
dead body of Harold to be taken up and shot into the marsh." Worse than this, he took a cruel revenge on the whole of Worcestershire for the murder of two of his house-carls whom he had sent to exact the "stern geld" from the citizens of Worcester. An insurrection had broken out; the house-carls had taken refuge in a turret of the minster, but had been discovered, dragged forth and slain. Hereupon, the enraged king ordered Godwine, Leofric and all the great earls, to assemble their forces; and sent them, six months after the murder, with orders to harry both city and shire. The inhabitants, forewarned, took refuge on an island in the Severn, and made so vigorous a defence that their lives were of necessity spared; but the minster was burnt, the country was laid waste and the house-carls of the king, with the followers of the earls, returned laden with booty to their homes.

Now at last, during the short reign of Harthacnut, a brighter day dawned for the banished son of Ethelred. Edward was invited over from Normandy and was "sworn in as king"; that is, probably, associated in some way with Harthacnut as ruler of the land, and recognised as his destined successor in the event of his early death, which seems to have been considered not improbable. The only other event recorded of the reign of Harthacnut, "the king who devised nothing kingly," is his complicity in the murder of Eadwulf,¹ earl of Bernicia, who had possibly made himself conspicuous as one of Harold's partisans. He seems to have been invited to court that he might be formally reconciled to the new king, but on his way he was murdered by his nephew, Siward the Strong, who was already earl of Deira, and now, receiving as the reward of his crime his victim's earldom of Bernicia, ruled once again as the kings of Northumbria had ruled aforetime, over the whole wide region from Humber to Tweed.

Harthacnut's end was worthy of his life. On a day of June, 1042, a great feast was given by a Danish nobleman, Osgod Clapa, in honour of the marriage of his daughter. To this banquet the king was, of course, invited, and "as he stood at his

¹ Son of Uhtred and nephew of Eadwulf Cutel.

drink he suddenly fell to the ground and was seized with dreadful convulsions. Those who were near took him up, but he never after spake a word. He died on the 8th of June, and all the people accepted Edward as their king, as was his right." Harthacnut died in the twenty-fifth year of his age, having not quite completed the second year of his reign. Like the old Saxon kings, and like Canute his father, he was buried in the Old Minster at Winchester.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

LEGISLATION OF THE LATER KINGS.

CHAP. XXIV. IN the period which followed the Norman Conquest "the laws of good King Edward" was a phrase often on the lips of Englishmen; yet it was but a phrase, for Edward the Confessor, on the threshold of whose reign we are now standing, added, as far as can be ascertained, no laws to the Anglo-Saxon collection. Danish Canute, on the other hand, holds an honourable place in our legal history; for his Doms, which fill one hundred pages in Liebermann's volume, show somewhat of the instinct of a codifier as well as a genuine desire to deal equal justice to the Danish and the English inhabitants of the land.

From the death of Alfred—the last king whose laws have been specially dealt with—till the death of Canute, an interval elapsed of more than 130 years or about four generations, and in almost every reign some fresh Doms received the sanction of the reigning king and his *witan*. It will be well for us briefly to survey the course of this legislation and to see what light it throws on the social condition of the country, and what changes it reveals in political institutions. When we consider the laws of this period from a social and economic point of view, one fact stands out at once in strong relief. The immense majority of these laws relate to one crime, theft, and to one form of that crime, the theft of cattle. We have before us a population of herdsmen and sheep-masters whose chief concern it is to guard their live stock from the sly, roving cattle-lifter, and to recover them when thus purloined. Herein these tenth-century laws bear a striking resemblance to the border laws,¹ the code according to which, in the fourteenth, fifteenth,

¹ Or *Leges Mar chiarum*, a digest of which was published in 1705 by William Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle (a later edition in 1747).

and sixteenth centuries, rough justice was administered between cattle owners and cattle raiders on both sides of the Scottish border.¹ Sometimes, too, the grievances which we hear of in these laws and the rough redress of those grievances which they contemplate, seem to carry us into the same world of which we have read in stories of the Wild West of America only one generation ago. It seems probable that the immense importance thus assigned to the possession and the theft of cattle is partly due to the fact that, owing to the settlement of Danes on the north-east of the Watling Street, a large part of England had now become like Northumberland and Roxburgh, a "border country," and was subject to all the insecurity of that position.

In order to give greater assistance to the owner of cattle, Edward the Elder ordained that every landowner should have men in readiness on his land to guide those who were seeking to recover their lost property; and these men were straitly warned not for any bribe to divert the owner from his quest, nor give shelter to any convicted thief. Athelstan directed that if any one claimed a beast as his rightful property, he should get one out of five persons nominated by the judge to swear "that it is by folk-right his"; and the defendant must get two out of ten persons similarly nominated, to swear the contrary. But, perhaps, the most interesting of all this class of ordinances is that contained in the *Judicia Civitatis Lundoniæ*, framed by the chief officers of Church and State, the bishops and reeves (or representatives of the king), not without the consent of all the citizens. We have in these ordinances, under the sanction of Anglo-Saxon royalty, some wonderfully modern devices for the interposition of the community, to lessen the loss inflicted by robbery on the individual.

The document begins: "This is the decision which the bishops and the reeves who belong to London, have made and secured with pledges in our peace-guild, whether of nobles or of commonalty" (*eorlisce* or *ceorlisce*), "to supplement the enactments made at various meetings of the *witan*".

¹ It is perhaps not a mere coincidence that some even of the special terms of the *Leges Marchiarum* are also to be found in the laws of Edgar and Ethelred. Such are *foul* or *ful* for "guilty," and *trod* for the track of a stolen beast.

CHAP. The first chapter ordains that the punishment of death shall
XXIV. be inexorably inflicted on any thief over twelve years of age stealing goods to the value of more than twelve pennies, and that any one endeavouring by force of arms to rescue a thief shall pay a fine of 120 shillings to the king.

The second chapter introduces us to a curious arrangement between the citizens, in the nature partly of a Trade Protection Society and partly of a Society for Mutual Insurance against Theft. "Each one of us shall pay four pennies to a common stock within twelve months, in order to indemnify the owner for any animal which may have been stolen after that time, and we will all join in the quest after the stolen animal. Every one who has a beast worth thirty pennies shall pay his shilling, except poor widows who have no patron or land." It may be said, Why is the prescribed payment four pennies at the beginning of the law and a shilling at the end? The answer no doubt is that London still adhered to the currency of Mercia, in which only fourpence went to the shilling. The contributors were to be arranged in ten groups of ten each, the oldest of whom was to serve notices and keep the accounts; and these ten seniors with "an eleventh man" whom they were to choose, were to form a sort of governing board, keeping the money and deciding as to contributions into, and payments out of, the common fund. Every man who heard the summons must join in the quest after the stolen animal so long as the trace remained. The quest was to be continued either on the northern or southern march till every member of the guild who had a horse was riding it. He who had no horse of his own must go and work for a lord who should ride in the quest instead of him. Then comes the question at what rate were the stolen beasts to be valued. The ordinary tariff of compensation is as follows:—

For a horse	10 shillings.
„ an ox	30 pennies or 7½ „
„ a sheep	5 „ or 1¼ „
„ a stolen slave (<i>theow</i>), half a pound =	30 shillings.

Apparently if the thief was captured and compelled by a court of law to refund a higher price than any of the above, if, for instance, he was made to pay for a valuable ox ten shillings instead of seven shillings and a half, the surplus was divided

among the members of the guild, the owner receiving only the sum to which he was entitled under the tariff.

The ordinance continues : "Whosoever takes up that which is the common cause of all of us shall be our friend. We will all be one, in friendship and in enmity. The first man to strike down a thief shall receive twelve pennies from the common purse for having made so good a beginning. The owner of a stolen animal is not to relax his diligence" (because of the insurance), "but must pursue it to the end, and he shall be reimbursed for the expenses of his journey out of the common fund. . . . We will meet once a month if we have leisure . . . with filling of casks and everything else that is suitable, and we must then see which of our decisions have been complied with, and the twelve men shall have their food together, and eat as much as seems good to themselves and dispose of the food that is left [to the poor] according to the will of God."

The state of society here presented to us is one of peculiar interest. We seem to see these cattle-owning citizens of London, whose flocks and herds were grazing outside the walls of the city in Smithfield or Moorfields. They follow the track of their stolen beasts across the wilds of Middlesex or Surrey ("the Northern and the Southern March"). When the cattle are caught, fierce vengeance is taken on the depredator. If the pursuit fails, the luckless owner can, after all, console himself with the tariff price which he receives from the guild treasury. And then once a month they meet to settle the affairs of their guild, "with filling of casks and everything else that is suitable," and so a vista is opened, at the end of which after the lapse of centuries, we behold the stately banquets of the Guildhall of London.

It is possible that to this need of grappling with agrarian crime we owe the institution of the Hundred which was a prominent feature in the organisation of medieval England, after as well as before the Conquest, and exists, though now little more than a survival, even in our own day. It is at least worthy of notice that the first clear mention of the Hundred-court, which is in the reign of Edgar, occurs in close connexion with the theft of cattle, and we might almost be justified in saying that this is the main business which in those beginnings of its existence was thought likely to come before it.

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There has been much discussion as to the kind of unit, five-score of which made up the Anglo-Saxon Hundred, but on the whole the prevailing opinion seems to be that it was composed, in theory at least if not invariably in practice, of a hundred hides or households.¹ The charter, if we may so call it, of the Hundred-court is furnished us by a document which is believed to date from the reign of Edgar and which begins: "This is the arrangement, how men shall hold the Hundred. First, that they always gather themselves together once in four weeks: and that each man shall do right to the rest. Second, that they set forth to ride after thieves. If occasion arise, let a man [whose beast has been stolen] give notice to the Hundreds-man, and he then to the Tithing-men, and let them all fare forth as God shall point the way, that they may arrive there [at the place where the beast is hidden]. Let them do justice on the thief as was before ordained by [King] Edmund, and hand over the price to him who owns the animal and divide the rest [of the fine] half to the Hundred and half to the lord."

We observe that we have here a regular local court, armed with very summary powers and able to inflict fines, probably heavy fines, after it has restored the value of the stolen property to the rightful owner. Of these fines, however, the Hundred-court may retain for itself only half, the other half going to "the lord". The assumption that there will be in every case a lord, who will thus share in the profits of the criminal jurisdiction exercised by his neighbours of the Hundred, seems to mark a step towards the manorial jurisdiction of later centuries and strikes a somewhat different note from that sounded in the laws of Ine. It would seem that there was a tendency among powerful and lawless men to treat the Hundred-court with contempt and ignore its jurisdiction. "If any one shall put difficulties in the way and refuse to obey the decision of the Hundred and this is afterwards proved against him, he shall pay 30 pennies to the Hundred: and for a second offence 60 pennies, half to the Hundred and half to

¹ Compare Vinogradoff, *The Growth of the Manor*, p. 144; Chadwick, *Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, 239-48, and the remarkable article by Mr. W. J. Corbett in vol. xiv. of *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, N.S., on the "Tribal Hidage".

the lord. If he do it the third time he shall pay half a pound (120 pennies), and for the fourth offence he shall forfeit all that he has and be outlawed, unless the king allow him to remain in the land." By the time that Canute took the matter in hand¹ sharper remedies had been found to be necessary. He who refused the judgment of the Hundred was fined—apparently for the first offence—30 shillings, not pennies. For a similar contempt of the Earl's court he had to pay a fine of 60 shillings, and twice that amount for despising the judgment of the king.

Before passing from the subject of the Hundred, it should be observed that the corresponding institution in most of the Danish counties of England was called the *wapentake*, a name which is said to be derived from that clashing together of their weapons whereby the Scandinavians, like their Teutonic predecessors in the days of Tacitus, were wont to signify their assent to the propositions laid before them by the masters of their assemblies. The counties in which the Wapentake generally took the place of the Hundred were York, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester and Rutland.²

"And let men seek the Hundred-gemôt in such manner as was arranged aforetime, and three times in the year let them hold the Burh-gemôt and twice the Shire-gemôt, and there let the bishop of the shire and the ealdorman be present, and there let both of them expound God's law and the world's law." By these words of King Edgar³ we are brought into contact not only with the Hundred, but also with two other organisations still very prominent in the political life of England, the Borough and the Shire.

The *Burh* or *Burg*, in the sense of a fortified town, first comes into notice about the beginning of the tenth century and is evidently the offspring of the Danish invasions. Not that the word was not before that time in familiar use among the Anglo-Saxons,⁴ but that it seems rather to have denoted the

¹ Cnut, ii., 15 (in Liebermann, i., 320).

² Rutland was not, however, formed into a separate county till after the Norman Conquest.

³ Edgar, iii., 5 (*ibid.*, 202).

⁴ *Burg* is, of course, one of the best-known words of the common Teutonic stock. It is enshrined in Luther's hymn "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott," and in hunting for the traces of Roman encampments in Hesse and Nassau, I have found that the name by which they are best known in the countryside is "Die alte Burg".

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walled enclosure round the dwelling of a great landowner, than the close-packed streets of a medieval borough. The breaking of such a *burh* (*burh-bryce*), the forcible entry into the precincts of a dwelling, was punished by the laws of Ine and Alfred with fines carefully graduated according to the rank of the owner. "A king's *burh-bryce* is 120 shillings; an archbishop's, 90; another bishop's or an ealdorman's, 60; a *twelf-hynd* man's, 30; a *six-hynd* man's, 15 shillings. The breaking down of a ceorl's hedge (*edor-bryce*) is 5 shillings."¹ The meaning of the law evidently is, that "the man whose *wer* is 600 shillings will probably have some stockade, some rude rampart round his house; he will have a *burh*, whereas the ceorl whose *wer* is 200 shillings will not have a *burh*, but will only have a hedge round his house".²

It was into a country full of unwalled *tuns* or villages, and scattered country houses calling themselves *burhs*, but poorly protected by moat and stockade, that the Danes came pouring in the reigns of Egbert, Ethelwulf and Alfred. Winchester itself, as we have seen, was "broken down" by them. York and London were taken, and apparently in this, the first stage of their invasion, no town which they seriously attacked was able to resist their onslaught. But then the invaders gave their victims a lesson in self-defence. As soon as they had taken up a position in town or country they fortified themselves by erecting a strong "work" (the word is of constant occurrence in these pages of the Chronicle), and the hardest part of Alfred's task was often the capturing of these hastily reared Danish fortifications. In the years of peace between the invasions of Guthrum and of Hasting, Alfred, imitating his opponents, reared many *burhs* which he filled with armed men. The establishment of these forts which stood up as islands out of the hostile sea, had evidently much to do with the deliverance of the land from the flood of Danish invasion in the terrible years between 892 and 896. The entry of the Chronicle for the year 894 tells us how a portion of the invading army was attacked "by bands of Englishmen, almost every day and night, both from the *fyrð* and also from the *burhs*; for the king had divided his *fyrð* into two parts so that they were

¹ Ine, 45 (Liebermann, i., 108); Alfred, 40 (*ibid.*, 72).

² Maitland, *Domesday Book*, etc., p. 184.

always half at home and half out, except the men whose duty it was to hold the *burhs*". And a little farther on we hear of the valorous deeds of the *burh-ware* of Chester and of London, which had an important influence on the successful issue of the war.

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We have seen, in a previous chapter, how the stalwart brother and sister, Edward and Ethelfled, reconquered central England for the English, and how they secured their conquests by the great line of forts which they planted everywhere along and sometimes far within the frontier which had divided the two nations. Chester, Shrewsbury, Bridgnorth, Stafford, Warwick, Bedford, Huntingdon, Manchester and many more, were *burhs* which owed their foundation or renewal to the stout-hearted Lady of the Mercians and her brother. It must not be forgotten, however, that the bulk of the population around, and even in some of these *burhs*, must have remained Danish. Leicester, Stamford and Nottingham are included in the list of forts founded by Edward and his sister, yet they with Lincoln and Derby made up that Danish confederation of the Five Boroughs with which Edmund had to fight in 942 and which went over so readily to Sweyn in 1013.

In the main, however, we may no doubt consider these new, strongly fortified *burhs* or, as we may now venture to call them, "boroughs" as the homes of loyal Englishmen, keen for resistance to an invading foe, but also keen for commercial enterprise. Very early the kings perceived the importance of insisting on internal peace and orderly life within the limits of the borough. Thus Edmund claims for it the same right of inviolate sanctuary as for the church itself. "If any man seek refuge in a church or in my *burh* and any one thereafter assault him or treat him ill, he who does this shall be liable to the same punishment as is aforesaid." Where security was thus provided for, against external enemies by thick walls and deep ditches, against internal strife and anarchy by the proclamation of the king's peace, wealth was sure to accumulate. Markets were fixed in boroughs, and in order to guard against the ever-dreaded theft of cattle it was ordained with increasing stringency that purchases and sales should take place within their limits. By a law of Edgar¹ it was directed that in every [large] borough thirty-three

¹ IV., 2, 4 and 5 (Liebermann, i., 210).

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XXIV. and the hundreds twelve would suffice; and from these we must suppose a smaller number were chosen to attest the validity of every sale by which cattle changed hands. Judging from the example of Londonburh, the greatest of all the boroughs, we may conclude that in these trading, fighting, debating communities much of the most vigorous life of England was to be found in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

We have to note in passing that the obligation to assist in the maintenance and repair of these national defences was one of those which pressed upon all free Englishmen. *Fyrd-fare*, *burh-bote* and *bridge-bote*, the duty of serving in the national army, the duty of building or repairing fortresses, and the like duty in respect of bridges, constituted the triple obligation, the often-mentioned *trinoda necessitas*, from which no estate of thegn or of ceorl, with whatever other immunities it might be favoured, was ever, except in very rare cases, allowed to be exempt.

Returning to the consideration of King Edgar's law about local government we observe that it ordains that the *shire-gemót* shall be held twice a year under the presidency of the bishop or the shire and the ealdorman. The question of the origin of the existing forty counties into which England is divided is an extremely interesting one, but it can hardly yet be said to have received its final solution. We can see at a glance that some of our counties such as Kent, Essex, Middlesex, Sussex, Surrey, represent old kingdoms or sub-kingdoms of the early "Hep-tarchic" period. Norfolk and Suffolk are but the two divisions of East Anglia. Yorkshire and Northumberland may stand fairly well for Deira and Bernicia, the generous endowment of St. Cuthbert's tomb being interposed between them in the shape of the county of Durham. The formation of the three counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire out of Celtic Strathclyde and its adjoining territory is a late and somewhat obscure piece of history; while on the other hand the emergence of Cornwall, Devon, and perhaps we may add Somerset, out of the former kingdom of West Wales, is pretty easily understood by what the Chronicle tells us of the successive victories of West Saxon kings. Wessex itself, as we see from the Chronicle, must have been at an early period, at any rate in the course of

the eighth century, divided into its four often-mentioned shires, Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire and Dorset. When, however, all these older counties have been dealt with, there yet remains before us an interesting question as to the formation of the counties which are still known colloquially as "the shires," the score of counties which lie between the Thames and the Humber, between Wales and East Anglia, and which evidently represent pretty fairly the old kingdom of Mercia. These, as a rule, cluster each one round some borough which has given its name to the county. One half of these are called after strong places which, as we are distinctly told, owed their foundation or their renewal to Edward and Ethelfled; these ten being Cheshire, Shropshire,¹ Staffordshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Warwickshire and Herefordshire, and we may reasonably conjecture that the remaining shires were carved out nearly at the same time and on a similar plan. There is a great and obvious distinction between all these midland shires named after one central *burh*, and counties which recall the name of a tribe such as the Sumorsaetan or the South Saxons. The reason for that distinction is evidently that the Mercian shires were made as part of a definite political organisation, after the repulse of the Danish invaders by whom many of the old landmarks had been overthrown.² It is probable that many territorial divisions which would have become counties, had Mercia kept the peaceful tenor of her way through the ninth and tenth centuries, districts such as those of the Pecsætan in the county of the Peak and the Gyrwas in the county of the Fens, may have disappeared from the map of central England owing to the ravages of the Danes. That map is in fact, as remarked by Maitland, a palimpsest, under whose broad black county-names many erased characters lie hidden.³

¹ If Ethelfled's fortress of Scergeat may be identified with Shrewsbury.

² As Freeman puts it: "I believe the cause of this distinction [between Somerset and Northamptonshire] to be that West Saxon England was made only once, while Mercian England had to be made twice" ("The Shire and the Gâ" in *English Towns and Districts*, p. 124).

³ Some of these names are probably contained in that curious document, the Tribal Hidage, on which Mr. Corbett has commented in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. xiv., N.S.

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We have seen that a law of King Edgar's ordains that the ealdorman shall sit by the side of the bishop at the meeting of the shire, and shall expound worldly law while the bishop gives utterance to the divine. In the early period of the West Saxon monarchy, when there was an ealdorman to every shire, this enactment causes no difficulty; but it is clear that during the course of the ninth century there was a constant tendency to lessen the number of ealdormen and increase the size of their dominions, and we can then no longer say that every shire had its own ealdorman. Some men like Ethelred, brother-in-law of Edward the Elder, ealdorman of Mercia; like Athelstan the half-king of East Anglia; and like all the later Northumbrian earls, ruled over territories as large as the old Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. In the reign of Canute we have seen that three earls—as the ealdormen were now called—ruled over three-fourths of England. If the law of Edgar still continued in force, we must imagine these great officials travelling from shire to shire, and holding the *gemōt* in each. It is a probable suggestion, however, that when the power of the ealdorman was thus widely extended, new officers, the shire-reeves, from whom our modern sheriffs derive their title, were called into being, in order to administer the counties under the ealdorman. This suggestion can hardly, however, be yet spoken of as more than a conjecture.¹

The ealdorman, as was just now remarked, changed his title in the eleventh century for that of earl. There can be no doubt that this change was due to Danish influence and was an imitation of the word *jarl*, by which the chiefs of the Danish host were often designated. Eorl was, however, also a word known to the Anglo-Saxons, and by its use in the laws of Ine and elsewhere it seems to have been very nearly equivalent to thegn. In the laws of Ethelred of Kent, of Alfred and of Athelstan, it is frequently used as the antithesis to ceorl, "no man whether eorl or ceorl" being used in the same way that "gentle or simple" was used in the middle ages. Between this generic use of the word, however, and the title of powerful rulers like Leofric and Godwine there was a wide and important difference; and to avoid confusion

¹ See Chadwick, *Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, 262.

it seems better to use the word *earl* only in its later signification, in which it replaces the term *ealdorman* and is equivalent to the Danish *jarl* and the Latin *comes*. One important point to notice is that never before the Norman Conquest does the title of *earl* become absolutely hereditary, though there are certain great families which seem to have had practically an overwhelming claim to share the earldoms among them. No *earl*, however, even in the latest days of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, seems to have had a recognised right of transmitting his earldom to his son.¹

We have several incidental evidences of the social changes wrought by the two unquiet centuries between Egbert and Canute. The tendency of all those marches and counter-marches, those harryings and hardly held "places of slaughter," to depress the peaceful cultivator and raise the mere fighting man, is shown by a curious document called "The Northern People's Laws" (*North-leoda laga*) and supposed to date from the tenth century. In this document we have the most complete table of wergilds that is anywhere to be found in Anglo-Saxon law.² In the following table they are, for convenience of comparison, converted into West Saxon shillings of five penings each:—

The Wergild for the king is	18,000 shillings.
Archbishop and Etheling	9,000 "
Bishop and ealdorman	4,800 "
<i>Hold</i> and king's high-reeve	2,400 "
Mass-thegn (priest) and secular thegn	1,200 "
Ceorl	160 "

Here we see that the *ceorl*, the free agriculturist, has sunk in the social scale. He was a two hundred, he is now only a hundred and sixty man. The wergilds in the upper ranks of society are, perhaps, unaltered, but, as before remarked, we have very imperfect information about these till we come to this very document. The important thing to observe is the position of the *hold*. This is a Danish word and signifies

¹ If any exception is to be made to this statement it will be with reference to the half-independent earls of Bamburgh.

² The *wers* are calculated in the Scandinavian or, perhaps, Northumbrian money, the *thrymsas*, each equivalent to three penings.

CHAP. properly a fighting man. Here, however, this simple Danish
XXIV. warrior, possibly without any large landed possessions, has only by his sword carved his way up into a position in which he boasts a wergild fifteen times as great as that of the honest Saxon ceorl. He is half as big a man as a bishop or ealdorman, and twice as big as an ordinary thegn.¹

Another interesting document which dates probably from the reign of Canute is that which is called the *Rectitudines singulararum personarum*,² and is a compendium of the whole duty of man, or at least of the services which he is bound to render to those above him in the social order. The thegn has his obligations—in the language of a much later age, “property has its duties as well as its rights”—he must be “worthy of his book-right,” that is, observe the conditions of his charter and do three things on account of his land, serving with the *fyrð*, *burh*-building and bridge-work. Also on many estates other obligations accrue at the king’s behest: such as making the fence for the game on the king’s demesne; the equipment of a war-ship; keeping watch on the coast, at the royal headquarters or in the *fyrð*; alms-giving; Church-scot, and many other payments of various kinds.

The *Geneat* seems to have belonged to a class dependent on a lord, but in a certain sense superior. He had “to pay rent (*land-gafol*) in money or in kind, to ride and guide, lead loads, reap and mow, cut the deer-hedge and keep it in repair, build and fence round the fortress, make new roads to the *tun*, keep ward and go errands far and near just as one may order him about”. It is evidently supposed, however, that he has a horse, probably several horses of his own, although he has to be thus submissive to the bidding of a lord. We may, perhaps, see in these *geneats* the descendants of ceorls who, under the pressure of the times, have lost their absolutely independent position and have been fain to “commend” them-

¹ See Vinogradoff (*The Growth of the Manor*, p. 131) on this illustration of “the arrogant superiority of the Danish conquerors”. He remarks on the growth of the pretensions of the invaders since the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum which put the Northmen warriors only on the same level as the twelfhyndmen, or ordinary thegns.

² Schmid, p. 371; Liebermann, p. 444.

selves to the protection of some great thegn or religious house.¹ CHAP. XXIV.

The cottager (*cotsetla*) is personally free and does not pay rent, but he has to render a certain amount of service to his lord in return for his holding, the normal size of which is five acres. The amount of service varies according to the custom of different estates; but a very usual arrangement is that he shall work every Monday throughout the year for his lord and three days every week in harvest time.

"The *Gebur's* duties," says the document, "are various; in some places they are heavy, in others they are quite moderate." He seems, however, to have somewhat less of personal freedom than the men belonging to either of the two previous classes. His minimum of work is for two days in the week; he has to put in three days, not only in harvest time, but from the beginning of February to Easter; and all the time from Martinmas (Nov. 11) till Easter he may be called upon, in rotation with his fellows, to lie out at night beside his lord's fold keeping watch over the sheep. On some lands the *gebur* pays *gafol* of honey, on some of meat and on some of ale. The lord provides him with implements for his work and utensils for his house, but then, *per contra*, when his time has come to take the journey (of death) his lord takes all that he leaves behind. Evidently the *gebur* is, if not yet actually a serf, in a condition much nearer serfdom than either the *geneat* or the *cotsetla*.

After this follow descriptions of the duties of the bee-keeper, the pork-butcher, the swine-herd, the sower, the shepherd, the wood-ward and many other agricultural labourers; the whole forming a most interesting picture of a large and well-managed English estate in the eleventh century.

In studying the laws of Alfred's successors throughout the tenth century, we are struck by the evident desire of the royal legislators to draw tighter the reins of government and to combat the tendencies towards disintegration and anarchy which they found in the body politic. Under Edward the Elder the great pact between Alfred and Guthrum was the corner-stone of the social fabric and to deal out equal justice between Englishman and Dane was the chief aim of a righteous ruler, but,

¹ This is Professor Vinogradoff's view, *Growth of the Manor*, p. 233.

CHAP. unfortunately, the king found that he had much cause to com-
XXIV. plain of timid, corrupt and inefficient servants. The offence of *oferhyrnesse*, contempt of the royal word and commandment, is one which is now first mentioned, and of which we often hear afterwards from Edward and his descendants. Of this offence, punishable by a fine of 120 shillings, any *gerefa* ("reeve" or magistrate) was guilty who failed to administer justice according to the testimony of the sworn witnesses, or to hold his *gemot* once in every four weeks for the administration of justice. *Oferhyrnesse* was also the offence of any person who presumed "to cheapen except in a port," that is, to conduct any process of bargain and sale except within the limits of a market town and in the presence of a *port reeve*, to whose testimony he could afterwards appeal to prove that he was not dealing in stolen goods.

Strong and vigorous ruler as *Athelstan* was, he needed to put forth all his powers in order to repress the growing tendency to anarchy and injustice. "If any of my *gerefan*," says he, "disobey this edict or be more slack concerning this matter than I have ordained, he shall pay the penalty of his *oferhyrnesse*, and I will find some one else who will attend to what I say. . . . I have learned that our peace is worse held than I like, and my *witan* say that I have borne it too long. I have therefore ordered that all such peace-breakers shall get out of my kingdom with wives and children, and all that they have, and shall go whither I direct. If they return to this realm they shall be treated like thieves caught in the act." King *Athelstan*'s influence, however, was not always exerted on the side of increased severity. The citizens of London record that he conveyed to the archbishop his opinion, that it was a lamentable thing that so young a man as one between the ages of twelve and fifteen should be put to death for any offence, or any man for stealing a chattel of less value than twelve pennies, and that he altered the law accordingly, raising the limit of age and of value in both cases.

In order to make the punishment of crime, especially of the one most common crime, cattle-stealing, more certain, it was ordered by Edward the Elder¹ that every man should have his *geteama*, a person doubtless of known character and position,

¹ Edward, i., 1 (Liebermann, i., 138).

who would act as his advocate or guarantor in any transactions of purchase and sale. It was probably a development of the same idea when Edgar ordained as follows: "This then is what I will, that every man shall be under a *borh* whether he be within boroughs or without them and that witnesses be appointed in every borough and in every hundred".¹ The law was repeated and strengthened by Canute who thus announced his decision: "And we will that every free man if he be over the age of twelve years shall be included in a hundred and a tithing, that he may have right to clear himself from accusation and right to receive *wer* if any one assail him. Otherwise he shall have none of the rights of a free man be he householder (*heorth-faeste*) or follower. Let every one then be brought into the hundred and have a *borh*, and let the *borh* hold him and bring him at all times to judgment. Many a powerful man wishes by hook or crook to protect his man and thinks that he can easily do it, whether he be free or *theow*. But we will not tolerate this injustice."²

Of this institution of the *tithing*, whereby the poorer class of free men were grouped together in clusters of ten, we heard among the citizens of London in the reign of Athelstan. That grouping was for purposes of mutual protection; this seems rather to be in order to enforce mutual responsibility. It is not to be wondered that organisms, so low down in the social system, have not made much mark in the Anglo-Saxon law-book; but it seems to be generally agreed that from them was derived that institution of frank-pledge which, under the Norman kings, was so efficient a machine for the repression of disorder.

In the laws of the later Anglo-Saxon kings we seem to hear less about oath-helping and much more about ordeals than we heard in the laws of their predecessors. Does this change betoken the growth of superstition or a decay of honesty and public spirit and a diminished confidence in the veracity of the oath-helpers? The chief modes of ordeal among the Anglo-Saxons were three, and an accused person seems to have had

¹ Edgar, iv., 3 (Liebermann, i., 210). This law is important as it helps us clearly to distinguish between *burh*, a borough, and *borh*, an association for mutual defence and for the enforcement of mutual responsibility.

² Cnut, ii., 20 (*ibid.*, i., 322).

CHAP. his right of choosing between them. In all there was a direct
XXIV. appeal to the Almighty to show by the ordeal the innocence or guilt of the accused; and the Church by solemn services, prayers and fastings gave her sanction to the appeal. (1) If the ordeal was by cold water, the accused person was hurled into a vessel of water, after a prayer had been uttered that "the creature, water" might reject this person if he were guilty or receive him if innocent, according to the course of nature, into her bosom. In this ordeal to float was fatal, to sink was salvation. (2) In the ordeal of fire the accused must carry a mass of red-hot iron weighing one pound a distance of nine feet, or must plunge his hand up to the wrist into a vessel of boiling water to pick out of it a stone. After either of these trials the hand was bandaged and sealed up. If, after the lapse of three days, when the bandages were removed, there was raw flesh visible, the man was guilty, if the hand showed clean skin he was innocent. If the crime laid to his charge were that of conspiring against the king's life, then the ordeal must be of threefold severity; the mass of hot iron must weigh three pounds, or the arm of the accused must be plunged in up to the elbow. (3) The ordeal of the test-morsel (*corsnaed*) was chiefly practised upon ecclesiastics and consisted in the obligation to swallow a piece of bread or cheese upon which a solemn anathema had been pronounced for any but an innocent partaker. As Ethelred said in one of his laws:¹ "If an accusation is laid against a servant of the altar who has no friends and who cannot call upon any oath-helper, let him go to the *corsnaed* and there fare as God shall will".

The judicial processes even in the ordinary courts of the realm certainly seem to us sufficiently blundering and barbarous; but at the end of the period which we are now considering, other courts of private jurisdiction were coming into being, and whether they administered better or worse justice who shall say? In the reign of Canute we first find a clear case of a grant of *sake* and *soke* to the Archbishop of Canterbury, a kind of grant which was given with lavish hand by the king whose reign lies next before us, Edward the Confessor.²

¹ Ethelred, viii., 22 (Liebermann, i., 266).

² See Maitland, *Domesday Book*, etc., p. 260. He thinks it probable that many grants of similar privileges of an earlier date have perished.

Without entering upon the question whether the Danish king was really the first to bestow this special privilege upon his courtiers, lay or ecclesiastical, we may safely assert that, at any rate in the eleventh century, our kings were freely attaching judicial functions to the ownership of lands. For this is, undoubtedly, what is meant by these words *sake* and *soke*, or *sac* and *soc*. The first probably means a "matter" or "cause";¹ the second, "a seeking out" or "inquiry". The meaning in any case is clear. The abbot or wealthy thegn who "had sake and soke" had, merely in right of the king's grant, and generally as appurtenant to the land which the king had given him, the right to try causes of dispute arising in his district. Apparently that right included both what we should call civil and criminal causes; and, of course, the right must have carried with it power to enforce his decisions, and also—no unimportant matter—the right to receive the fines and other profits arising from the administration of justice.

What may have been the limits of this jurisdiction—for there must surely have been some causes too grave for any mere holder of *sake* and *soke* to meddle with—and how it may have impinged upon the sphere in which *shire-mot* and *burh-mot* exercised their powers, are questions the answer to which is not yet before us. It is evident, however, that we have here judicial tribunals which might very easily grow into the manorial courts which flourished under the Norman and Plantagenet kings and the survivals of which exist among us to this day. And altogether the whole effect produced on our minds by a comparison of the laws of these later kings with the laws of the heptarchic kings is, that during the three centuries which elapsed from Ine to Canute the distinction between classes had been growing broader, that the eorl was mightier and the ceorl much weaker than in that older stratum of society; that, though certainly feudalism was not yet materialised in England, the spirit which prompted it was in the air; and that, possibly, even without any Norman Conquest, something like the Feudal System might have come, by spontaneous generation, in our land.

¹ The German *sache*, preserved in our expression "for God's sake," and the like (Maitland, *Domesday Book*, etc., p. 84).

CHAPTER XXV.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

(1042-1066.)

CHAP. XXV. EDWARD, son of Ethelred, last visible scion of the old royal West Saxon stock, seems to have succeeded, on Harthacnut's death, without opposition, to the throne of his forefathers. If the most powerful man in the kingdom, Earl Godwine, had any reason to fear the accession of the brother of the murdered Alfred, he determined to run all risks, and by actively co-operating in the new king's election to establish a claim on his gratitude which might outweigh the remembrance of the deeds done by the zealous adherent of Harold Harefoot. The large influence of Godwine in the king's counsels did not imply, as it would have done some years before, the continuance in power of the king's mother. On the contrary, in the very next year after Edward's accession, and seven months after his coronation at Winchester, the king, with his three most powerful subjects, Godwine, Leofric and Siward, rode from Gloucester to Winchester (November 16, 1043), and coming suddenly upon "the Lady" Emma, deprived her of all the vast treasures that she had accumulated, "her lands, her gold, her silver and her precious things untellable," and ordained that she should live thereafter, unimprisoned indeed, but deprived of all her ancient state, in the royal city of Winchester. Thus she lived on for eight years longer, till her death on March 14, 1052; but in all the stirring scenes which preceded that event the busy, managing "Old Lady"¹ seems to have taken no part. Her party, if

¹ *Seo ealde Hlaefdige* is the term used in the Chronicle to describe the queen-dowager. It will be remembered that there was in Wessex a peculiar distaste to the title "Queen".

she had one, struck down by that hasty ride of the king and his three nobles, never after raised its head. The reason assigned by the chronicler for this harsh procedure toward the widow and mother of two kings, seems to bear the stamp of truth. "This was done," he says, "because she was, before, very hard on the king her son, and she did less for him than he would, both before he was king and afterward," meaning no doubt both before and after his association with Harthacnut. In other words, the queen-dowager, who evidently disliked her first husband and gave all her pent-up love to her second, had become so complete a Dane at heart that she would not lift a finger to help the surviving son of Ethelred, and for this unfriendliness she was sorely punished when he had power to avenge his wrongs.

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Soon after Emma's downfall, the place of "Lady" in the palace of Winchester was again filled, by the marriage of Edward to Edith, daughter of Earl Godwine (January 23, 1045). It was a marriage only in name; for the king, to the admiration of his monastic biographers, retained through life the virgin purity of his saintliness; but the daughter of Godwine undoubtedly exercised some influence on the counsels of her royal spouse, though in what direction that influence was exerted is one of the not fully solved riddles of this difficult reign. The reign is difficult, chiefly because of the singular nullity of the sovereign's character. Religious and kindly natured, Edward (who received after his death the half canonisation conveyed in the title of "Confessor") seems to have had scarcely a will or mind of his own. He is always under the dominion of some stronger nature, Saxon earl, or Norman bishop, or wedded queen: and it is rarely possible to discover what were his own true sympathies and antipathies. We have constantly to guess to which of his councillors we must attribute the praise or the blame of the actions which were nominally his own.

To avoid confusion, it will be well to describe the events of this reign under four heads: foreign relations; internal troubles; wars with the Scots; and wars with the Welsh.

To us, who judge after the event, the dissolution of the splendid Anglo-Scandinavian Empire of Canute seems a natural and inevitable consequence of the death of its founder; but in all likelihood it was not so regarded by contemporary observers. Both Magnus of Norway and Sweyn of Denmark may well

CHAP. have aspired to rule England as heirs or quasi-heirs of Canute
XXV. the Rich, and in order to guard against their attacks, the new King of England was compelled to keep a large fleet in readiness, which was generally assembled at Sandwich.

Magnus of Norway was a bastard son of St. Olaf's, whose very name bore witness to the irritable temper of his father. His mother, Alfild, when in travail, was brought nigh unto death, and when the child was born the by-standers were for long in doubt whether it were alive. But the king was asleep, had given strict orders that he should never be roused from his slumbers, and none, not even his favourite minstrel Sigvat, dared to disobey. Fearing lest the child, dying unbaptised, should become "the devil's man," a priest hastily baptised it, the minstrel standing god-father, and giving it the name Magnus in honour of Carolus Magnus, "the king whom he knew to be the best man in all the world". (And this was full two centuries after the death of Charlemagne.) The anger of the awakened king, when he learned what had happened during his slumbers, was charmed away by the smooth-tongued Sigvat. Thus did the name Magnus enter not only into the dynastic lists, but into the common family nomenclature of Norway and Iceland.

The child Magnus, grown to man's estate and succeeding to his father's kingdom, vindicated the unconscious prophecy of his name, and was for a time the greatest monarch of the North. Whereas in the previous generation, Denmark had conquered Norway, it now seemed probable that Norway would conquer Denmark, so hard was the king of the latter country pressed by Magnus. This Danish king was Sweyn, not, of course, the son of Canute, who had died some years before, but Sweyn Estrithson, son of the murdered Ulf (of the overthrown chess-board) and of Canute's sister, Estrith. As Ulf's sister was Gytha, wife of Earl Godwine, Godwine's many sons and daughters were of course first cousins to the King of Denmark.

In the year 1047 Sweyn Estrithson, vigorously attacked by Magnus, sent an earnest petition to England that fifty ships might be despatched to his succour. "But this seemed an ill counsel to all people, because Magnus had great sea-power, nor was it adopted." Unhelped, Sweyn was expelled from his kingdom. The Danes had to pay money to their conquerors—a new and bitter experience for them—and to own Magnus for their king.

There, however, the career of Norwegian conquest stopped. In that very year, Magnus, when riding through the forest, was thrown violently by his shying steed against the trunk of a tree and received an injury from which he died. His uncle, Harold Hardrada, who succeeded him, and who will be heard of again in the history of England, could not prevent Denmark from reverting to its former ruler, Sweyn Estrithson, who founded there a dynasty which endured for 300 years.

Though schemes of conquest, such as are attributed to Magnus, died with him, there was some renewal of the old piratical raids. In 1048 two Norse buccaneers came with twenty-five ships to Sandwich, were repelled from Thanet, but successfully raided Essex, and sailing thence to "Baldwin's land" (Flanders), found there a ready market for the fruits of their cruel industry. The shelter given by Flanders to these and other depredators, induced Edward to acquiesce the more willingly in a proposal made to him by his kinsman, the Emperor Henry III., that he should help to guard the narrow seas against Baldwin, who had broken out into rebellion against the empire, had demolished the palace reared by Charlemagne at Nimeguen, and had done many other ill turns to his sovereign lord. To punish these despites Henry had gathered a large army, and Edward helped him by keeping guard with a fleet at Sandwich. No naval engagement followed, but the pressure thus effected by land and sea was effectual, and before long "the emperor had of Baldwin all that he would".

The Emperor Henry III., who thus drew Edward into the circle of European politics, was chiefly memorable for the beneficial influence which he exerted on the papal court, procuring the election of bishops of high character, generally Germans, instead of the dissolute lads who had been too often of late intruded into the papacy. One of the best of Henry's German popes was Bruno of Toul, who ruled as Leo IX. from 1048 to 1054. To him in the year 1049 Edward, by the advice of his *witan*, sent as ambassadors the Bishops of Sherborne and Worcester, to pray for absolution from a vow of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, which he had made in his years of poverty and apparently hopeless exile. The Witenagemot represented to him with good reason that the fulfilment of such a vow would now be inconsistent with his higher duties to his country and

CHAP. his subjects; and the aid of the pope was sought to cut the
XXV. casuistic knot. In the following year the two bishops returned, bringing the papal absolution from the vow of pilgrimage, coupled, it is said, with an injunction to build or restore a monastery in honour of St. Peter, and fill it with monks who should spend their days in prayer and psalmody. The condition was one in itself delightful to the heart of the pious king. From the unfulfilled vow of pilgrimage, from the journey of the two bishops to Rome, and from the reply of the venerable Leo, sprang that noble sanctuary, the name of which will endure as long as men speak the English language, the great Abbey of Westminster.

The internal history of England during the twenty-two years of Edward's reign is chiefly a record of the struggles of two or three great nobles for supremacy in his councils. It is true that some measures were taken for lightening the burdens of the people. "In the year 1049," says the Abingdon chronicler, "King Edward paid off nine ships and they went away with their ships and all: and five ships remained, and the king promised them twelve months' pay. In the next year he paid off all the shipmen." The result is told us by his brother chronicler: "In 1052 [1051] King Edward took off the army tax (*here-gyld*) which King Ethelred formerly instituted. It was thirty-nine years since he began it: and this *gyld* oppressed the English people during all that time. This tax ever claimed priority over all the other *gylds* by which the people were in various ways oppressed." As has been pointed out,¹ the tax here spoken of is not the Danegeld, a levy of money to be paid as blackmail to foreign invaders, but it is *here-gyld*, "army tax," or rather, in strictness, "navy tax," a levy of money to be paid to the naval defenders of the country, an imposition therefore which may be fittingly compared to the ship money of the Middle Ages. But the previously quoted entry concerning the exactions in the reign of Harthacnut shows how easily the *here-gyld* might be increased till it became an intolerable burden, and we can thus the better understand the joy of the nation at its removal.

¹ By Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, ii., 124-25 and 615.

The position of Edward appears during the whole of his reign to have been not unlike that of the later kings of the two first Frankish dynasties. If he were not a mere *roi fainéant*, a puppet in the hands of an all-powerful Mayor of the Palace, he was at any rate like a Carolingian Louis or Lothair, with large theoretical claims, with little real power, and quite overshadowed by a few great earls, who had not indeed yet made their offices hereditary; who were still in theory removable officers of the crown; but who ruled wide provinces, raised considerable armies among their own *house-carls*, and above all, possessed wealth probably much exceeding any that could be found in the treasure-house of the king. One of these great French nobles, Hugh the Great, had so played his cards as to prepare the way for the elevation of his own son to the actual seat of royalty, when the time should come for its relinquishment by the descendants of Charlemagne. It seems not improbable that the example of Hugh the Great was much before the eyes of Godwine, and that through life he kept steadily in view the possibility that sons issuing from his loins might one day sit upon the English throne, now after five centuries about to be left vacant by the dying dynasty of Cerdic.

Godwine, Leofric and Siward: these were the three greatest names in the English Witan when Edward came to the throne, and all three should be still memorable to Englishmen; Godwine, by reason of his great place in history, and the other two by reason of their renown in English poetry; Leofric being commemorated in the Godiva of Tennyson, and Siward in the Macbeth of Shakespeare.

The kingdom of England, imperfectly welded together by Egbert and Alfred, and since then modified by the large infusion of Scandinavian blood into its northern and eastern districts, showed throughout this period a strong tendency to split up again into its three old divisions, Northumbria, Mercia and Wessex. Northumbria, as we have seen, was reconstituted as one earldom by the bloody deed of Siward the Strong, who slew his uncle Eadwulf, and so joined Bernicia to Deira. A strong, stern, unscrupulous Dane, whose martial character is attested by the well-known story of his death (hereafter to be related), he nevertheless seems to have ruled

CHAP. well his great province and was apparently a loyal subject of
XXV. King Edward.¹

Leofric, son of Leofwine, was sprung, as has been said, from a family which for more than two centuries had been eminent in Mercia, and it is probable that he and his offspring bore with unconcealed dislike the overshadowing competition of the great upstart house of Godwine. He is often spoken of as Earl of Mercia, and perhaps had some sort of pre-eminence over other earls in that district, but his immediate jurisdiction seems to have been confined to the three counties of Cheshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire. Godwine's nephew by marriage, Beorn, son of Ulf and Estrith, was quartered on his eastern flank in Derby, Nottingham, Leicester and Lincoln. Sweyn, Godwine's eldest son, ruled the Mercian counties of Hereford, Gloucester and Oxford, besides a part of Wessex. Well might the proud Mercian noble feel that his title was but a mockery, while such large slices of Mercia were given to his rivals. Both Leofric and his wife Godiva were munificent benefactors to the Church. Whatever may be the foundation for the beautiful legend of Godiva's absolute surrender of herself for the lightening of her people's burdens, we certainly should not, from his record in history, have inferred that her husband Leofric was an avaricious or close-fisted lord.

We turn to the earldoms which throughout the greater part of Edward's reign were subject to the family of Godwine. He himself held, of course, that great and enriching office, the earldom of Wessex, which had been long ago conferred upon him by Canute, and which practically included all the lands south of the Thames; excepting that Somerset and Berkshire appear to have been carved out of them, to form what in later times would have been called an appanage for his eldest son, Sweyn, in addition to the three Mercian counties which, as we have already seen, were included in his earldom. His second son, Harold, called Earl of the East Angles, ruled not only the two strictly East Anglian shires, but also Huntingdon, Cambridge and Essex, which probably included Middlesex.² The

¹ For some years the county of Huntingdon was strangely added to Northumbria as a portion of his earldom. For the complicated question of the limits of the earldoms under Edward, see Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. ii., note G.

² Freeman, *u.s.*

three sons who came next in order, Tostig, Gyrth and Leofwine, were but boys at the time of Edward's accession and were as yet unprovided with earldoms ; but even so, it is evident if we look at the map, that more than half, and that the fairest half, of England was subject to Earl Godwine and his family.

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Of the character of this man, certainly the most powerful and probably the ablest Englishman of his time, very varying judgments were formed, even in his lifetime ; and after his death the antipathy of the Norman and the regretful sympathy of the Saxon writers, naturally led to very divergent estimates concerning it. Nor is the controversy even yet ended ; for the enthusiastic championship of the great historian of the Norman Conquest has not unnaturally provoked an equally vigorous storm of censure. To the present writer he does not appear a high-minded patriot, nor yet, considering the age in which he lived, a detestable villain. Hard, grasping, capable, remorseless, intent on the aggrandisement of his family, and by no means successful in forming their characters, he nevertheless may be credited with a certain amount of love for his country, and for the Anglo-Danish race which now peopled it. Himself English by birth and Danish by marriage and by all his early official training, he was determined that, if he could help it, no third element should be imported by the Norman sympathies of the king, to oppress the common people and to snatch away the prizes of government from the nobles. It is when he risks life and dearly loved treasure in maintaining this contention, that he seems to us almost a patriot.

The first shock to the stately edifice of Godwine's power was given by the disordered passions of his eldest son. In 1046, after a successful campaign in Wales, "when Sweyn was on his homeward journey, he ordered that the Abbess of Leominster [named Edgiva] should be fetched unto him, and he had her as long as he pleased and afterwards let her go home". Such is the short dry record by the chronicler, of a deed which shocked the not too sensitive conscience of the eleventh century, and which appears to have led to the dissolution of the nunnery of Leominster, the outlawry of Sweyn and the allotment of his earldom to others. It seems, however, from later allusions to the matter, that it was not the forcible abduction but the lascivious seduction of a consecrated virgin of which the son

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of Godwine was guilty. Sweyn betook himself in 1047 to that refuge of all English outlaws, "Baldwin's land," and from thence after a time went to Denmark, where by some crime or immorality of the nature of which we are not informed, he "ruined himself with the Danes". In 1049 he returned to England, and began to hover about the coasts of Kent and Sussex, off which the king was lying with a fleet, operating against Baldwin of Flanders and watching the proceedings of another outlaw, Osgod Clapa. This man, who had once been in high favour at the English court, had held the office of Staller or Chamberlain, and had been honoured by the presence, the ill-omened presence, of Harthacnut, at his daughter's marriage feast, but had now fallen into disgrace, and led for some years the life of a buccaneer, imitating the ravages of the old Vikings and requiring the manœuvres of a royal fleet to keep him at bay. The Chronicle has much to tell us about Osgod Clapa's and his wife's movements, but he possesses for us no political significance, and we have only to note his death which happened "suddenly in his bed," as the chronicler tells us, in the year 1054.

Returning to the tempestuous career of the outlawed Sweyn, we find that his petition for forgiveness was at first rejected by the king, influenced as it was supposed by the criminal's brother and cousin, Harold and Beorn, who were averse to surrendering his forfeited earldom. Then some change seems to have come over the more generous Beorn, who, on Sweyn's entreaty that he would intercede for him to the king, consented to do so, and set off with him to march along the Sussex shore, making for the king's station at Sandwich (1049). Many were the oaths which Sweyn had sworn to him, and "he thought that for his kinship's sake he would not deceive him". Thus beguiled he fared forward, putting himself ever more completely in the outlaw's power; and even when his cousin proposed that instead of journeying eastwards to Sandwich, they should go westwards to the little town of Bosham, a favourite haunt of the Godwine tribe, off which his ships were lying at anchor, the unsuspecting earl consented. "For my sailors," said Sweyn, "will desert me, unless I show myself speedily among them." But when they had reached the place and Sweyn proposed that they should go together on board of his ship, Beorn, whose suspicions were by

this time aroused, stoutly refused to do so. Resistance was now too late. Sweyn's sailors forcibly laid hold of Beorn, threw him into the boat, and tightly bound him. They then rowed him to the ship, spread sail, and ran before the wind to Exmouth, where the prisoner was slain and buried in a deep grave, from which his friends afterwards lifted his body, that they might carry him to Winchester and bury him beside his uncle, King Canute. After such an atrocious and dastardly crime, one would have expected that Sweyn, if he could not be laid hold of and brought to justice, would at least have been banished from the society of all honourable men. And for the moment, though he escaped as usual to Baldwin's land and dwelt at Bruges, he was solemnly proclaimed a *nothing* or vile person (the most ignominious term in the Teutonic vocabulary) by the whole host, with the king, his brother-in-law, at their head. Yet with that fatuous facility in wrong-doing which seems to mark the conduct of all leading Englishmen in this bewildering century, by the mediation of Ealdred, Bishop of Worcester (afterwards Archbishop of York, and by no means the worst of the ecclesiastics of the period), Sweyn was brought back from his exile in 1050, his outlawry reversed, and his old earldom, which involved the rule over five counties, restored once more to his own keeping. The only thing that can be said in his favour is that he does seem to have felt some remorse for his many crimes. When next year he shared the general downfall of his house and was once more driven into banishment, instead of scheming for his return and restoration to power, he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, visited the sacred shrines, and died on his homeward journey at Constantinople (Michaelmas, 1052).

The history of the Godwine family is now modified by events at King Edward's court, which gave them the opportunity of assuming the character of national champions against the dominion of foreigners. We hear a good deal about the Norman favourites who flocked to Edward's court, but it is not easy to ascertain how numerous these were, or how far a king, all whose nearest relations were Normans, and who had spent the best years of his life in a foreign land, exceeded the limits of moderation and good policy in bestowing lands and offices on his friends of foreign birth. Among these were the kinsfolk of his own sister,

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XXV. to his court, though one of them, her second husband, Eustace, Count of Boulogne, when he came sorely offended the Saxons by his insolent demeanour. Another, Ralph, sometimes called Ralph the Timid, Godiva's son by her first husband, was entrusted by his uncle with the earldom of the Magasaetas, corresponding to the modern county of Hereford. A feebly arrogant man, he too probably added not a little to Edward's unpopularity, and he appears to have gathered round him a number of his countrymen, whom the Chronicle calls sometimes Frenchmen (*Frencysce*) and sometimes Welshmen.¹ These men seem to have been already anticipating the baronial oppressions of a later century, and building their strongholds to overawe the common folk. Of one such fortress the patriotic chronicler writes that the foreigners had erected a castle in Herefordshire in the district of Earl Sweyn, and there wrought all the harm and disgrace that they could do to the king's men.

The ecclesiastically minded Edward, however, seems to have chosen his chief friends from among the Franco-Norman churchmen whom he had known in his youth. Chief among these was Robert Champart, formerly Abbot of Jumièges on the Lower Seine, whom Edward made Bishop of London near the beginning of his reign, and who, according to an often-quoted story, obtained such an ascendancy over the feeble mind of his patron that "if he said that a black crow was white, the king would rather trust his mouth than his own eyes". Owing to the feeble health of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert of London probably had from the first a controlling voice in the affairs of the southern province, and when at last, in October, 1050, the aged Eadsige was gathered to his fathers, Edward desired to make his favourite ecclesiastic archbishop. There was, however, an undercurrent of opposition; the chapter met in haste without the royal mandate and elected one of their number, Aelfric, archbishop. The monastic candidate was a relation of Earl Godwine's, who put forth all his influence to procure the confirmation of his election, but in vain. The Norman's power over the king was too great; at the Witenagemot held

¹ *Welisce menn*.—Of course the word *Wealas* and its derivations meant simply non-Teutonic and had no necessary connexion with the British population of what we now call Wales.

in London at Midlent, 1051, Robert Champart was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. He went speedily to Rome and returned with the indispensable pallium. This rebuff to Earl Godwine was perhaps the first indication of the precarious tenure of his power. At any rate from this time onward, if not before, the influence of the king's clerical master was thrown heavily into the scale against him.

Such apparently was the state of affairs at the English court, and such the smouldering fires of jealousy and distrust, when in the summer of 1051 Eustace of Boulogne came on a visit to his brother-in-law. The visit paid, he and his retinue took the homeward road through Kent, and after baiting at Canterbury, made for Dover as their resting-place for the night. When the little troop were still some miles short of Dover, he and his men dismounted, put on their coats of mail and thus rode on, martial and menacing. When they reached Dover they showed at once their intention to take up their quarters wherever it pleased them. They were probably not without some legal justification for what seems to us a somewhat high-handed procedure, for Count Eustace was son-in-law and brother-in-law of English kings, and royal personages in the west of Europe seem to have possessed in the eleventh century some rights of compulsory hospitality similar to those of which we hear so much in later centuries under the name of "purveyance". It was therefore probably not so much the claim itself as the insolent manner in which it was urged by armed foreigners, which exasperated the citizens of Dover. A quarrel arose between one of the Frenchmen and the householder upon whom he was quartered. The householder received a wound which he repaid by a mortal blow. Thereupon the count and his men mounted their horses, and attacked the householder, whom they slew on his own hearthstone. A general *mêlée* followed, the result of which was that twenty of the citizens were slain, and nineteen of the strangers, many of whom were also wounded. Count Eustace, with the survivors of his train, made his way back to the king, and in angry tones, concealing his own followers' misconduct, called for vengeance on the men of Dover. Hereupon Earl Godwine was summoned to the royal presence and ordered to execute the king's wrath against the citizens. This command he absolutely refused to obey. The men of Dover belonged to the county which he

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Things seemed to be gathering up towards a civil war, in which Godwine and his sons would have had against them, not only the king and his French favourites, men like Robert of Jumièges and Ralph the Timid, but also Siward of Northumberland and Leofric of Mercia, who were hastening with their armies to the help of the king. This last fact seems to show that the tyrannical conduct of Edward's Norman kinsmen was not the sole question at issue in this summer of 1051. Jealousy and dread of the overmastering power of the house of Godwine also had their share in the great debate, nor perhaps were the old rivalries between the one southern and the two northern kingdoms altogether absent. It seemed as though a collision between the *fyrds* of Northumbria and Mercia, and those of Wessex and East Anglia was inevitable ; but even at the eleventh hour wiser counsels prevailed. To some of the leaders on the king's side the thought occurred, that the impending battle would be a grievous mistake, "inasmuch as almost all that England had of noblest was in the two armies, and a battle between them would but bring one common ruin and leave the land open to invasion by the enemies of both". On Godwine's side also there was great unwillingness "to be compelled to stand against their royal lord". Thus a peace—as it proved only a precarious peace—was patched up, and all subjects in dispute were referred to a great national meeting of the *witan*, which was to be held in London at Michaelmas.

¹ Some doubt has been thrown on the early connexion of Godwine with Kent.

By consenting to this delay, and by changing the venue from Gloucester to London, the Godwine party seem to have thrown away their chances. The earl and his sons came to his dwelling at Southwark with a great multitude of West Saxons, "but his army ever waned, and all the more the longer he stayed". The magic of the king's name was still too mighty to be resisted. The thegns who were in subjection to Harold were told to transfer their allegiance to the king himself; Sweyn the seducer was once more outlawed; the negotiations soon became a mere desperate appeal from the Godwine party for hostages and safe conduct, and at last they received the royal ultimatum: "Five days in which to clear out of the country, or judgment against you," probably on the old charge of complicity in the murder of Alfred, combined with new charges of treachery against the king. Hereupon the whole family took their departure. Godwine with his wife and three of his sons, Sweyn, Tostig and Gyrth, went to the patrimonial Bosham, "shoved out their ships, betook them beyond sea, and sought the protection of Baldwin, with whom they abode the whole winter". There was especial fitness in those exiles seeking shelter in "Baldwin's land," for immediately before the downfall of the Godwine family Tostig had become the bridegroom of Judith, sister of Baldwin V., the reigning Count of Flanders. The other two sons, Harold and Leofwine, rode hard to Bristol, vainly pursued by Ealdred, Bishop of Worcester, whom the king had ordered to capture them. Much buffeted by storms, they beat out from Avonmouth, and at last arrived on the coast of Ireland, where they spent the winter as guests of Diarmid, King of Leinster. To complete the ruin of the family, Godwine's daughter Edith, "who had been hallowed to Edward as queen, was forsaken by him; all her property in land, in gold, in silver and in all things was taken from her," and she was committed to the care of her husband's half-sister, the Abbess of Wherwell in Hampshire. Well may the chronicler who records these events say: "It must have seemed a wonderful thing to any man that was in England, if any man had said beforehand that so it should happen, inasmuch as he was so high uplifted that he ruled the king and all England, and his sons were earls and the king's darlings, and his daughter [now sent to a nunnery] was wedded and married to the king".

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Soon after the expulsion of Godwine and his sons a memorable event occurred: the landing in England of William the Norman, who came on a visit to the king in 1051. In 1035, the year of the death of Canute, Robert Duke of Normandy, King Edward's first cousin, had died at Nicæa in Bithynia on his way home from the Holy Land. Before starting on this pilgrimage he had presented to the nobles of Normandy his illegitimate son, William, child of Herleva, the daughter of a tanner of Falaise, and called upon them to recognise him as his successor. The child was only about seven years old, but as his father said, "He is little but he will grow, and if God please he will mend". Moreover, his lord paramount, the King of France, had promised to maintain him in his duchy. The nobles were loath to accept as their future ruler one whose illegitimacy for various reasons was considered more disgraceful than that which tarnished the shield of many of his ancestors, but being in some degree constrained, perhaps surprised, by the sudden action of their masterful duke, they consented and acknowledged themselves the "men" of the little bastard. When the tidings of Duke Robert's death in the distant Orient arrived, no rival candidate was set up, and the plighted faith of the Norman nobles was not formally violated, but there seems to have been a general relapse into anarchy. Private wars between noble and noble were waged continually. Three guardians of the boy-duke were slain, one after another, and two attempts were made to kidnap, perhaps to murder him. But out of this welter of warring ambitions and treasons sometimes fomented by the liege-lord in Paris who had sworn to protect him, the young duke gradually grew up a bold, athletic, soldierly man; chaste and clean-living, though himself the child of illicit love; devout, though when occasion arose he could defy the thunders of the Church; beyond everything self-centred and capable of holding on through long years to an ambitious project once formed with infinite patience, and of carrying it into bloody effect without a shadow of remorse. Four years before his visit to England, in 1047, William, with the help of his liege-lord, Henry of France, had defeated the rebellious nobles of his duchy in the great battle of Val-es-dunes, a few miles east of Caen. In 1048 he took the two strong castles of Domfront and Alençon on the frontier between Nor-

mandy and Maine, thus preparing the way for the conquest of the latter country which followed six years later (1054), and which made him without question the most powerful of all the vassals of the French king.

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Even as it was, however, he was already a mighty prince when he came, probably in the autumn of 1051, to visit his elderly cousin, a man in all respects as utterly unlike himself as it is possible to imagine. A fateful visit indeed was that, though its details are passed over in provoking silence by all the chroniclers and biographers both of host and guest. When we remember that the man who thus came as a visitor to our land was he from whose loins have sprung all the sovereigns who have ruled over us for eight centuries, how gladly would we have heard some circumstances of this peaceful invasion: of his first sight of the white cliffs of Dover; his voyage up the Thames; his intercourse haply with some of the merchants of the rising city of London; his talks with his temporarily widowed cousin in his palace in the west of London, near the island of Thorney; but for all this we have only imagination to draw upon. The strangest thing is that though during this visit some promise was almost certainly made, or some expectation held out by Edward, that William should be the heir of his kingdom, even this though constantly alluded to by the Norman writers is never by them definitely connected with this visit. Of one thing we may be tolerably sure that the visit indicates the high-water mark of Norman influence at Edward's court. Robert of Jumièges, the all-powerful archbishop of Canterbury; William, the king's chaplain, bishop of London; Ulf, another chaplain, and a scandal to his profession, bishop of the vast diocese of Dorchester—all these were Normans, while Godwine, the Englishman, and his progeny of earls were all absent from the kingdom. Are we wrong in conjecturing that but for that absence the visit had never been paid? However, after a stay probably of a few weeks, William returned to his own land, and shortly after another member of his house, that one to whom all his claims to interfere in English politics were indirectly due, set forth on a longer journey. "On March 14, 1052, died, the Old Lady, mother of King Edward and Harthacnut, named Imme [Emma], and her body lies in the Old Minster [Winchester] with King Canute."

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There can be no doubt that dislike of the arrogance of Edward's Norman favourites was one cause, though possibly not the sole cause, of the remarkable revolution which took place in the year 1052. All through the winter of 1051-52 Godwine in "Baldwin's land" and Harold in Ireland were preparing their forces, in order to compel a reversal of the decree of exile against them. Edward's counsellors were also on the alert, and prepared at Sandwich a fleet of such strength that when Godwine with his ships issued forth at midsummer from the neighbourhood of Ostend he found the royal armament too strong for him and declined battle. Then followed three months of indecisive action, in which, curiously enough, the chief events recorded are the raiding expeditions against certain districts of England, made by the men who professed to come as her deliverers. "Earl Godwine hoisted sail with all his fleet and went westwards right on to Wight and harried the country there so long until the people paid them as much as they ordered them to pay." This sounds more like Vikings extorting *gafol* than like the patriot statesman coming to deliver his country from foreign oppression. "Then did Harold return from Ireland with nine ships and landed at Porlock, and much folk was there gathered against him, but he did not shrink from procuring him food. He landed and slew a good lot of people¹ and helped himself to cattle and men and property as it came handy," and then sailing round the Land's End, joined his father at the Isle of Wight, and so they sailed together to Pevensey. Meantime the royal fleet was weakened by continual desertion. The old Kentish loyalty to Earl Godwine revived in full force, and "all the *butse-carlas* (common sailors) of Hastings and all along by that coast, all the east end of Sussex and Surrey and much else thereabouts came over to Godwine's side and declared that they would live and die with him."

Thus Godwine's fleet rounded Kent, reached the northern mouth of the Stour and sailed up towards London; some of the ships, however, improving the occasion by sailing inside the Isle of Sheppey and burning the town of King's Milton. On September 14 Godwine was at his old home at South-

¹ "*Mycelne ende thes folces*," says the Peterborough chronicler; "thirty good thegns," say the Abingdon and Worcester chroniclers, "besides other folk."

wark, his troops drawn up in array on the Surrey bank of the Thames, his ships waiting for a favourable tide to pass through the bridge and encompass the king's dwindling fleet. Battle, however, between Englishmen and Englishmen, now as in the previous year, was felt to be a terrible thing. The men of London were decidedly favourable to the cause of the banished earls, and when their humble petition to the king for the renewal of his favour to them met with stern refusal, it was all that Godwine could do to prevent the popular discontent from breaking out into some sudden act of mutiny. This state of tension did not last long. The foreign favourites saw that their cause was lost; they scattered, some to the west, some to the north; Robert of Canterbury and Ulf of Dorchester rode out of the eastern gate of the city, and after slaying and otherwise maltreating many young men (who probably sought to stay their flight) reached the Naze in Essex and there got on board a crazy ship, which crazy as it was, seems to have borne them in safety over to Normandy. "Thus," says the chronicler, "did he, according to the will of God, leave his pallium here in this land, and that archiepiscopal dignity which *not* according to God's will he had here obtained."

The Frenchmen gone, peace was easily negotiated between the cipher-king and his powerful ministers. To Earl Godwine, his wife, his sons and his daughter, full restitution was made of all the offices and all the property of which they had been deprived. "The Lady" was fetched back from her convent and again installed in the palace. "Friendship was made fast between Godwine's family and the king; and to all men good laws were promised, and outlawed were all the Frenchmen who before perverted law and justice,¹ and counselled ill-will against this land, save those (few) persons whom the king liked to keep about him, because they were loyal to him and to his people." At a great meeting of the *witan*, held outside of London, Earl Godwine appeared and made his defence, clearing himself, we are told, before his lord King Edward and before all the people of the land, of all the things that were laid to his charge and to that of his sons.

The chief agent in these negotiations was Stigand, Bishop of Winchester, a very noticeable figure in the ecclesiastical history

¹ Literally "had raised up un-law and deemed un-dooms".

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of the times, a busy, diplomatising person who had been a keen partisan of the Lady Emma's; had shared her downfall and had afterwards been appointed to the bishopric of Winchester, which he now exchanged for the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, practically, though not canonically, vacant by the flight of Robert of Jumièges. His position, which was already in the eyes of strict churchmen a doubtful one so long as his predecessor lived, was not improved by his tardy journey to Rome in the year 1058 in quest of his pallium, for he had the misfortune to receive it from the hands of a Pope, Benedict X., who, though apparently chosen in a regular manner, did not second Hildebrand's reforms, and being deposed in favour of Nicholas II., bishop of Florence, figures in ecclesiastical history as an anti-pope. A pallium conferred by such hands was held to bring with it no blessing; on the contrary, by committing the English metropolitan to the losing party, which opposed the famous Gregory VII., it had a very important influence on subsequent events, and gave to the buccaneering expedition of William the Bastard something of the character of a religious crusade.

To the great earl himself the revolution of 1052 brought no long enjoyment of power. Godwine fell sick soon after his landing in England, and though he recovered for a time, his health was evidently much shaken. In the following year, when King Edward was keeping Easter at Winchester with Godwine, Harold and Tostig for his guests, as they sat at meat, the earl "suddenly sank down by the king's footstool, bereft of speech and strength. They carried him into the king's bower, hoping that the attack would pass off, but it was not so. He continued so, speechless and powerless, from Easter Monday till the following Thursday [April 15, 1053], when he died. He lieth there within the Old Minster; and his son Harold took to his earldom (Wessex), resigning that which he had hitherto held (East Anglia), which was given to Elfgar," son of Leofric and Godiva. In the face of this perfectly straightforward and circumstantial account given by the Saxon chronicler, of the death of an elderly statesman, after a hard and laborious life, from a stroke of apoplexy or paralysis, it is unnecessary to reproduce the idle legends of Norman historians two generations later, who represented that death as the fulfilment of a blasphemous imprecation of the

divine vengeance on himself if he had had part or lot in the murder of the Etheling Alfred. CHAP
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Earl Harold succeeded not only to the earldom but also to the political predominance of his father, and for the remaining thirteen years of Edward's reign we may safely consider him as the real ruler of the kingdom. Only it must be observed that though Harold was the king's efficient man of business, the chosen companion of his sports and of his leisure was another brother, Tostig, who in the year 1055 received the earldom of Northumbria. This peculiar position of favour in the palace and absenteeism from his province led to complications which will be related hereafter. For the present our notice of the internal affairs of the kingdom may close with the fact that in the year 1057 the Etheling Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, came to England accompanied by his wife, Agatha, a kinswoman of the Emperor Henry III., and by what a Saxon ballad-maker quaintly calls "a goodly team of bairns". Probably it was the intention of the older Edward that his namesake should succeed him on the throne, though he may have at times vacillated between the more remote but known kinsman in Normandy and the nearer stranger from Hungary. But whatever the king's intentions may have been, they were foiled by sickness or some less innocent agency. "We know not," says the chronicler, "for what cause that was done that he might not see his kinsman, King Edward. Woe was that wretched mishap, and harmful to all this people that he ended his life so soon after he came to England, for the unhappiness of this poor folk." There is a mystery in all this which it is vain now to try to penetrate. Only one cannot help again remarking the lack of virility in these latest scions of the house of Cerdic. Assuredly neither William the Bastard nor Harold Godwineson, would have been content to linger out forty years of life in exile, nor when returned to their native land would have been so easily snuffed out of existence as was this prince, the descendant of fifteen generations of West Saxon kings.

We pass from the internal affairs of England to the notices, scanty, but possessing for us a peculiar interest, concerning wars with Scotland in the reign of Edward. We have seen that in 1018 the Scottish king, Malcolm II., by his victory at Car-

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XXV. Tweed. This king died in 1034, the year before the death of Canute. His own death seems to have been a violent one, but he had certainly murdered the man who, according to the complicated law of succession then prevailing, had the best right to succeed him on the throne, and had thus secured the succession for his grandson, a lad named Duncan. The short reign of this young man—it lasted only six years—was marked by some exciting events. In the year 1035 he led “an immense army” across the Border and laid siege to the new city of Durham. The siege lasted a long time, but in a successful sally of the besiegers the greater part of the Scottish cavalry was destroyed, and in the disordered flight of the army the infantry were also cut to pieces, and their heads being collected and brought within the walls were stuck upon stakes to adorn the market place of the city of St. Cuthbert. Then followed war, on the whole unsuccessful war, between Duncan and his cousin Thorfinn, the Scandinavian earl of Orkney and Caithness. Duncan was driven southward, and in August, 1040, he was murdered by the general who had hitherto been fighting his battles, Macbeth, Mormaer or Earl of Moray. There was nothing in this event to take it out of the ordinary category of royal murders in Scotland at this time. It took place not under Macbeth’s own roof but on neutral ground, at a place called Bothgowanan or the Smith’s bothie; the victim was not the venerable greybeard whom Tragedy brings before us, but a young man still “of immature age,” whose grandfather had not many years before killed the brother of Macbeth’s wife and ousted her family from the royal succession. In fact, we may almost say, looking to the vicissitudes of the two families who at this time alternately ruled Scotland, that it was Duncan’s turn to be murdered. Macbeth, who reigned from 1040 to 1058, seems to have been on the whole a good king, though reigning by a more than doubtful title. It is possible that he imitated his contemporary Canute by going on pilgrimage, as a chronicler tells us that in the year 1050 Macbeth, king of Scotland, scattered silver broadcast among the poor of Rome.

Such was the man against whom, in 1054, Siward the Strong, earl of Northumbria, moved with a large army accompanied by a fleet. Siward being himself brother-in-law of the

murdered Duncan was uncle of the young Malcolm Canmore, who was now seeking to recover his father's throne. We have also a hint from a later historian that there were Normans in the Scottish army. It is suggested, on rather slender evidence, that these were some of Edward's favourites, displaced by the revolution of 1052, who had taken refuge at the court of Macbeth; and it is possible that their presence there may have had something to do with Siward's expedition. However this may be, it is clear that a battle was fought on July 27, in which the Northumbrian earl was victorious, but at a heavy cost. His own son, Osbeorn, was slain ("with all his wounds in front," as his father rejoiced to hear), and his sister's son, Siward, as well as many of his own and the king's *house-carls*. Some of these *house-carls*, we are expressly told, were Danes as well as Englishmen. There was a great and unprecedented capture of booty, but Macbeth himself escaped. He reigned, though probably with broken power, for four years longer, till 1058, in which year he was finally defeated and slain by Malcolm III. This prince, who is generally known by his epithet of Canmore (the Large-headed), is he who by his marriage with Margaret, daughter of the Etheling Edward, brought the blood of the old Saxon kings into the veins of the royal family of Scotland and indirectly into that of England also. Matilda, wife of Henry Beauclerk, daughter of Malcolm Canmore and Margaret, is the link which connects the Saxon with the Norman dynasty, Alfred with Victoria.

The year after his invasion of Scotland (1055) old Siward the Strong died of dysentery. Of him is told the well-known story that when he found his death drawing nigh, he said: "What a shame it is that I, who could not find my death in so many battles, should now be reserved for an inglorious death like that of a cow. At least arm me with coat of mail, sword and helmet: place my shield on my left arm, my gilded battle-axe in my right hand, that I, who was strongest among soldiers, may die a soldier's death." His command was obeyed, and thus honourably clad in armour he breathed out his soul. The great earldom of Northumbria, made vacant by the death of Siward, was bestowed on the king's favourite brother-in-law, Tostig, who, however, held it not for long. Siward's son, Waltheof, seems to have been little more than a child at his father's

CHAP. death, but, though now passed over in the distribution of earl-
XXV. doms, he received, ten years after, the earldom of two southern counties, Northampton and Huntingdon, which had once formed an outlying portion of his father's dominions, and he had a great share in the events which followed the Norman Conquest.

The affairs of Wales, during the reign of Edward the Confessor, centred chiefly round the person of Griffith ap Llewelyn, "the head and shield and defender of the Britons," as he is called by a Welsh chronicler; a terrible thorn in the side of England, as he must have appeared to his Saxon contemporaries. This man, whose father, Llewelyn, died in 1021, soon after achieving the supremacy in Wales, had been for sixteen years throneless and probably an exile. In 1039 Griffith slew the King of Gwynedd (North Wales), and being himself of a North Welsh house became practically supreme over all the Britons. And not over the Britons only did he win victories. "During his whole reign," says the *Chronicle of the Princes*, "he pursued the Saxons and the pagan nations and killed and destroyed them and overcame them in a multitude of battles." The life of a Welsh king at this time was necessarily one of continual turmoil. There was the ever-present rivalry between Gwynedd and Dyved (North and South Wales), barely held in check from time to time by the strong hand of such an one as Griffith. There were "the pagans," the Danes of Dublin and Wexford, always ready to cross the narrow seas and harry the Welsh coast. Apparently the Christian Irish must sometimes have shared in these raids, for "the Scots" (which doubtless still means the Irish) are frequently alluded to as enemies of Griffith. In addition to this there was the long feud with Mercia, which had lasted for so many centuries, but which was now occasionally interrupted when it served the purpose of both Wales and Mercia to combine against Wessex.

In 1039, in the first year of Griffith's reign, he won a great victory over the Mercians at "the Ford of the Cross" by the river Severn, slaying Leofric's brother, Edwin, "and many good men besides," as the Saxon chronicler admits. Then there was a check to Griffith's career of victory. In 1042 he was taken prisoner by the pagans of Dublin, but two years later we find him at the head of his forces, defeating the Danish invaders

with great slaughter. A namesake and rival, Griffith, son of Rhyddarch, whose father had reigned in South Wales, stirred up rebellion against him in 1046, but he was defeated by a joint expedition of Griffith, son of Llewelyn, and Earl Sweyn, son of Godwine. This co-operation of Wales and Mercia is memorable for more reasons than one, since it was on his return from this expedition that Sweyn Godwineson sinned that great sin with the Abbess of Leominster which ruined his career and, for a time at least, blighted the fortunes of his father

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There were some smaller skirmishes between Welshmen and Englishmen, but, omitting these, we pass on to the year 1055, when a war broke out which was partly caused by the discords and rivalries of English nobles. Godwine was now dead, and Harold was all-powerful. Leofric of Mercia, Godiva's husband, still lived, but must have been an old man, since we find his grandsons, only ten years later, men in the vigour of manhood. For some reason or other—it is difficult not to see the hand of the great rival family in the affair—a charge of treason was brought against Leofric's son, Elfgar, who had, we may remember, received the earldom of East Anglia when it was resigned by Harold on succeeding to Wessex. A general Witenagemot was now summoned to London, before which "Earl Elfgar was charged with being a traitor to the king and to all the people of the land, and he confessed this before all who were gathered there, though the words shot forth from him against his will". So says the Peterborough chronicler, a strong partisan of the Godwine family. The Abingdon chronicler, who disliked them, says that "The Witenagemot in London outlawed Earl Elfgar without any guilt on his part". The Worcester chronicler vacillates and says, "almost without guilt of his". It is hopeless now, after the lapse of eight centuries and a half, to retry a cause which excited such differences of opinion among contemporaries: What is undoubted is that Elfgar's earldom was given to Tostig Godwineson, who had just received the great earldom of Northumberland, and that the outlawed Elfgar betook himself to Ireland, raised there a fleet of eighteen ships and sailed across to Wales, where he threw himself on the hospitality and help of Griffith ap Llewelyn. With a great force of Irishmen and Welshmen Griffith marched against Ralph, the timid Earl of Hereford. This man, the king's nephew, had collected a large number of

CHAP. the militia, but, in order probably that he might follow the French
XXV. fashion of fighting, had mounted them on horses, the consequence of which was that "ere a single spear had been thrown, the English people fled, forasmuch as they had horses, and a good lot of them were slain, about four or five hundred, and not one on the other side". Thus was Hereford laid at the mercy of the invaders, among whom there were probably some of the "pagans". They carried the city by storm, burned both it and the minster, thereby breaking the heart of the good Bishop Athelstan, its builder; slew the priests in the minster and many others besides, and carried off all the treasures.

A proclamation went throughout almost the whole of England for the gathering of a *fyrð* at Gloucester, and Harold took the command. But then "people began to speak about peace": a conference was held at Billingsley in Shropshire; and, as the Worcester chronicler sarcastically remarks, "when the enemy had done all the harm that was possible, then people took counsel that Earl Elfgar should be inlawed again and receive once more his earldom". But though peace and friendship were supposed to have been "fastened" at Billingsley, war with Wales broke out again next year (1056), apparently in part owing to the martial ardour of Harold's mass-priest, Leofgar, who succeeded the good old Athelstan as Bishop of Hereford. This extraordinary person, to the amazement of the chronicler, had worn his moustaches all through his priesthood until he was bishop;¹ and now "he abandoned his chrism and his rood, his ghostly weapons, and took to his spear and his sword after he had become bishop and so joined the army against the Welsh king, and was there slain and his priests with him; Elfnoth the sheriff also and many other good men; and the others fled away" (June 13, 1056). A dreary campaign followed, with much waste of horses and men, but at last old Leofric, with Harold and the universal pacificator, Bishop Ealdred, succeeded in making a peace, one of the conditions of which was Griffith's oath that he would be King Edward's loving and loyal under-king. Two years after, however, Elfgar, now Earl of Mercia and the head of his family (old Leofric having died the year before), was again expelled

¹ This is Mr. Plummer's excellent suggestion for the interpretation of a passage in the Chronicle which had previously baffled the commentators.

and again restored by the help of his Welsh friend, co-operating apparently with a certain Magnus, who brought ships from Norway, but about whom our information is very unsatisfactory. CHAP. XXV.

It was probably about this time that the union between Wales and Mercia was made yet closer by the marriage of Griffith to Aldgyth, the beautiful daughter of Elfgar. His career, however, was drawing to a close. Successful as his expeditions had generally been, his people seem to have grown tired of the constant fever of strife with their neighbours. In 1063 war again broke out, and this time Harold was determined to deal a crushing blow. A sudden march to Griffith's castle at Rhuddlan, on the north coast of Wales, failed to accomplish the arrest of the king, but was marked by the burning of the town and all the ships in the harbour with their tackle. In May, Harold sailed from Bristol all round Wales, receiving hostages and promises of obedience from the people; and Tostig meanwhile operated with a land force in the interior of the country. On August 5 Griffith was slain by some of his own followers, "because of the war which he waged against Earl Harold," and his head, with the prow of his ship and the ornament thereon, was brought as a trophy to the conqueror. Thus, as a Welsh chronicler says, "The man who had been hitherto invincible was now left in the glens of desolation, after taking immense spoils and after innumerable victories and taking countless treasures of gold and silver and jewels and purple vestures".

The kingdom was handed over to two brothers of Griffith on the usual conditions of oaths of fealty, hostages and tribute: but how little such promises availed in the disordered condition of the country, was seen two years after when a hunting lodge, which Harold, hoping to have the king there as his guest, began to build at Portskewet in Monmouthshire, was destroyed (August 24, 1065) by Caradoc, son of another Griffith, who was ruling in South Wales. Nearly all the men who were engaged on the work were slain, and the ample stores there collected were carried away. "We do not know who first counselled this piece of folly" (the building of a hunting-lodge in an enemy's country) is the dry remark of the Worcester Chronicle.

From these border wars we must now return to watch the course of events at Edward's court during the closing years of

CHAP. his reign. The year 1064, which is an absolute blank in the
XXV. Saxon Chronicles, is generally chosen for an event, undated, perplexing and mysterious, namely, Harold's visit to the court of William the Norman, and his oath of fealty to that prince. About this oath, his subsequent breach of which figured so largely in the indictment preferred against him on the battlefield of Hastings, Norman writers have much to say, Saxon writers nothing, nor does the witness even of the Normans always agree together. It is impossible to doubt the truth of the main outlines of the story, but unfortunately it is equally impossible to fill in the details. Did Harold go to Normandy with express purpose to assure William of his nomination by Edward as the successor to his throne? Did he go thither in order to obtain the liberation of two of his kinsmen, hostages once given to the English king and transferred to the keeping of the Norman duke? Or was his visit to Rouen involuntary and accidental, the result of shipwreck and felonious detention by a lawless count? All of these versions of the story have been given, and though the last is the one which is generally received and on the whole the most probable, to speak with any certainty on the question seems impossible. All that will be attempted here will be to describe some of the chief scenes of the fatal journey as they are depicted in that all-but contemporary record, the Tapestry of Bayeux.

We see Harold taking leave of the aged king who, white-bearded, and adorned with crown and sceptre, is seated on his throne. With hawk on hand, preceded by his dogs and followed by his squire, Harold rides to the family property at Bosham and enters the church at that place to worship. He embarks, and crosses the channel with a favouring breeze filling his sails. There is no suggestion in the pictures of storm or shipwreck, though these seem to be almost required by the course of events. Whatever the cause may have been, Harold, when he lands in the territory of Guy, Count of Ponthieu, is arrested by the count's orders, and is conducted, still with the hawk on his hand, but with dejected countenance and with spurless heels, to Beaurain, where he is imprisoned. Parleys (no doubt as to the amount of ransom demanded) follow with his captor: but at this point William of Normandy's messengers arrive, who vigorously plead the cause of Harold and press for his liberation. The

result of the negotiations and of the payment by the Norman duke of a heavy ransom (as to this the Tapestry is silent) is that Guy conducts his prisoner to William, who receives him in his palace as an honoured guest. William and Harold undertake together a campaign in Brittany under the shadow of Mont St. Michel. The soldiers are seen crossing the river Couesnon (the boundary between Normandy and Brittany), and holding high their shields above their heads as they wade the water breast-high. Some of the men are in danger of being swallowed up by the quicksands, from which they are drawn by the strong arm of the tall-statured Harold. At the close of this campaign Harold is knighted by Duke William, who with one hand places the helmet on his head, and with the other fastens the straps of his coat of mail.

Then follows at Bayeux the fateful scene of the oath-taking. The duke, attended by his courtiers (a full assembled parliament according to the poet Wace), sits on his throne, and Harold stands before him between two great coffers, which (as we know from other sources) were filled with the bones of some of the greatest saints in Normandy. He puts a hand on each coffer-lid and swears; but what is the purport of the oath? The Tapestry itself simply says that he makes his oath to Duke William. Of the Norman writers some represent him as swearing that he will marry William's daughter, Adela (a little damsel not half his age); others, as becoming in the fullest sense of the word William's vassal; others as undertaking to hand over to him the Castle of Dover; but almost all give us the impression that in some way or other Harold was cognisant of William's determination to assert his claim as heir to his cousin of England, and promised to aid him therein when the occasion should arise. What burden an oath thus exacted under duress should have laid upon the conscience of the swearer, and how the contract was affected by the undoubted fact that the consent of the *witan* was necessary for any disposal of the crown either by Edward or by Harold, are questions of casuistry on which much has been said, but which need not be discussed here. We note, however, that the Tapestry gives no support to the often-repeated story that Harold was beguiled into taking the oath on relics of greater and more awful sanctity than he was aware of. Whether the whole episode were mere misadventure or the failure of some

CHAP. cunningly devised scheme on Harold's part, one cannot but marvel at the lightness of heart with which he threw himself into the power of the most dangerous of all his rivals, at a time when he needed all his vigilance and all his ability in order to secure the splendid prize for which he had so long been labouring.¹

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The year following that usually assigned to Harold's visit to Normandy (1065) witnessed another revolution in the fortunes of one member of the Godwine family. Tostig, Earl of Northumbria, was, as has been said, an especial favourite at court, and seems to have been the best beloved brother of the royal "Lady," Edith. He was, not, however, by any means equally popular with the men of his own Northumbrian earldom, who seem to have complained both of his frequent absences and of the stern, almost bloodthirsty, character of his government when he did appear among them. There was a general rising of all the thegns in Yorkshire and Northumberland; they decreed in some tumultuous assembly the outlawry of their earl, then hunting in Wiltshire with the king; they massacred all the men of his household, whether English or Danes, upon whom they could lay their hands, and seized his weapons stored up in the arsenal at York, his gold, his silver and all his money about which they could obtain information. These massacres and robberies seem to have taken place both at York and Lincoln; and the insurgent thegns then proceeded to elect a new earl to reign over them. This was the young Morkere, grandson of Leofric. Elfgar, the twice-banished Earl of Mercia, was now dead; his eldest son, Edwin, had succeeded him in Mercia, and to Edwin's younger brother, Morkere, was given the splendid but difficult office which had been wrested from Tostig. In support of their rebellious acts—for they were nothing less—the northern thegns marched to Northampton, where Morkere was joined by his brother, Edwin, at the head of the Mercian *fyrð* and—ominous conjunction—of many Welsh auxiliaries. Once more civil war seemed inevitable, but the good offices of Harold were sought for as mediator between the insurgents and the king. He failed, however, to reconcile the Northerners and his brother; and after two *gemots* held at Northampton and at

¹ It must always be remembered that we have nothing but bare conjecture to go upon for the date of Harold's visit to Normandy. There are some reasons for placing it much earlier than 1064.

Oxford the negotiations ended in an entire surrender to all the demands of the rebels (October 28, 1065). The outlawed Tostig went over sea with his wife and followers to his brother-in-law, Count Baldwin; the grant of his earldom was confirmed to Morkere, and the insurgent army at last returned northward, not, however, till they had so wasted Northamptonshire with fire and sword and carried off such quantities of cattle that it was years before that county recovered from their ravages.

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What was the precise part taken by Harold in this revolution, which implied in some degree the depression of the house of Godwine and the elevation of the rival house of Leofric, it is very difficult now to discover. Everything that he did may be fully accounted for and justified by a patriotic abhorrence of civil war, a recognition of the fact that his brother's government had been arbitrary and unpopular, and a noble willingness to place the welfare of England before the private advantage of his own family. On the other hand, there are curious traditions as to an enmity subsisting from boyhood between the two brothers, Harold and Tostig, and some even of their contemporaries averred that the whole revolution was planned by Harold for the overthrow of his brother. This suggestion seems most improbable, but it is evident that, whether as a cause or consequence of the disgrace of Tostig, Harold does from this time forward unite himself more closely to the house of Leofric, whose granddaughter, Aldgyth, widow of the Welsh king, Griffith, and sister of Edwin and Morkere, he seems to have married about this time. This marriage, which rendered it impossible for him to fulfil one at least of the articles of his covenant with William of Normandy, may have been the first intimation to his great rival that Harold regarded the promise made to him as of none effect.

Whatever may have been Harold's feelings as to his brother's disgrace, there can be no doubt that it cut King Edward to the heart, and probably, as one of his biographers hints, hastened his end. He was now apparently a little over sixty years of age, a man of moderate stature, with milk-white hair and beard, with broad and rosy face, white and slender hands and a certain royalty of aspect. Already perhaps that belief in the healing efficacy of his touch had begun to spread among the multitude,

CHAP. which engendered the mass of miracles wherewith his memory
XXV. was afterwards loaded. These miracles being strangely supposed to be in some way specially connected with the royal office, led to the practice of "touching for the King's evil," which was continued till the reign of the last Stuart.

Through all these later years of his reign he had been intently watching the progress of his great church in the Island of Thorney by the Thames. Its foundations of large square blocks of greystone, its apsidal end, its central tower and two towers at the west end with their beautiful bells, and the long rows of its columns with their richly adorned bases and capitals, are enthusiastically described by his biographer. He came to Westminster on December 21, 1065, "and caused the minster to be hallowed which he had himself built to the glory of God and St. Peter and all God's saints, and the hallowing of this church was on Childmass day" (December 28), but he was not himself present at the hallowing, and his death took place on Twelfth night (January 5, 1066).

The death-bed sayings of the old king, as reported by his biographer, are perhaps best known in Tennyson's poetical version of them, but have, even unparaphrased, a poetical beauty of their own. After describing the vengeance of God which was coming upon England for her sins, and his pitiful prayer to the Most High that this punishment might not endure for ever, he repeats the words which he has heard from the saints whom he has seen in vision: "The green tree which springs from the trunk, when it has been severed thence and removed to a distance of three acres, shall return to its original trunk and shall join itself to its root whence first it sprang. Then shall the head again be green and bear fruit after its flower; and then may you certainly hope for better times." Most of the bystanders listened with awe and wonder to the dying king's prophecy, but Archbishop Stigand, with his hard worldly wisdom, said: "The old man is in his dotage".

But Edward not only uttered this perplexing prophecy; he also, there can be little doubt, uttered some words which amounted to a bequest of his crown, as far as he had power to bequeath it, not to William but to Harold. There seems no reason why we should reject the story told in the quaint verses of the Chronicle—

Nathless, that wisest man, Dying made fast the realm
To a high-risen man, Even to Harold's self,
Who was a noble earl: He did at every tide
Follow with loyal love All of his lord's behests,
Both in his words and deeds: Naught did he e'er neglect
Whate'er of right belonged Unto the people's king.

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“ And now was Harold hallowed as king, but little stillness did
he there enjoy, the while that he wielded the kingdom.”

CHAPTER XXVI.

STAMFORD BRIDGE AND HASTINGS.

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XXVI. nation of HAROLD, son of Godwine, followed with the briefest possible interval. No serious notice seems to have been taken, at the time, of any claim to the crown which might be made on behalf of Edgar the Etheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside, the undoubted heir, on what we call legitimist principles, of the house of Cerdic. Though the year of Edgar's birth is doubtful, he was certainly little more than a boy at his great-uncle's death, and it is probable that the ascertained weakness of his character made the Wise Men of the kingdom unwilling to entrust even the nominal government of England at such a critical time to his nerveless hands.

The election of Harold was undoubtedly contrary to all the traditions of West Saxon royalty, but there are some considerations which may have made it seem a less revolutionary proceeding, and the new king somewhat less of an upstart, than they have appeared to later ages. Let the cloud which rests over Godwine's birth and parentage be admitted, but it must be remembered that Harold was on his mother's side a near kinsman of Canute, that in his veins flowed the blood of Gorm the Old and Harold Bluetooth, kings of Denmark in the preceding century, and that the then reigning King of Denmark was his own first cousin. As has been already said, Godwine and his tribe must have always appeared half-Danish to the Saxon people, and though the claims of the house of Cerdic were disregarded by his election they had been equally disregarded by the elections of Canute, Harold and Harthacnut of whom Harold Godwineson may have seemed in some sort the natural successor.

But that this view of the case would not be accepted in

Normandy, all men knew full well, and none better than the new king himself. The Bayeux Tapestry, almost immediately after its picture of Harold enthroned, represents "an English ship coming to the land of Duke William". Whatever this may mean, whether the flight of some Norman favourite to his native land, or a desperate attempt at self-exculpation and reconciliation on the part of Harold, it is followed with ominous rapidity by the picture, "Here William orders ships to be built," in which the axes of the woodmen are felling the trees of the forest; that again by a picture, "Here they drag the ships to the sea," and that by a lively scene, "These men carry arms to the ships and here they drag a cart with wine and arms". After this in a scene which is not pictorially represented and at a date of which we are not accurately informed, William assembled his barons at Lillebonne and endeavoured to obtain from them a vote in favour of an expedition for the assertion of his rights to the throne of England. The expedition, however, appeared to the Norman nobles too dangerous, the naval power of England too great to give a hope of success, and notwithstanding the eloquent pleadings of William's trusty henchman, William Fitz Osbern (son of one of the murdered guardians of his childhood), the assembly broke up in confusion without giving the desired promise of support. The assent, however, which he had been unable to obtain from the united baronage of the duchy, he succeeded in winning by entreaties and promises from the barons singly in private conference. The contingents of men, the numbers of ships which each baron undertook to furnish, were all set down in a book, in which were found the names not only of William's own subjects but of volunteers from the neighbouring provinces of Brittany, Maine and Anjou. It was, so to speak, the memorandum of a great Joint Stock Company of conquest, which was entered in that "Domesday Book of the Conquerors,"¹ and though the precise rate of dividend was not there set down, it is evident that the lordships and estates in the doomed land, which William promised to his shareholders, bore some definite relation to the size of their contributions.

It remained only, according to medieval ideas, to get the blessing of heaven's representative on the great spoliation.

¹ Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iii., 300.

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William had himself in his earlier days all-but brought an interdict on his realm by his marriage with Matilda of Flanders who, for some reason not very clearly explained, was held to be canonically unfitted to be his wife. But that breach with the Holy See had been healed through the mediation of the great churchman Lanfranc, Prior of the Abbey of Bec; and Lanfranc's influence may probably now have been employed to obtain from Pope Alexander II. a formal approval of the invasion of England. The oath of Harold, so solemnly taken and so flagrantly broken, and his marriage to Aldgyth, after having promised to marry William's daughter Adela, may possibly have been pressed against him at the court of Rome and may have helped towards the composition of the bull which was now issued denouncing Harold as a usurper and proclaiming William as Edward's rightful heir. It is probable, however, that in the mind of Hildebrand, the master-spirit of the papal court, though not yet actually Pope, the independent attitude which the English Church had sometimes assumed, and notably the unfortunate fact that Archbishop Stigand had, during the lifetime of his own predecessor, received his pallium from the anti-pope Benedict X., were the chief reasons for the Church's enthusiastic partisanship on the Norman side. The word Crusade was not yet heard in the Christian world, nor was it to be heard till near thirty years later, when Peter the Hermit at the Council of Clermont was to utter his fiery declamation against the misbelievers; but a virtual crusade was preached against Harold and his adherents, and all Europe knew that whenever William's shipbuilding should be ended and he should be ready to sail, his troops would march to battle under the protection of a banner consecrated by the successor of St. Peter.

The Norman preparations, begun in the early months of 1066, lasted on through the summer and almost up to the autumnal equinox. Meanwhile, a portent in the heavens and the attacks of another foe were depressing the spirits of Englishmen. Soon after Easter "the comet star which some men call the hairy star," which had for some time been creeping nearer to the sun, unnoticed in the early morning hours, began to blaze forth in the north-west in the evening sky. From April 24 till May 1 was the period of its greatest brilliancy, and it probably disappeared early in June. In the Tapestry we see six men pointing fearful

fingers towards a star which trails a rudely drawn streamer of light behind it, and we are informed that "These men are marvelling at the star". The comet here depicted is now known to be one which regularly returns to our firmament at intervals of some seventy-five or seventy-six years. Its return in 1758 verified the prediction of the astronomer Halley, then no longer living, and it is expected that once more in the year 1910 Englishmen will be gazing upwards, and with less fearful hearts than of old, will "wonder at the star".

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The less shadowy terror of the spring of that year came from the king's banished brother Tostig, who now by right or wrong was determined to win back his lost earldom. He had gathered a considerable force of ships and men, no doubt chiefly in "Baldwin's land," among the subjects of his brother-in-law; and he had probably already made overtures of alliance to the Duke of Normandy and the King of Norway. He came, however, unaccompanied by allies "from beyond sea into Wight with as large a fleet as he could procure and there people paid him both money and provisions; and he went thence and did all the harm that he could along the sea-coast until he came to Sandwich". The naval armament which Harold had collected in anticipation of the Norman attack availed to keep the southern coasts clear from further ravages by Tostig, who took on board a large number of *butse-carlas*, some willingly and some unwillingly, and steering northwards entered the Humber, and began to ravage Lincolnshire. The two northern earls, Edwin and Morkere, however, having summoned the *fyrð* succeeded in driving him out of the country. Most of his *butse-carlas* took the opportunity to desert, and with a dwindled force of twelve smacks he sailed for the Forth. The Scottish King, Malcolm Canmore, took him under his protection and helped him with provisions, and there he abode all summer.

The delay of these summer months, during which invasion was impending from two quarters at once, was disastrous for England. When Harold had collected his fleet and army, "such a land force both by land and sea as no king of the land had ever gathered before," he went to the Isle of Wight and there lay at anchor all the summer, keeping the land force always close beside him on the coast. Had William made his invasion then, it may fairly be conjectured that he would never have sat on

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the throne of England. But when the day of the Nativity of St. Mary (September 8) was come, the men's provisions were exhausted, and it was impossible to keep them longer under the standards. They were accordingly allowed to go home, and the king rode up to London, while his fleet sailed round to the Thames, and meeting unfortunately with bad weather, many of the ships perished ere they reached their haven.

If Harold thought that peril from either of his foes was over for that year he was terribly mistaken. Even while the fleet and army were scattering from the Isle of Wight, the whole aspect of affairs in the north was being changed by the sudden and unexpected arrival off the northern coast of Harold, King of Norway, with an immense fleet of more than three hundred ships. This Harold, surnamed Hardrada (the man of hard counsel), was, even if we may not believe all that the saga-men told concerning him, one of the most romantic figures of the time. A half-brother of the sainted Olaf, by whose side he fought when but fifteen years old at the fatal battle of Stiklestadt, he appears, after some four or five years of a fugitive existence, as one of the chiefs of the Varangian soldiery at the court of Constantinople. The tall statured Scandinavian—his height is said to have been nearly seven feet—rose rapidly in the Byzantine service, and it was hinted that the inflammable Empress Zoe would have gladly welcomed him as one of her numerous husbands or lovers. The life of a soldier was, however, more to his taste than the dissipations of a luxurious court. He wrought great deeds in the eastern waters and shared with the veteran Byzantine general, George Maniaces, the glory of a temporary re-conquest of Sicily. Even then, however, that element of keen egotism in his character which won for him his title of Hardrada made itself visible; and his country's *skalds* delighted to tell of the clever but dishonourable stratagem by which he outwitted his brother general when they were casting lots for choice of quarters. Strange to say, one of the most interesting memorials of this Norwegian chief is still to be seen amid the lagunes of Venice. There, in front of the noble gateway of the arsenal, sit two great marble lions, brought by the Venetian general Morosini from the Piræus, trophies of that fatally memorable expedition in which he converted the Parthenon into a ruin. On the flanks of one of these lions is a nearly

effaced Runic inscription, recording the conquest of the port of Piræus by three chieftains with Scandinavian names. "These men," says the inscription, "and Harold the Tall, laid considerable fines on the citizens because of the insurrection of the Greek people." With difficulty Harold escaped from the prison in which he was confined by the jealous caprice of Zoe, and after charging over the great chain which was stretched across the Bosphorus, sailed out into the Euxine and thence up one of the great rivers into the heart of Russia. The king of Novgorod gave him his daughter Elizabeth to wife, and in the year 1045 Harold reappeared laden with treasure in his native Norway. He was sometimes the ally, sometimes the foe of his nephew Magnus the Good, on whose premature death in 1047 he succeeded peaceably to his throne. For fifteen years he waged almost incessant, generally successful, war with the King of Denmark, but in 1062 he concluded a treaty with that prince, which left him free to attempt the larger and more daring enterprise to which he was tempted by the example of Canute and the overtures of Tostig, even the conquest of England.

Harold made first for the Orkneys, then under the rule of the sons of the Norseman, Earl Thorfinn. From thence he sailed along the coast of Scotland, till, either in the Forth or the Tyne, he met his promised ally, Tostig, who "bowed to him and became his man". They went both together, landed in Cleveland, which they harried; set fire to Scarborough; and at last reaching the mouth of the Humber, sailed with all their enormous fleet up that river and the Ouse, and landed near York. The Earls Edwin and Morkere came forth to meet them with as large a force as they could muster, but were utterly defeated in a great battle fought at Fulford, two miles from York, on September 20, 1066. The two earls escaped alive from the field, but were unable to make any further opposition to the invaders, who entered York in triumph and received the submission of the city. "Then after the fight came Harold and Tostig into York with as many people as to them seemed good, and they took hostages from the city and also received provisions, and so went thence to their ships, having agreed to full peace, that they [the people of York] might all go south with them and conquer this land." It was to be an expedition of Northumbrians, Scots and men of Orkney,

CHAP. as well as Norsemen, under the command of Harold Hardrada,
XXVI. against Harold Godwineson and the men of Mercia and Wessex.

The invaders had in this instance reckoned without their host. They thought they had only the young and somewhat inefficient sons of Elfgar to deal with; whereas the namesake of Hardrada, "Harold our king" (as one of the chroniclers calls him), had heard the unwelcome news of their presence in his kingdom, and with almost Napoleonic swiftness of decision, was bearing down upon them. It was only on September 8 that he had dismissed his fleet and army in Hampshire. His journey to London may have occupied a day or two, and we know not how soon the tidings of the invasion reached him; but already on September 24, with all the *fyrð* that he could assemble in the south, he was at Tadcaster, and on the following day he marched through York. Hardrada and Tostig, whom he had perhaps hoped to surprise cooped up within the city, had marched eastwards some seven or eight miles to Stamford Bridge, on the river Derwent, where they expected to receive the hostages whom Yorkshire was to offer for her fidelity. Against them marched the English Harold, so suddenly, and with such successful precautions against their obtaining information of his movements, that at first when Hardrada saw afar off the steam of the horses and thereunder fair shields and white byrnies (coats of mail), he asked Tostig what host that might be. Tostig answered that they might be some of his kinsmen coming in to seek the king's friendship, but that he feared it meant "unpeace," and so it proved. The host drew nearer and nearer, and like the flashing of the sunlight reflected from a glacier was the gleam of their weapons.¹

There was a short parley ere the armies closed. English Harold sent to offer his brother a third of his kingdom, that there might be peace between them. "'Tis pity," said Tostig, "that this offer was not made last winter. Many a good man had then been living who now is dead, and better had it been for the whole realm of England; but if I accept these terms, what shall Harold of Norway have in return for his labour?" Then came the celebrated answer (and it is worthy of note that

¹ The following description of this battle is taken for the most part from the Saga of Harold Hardrada in the *Heimskringla*, and has no doubt a good deal of the character of fiction.

the Norse story-teller has preserved it): "Seven foot's room, or so much more as he may need, seeing that he is taller than other men". Tostig honourably refused to make any peace by the sacrifice of his ally; and the battle was joined, a terrible battle which lasted all day long and wrought great slaughter. The English at last succeeded in breaking the invaders' shield-wall, and, surrounding them on all sides, poured their missiles upon them with deadly effect. Mad at this breach in his ranks, Hardrada leapt in front of his men and made a clear space round him, hewing with both his hands, but he was at last wounded in the throat by an arrow and fell dead upon the field. There was a little lull in the conflict, and Harold Godwineson offered peace to Tostig and the surviving Northmen, but they all whooped out with one voice that they would rather fall each one across the other than take peace of the Englishmen. Tostig seems to have fallen in this second battle. Then another pause, and a host of men, well-armed but breathless, came rushing up from the Norwegian ships in the river. They wrought great havoc in the English ranks, and had well-nigh turned the fortune of the day; but it was not to be. The new-comers were so spent with their march, that at last they threw away their "byrnies" and so fell an easier prey to the English axes.

So ran the story of the fight of Stamford Bridge as told by the descendants of the Norsemen. The English chronicler, with much less detail, describes Harold Godwineson's unlooked-for attack upon the Scandinavians. According to him, the bridge itself was the key of the position and victory was impossible for the English until it was crossed. In its narrow entrance one Norwegian long held the English host at bay: an arrow availed not to dislodge him, but at length one of Harold's men crept under the bridge and pierced him through the corselet. Then the king of the Englishmen came over the bridge and the victory was won. Great slaughter was made both of the Norsemen and Flemings, but Olaf, the son of Harold Hardrada, was left alive. With him, with a certain bishop who accompanied him, and with the Earl of Orkney, the English Harold made terms. "They all went up to our king," says the chronicler, "and swore oaths that they would ever keep peace and friendship with this land; and the king let them depart with twenty-four ships. These two folk-fights [Fulford and

CHAP. Stamford Bridge] were both fought within five days" (September XXVI. 20 to 25, 1066).

Short time had Harold for rest at the great northern capital, York. It was probably in the earliest days of October that news was brought to him that on September 28 William of Normandy had landed at Pevensey. Let us hear the story of what happened from that day to the fatal October 14 in the few simple words which are all that the only Saxon chronicler (he of Worcester) can bring himself to devote to the subject. "Then came William, Earl of Normandy, into Pevensey, on the eve of St. Michael (Sept. 28), and as soon as his men were fit [a possible allusion to sea-sickness which they had endured], they wrought a castle at Hastings-port. Tidings of this were brought to King Harold, and he gathered then the great host and came towards him at the Hoar Apple Tree, and William came against him at unawares ere his people were mustered. But the king nevertheless withstood him very bravely with the men who would follow him, and there was a mighty slaughter wrought on both sides. There was slain King Harold and his brothers, the Earls Leofwine and Gyrrh, and many good men, and the Frenchmen held the place of slaughter."

"He dies and makes no sign." This is all that the Saxon chroniclers, whose guidance we have followed through six centuries, or any native English historians have to tell us of the death of the Saxon monarchy. One is half disposed to leave the matter there, and not to repeat the stories, many of them, as we may suspect, falsely coloured or absolutely untrue, and often quite inconsistent with one another, with which the Norman chroniclers and poets have enriched their jubulations over England's downfall. But as this can hardly be, an attempt will be made to present only the broad outlines of the story, omitting all reference to recitals obviously fictitious, and for brevity's sake declining to enter into any of the controversies which have been fiercely waged round certain parts of the narrative.

By about the middle of August William's preparations were completed, and his fleet, collected near Caen at the mouth of the river Dive, was ready to sail. For a whole month the wind was contrary to them—a fateful month during which, as we know, but as William possibly did not know, Harold's crews

were being paid off and his army disbanded. A slight westward veering of the wind enabled the ships to creep a hundred miles up the Norman coast to St. Valery, at the mouth of the Somme. Some vessels seem to have been lost by storm, but at last, after a fortnight's further detention at St. Valery, a favourable breeze blew—men said as the result of the exhibition of the relics of the saint and prayers for his intercession—and on the night of September 27 the fleet set forth on the great expedition. Though one chronicler puts the number of ships as high as 3,000, we are informed on what seems to be good authority¹ that they were 696. William's own ship, named the *Mora*, the fastest of the fleet, had a lantern at the mast-head to serve as a signal to her consorts, a vane above the lantern to show the direction of the wind, and on the prow a bronze figure of a child with bow and arrow aiming for England. When dawn was breaking the *Mora* found herself alone, having outsailed all the others. A sailor sent to the mast-head reported that he saw nothing but sky and sea. The duke cast anchor, told his companions not to lose heart, and cheered them and himself with a mighty breakfast, accompanied with copious draughts of wine. On a second journey to the mast-head the sailor reported that he saw three or four ships; on a third, that the whole fleet were in sight and approaching rapidly. By nine o'clock in the morning, September 28, 1066, the fleet was all assembled off the coast of Sussex, a few miles north-east of Beachy Head, and the landing, absolutely unopposed, was effected without difficulty on the long flat shore of Pevensey, in sight of the ruins of Roman Anderida.

The most notable incident of the landing, if true, is the well-known story of William's fall. It is said that he, being first to spring to land, stumbled and fell with both his hands on the shore, that all round him raised a cry: "A bad omen is that," but he with a loud voice said: "Lords, by the splendour of God, I have taken seizin of this land with my two hands. No property was ever let go without a challenge. Now all that is here is ours." From Pevensey the army marched eastward to Hastings (a distance of about fifteen miles), and there entrenched themselves in a strong camp with high earthen ramparts, fosse and palisades. They also began to ravage the country for some

¹ Wace (ed. Malet, p. 60), who gives the number on his father's report.

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miles round Hastings, a fact which is attested both by the entries in Domesday Book and by a picture in the Bayeux Tapestry, "Here a house is being burnt". The tidings of William's landing, however swiftly carried to York, can hardly have reached Harold before October 1. They, of course, necessitated another forced march back to London, so rapidly had the shuttle to fly backwards and forwards in the loom of war. Harold reached London probably about October 6, and waited there for a short week, expecting the arrival of the troops whom he summoned from all quarters for the defence of the country. This summons seems to have been well responded to from the home counties and East Anglia; and some fighters came, we are told, from Lincoln and Yorkshire. But Edwin and Morkere, the Earls of Mercia and Northumbria, are accused of not having rallied as they should have done to the support of the king, who had saved them from utter destruction at the hands of Hardrada. The accusation which comes to us on the authority of so well-informed and generally so impartial an historian as Florence of Worcester, is one which cannot be passed over in silence. At the same time it is but fair to observe that the troops of the two northern earls had suffered severely at Fulford, and that there was very little time to collect new levies and bring them into the field from Northumberland and Cheshire before October 14. The impression left on one's mind by the conduct of these two young earls, is rather one of inefficiency than of deliberate treachery. At the same time it must be admitted that when Harold broke with Tostig, perhaps also with his sister Edith, and allied himself with the house of Leofric, he adopted a policy which brought him little help abroad or happiness at home.

On October 12—after a hasty visit to Waltham where he had built a great minster in honour of the Holy Rood—Harold marched southward and took up a position on the last spur of a low range of Sussex hills, about seven miles to the north-west of Hastings. He is said to have been earnestly entreated by his younger brother, Gyrth, Earl of East Anglia, to adopt a more cautious line of policy, to anticipate William's ravages of Sussex and Surrey by ravaging them himself, and to force the Norman to advance through a wasted land and attack him in the strong position of London. The advice

would seem to have been wise; and surely a fortnight's delay would have given Harold a better fighting instrument than the hasty levies which reinforced the war-wearied and march-wearied men of Stamford Bridge. But Harold was exasperated by the ravages which William had already begun in the country round Sussex. He patriotically refused to imitate those ravages in counties which had ever shown a special affection for him and for his father's house. There are also some slight indications that he somewhat under-rated the strength of William's army, and hoped by a sudden stroke like that at Stamford Bridge to sweep it into the sea.

However this may be, on the morning of Saturday, October 14, Harold's army was drawn up in line on the ridge now crowned by the abbey and town of Battle, and William's army, having marched forth that morning from Hastings, confronted them on the hill which now bears the name of Telham. As for the battlefield itself, the chronicler, as we have seen, calls it "the Hoar Apple Tree"; one Norman historian, Orderic, calls it Senlac or Epiton, but it will probably always be best known by the name which is, of course, only approximately correct, the battlefield of Hastings. There is no evidence that there was even a village there when the battle was fought. The position of Harold's army was on a hill of moderate height, 260 feet above the sea level, so surrounded by narrow valleys, which might almost be called ravines, as to make it singularly difficult of approach by cavalry. In order to render it yet more secure against such an attack, Harold had, according to one writer,¹ strengthened it by a fence or palisade as well as by a fosse drawn, perhaps somewhat lower down, right across the field.

As to the numbers engaged on each side we have no in-

¹ Wace, author of the *Roman de Rou*. The question of the existence of this "palisade" has been discussed at great length by Mr. Round who denies, and by Mr. Archer and Miss Norgate who affirm, its existence (see *English Historical Review*, vol. ix., 1894). The question remains full of difficulty, the doubt being whether to attach most weight to the obscure utterance of one writer or to the silence of many. The conclusion to which the present writer is disposed to come is that there was some sort of hastily constructed fence, meant as a protection against cavalry, but that in the actual battle, which was waged chiefly between opposing bodies of infantry, it played an unimportant part and may have been soon thrust out of the way, as much by the defenders as by the assailants of the position.

CHAP. formation that is worth anything, only absurd and exaggerated
XXVI. estimates, especially on the part of the Norman writers concern-
ing the size of the English army. As a mere conjecture, founded
on the dimensions of the battlefield, there is something plausible
in the suggestion¹ of 10,000 to 15,000 as the number of William's
soldiers, and the same or a little less for those of Harold. There
cannot be much doubt that the quality of the invading troops
was superior to that of the defenders. William's men were
Normans, trained and seasoned by twenty years of fighting,
supplemented by brave adventurers, with whom war was prob-
ably a regular profession, drawn from all parts of France. The
backbone of Harold's army was doubtless his bodyguard of
house-carls, terribly thinned by the fierce fight at Stamford
Bridge, and these were reinforced by the peasants of the *fyrð*,
brave men but little used to arms and hastily summoned from
the neighbouring counties. Still they had the advantage, such
as it was, of standing on the defensive in a position which had
evidently been chosen with considerable military skill.

The chief weapon of the Normans was the sword, of the
English the great two-handed battle-axe, the use of which was
borrowed from their Danish antagonists. Both sides seem to
have been armed with lances, and the best troops in both
armies were clothed in long coats of mail, which were wanting,
however, to the peasants of the English *fyrð*. The long kite-
shaped shield, covering the greater part of the person, was
carried by both nations, but the English were perhaps superior
in the defensive tactics of the shield-wall, formed by men stand-
ing close together, shoulder to shoulder, and locking their shields
into what the classically educated Norman writers called a *tes-
tudo*. On the other hand, William was evidently much the
stronger in archers and in cavalry, and it was this superiority
which eventually won for him the victory. The Normans
fought of course under the standard blessed by the Pope, the
Saxons under the well-known Dragon-banner of Wessex, and
another which was perhaps of Harold's own devising and which
bore the likeness of a full-armed fighting man. On the English
side we hear of no leaders besides Harold and his two brothers,
Gyrth, Earl of East Anglia, and Leofwine, Earl of Essex and
Kent, both of whom seem to have fallen early in the battle.

¹ Made by Baring, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xx., 1905.

The lack of a strong lieutenant, who could have taken the direction of the defence when the king fell, had probably something to do with the issue of the fight. On the Norman side, as we might expect, the names of many leaders are given us, but we need only notice here William's half-brother, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (son of the tanner's daughter), who salved his episcopal conscience by fighting with a heavy mace instead of with a sword, thus hoping to avoid the actual shedding of blood; Count Eustace of Boulogne, the hero of the flight from Dover; and William Fitz-Osbern, the faithful friend of the Norman duke as his father had been before him.

We may pass over the account of the messages which are said to have been exchanged between the two rival chiefs, including a proposition by Duke William that, to save the effusion of Christian blood, they should settle their differences by single combat; and we may also pass over the story of the diverse ways in which the two armies spent the night before the battle, the English in song and revelry, crying "Wassail" and "Drink to me"; the Normans in confessing their sins and receiving absolution from the numerous priests who accompanied the army. Thus we come to the morning of Saturday, October 14, at nine A.M., when, as before said, the two armies stood fronting one another in battle array. As to the positions of the various divisions of the English army, we have no sufficient indication, except that we are told that the men of Kent claimed the right to march in the van, and strike the first blow in the battle, and that the Londoners made a similar claim to guard the person of the king, being grouped round his standard which was planted in the centre of the ridge. As to William's army, we are told that he put in his first line his archers (apparently light armed), in his second his mail-clad infantry, and in a third, behind them all, he ranged his cavalry. Moreover, there was in each of these lines another threefold division according to nationalities: the Normans in the centre, the Bretons on the left, and the Frenchmen (the men from the central regions of France) on the right.

The prelude to the battle was a romantic incident which showed that the day of chivalry had dawned. A minstrel—or as one narrator calls him, an actor—named Taillefer craved of Duke William the boon of striking the first blow. He had

CHAP. sung on the march some staves of the great Song of Roland,
XXVI. describing the death of that hero and of Olivier in the gorge of
Roncesvalles, and now he pranced forth before the duke—

On the rough edge of battle ere it joined.

He took his lance by the butt-end as if it had been a truncheon, threw it in the air and caught it by the head. Three times he did this and then he hurled it into the hostile ranks and wounded an Englishman. Then, after repeating this performance with his sword, while the amazed English looked on as at a feat of conjuring, he set spurs to his horse and galloped fiercely towards the ranks of the foe. One Englishman he sorely wounded and one he slew, and then a cloud of darts and javelins was hurled at him and the bold minstrel fell down dead.

For six hours the battle which was now joined raged with nearly equal fortune on both sides. No doubt the first rank of light-armed archers discharged their missiles, and the mailed foot-soldiers pressed forward to take advantage of any impression which they may have made on the hostile ranks; but also (if we may trust the Tapestry) even at this early period of the battle the cavalry were charging (uphill, of course) and dashing themselves against the English shield-wall. So far, on the whole, they dashed themselves in vain, though already thus early in the fight Gyrth and Leofwine seem to have fallen. At length the Norman horsemen, recoiling from a fruitless charge, tumbled into a fosse, ever after known as the Malfosse, which they had scarcely noticed in their advance, and rolled over and over in dire confusion, hundreds of them lying a crushed and helpless mass on the plain. Some of the English who were pursuing shared the same fate; and one of the most spirited pictures in the Tapestry shows how "Here the English and French fell together". This disaster had very nearly proved the ruin of the invading army, for the large body of varlets or camp followers stationed in the rear to guard the harness, or stores and baggage of the troops, seeing what had befallen their masters, were about to quit the field in headlong flight, and such a movement might well have spread panic through the ranks of the army. But then Bishop Odo of Bayeux, wielding his big mace, and with a coat of mail over his alb, shouted out words of encouragement and reproof, and stayed the panic of the varlets. About the same

time apparently, and under the influence of the same panic-fear, a rumour spread through the ranks that William himself was slain. He had indeed three horses killed under him in the long and dreadful struggle, but, as far as we know, he received no wound at any time, and now lifting up the nose-piece of his helmet he showed his full face to his followers whose confidence was at once restored.

As has been said, for six hours the battle hung doubtful. From three o'clock onwards victory began to incline to the Norman side, chiefly owing to two manœuvres, the credit of both of which is assigned to William personally. In the first place, finding himself otherwise unable to break the terrible shield-wall, he took a hint from the disaster of the Malfosse itself, and ordered his followers to feign flight. After men have long stood on the defensive, galled by missiles from afar, the temptation to believe that the victory is won and that they may charge a flying foe is doubtless immense. At any rate Harold's troops yielded to it, apparently more than once, and each time when pursuers and pursued had reached the plain, the Normans turned and their cavalry encircled and destroyed numbers of the English. The other manœuvre was, we are told, an order given to the archers to shoot high up into the sky, so that their arrows might fall from on high on some unshielded part of their enemies' persons. Perhaps we have here another illustration of the fact that, for a conflict with missile weapons, it is not all gain to occupy a position on a hill. This is what the Scots learned to their cost in 1402 at Homildon Hill and the English in 1881 at Majuba. At any rate it seems to have been by this change of tactics that the decisive blow was struck. It was by an arrow falling from on high that Harold's right eye was pierced. The wound was mortal and the king fell to the ground. Whatever life may have been left in him was extinguished by four Norman knights (one of them the hateful Eustace of Boulogne) who not only slew but mutilated their fallen foe.

The English seem still to have fought on for some time after the death of their king, but without purpose or discipline. The Normans were not disposed to give quarter, and apparently the greater number of the mail-clad house-carls fell where they had been fighting. The lighter-armed men of the *fyrð* fled, and,

CHAP. according to one account, their pursuers followed them into a
XXVI. part of the field where, from the broken nature of the ground and the abundance of ditches, their own ranks—they were evidently mounted warriors—fell into some confusion, and seeing this the fugitives made a rally. Owing probably to the fading light William and his comrades believed this to be a movement of fresh troops brought up against them. They halted, and Eustace of Boulogne counselled retreat, but a blow between the shoulders dealt suddenly from behind caused him to fall to the ground, while William pressed on undaunted and found that the victory was indeed his, and in the old Saxon phrase the Normans “held the place of slaughter”. The Norman duke caused his Pope-blessed standard to be planted on the brow of the hill in the same place where Harold’s banner had floated. After rendering thanks to God for his great victory, he ordered his supper to be prepared on the battlefield in the midst of the thousands of corpses of both armies, whom the survivors all through the following Sunday were busily engaged in burying, or in removing from the field that they might be carried to their homes for burial.


The body of Harold himself, grievously disfigured, but recognised, according to a well-known story, by his lady-love, “Edith with the swan’s neck,” is said to have been given by the Conqueror to William Malet, a nobleman half Norman and half English, and a kinsman of the house of Leofric, with instructions that it should be buried under a great cairn on the coast of that Sussex which he had vainly professed to guard. According to one story, Gytha, Godwine’s widow, vainly offered to buy her son’s body back from his foe at the price of his weight in gold; but it is probable that William before long relented and allowed the body of his fallen rival to be disinterred and buried with befitting solemnity in the great minster of the Holy Rood at Waltham.

William himself, in fulfilment of a vow made on the eve of the contest, founded on the field of slaughter a stately abbey which bore the name of Battle, and in which masses were long said for the repose of the souls of those who had fallen in the fight, whether conquerors or conquered. The building of the abbey with all its dependencies must have done much to alter the face of the battlefield; and now for near four centuries the

abbey itself has been hidden and changed by the manor house reared within its precincts, in Tudor style, by the family to whom it was granted on the suppression of the monasteries. Change upon change has since befallen the noble dwelling-house which still bears the name of Battle Abbey; and its gardens and groves, its tall yew hedges and terraced lawns, though all most beautiful, make it hard to reconstruct with the mind's eye the eleventh century aspect of "the place of slaughter". Only the well-ascertained site of the high altar of the Abbey Church on the crest of the hill enables us to say with certainty, in the language of the Bayeux Tapestry—

HIC HAROLD REX INTERFECTUS EST.

With the battle of Hastings ends the story of England as ruled by Anglo-Saxon kings. The causes of the change, so full of meaning for all future years, which transferred the English crown from the race of Cerdic to the race of Rollo, cannot be dwelt upon here: perhaps some of them have been sufficiently indicated in the course of the preceding narrative. It is enough to say that a great and grievous transformation had come over the Anglo-Saxon character since the days of Oswald and even since the days of Alfred. The splendid dawn of English and especially of Northumbrian Christianity in the seventh century had been early obscured. The nation had lost some of the virtues of heathendom and had not retained all that it had acquired of the virtues of Christianity. Of its political incapacity the whole course of its history during the last century before the conquest is sufficient evidence; and it is probably a symptom of the same general decay that for two centuries after the death of Alfred no writer or thinker of any eminence, with the doubtful exceptions of Dunstan and Elfric, appears among his countrymen. A tendency to swinish self-indulgence, and the sins of the flesh in some of their most degrading forms, had marred the national character. There was still in it much good metal, but if the Anglo-Saxon was to do anything worth doing in the world, it was necessary that it should be passed through the fire and hammered on the anvil. The fire, the anvil and the hammer were about to be supplied with unsparing hand by the Norman conquerors.



APPENDIX I.

AUTHORITIES.

ALL that portion of archæological science which deals with pre-historic man is of recent origin, and the conclusions arrived at as to our own island, even by the most careful inquirers, must be accepted provisionally, as liable to much modification by the labours of future students. Meanwhile the results generally accepted by scholars may be found well stated by Professor BOYD DAWKINS (*Early Man in Britain*, 1880), by Dr. JOHN BEDDOE (*The Races of Britain*, 1885), and by the Rev. Canon GREENWELL and GEO. ROLLESTON (*British Barrows*, 1877). All these authors deal chiefly with the results of excavation in the caves and sepulchral barrows of Britain. The measurement of the skulls disinterred from thence and the character of the vessels found in proximity to the bodies, are the chief criteria by which they decide on the racial character of the occupants. Professor JOHN RHYS (*The Early Ethnology of the British Isles*, 1890, and *Celtic Britain*, 2nd edit., 1884) approaches the subject of British ethnology rather from the side of early traditions and the evidence, somewhat meagre and unsatisfactory, of Celtic annalists, but with much help from philology.

Passing from the consideration of prehistoric man to the notices of Britain furnished by the writers of classical antiquity we come first to the Greek and Roman geographers. The chief Greek writers are Strabo and Ptolemy. STRABO, who was a native of Asia Minor, lived at the Christian era, and may be considered a slightly younger contemporary of Augustus. His colossal work on geography was written in his old age, and was probably finished about A.D. 19. Though he was an extensive traveller, he never visited Britain: his knowledge of our island seems to be chiefly derived from Cæsar, and he is altogether wrong as to its geographical position, believing it to lie alongside of the coast of Gaul from the Pyrenees to the mouths of the Rhine. He imagined Ireland to be entirely north of Britain.

APP. I PTOLEMY, who was a native of Egypt, was a contemporary of the Antonine emperors, and probably wrote about A.D. 150. He was essentially an astronomical geographer, whose object was to fix the latitude and longitude of every place of which he took note. His industry was extraordinary, and his scientific conceptions were somewhat in advance of his age; but owing to the inaccurate information upon which he had often to rely, his results are sometimes very far from correct. Thus, though he gets England and Ireland almost into their true position, correcting the errors of Strabo concerning them, he pulls Scotland so far round to the east that it is at right angles to England, and its northernmost point almost touches Denmark.

PLINY, who was born in A.D. 23 and perished in the great eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, is the only Latin geographer who tells us much about Britain, and his descriptions do not add much to our knowledge, but relate chiefly to natural history and to the cultivation of the soil.

For the Roman conquest of Britain our chief authorities are, of course, CÆSAR and TACITUS. The former, in the fourth and fifth books of his history of the *Gallic War*, describes in a few brief, soldier-like sentences the incidents of his two invasions, hardly attempting to conceal their ill-success. The latter, in the fourteenth book of his *Annals*, gives us the story of the insurrection of the Britons under Boudicca and its suppression by Suetonius Paulinus. An earlier book in the same series undoubtedly gave the history of the conquest of Britain under Claudius, but this is unfortunately lost. He gives us, however, in his *Life of Agricola*, a pretty full account of the events which signalled the command of his father-in-law, Julius Agricola (A.D. 78-84), and a slight notice of some events which occurred under his predecessors. Unfortunately Tacitus, superb as he is in delineation of character and scornful summaries of palace intrigues, fails grievously as a military historian, which happens to be his chief function when he is concerned with the history of Britain. Mommsen (bk. viii., chap. 5) says: "A worse narrative than that of Tacitus concerning this war (Paulinus against Boudicca) is hardly to be found even in this most unmilitary of authors".

To make up for the loss of the earlier books of Tacitus's *Annals* we have the history of DION CASSIUS, a Greek rhetorician who wrote his *Roman History* about A.D. 222. Though a useful compiler, Dion is, of course, no contemporary authority for the conquest of Britain under Claudius. Such as he is, however, we have to depend on him almost entirely for our knowledge of that event.

After we lose the guidance of Tacitus, our information as to Roman Britain becomes excessively meagre. Even the work of Dion Cassius after A.D. 54 is lost in the original, and only exists for us in an epitome—a tolerably full one, it must be admitted—made in the twelfth century by XIPHILINUS, an ignorant and careless monk of Constantinople. In addition to this, however, we receive a feeble and flickering light from the collection of memoirs called the HISTORIA AUGUSTA. This book, the result of the joint labours of some five or six authors whose very names are a subject of controversy, relates in clumsy and uncritical fashion the chief events in the lives of the Roman emperors during the second and third centuries. Poor as is the performance of these authors, and though they were probably separated by an interval of one or two centuries from the events which they record, we have reason to be grateful to them for the information which they supply to us, especially as to our two most illustrious conquerors, Hadrian and Severus. For the reign of the latter emperor we may also glean a few facts from the work of the Greek historian HERODIAN.

The story of the imperial pretenders, Carausius and Allectus, and of the suppression of their independent royalty, is told in a certain fashion by two panegyrists, called MAMERTINUS and EUMENIUS, in their orations before the triumphant emperors; but it is hard to extract solid history out of their windy rhetoric.

A historian to whom we owe much, and should doubtless owe far more if a perverse literary fate had not deprived us of nearly half of his work, is the life-guardsmen AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, who lived in the latter half of the fourth century and wrote the history of the Roman empire from A.D. 99 to 378. As it is, possessing only those books which tell of the years from 353 to 378, we derive from him some valuable information as to the British campaigns of the elder Theodosius. If we possessed the earlier books of his history, we should almost certainly know much more than we do as to the appearance of Roman Britain in the second century and the mode of life of its native inhabitants, for Ammianus is fond of showing off his geographical knowledge, and resembles Herodotus in the interest which he takes in the manners and customs of half-civilised races. His Latin style—he was a Syrian Greek by birth—is extraordinarily affected and often obscure, but for all that, few literary events could be more gratifying to the historical student than the recovery of the lost books of Ammianus.

For the social, military and religious life of the Romans in Britain an invaluable source of information is contained in the inscriptions which are collected in the seventh volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin, 1873). Many of the most important will be found

APP. I. in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, edited by Dr. Bruce (Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1875). Inscriptions discovered more recently must be looked for in the volumes of the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, published by the *Academie der Wissenschaften* at Berlin, or in the *Archæological Journal* and the proceedings of local antiquarian societies.

OROSIUS, a disciple of St. Augustine, has done something to lighten the darkness which hangs over the end of Roman rule in Britain. In the last book of his *Histories*, which were meant to show that the calamities of the empire were not due to the introduction of Christianity, he tells us with some little detail the story of the military revolt of the year 406, of which we also learn some details from the Greek historian Zosimus. A chronicler who generally bears the name of another friend of St. Augustine's, PROSPER TIRO, but who was evidently a theological opponent of that saint, and whose personality is really unknown, inserts in his Chronicle two all-important dates for the Roman evacuation of Britain and for the Saxon invasions. The contemporary poet, CLAUDIAN, writing in 403, also gives us in a few lines some important information as to the former event. This is practically the last trustworthy notice as to our island that we find in the works of any classical writer. Henceforth our history for many centuries is written for us entirely by ecclesiastics, and this must be the modern historian's excuse for the strongly ecclesiastical colour which he is obliged to give even to a political narrative. One such ecclesiastical authority is *The Life of Germanus* by the presbyter CONSTANTIUS, as has been previously said. This *Life* has suffered much from later interpolations. See an elaborate analysis of it by Levison in the *Neues Archiv*, vol. xxix.

The next writer who lifts any portion of the pall which hides the history of our island in the fifth and sixth centuries is GILDAS, the author of the *Liber Querulus* "concerning the ruin of Britain". Rightly is the book called querulous, for it is one long drawn out lamentation over the barbarities of the Saxon invaders and the irreligion of the Britons which had brought this ruin upon them. If Gildas, who wrote probably between 540 and 560, had chosen to tell us simply all that he had seen or heard from men of the preceding generation concerning Saxon raids and Cymric resistance, his work would have been one of the corner-stones of English history. As it is, we have to be thankful for the few facts that he imparts to us between sob and sob over the wickedness of the world. A critical edition of this author by Mommsen will be found in vol. xiii. of the *Auctores Antiquissimi* in the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*. An excellent edition with notes by the Rev. Hugh Williams, Professor

of Church History at the Theological College, Bala, is now in course of publication for the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion. APP. I.

More perplexing, but fuller of matter, good, bad and indifferent, is the work of the much later Welsh ecclesiastic, NENNIUS, who lived about two centuries and a half after Gildas. This author exhibits a degree of ignorance and puzzle-headedness which gives one a very unfavourable idea of the intellectual condition of a Welsh monastery about the year 800. His chronology is wildly incorrect, and he intermingles with solemn history stories of dragons and enchanter's worthy of the *Arabian Nights*; but he has inserted into the middle of his book extracts from the work of a much earlier author (probably a Northumbrian Celt living under Anglian rule) who described the contests of English and Welsh between 547 and 679. This part of the book (to be found in chapters 57 to 65 of Nennius) has probably a real historic value. It is important to note that it is in this portion that the name of King Arthur is found. As already mentioned (p. 100) we are much indebted to the labours of Prof. Zimmer (*Nennius Vindictus*) with reference to this important but most provoking writer.

Turning from the Welsh to the English authorities we come to the illustrious name of BEDE, the greatest scholar of his age and the best historian whom any European country produced in the early Middle Ages. His main work, the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, was finished in the year 731, about four years before his death. There is an excellent edition of this book and of some of the smaller historical works of Bede by the Rev. Charles Plummer (2 vols. : Oxford, 1896). The historical importance of this work begins with its account of the conversion of England to Christianity; and, for all the events of the seventh century and the early part of the eighth, it is priceless. As to the events which marked the Roman occupation of Britain, Bede probably had no other sources of information than those which we also possess. For the two centuries of darkness between the departure of the last Roman soldier and the arrival of the first Roman missionary he had evidently very scanty sources to draw from, and in fact he springs, almost at one bound, from the year 450 to 596.

For the closing years of the seventh century we have another valuable authority in the *Life of Wilfrid*, written by his contemporary, EDDIUS (*Historians of the Church of York*, edited by J. Raine, Rolls Series): and this is the more important as, for some reason or other, Bede shows sometimes a curious reticence as to Wilfrid's career. There is a very careful comparison of the two narratives, that of Bede

APP. I. and that of Eddius, by Mr. B. W. Wells in the sixth volume of the *English Historical Review* (1891), pp. 535-50. His conclusions are not favourable to Eddius's veracity.

In the eighth century, after we have lost the invaluable guidance of Bede, we may derive some help from the letters of two great Churchmen, BONIFACE and ALCUIN, both published in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (*Epistolae*, vols. iii. and iv., 1892 and 1895).

For the whole period from the Saxon invasion onwards we rely with increasing confidence on the great historical document, or collection of documents, which is sometimes called the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, but which, following Freeman's example, we generally designate by the simple but sufficient name of THE CHRONICLE (Plummer, 2 vols., 1892). The reason for introducing the notice of it here is that, according to the opinion of its latest editor, we arrive, in the ninth century, at the time of the first compilation of this work, so all-important for the students of our national history. If he is right in thinking that the impulse toward the commencement of this great undertaking was given by King Alfred—a belief which seems to be shared by Mr. Stevenson, the editor of Asser—it cannot have begun to assume its present shape till near the year 900. Some materials, however, for the building of such an edifice must have been gradually accumulating for at least two centuries; in what shape, of what kind, of what degree of historical trustworthiness, we shall, perhaps, never be able to determine. There were probably rhythmical pedigrees of the kings and some stories of their exploits handed down through generations of minstrels; and, at any rate since the introduction of Christianity, some simple annals such as that to which Bede alludes when he says that 634, the year of the reign of two apostate Northumbrian kings, was, "by those who compute the times of kings," taken away from them and included in the reign of their pious successor Oswald. This hypothesis, however, will not help us much when we come to consider how Alfred's literary friends could recover accurate dates and details of events during the preceding 150 years of darkness, and we must probably admit that for that period there may have been a good deal of imaginative chronology of the kind suggested by Lappenberg, as already stated on p. 87. Thus all this earlier portion of the Chronicle has to be used with caution, and we dare not lay any great stress upon the historical character of its statements; only let not its authority be unduly decried, seeing that for a good part of the road it is the only light that we have.

Even after we emerge into the fuller light of the seventh century,

and when we have no reason to doubt the truly historical character of the Chronicle, we cannot award it the praise of minute accuracy in matters of chronology. Continually historians have found it necessary to correct its dates by one, two, or three years; and even the foundation date of Egbert's accession, which used to be given on the authority of the Chronicle to 800, has had to be shifted to 802. APP. I.

The Chronicle, if begun under the influence of Alfred (probably at Winchester), was continued in various monasteries on somewhat independent lines, and thus, as its latest editor points out, "instead of saying that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is contained in seven MSS., it would be truer to say that those MSS. contain four Anglo-Saxon Chronicles". These are represented by the four chief MSS. which are now known to scholars by the four letters A, C, D, E. The first of these MSS. is at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the second and third in the British Museum, and the fourth in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Very briefly stated, the distinguishing characteristics of these four MSS. are as follows:—

A (sometimes marked by an Anglo-Saxon letter in order to distinguish it from a later and unimportant manuscript to which also that initial has been given) is also called, from its former owner, Archbishop Parker's manuscript, or the Winchester Chronicle. There can be little doubt that this manuscript was originally a native of Winchester, and began to be compiled there in Alfred's reign. A Winchester book it continued till the year 1002, after which it seems to have been transferred to Christ Church, Canterbury, where it was probably lying at the time of the suppression of the monasteries. This manuscript, in many respects the most valuable of all, ends with the year 1070.

C is associated on good authority with the monastery of Abingdon. "Its language [says Professor Earle] is of the most ripe and polished kind, marking the culmination of Saxon literature." It closes in 1066, but a short postscript has been added in the Northumbrian dialect. One important feature in this manuscript is its inclusion of what is called "The Mercian Register," describing the great deeds of the Lady of Mercia from 902 to 924. In the next century it is distinguished by the hostile tone which it adopts towards Earl Godwine and his family.

D, which is generally called the Worcester Chronicle, but which seems to have a closer connexion with Evesham, is, in its present shape, a late compilation, none of it probably being of earlier date than 1100. It seems to be closely allied to C, but differs from that manuscript by its friendlier attitude towards Godwine. It is the only

APP. I. version which gives us any account of the battle of Hastings. It ends thirteen years after the Conquest.

E, the Laud manuscript or Peterborough Chronicle, is of great importance, inasmuch as it alone continues the history down to so late a date as 1154, and its great variety of style makes it a leading authority for the history of the English language. In its present shape it is emphatically a book of the Abbey of Peterborough, and loses no opportunity of glorifying that religious house. It probably owes its origin to a disastrous fire which happened at Peterborough in 1116, in which all the muniments of the abbey perished. A manuscript akin to D seems to have been then brought thither from some other monastery, and this copy of it, with sundry interpolations, has been made to replace the perished Chronicle. A and E are the two Chronicles which Plummer and his predecessor Earle have chosen as the corner-stones of their editions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, but passages are inserted from C and D where these authorities give us important variations.

For the personal history of Alfred the Great and some information as to the events of his reign, we have the very important treatise by his contemporary, ASSER, *De Rebus Gestis Aelfredi* (Stevenson, 1904). Asser was a Welsh ecclesiastic, belonging to the diocese of St. Davids, who came about the year 880 to the court of King Alfred, seeking protection from the tyranny of his native sovereigns, sons of Rhodri Mawr. That protection was freely accorded, and the king, perceiving Asser to be a learned man, stipulated that he should spend at least half of every year in the land of the Saxons. Eventually he became bishop of Sherborne, and no doubt ceased altogether to reside in Wales. He died apparently in 910, about ten years after his patron. Asser's *Life of King Alfred* which ends practically with the year 887, giving no account of the last thirteen years of his reign, is a very inartistic work, containing annalistic notices, taken apparently from the Chronicle, strangely jumbled up with those interesting personal details as to the character and habits of the great king which give it in our eyes all its value. It has been singularly unfortunate in its transmission, since the only copy of which we have any certain knowledge perished in the great fire at the Cottonian Library in 1731. Happily, it had been already printed three times, but unfortunately those three editions all contained several large interpolations made by its first editor, Archbishop Parker, from a mistaken desire to round off its information by extracts from other authors. Partly owing to these interpolations, its genuineness has been sub-

jected to severe attacks, which have sometimes seemed likely to be successful. Its character, however, has been triumphantly vindicated by its latest editor, Mr. W. H. Stevenson, who has succeeded in separating the original text of the *Life* from the interpolations of its editors, and thus presenting it with all its naïve charm, often also, it must be admitted, with all its provoking verbiage and obscurity, to the lovers of the greatest Anglo-Saxon king. In the same volume Mr. Stevenson has printed the *Annals of St. Neot's*, which were formerly, without justification, ascribed to Asser, and from which some of the worst interpolations into his real work were derived. It is an important testimony to the authentic character of Asser's work that large extracts have been made from it by so judicious a compiler as Florence of Worcester.

For the reconstruction of English history in the tenth century our materials are very unsatisfactory. The impulse given by Alfred to the composition of the Chronicle seems to have soon exhausted itself, and for fifty years after the death of his son (925 to 975) it is, as Earle has said, "wonderfully meagre: a charge which is often unreasonably alleged against these Chronicles in the most indiscriminating manner, but which may be justified here by a comparison with the historical literature of two earlier generations". Its aridity is in some degree atoned for by the ballads, such as that on the battle of Brunanburh, which are inserted at intervals in its pages; but with all the poetic interest attaching to these pieces they can hardly be considered a satisfactory substitute for history. In these circumstances we have to be thankful for such help as can be derived from biographies of the saints; especially from the nearly contemporary *Life of Dunstan*, by an anonymous Saxon priest who is known only by his initial B. (*Memorials of St. Dunstan*, edited by Stubbs, Rolls Series), and the similar anonymous but contemporary *Life of Oswald*, Archbishop of York (*Historians of the Church of York*, edited by J. Raine, Rolls Series). The later lives of Dunstan, by Adelard, Osbern and Eadmer (all included in Stubbs's *Memorials of St. Dunstan*), soon fade off into legend, and must be used with caution.

We ought to have been greatly helped at this period by the work of ETHELWEARD the historian (*Monumenta Historica Britannica*, Petrie, 1848), who was of royal descent, was apparently for a time Ealdorman of Wessex, and wrote near the end of the tenth century. Unfortunately the basis of his work seems to have been the Chronicle itself, and when he has any additional facts to communicate, his style is so pompously obscure that it is difficult to make out what he

APP. I. means. In default, therefore, of adequate contemporary authorities, the historian is obliged to lean more than he has yet done on the compiling historians who wrote in the century which followed the Norman Conquest. Of these, happily, there is a goodly number, and they are on the whole very favourable specimens of their class.

(1) FLORENCE OF WORCESTER (edited by B. Thorpe, English Historical Society, 1848-49), a monk of whom we know nothing save that he died in 1118, having earned a high reputation for acuteness and industry, took as the staple of his narrative the work of an Irish monk named Marianus Scotus, who was settled at Mainz and composed a World-Chronicle reaching down to the year 1082. With the material thus furnished him Florence interwove extracts specially relating to English history from Bede, Asser and the Chroniclers, bringing down his recital to 1117, the year preceding his death. His work was almost entirely that of a compiler, but it was conscientiously and thoroughly done, and its chief value for us is that though his story approaches most nearly to that told in the Worcester Chronicle (D), it is not a mere transcript of that work, and he evidently had access to some manuscript of the Chronicle which is now lost. The important position which he holds in relation to Asser has already been described.

(2) Some important facts concerning Northumbrian history may be gleaned from the ill-arranged pages of SYMEON OF DURHAM (edited by T. Arnold, Rolls Series, 2 vols., 1882-85). This author, who was born a few years before the Conquest, became a monk at Durham about the year 1085, and spent probably the rest of his life by the tomb of St. Cuthbert. Soon after 1104 he wrote a *History of the Church of Durham*, which supplies some valuable information not to be found elsewhere, as to the history of events in the north of England during the thirty years following the Danish invasion of 875. In his old age Symeon began, but apparently did not finish, a *History of the Kings*, which in its present state is a piece of patchwork put together from various sources, and in its chaotic condition corresponds only too closely with the reality of Northumbrian history during that dismal period. Its chief value for the historian is that it incorporates an old Northumbrian Chronicle by an anonymous writer (perhaps called *Gesta veterum Northanhymbrorum*) describing the chief events which happened in that part of the country from the end of Bede's history to the accession of Egbert (731-802). For a full discussion of the materials used by Symeon in this work the reader is referred to Mr. Arnold's preface and to Stubbs's preface to Roger Hoveden. It cannot be said that even his explanations make the matter very clear.

An interesting tract, *De Obsessione Dunelmi*, which has been attributed APP. I. on insufficient evidence to this author, is bound up with his works.

(3) HENRY OF HUNTINGDON (edited by T. Arnold, Rolls Series, 1879) was born about eighteen years after the Conquest and died soon after the accession of Henry II. He was an archdeacon in the diocese of Lincoln, and composed at the request of his bishop a *History of the English*, of which various editions were published in his lifetime, the first probably about 1130, and the last soon after 1154. Henry relies chiefly on the Peterborough Chronicle, but he seems also to have possessed some other manuscript, of which he occasionally gives indications. Unfortunately he relies not only on manuscripts and Chronicles, but also to a large extent on his own imagination. From materials not much ampler than those which we possess, he is fond of constructing a rhetorical narrative with many details, for which it is almost certain that he had no authority. Occasionally there seems reason to believe that he is repeating popular traditions or fragments of popular songs, but upon the whole it is safer not to rely greatly on his facts, where these are not corroborated by other historians.

(4) A much greater historian than Henry was his slightly younger contemporary, WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY (edited by Stubbs, Rolls Series, 2 vols., 1887-89), who was probably born about 1095 and died, or at any rate discontinued his literary labours, soon after 1142. For an elaborate discussion of these dates see Bishop Stubbs's preface. As he remarks, William "deliberately set himself forward as the successor of the Venerable Bede: and it is seldom that an aspirant of this sort came so near as he did to the realisation of his pretensions". His most important work for our purpose is the *Gesta Regum*, but from his *Gesta Pontificum* (Hamilton, Rolls Series, 1870) some facts relating to civil history may be gleaned. He is especially minute in all points connected with his own monastery of Malmesbury and with that of Glastonbury, in which he seems to have been for some time a guest. He has a wide outlook over continental affairs, and though he has been convicted of many inaccuracies and is unfortunately not sufficiently careful as to the authenticity of the documents quoted by him, we must admit his claim to be considered a really great historian. The *Gesta Regum* became at once a popular and standard history, and was the source from which a crowd of followers made abundant quotations.

(5) A great patron of learned men, and especially of historians, was Robert, Earl of Gloucester, natural son of Henry I. To him William of Malmesbury dedicated his chief historical works, and it was from materials contained in his library that GEOFFREY GAIMAR (edited by

APP. I. Hardy and Martin, Rolls Series, 2 vols., 1888-89) wrote his *Estorie des Engles*. Scarcely anything is known about the author, except that he wrote before 1147, the date of the Earl of Gloucester's death, and that he was probably an ecclesiastic and a Norman. His history is a rhymed chronicle in early French, and is to a large extent based on the English Chronicle; a proof that he understood Anglo-Saxon, though it was not his native tongue. He evidently, however, had access to other sources of information now closed to us, and this gives his *Estorie* a certain value, notwithstanding the author's occasional tendency to glide off into unhistorical romance, as for instance in the long and legendary story which he tells about Edgar's marriage with Elgiva. His geographical indications are sometimes worthy of special notice.

For sixty years after 982 the fortunes of England were so closely intertwined with those of Denmark and Norway that it is impossible wholly to overlook the contributions which Scandinavian authors have made to our national history. These consist chiefly of the great collection of Icelandic Sagas popularly known as the *Heimskringla*, and formerly made accessible to the English reader only by LAING's *Sea-Kings of Norway*, now in much completer form in the Saga Library of MORRIS and MAGNUSSEN. Three volumes of the *Heimskringla* have been published: the fourth is still to appear. For a full and exhaustive account, however, of the rich Dano-Icelandic literature of which the so-called *Heimskringla* is only a portion, we must turn to the noble work of VIGFUSSEN and POWELL, the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* (two vols., Oxford, 1883), and to VIGFUSSEN's Prolegomena to the *Sturlunga Saga* (Oxford, 1879). It is shown by these authors that while the name of Snorri Sturlason is rightly venerated as that of the chief literary preserver of these sagas, an earlier Icelandic scholar named Ari, born in the year after the Norman Conquest, was the first to bring them into some sort of relation with exact chronological history. The narratives seem to be wonderfully true in feeling but often false in fact. Probably a good deal of rather tedious critical work has yet to be done before the *Heimskringla* can be definitely and safely correlated with the Saxon Chronicle, but we may safely go to that collection of sagas and to the literature of which it forms part, the true *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of the Scandinavian peoples, for a picture of the manner of life, the characters and the ideals of those Danish and Norwegian sea-rovers who were the terror of Angle and Saxon, but from whom we ourselves are largely descended.

For the reign of Canute and his sons we are sometimes placed

under obligation by the author of the *Encomium Emmae* (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, vol. xix., 1866), a panegyric on the widow of Ethelred and Canute, written apparently by an ecclesiastic of Bruges, who had shared her bounty when she was living in exile. The author sometimes deviates in the most extraordinary way from historic truth, but he seems to have been well acquainted with the facts, though he dishonestly concealed them to please his patroness.

With the extinction of the Danish dynasty and the revival of West Saxon royalty we enter upon a new period, in which our historical literature assumes a controversial character which it has not hitherto possessed. In previous centuries there has been no practical danger in speaking of *The Chronicle*, the amount of matter common to the various copies being so large and the divergencies between them so comparatively unimportant. Now, however, it is necessary to speak of *The Chronicles* in the plural, since they often give us absolutely different versions of the same event. The Abingdon Chronicle, as before remarked, is hostile to Godwine, while Worcester (or Evesham) and Peterborough generally favour his cause. Winchester is almost silent for this period. There is a nearly contemporary *Life of Edward the Confessor* in Latin by an unknown author (printed at the end of the volume, *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, in the Rolls Series, 1858), from which some noteworthy facts may be collected, but the value of the work is lessened by the writer's evident determination to praise to the uttermost Godwine and all his family, in order to recommend himself to Edward's widow Edith, daughter of Godwine, to whom this *Vita Edwardi Regis* is dedicated. In comparison with his wife's family the king himself comes off rather poorly.

The life of the Confessor was soon caught up into the region of hagiological romance, and loses historical value accordingly. It does not seem possible to build any solid conclusions on the *Vita Edwardi Regis* by Aelred, itself borrowed from the twelfth-century biographer Osbert, still less on the curious and interesting *Estoire de Seint Edward le Rei*, a French poem written about 1245 and dedicated to Eleanor, queen of Henry III. (*Lives of Edward the Confessor*).

The Norman historians, who now of course become of first-rate importance for the history, are fully described in the second volume. It will be sufficient here to mention the names of the most important : WILLIAM OF POITIERS, WILLIAM OF JUMIÈGES (both contemporaries of the Conqueror), ORDERICUS VITALIS (a generation later) and WILLIAM WACE, author of two French metrical Chronicles, the *Roman de Brut* and the *Roman de Rou*. The latter poem describes

APP. I. with much detail and some poetic power the events of the Norman invasion of England, but its author wrote about a century after the event, and the degree of reliance which may be placed on his statements, where not supported by more strictly contemporary authority, is still a subject of debate among historians. Editions by Pluquet (1826) and Andresen (1877-79) are mentioned with commendation, but the most convenient edition for an English student is that prepared by Sir Alexander Malet with a tolerably close translation of Pluquet's text into English rhyme (London, 1860).

The other all-important document for the story of the Conquest, the BAYEUX TAPESTRY, has been reproduced in facsimile, with a valuable illustrative commentary, by F. R. Fowke (London, 1875, reprinted in abridged form in the Ex Libris Series, 1898). Discussing the date and origin of this celebrated work, he rejects the traditional connexion of the Tapestry with Queen Matilda, but believes it to be strictly contemporary with the Conquest, having been "probably ordered for his cathedral by Bishop Odo and made by Norman work-people at Bayeux". Refer also to Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. iii., note A, for a discussion of the authority of the Tapestry.

Of the Welsh authorities for this period contained in this volume the present writer cannot speak with confidence. The chief appear to be (1) the *Annales Cambriae*, supposed to have been compiled in the year 954 and afterwards continued to 1288.

(2) The *Brut y Tywysogion*, or Chronicle of the Princes, which begins in 680 and ends with 1282. It is thought to be based on a Latin chronicle written in the middle of the twelfth century by a Pembrokehire monk named Caradog of Llancarvan.

(3) The *Brut y Saesson*, or Chronicle of the Saxons (800-1382), seems to be chiefly founded on the last-named work, but with some additions from English sources; of no great value, at any rate for pre-Conquest history.

It is to be wished that some scholar would carefully sift the Welsh chronicles and poems, and tell us what are the solid historical facts that may be gathered from their pages.

Without attempting to give a list, however imperfect, of modern books dealing with the early history of England, it may be permitted to mention a few of the chief land-marks.

The history of Roman Britain has yet to be written. Every year excavations, inscriptions, coins add a little to our knowledge of these

tantalisingly obscure centuries. Perhaps the best short sketches to which the student can be referred are the chapter on Britain in MOMMSEN'S *Provinces of the Roman Empire* (translated by Dickson: London, 1886), and a similar chapter in EMIL HÜBNER'S *Römische Herrschaft in West Europa* (Berlin, 1890). Both these scholars are complete masters of all that epigraphy has to tell concerning the Roman occupation of Britain. In the early chapters of various volumes of the *Victoria County History of England*, Mr. F. HAVERFIELD is bringing the Roman archæology of the counties there described thoroughly up to date. It is to be hoped that these may all before long be combined by him into one great work on *Britannia Romana*.

For Anglo-Saxon history perhaps LAPPENBERG'S *Geschichte von England* (translated by B. Thorpe: London, 1881) is still the most trustworthy guide; but the *Making of England* and the *Conquest of England* by JOHN RICHARD GREEN have all the characteristic charm of that author's historical work; perhaps also it should be said, his characteristic tendency to translate a brilliant hypothesis into historical fact. The truly monumental history of *The Norman Conquest* by E. A. FREEMAN will assuredly always remain the great quarry from which all later builders will hew their blocks for building. Even those who differ most strongly from his conclusions must bear witness to his unwearied industry and single-minded desire for historical accuracy, whether he always compassed it or not. One of Freeman's antagonists, C. H. PEARSON, offers some useful suggestions in his *History of England during the Early and Middle Ages*; and the same author's *Historical Maps of England during the First Thirteen Centuries* contain an immense amount of carefully collected geographical material, and deserve to be more widely known than they are at the present time. Another doughty combatant, J. H. ROUND, in *Feudal England* (London, 1895), has set himself to demolish Professor Freeman's theories as to the battle of Hastings and some other matters.

SIR JAMES RAMSAY'S *Foundations of England* (1898) is an extremely careful digest of all the authorities bearing on the subject.

W. BRIGHT'S *Early English Church History*, C. F. KEARY'S *Vikings in Western Christendom* and C. PLUMMER'S *Life and Times of Alfred the Great* are all helpful books.

Where English and Scottish history touch one another the works of E. W. ROBERTSON, *Scotland under Her Early Kings* and *Historical Essays*; W. F. SKENE, *Celtic Scotland*, and ANDREW LANG, *History of Scotland*, will be found useful, and should be consulted in

APP. I. order to see the arguments of the champions of Scottish independence.

For the history of institutions reference should be made to Bishop STUBBS (*Constitutional History*); F. W. MAITLAND (*Domesday Book and Beyond*); H. M. CHADWICK (*Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*); J. M. KEMBLE (*The Saxons in England*); F. PALGRAVE (*The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*); H. C. COOTE (*The Romans of Britain*—worth studying, with distrust, as an extreme statement of the survival of Roman customs in Britain); F. SEEBOHM (*The English Village Community*); and P. VINOGRADOFF (*Villainage in England, The Growth of the Manor* and an essay on "Folkland" in the *English Historical Review* for 1893, which has been generally accepted as containing the true explanation of that much-discussed term of Anglo-Saxon law).

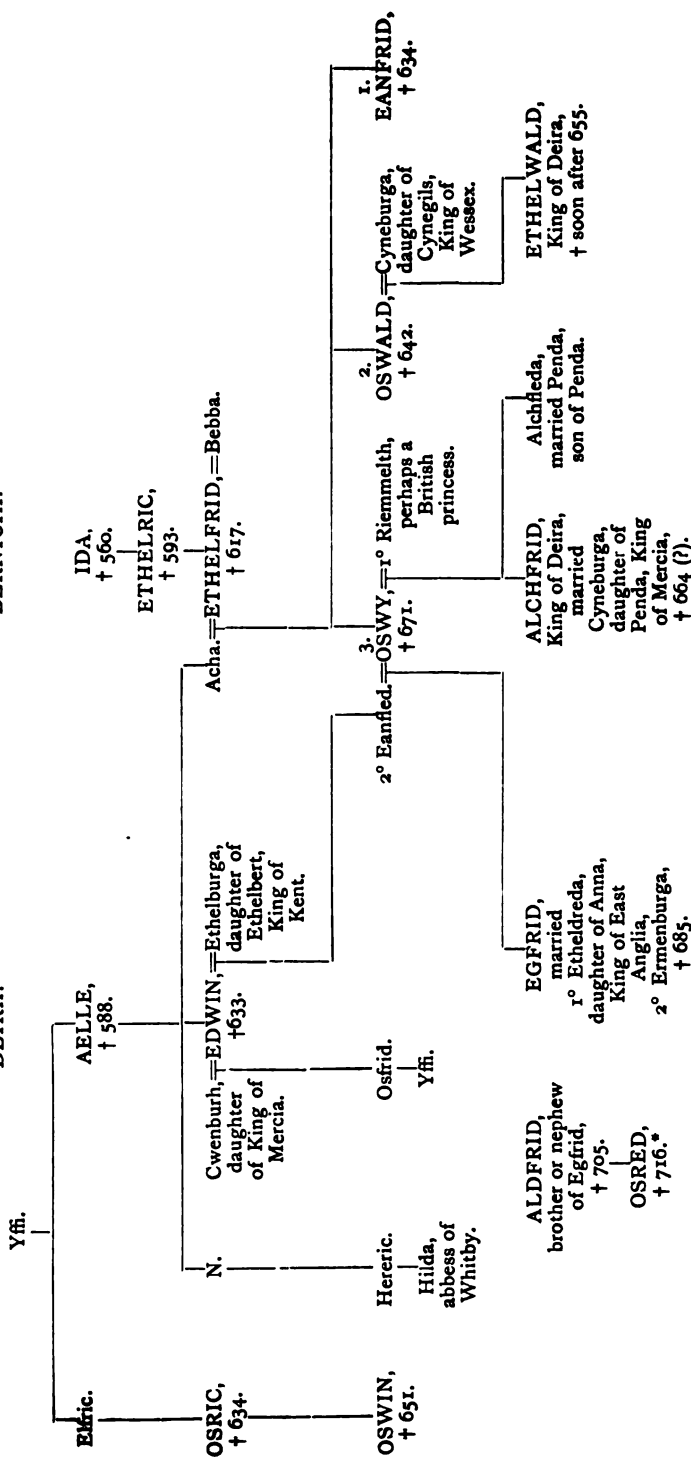
A good edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws was prepared in 1840 by BENJAMIN THORPE and published by the Record Commission. A more complete edition, with full commentary, was made by REINHOLD SCHMID and published in Leipzig in 1858. Even this is now being surpassed by the work of FELIX LIEBERMANN (Halle, 1898-1903), who has published an excellent text, but whose commentary on the laws has yet to appear. For the charters and other similar documents of the Anglo-Saxon kings we may refer to KEMBLE's *Codex Diplomaticus* (6 vols., 1839-48); BIRCH's *Cartularium Saxonicum* (3 vols., 1885-93), and HADDAN and STUBBS's *Councils* (3 vols., 1869-78), which are splendid collections of this kind of material for the historical student. As convenient manuals, *Diplomatarium Anglicum Aevi Saxonici* by BENJAMIN THORPE (1845); STUBBS's *Select Charters* (1895), and EARLE's *Handbook to the Land Charters*, will be found useful.

For a much more detailed list of authorities than can here be given the reader is referred to the excellent manual on *The Sources and Literature of English History* by Dr. CHARLES GROSS of Harvard University (1900).

APPENDIX II. GENEALOGY OF NORTHUMBRIAN KINGS.

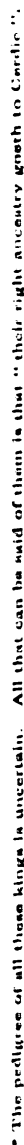
BERNICIA.

DEIRA.



* After the death of Osred in 716 the genealogy of the Northumbrian kings becomes uncertain.

GENEALOGY OF WEST SAXON KINGS BEFORE EGBERT



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1808.



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PREFACE

TO THIS NEW EDITION.



TO the importance of this collection of Tracts and Papers, for elucidating many historical occurrences, no person who feels interested in the discovery of truth, can be inattentive. A knowledge of the curious facts, which are promiscuously contained in them, independent of their utility as matters of information, must be peculiarly acceptable to the literary world. The difficulty of procuring a set of them has, of late years, however, been so greatly augmented, and the impossibility of purchasing such a valuable store of documents by most of those who are likely to avail themselves of such authorities, for the benefit of the community are a sufficient demonstration of the expediency of a new edition, and the necessity of producing it, for a more extensive circulation, on the most moderate terms. Considering the nature of the trade for some time past, we have adopted the most economical plan which is practicable, to meet the general wishes of the public, as well as to gratify our own particular friends. The two impressions, we hope, will equally meet the sentiments of those who wish for cabinet and library curiosities, as of those who are anxious for so valuable a treasure of records of literary knowledge, on the easiest possible conditions.

The fidelity with which these valuable pieces are reprinted, and the almost unprecedented attention that will be paid to the typography, will be a distinguishing feature of this publication. The credit of the editor has been long established, as fully qualified for so important a task, as that of examining with minute attention every sheet before it is com-

mitted to the press, in addition to the printer's usual habit of correctness. The orthography of every paper has been scrupulously preserved, as a criterion of the time when each of them was originally communicated to the public; a distinction, by which their respective value will be fully appreciated, and without which, those papers more especially, that preceded the restoration of monarchy, in being modernized, would lose the greatest part of their value. In the punctuation, considered as a matter of secondary moment only, we are ready to avow that we have taken some liberties, where the sense of the subject seemed to require it; but this is always allowed in printing the most ancient MSS. and we feel no reluctance in declaring, that we have herein varied, what may be deemed, the technical part of the business, whenever it could be done with improvement.

In another respect, indeed, it has been determined, after a few sheets were printed off, to place the rest, as nearly as possible, in a chronological order. To the historian and man of letters, this will prove a very striking advantage; for at the same time that every document will be given entire, the whole will form a mass of records, though some of them were only the productions of the passing times, of the utmost moment to authenticate the history of each year progressively. To those pieces, contained in a very few only of the first sheets, a reference will be made in their respective places; by which every publication or MS. of every year, included in the collection, will converge to one focal point, and greatly assist every class of readers, no less than the historian and the antiquary. When we add, that this mode has been adopted, on the intimation and at the desire of many of our liberal subscribers, we need not say more to convince the public of our anxious wish to deserve their countenance and support. It equally corresponds with our own ideas; and will remove one very strong objection to the use of the former original edition, from which this is re-printed, of the difficulty of finding a relation of the various occurrences of any particular period. But for such an useful purpose, neither the table of contents prefixed to each volume, nor the copious indexes annexed, nor even both united, are in any degree competent; and much time and labour must be lost to run over the contents of all the volumes to know what is preserved in this collection of the transactions of any specific year. These are obviated by this improved arrangement of the present edition; which, so far as these papers contain any accounts, will form a summary, and, in many instances, a very minute and particular detail, of the history of England, not frequently to be found in many of our best and most extended annals.

We have only to add, that the same reasons do not occur in the present edition for following the original promiscuous mode. We have all our materials before us, which enables us to digest the whole into a chronological arrangement, for the advantage of our subscribers.

After all our care, it is not in human power to accomplish impossibilities. Some of the pieces are of so general and miscellaneous a nature, that we cannot catch a single glimpse of any thing to form a criterion in what chronological order to class them; but as these can be of little moment, we have subjoined them at the end, that not a single article should be omitted. A few others, which evidently belong to some particular reign, where they cannot be classed to any particular year, are added respectively at the end of that reign.

We have studiously refrained from introducing any notes of our own, both to avoid the impropriety of swelling the work under the present circumstances, and because we are unwilling to pay so unhandsome a compliment to our readers as to suppose they will not perceive with us, many analogous cases and proceedings of the French in those times to the recent conduct of the rulers of that country; in which they have unhappily but too much succeeded, though they failed so essentially in earlier times. But we shall close our remarks, with observing only, that we shall not forget to prepare for our subscribers, at the end of each volume, an alphabetical index of the principal contents; as equally useful on many occasions, where the subject may be recollected, though the particular period of it has escaped the memory.

As the editors of the original edition of the Miscellany, after some progress in that work, announced to their numerous friends and subscribers a catalogue of pamphlets, many of which are both interesting and curious, that were found in the Earl of Oxford's Library; we shall embrace an early opportunity of announcing the titles of 548 pamphlets, which the catalogue consists of, classed in like manner in chronological order, the purport of which we shall submit, with the substance of their contents, to the consideration of our readers. Of these, however, more than 50 were at that time introduced into the subsequent volumes of the Miscellany, to which it will only be necessary to make a reference in their order. To these documents we propose to annex some account of the various important MSS. collected by this nobleman in the course of his long and active pursuits in the

service of his country. The historian will from these, be supplied with much useful intelligence, hitherto little known; and the antiquary will be no less gratified, by such an accession of materials, to his present stock of knowledge. It shall suffice to say that, as the editor of such an intelligent mass of materials, so classed and so arranged, no labour or pains shall be spared to render it worthy of the public acceptance.

J. MALHAM.

London, Nov. 30, 1808

THE
INTRODUCTION.

THOUGH the scheme of the following Miscellany is so obvious, that the title alone is sufficient to explain it; and though several collections have been formerly attempted upon plans, as to the method, very little, but as to the capacity and execution, very different from ours; we, being possessed of the greatest variety for such a work, hope for a more general reception than those confined schemes had the fortune to meet with: and, therefore, think it not wholly unnecessary to explain our intentions, to display the treasure of materials, out of which this Miscellany is to be compiled, and to exhibit a general idea of the pieces which we intend to insert in it.

There is, perhaps, no nation in which it is so necessary, as in our own, to assemble, from time to time, the small Tracts and fugitive pieces, which are occasionally published. For, besides the general subjects of enquiry, which are cultivated by us, in common with every other learned nation, our constitution in Church and State naturally gives birth to a multitude of performances, which would either not have been written, or could not have been made publick in any other place.

The form of our government, which gives every man, that has leisure, or curiosity, or vanity, the right of enquiring into the propriety of publick measures; and, by consequence, obliges those who are intrusted with the administration of national affairs, to give an account of their conduct to almost every man who demands it; may be reasonably imagined to have occasioned innumerable pamphlets, which would never have appeared under arbitrary governments, where every man lulls himself in indolence under calamities, of which he cannot promote the redress, or thinks it prudent to conceal the uneasiness, of which he cannot complain without danger.

The multiplicity of religious sects tolerated among us, of which every one has found opponents and vindicators, is another source of unexhaustible publication, almost peculiar to ourselves; for controversies cannot be long continued, nor frequently revived, where an inquisitor has a right to shut up the disputants in dungeons, or where silence can be imposed on either party, by the refusal of a license.

Not that it should be inferred from hence, that political or religious controversies are the only products of the liberty of the British press; the mind once let loose to enquiry, and suffered to operate without restraint, necessarily deviates into peculiar opinions, and wanders in new tracks, where she is indeed sometimes lost in a labyrinth: from which, tho' she cannot return, and scarce knows how to proceed, yet sometimes makes useful discoveries, or finds out nearer paths to knowledge.

The boundless liberty, with which every man may write his own thoughts, and the opportunity of conveying new sentiments to the publick, without danger of suffering either ridicule or censure, which every man may enjoy, whose vanity does not incite him too hastily to own his performances, naturally invites those, who employ themselves in speculation, to try how their notions will be received by a nation, which exempts caution from fear, and modesty from shame; and it is no wonder, that where reputation may be gained, but needs not be lost, multitudes are willing to try their fortune, and thrust their opinions into the light, sometimes with unsuccessful haste, and sometimes with happy temerity.

It is observed, that, among the natives of England, is to be found a greater variety of humour, than in any other country; and, doubtless, where every man has a full liberty to propagate his conceptions, variety of humour must produce variety of writers; and, where the number of authors is so great, there cannot but be some worthy of distinction.

All these and many other causes, too tedious to be enumerated, have contributed to make pamphlets and small tracts a very important part of an English library; nor are there any pieces, upon which those, who aspire to the reputation of judicious collectors of books, bestow more attention, or greater expence; because many advantages may be expected

from the perusal of these small productions, which are scarcely to be found in that of larger works.

If we regard history, it is well known that most Political Treatises have for a long time appeared in this form, and that the first relations of transactions, while they are yet the subject of conversation, divide the opinions, and employ the conjectures of mankind, are delivered by these petty writers, who have opportunities of collecting the different sentiments of disputants, of enquiring the truth from living witnesses, and of copying their representations from the life; and, therefore, they preserve a multitude of particular incidents, which are forgotten in a short time, or omitted in formal relations, and which are yet to be considered as sparks of truth, which, when united, may afford light in some of the darkest scenes of state, as, we doubt not, will be sufficiently proved in the course of this Miscellany; and which it is, therefore, the interest of the publick to preserve unextinguished.

The same observation may be extended to subjects of yet more importance. In controversies that relate to the truths of religion, the first essays of reformation are generally timorous; and those, who have opinions to offer, which they expect to be opposed, produce their sentiments by degrees; and for the most part in small tracts. By degrees, that they may not shock their readers with too many novelties at once; and in small tracts, that they may be easily dispersed, or privately printed; almost every controversy, therefore, has been, for a time, carried on in pamphlets, nor has swelled into larger volumes, till the first ardor of the disputants has subsided, and they have recollected their notions with coolness enough to digest them into order, consolidate them into systems, and fortify them with authorities.

From pamphlets, consequently, are to be learned the progress of every debate; the various state, to which the questions have been changed: the artifices and fallacies, which have been used; the subterfuges, by which reason has been eluded. In such writings may be seen how the mind has been opened by degrees, how one truth has led to another, how error has been disentangled, and hints improved to demonstration. Which pleasure, and many others, are lost by him, that only reads the larger writers, by whom these scattered sentiments are collected; who will see none of the changes of fortune which every opinion has passed through, will have no opportunity of remarking the transient advan-

tages, which error may sometimes obtain, by the artifices of its patron, or the successful rallies, by which truth regains the day, after a repulse; but will be to him, who traces the dispute through, into particular gradations, as he that hears of a victory, to him that sees the battle.

Since the advantages of preserving these small tracts are so numerous, our attempt to unite them in volumes cannot be thought either useless or unseasonable; for there is no other method of securing them from accidents; and they have already been so long neglected, that this design cannot be delayed, without hazarding the loss of many pieces, which deserve to be transmitted to another age.

The practice of publishing pamphlets on the most important subjects, has now prevailed more than two centuries among us; and, therefore, it cannot be doubted, but that, as no large collections have been yet made, many curious tracts must have perished. But it is too late to lament that loss; nor ought we to reflect upon it with any other view than that of quickening our endeavours for the preservation of those that yet remain, of which we have now a greater number than was, perhaps, ever amassed by any one person.

The first appearance of pamphlets among us is generally thought to be at the new opposition raised against the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome. Those who were first convinced of the reasonableness of the new learning, as it was then called, propagated their opinions in small pieces, which were cheaply printed, and, what was then of great importance, easily concealed. These treatises were generally printed in foreign countries, and are not, therefore, always very correct. There was not then that opportunity of printing in private, for, the number of printers were small, and the presses were easily overlooked by the clergy, who spared no labour or vigilance for the suppression of heresy. There is, however, reason to suspect that some attempts were made to carry on the propagation of truth by a secret press; for one of the first treatises, in favour of the reformation, is said, at the end, to be printed at Greenwich by the permission of the Lord of Hosts.

In the time of King Edward the Sixth, the presses were employed in favour of the reformed religion, and small tracts were dispersed over the nation, to reconcile them to the new forms of worship. In this reign, likewise, political pamphlets

may be said to have been begun, by the address of the rebels of Devonshire; all which means of propagating the sentiments of the people so disturbed the court, that no sooner was Queen Mary resolved to reduce her subjects to the Romish superstition; but she artfully by a charter* granted to certain freemen of London, in whose fidelity, no doubt, she confided, intirely prohibited all presses but what should be licensed by them; which charter is that by which the corporation of Stationers in London, is at this time incorporated.

Under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when liberty again began to flourish, the practice of writing pamphlets became more general; presses were multiplied, and books more dispersed: and, I believe, it may properly be said, that the trade of writing began at this time, and that it has ever since gradually increased in the number, though, perhaps, not in the stile of those that followed it.

In this reign was erected the first secret press against the Church as now established, of which I have found any certain account. It was employed by the Puritans, and conveyed from one part of the nation to another, by them, as they found themselves in danger of discovery. From this press issued most of the pamphlets against Whitgift, and his associates, in the ecclesiastical government; and, when it was at last seized at Manchester, it was employed upon a pamphlet called **MORE WORK FOR A COOPER.**

In the peaceable reign of King James, those minds, which might, perhaps, with less disturbance of the world, have been engrossed by war, were employed in controversy; and writings of all kinds were multiplied among us. The press, however, was not wholly engaged in polemical performances, for more innocent subjects were sometimes treated; and it deserves to be remarked, because it is not generally known, that the treatises of husbandry and agriculture, which were published about that time, are so numerous, that it can scarcely be imagined by whom they were written, or to whom they were sold.

The next reign is too well known to have been a time of confusion, and disturbance, and disputes of every kind; and the writings, which were produced, bear a natural propor-

* Which begins thus, **KNOW YE**, that **WE** considering, and manifestly perceiving, that several seditious and heretical Books or Tracts—against the Faith and sound Catholic Doctrine of holy Mother, the Church, &c.

tion to the number of the questions that were discussed at that time; each party had its authors, and its presses, and no endeavours were omitted to gain proselytes to every opinion. I know not whether this may not properly be called *The Age of Pamphlets*; for, though they perhaps may not arise to such multitudes as Mr. Rawlinson imagined, they were, undoubtedly, more numerous than can be conceived by any who have not had an opportunity of examining them.

After the restoration, the same differences in religious opinions are well known to have subsisted, and the same political struggles to have been frequently renewed; and, therefore, a great number of pens were employed on different occasions, till, at length, all other disputes were absorbed in the Popish controversy.

From the pamphlets which these different periods of time produced, it is proposed, that this *Miscellany* shall be compiled; for which it cannot be supposed that materials will be wanting, and, therefore, the only difficulty will be in what manner to dispose them.

Those who have gone before us, in undertakings of this kind, have ranged the pamphlets, which chance threw into their hands, without any regard either to the subject on which they treated, or the time in which they were written; a practice in no wise to be imitated by us, who want for no materials; of which we shall chuse those we think best for the particular circumstances of times and things, and most instructing and entertaining to the reader.

Of the different methods which present themselves upon the first view of the great heaps of pamphlets which the Harleian Library exhibits, the two which merit most attention, are to distribute the treatises according to their subjects or their dates, but neither of these ways can be conveniently followed. By ranging our collection in order of time, we must necessarily publish those pieces first, which least engage the curiosity of the bulk of mankind; and our design must fall to the ground for want of encouragement before it can be so far advanced as to obtain general regard. By confining ourselves for any long time to any single subject, we shall reduce our readers to one class, and as we shall lose all the grace of variety, shall disgust all those who read chiefly

to be diverted. There is likewise one objection of equal force against both these methods, that we shall preclude ourselves from the advantage of any future discoveries, and we cannot hope to assemble at once all the pamphlets which have been written in any age or on any subject.

It may be added, in vindication of our intended practice, that it is the same with that of Photius, whose collections are no less miscellaneous than ours; and who declares, that he leaves it to his reader to reduce his extracts under their proper heads.

Most of the pieces, which shall be offered in this collection to the publick, will be introduced by short prefaces, in which will be given some account of the reasons for which they are inserted; notes will be sometimes adjoined for the explanation of obscure passages, or obsolete expressions; and care will be taken to mingle use and pleasure through the whole collection. Notwithstanding every subject may not be relished by every reader; yet the buyer may be assured that each number will repay his generous subscription.

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THE
HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

THE REASONS

WHICH INDUCED HER MAJESTY TO CREATE

The Right Honourable Robert Harley, Esq.

A PEER OF GREAT BRITAIN, IN THE YEAR 1711.

There can be no objection against the prefixing of the reasons for creating the Right Honourable Robert Harley, Esq. a Peer of Great Britain, and Earl of Oxford; especially, as the valuable collection, intended to be published in this form, was made by the greatness of his knowledge in all branches of learning, and at the vast expence of that noble family. He, that noble peer, who always encouraged learning, and was the Mécenas of learned men in his time; whose patent of creation extols him, and ennobles him with the title of the University of Oxford on that particular account; and whose chiefest delight, in his leisure, from the care he took of the good of the nation in general, was to be constantly among his books; by which familiarity, he is said to have acquired so particular a knowledge of them all, as to be able, without a catalogue, to go immediately to the least of them, upon hearing of it named, though his library consisted of more than 100,000 different authors. He, I say, cannot be denied the first place in this Miscellany, which esteems it an honour to bear his name. A name, that, when alive, gave life to learning; and, by this monument of learning, shall live for ever, in the real esteem of learned men.

WHATEVER favour may be merited from a just prince, by a man born of an illustrious and very ancient family, fitted by nature for great things, and by all sorts of learning qualified for greater; constantly employed in the study of state affairs, and with the greatest praise, and no small danger, exercising variety of offices in the government: so much does our well-beloved and very faithful counsellor Robert Harley deserve at our hands; he, who in three successive parliaments, was unanimously chosen speaker; and, at the same time that he filled the chair, was our principal secretary of state: in no wise unequal to either province. Places, so seemingly disagreeing, were easily reconciled by one, who knew how, with equal weight and address, to mode-

rate and govern the minds of men: * one who could preserve the rights of the people, without infringing the prerogative of the crown: and who thoroughly understood how well government could consist with liberty. This double task being performed, after some short respite, he bore the weight of our exchequer as chancellor, and thereby prevented the further plundering † the nation, and also provided for the settling a new trade to the South Seas, and (by rescuing public credit ‡) so opportunely relieved the languishing condition of the treasury, as to deserve thanks from the parliament, blessings from the citizens, and from us (who never separate our own interests from the public) no small approbation. Therefore, we decree to the man that has so eminently deserved of us, and of all our subjects, those honours which were long since due to him and his family, being induced thereto by our own good pleasure, and the suffrage of all Great Britain. For we take it as an admonition, that he should not in vain be preserved, whom the states of our realms have testified to be obnoxious to the hatred of wicked men, upon account of his most faithful services to us, and whom they have congratulated upon his escape from the rage of a flagitious parricide. || We gladly indulge their wishes, that he who comes thus recommended to us by so honourable a vote of both houses of parliament, should have his seat among the peers, to many of whom his family have been long allied, and that he who is himself learned, and a patron of learning, should happily take his title from that city where letters do so gloriously flourish.

Now know ye, &c.

* His prudence kept quiet, and brought to temper, the heats and passions of parties; and suffered not the two sides of whig and tory to meet together in a storm; but caused them to ebb gently, and to lose themselves insensibly in the great ocean of moderation.

His conduct rescued the church from danger; protected the dissenters in their toleration liberty; preserved the union from the infractions of jacobites and the pretender, and quieted the minds of the people in matters of religion, and the Hanover succession. See the Spectator's Address, page 10, 11.

† His wisdom overthrew a management, that, under the pretence of keeping up credit, concealed the circumstances of the nation, till it ran seven millions in debt, and knew nothing of the matter. Id. page 9.

‡ At that time the creditors of the government gave 22 per cent. discount for money on the government's bills. Id. ib.

|| The Marquis de Guiscard, who was a French refugee, and, in consideration of his noble birth and misfortunes, was at that time supported with a pension of £400 per annum, from the crown of England; but held secret correspondence with the French ministry; which being detected by Mr. Harley, this Guiscard was seized by the queen's messengers, in St. James's Park, on the 8th of March, 1711, and brought before the committee of cabinet council at the cock-pit; where, the fact being clearly proved by Mr. Harley, the villain stooped down, and saying, *j'en cours donc a'toy*; then have at thee; stabbed the honourable Mr. Harley. Redoubling the stroke, the penknife broke, which he was not sensible of; but, rushing on towards Mr. St. John, overthrew the clerk's table that stood between. Mr. St. John, seeing Mr. Harley fall, cried out, "The villain has killed Mr. Harley." Then Mr. St. John gave him a wound, as did the Duke of Ormond, and the Duke of Newcastle. But, Mr. Harley getting up, and walking about, they left the villain's execution to them to whom it more properly belonged; hoping that Mr. Harley was slightly hurt. But, when Bussier, the surgeon, searched the wound, the penknife was found struck a slant, and buried in the wound. Had it been an inch lower, it had touched the *diaphragma*, and then all the world could not have saved his life: and, if it had pierced a sail's breadth deeper, it must have reached his heart. Mr. Harley took the broken blade out himself, and, having wiped it, called for the handle, and said, "They belong to me." And then, being dressed, ordered the surgeon to take care of Monsieur de Guiscard. See this mass at large, in the true narrative of this fact, published by John Morphew, 1711.

AN ESSAY
UPON THE
ORIGINAL AND DESIGN OF MAGISTRACY;
OR,
A MODEST VINDICATION
OF THE
LATE PROCEEDINGS* IN ENGLAND.

As to the author of this excellent tract, we can say no more, than that he was equally an hater of rebellion and tyranny; an impartial and judicious writer; that he had the public peace and prosperity more at heart, than any private view to serve himself; and, if it may be allowed to guess, by his expression in several places, he seems to have been a North Britain.

As to the design of it; it was to prove the just rights of the prince and people; to expose tyranny and rebellion; to explode the doctrine of absolute non-resistance; to clear the Prince of Orange, and the English nation that adhered to him in the revolution, from all imputation of rebellion, &c. to prove that king James the second was a tyrant; and the necessity of preserving the succession to the crown of Great Britain in the protestant line. All which is done with that conciseness and perspicuity, and so free from passion and faction, that, I presume, will recommend it to every true lover of our present happy constitution.

As the right knowledge of the supreme magistrate is the basis and foundation of our submissions, and the cause of all the blessings which flow from a well-tempered government; so the misapprehensions, and false notions, that many people, either through ignorance, or the prejudice of education, frame to themselves of his power, are no less remarkable for their contrary effects.

We fall into extremes equally dangerous, if either we give the people so much liberty, that the magistrate cannot go about these great ends, for which he was designed, but like a weather-cock, is turned about at the pleasure of the mobile; or such a boundless power to the magistrate, as makes the property of the subject altogether precarious, depending on the caprice of an insatiable monarch.

* Concerning King James II. in the year 1688.

To keep a just balance, we must consider magistracy, as it was first instituted by God Almighty, before it was depraved by the ambition, pride, and avarice of those who were invested in it. So that, in its original, it may be defined, a power delegated from God, for maintaining order, rewarding the virtues, and punishing the crimes of mankind; the application of which power is left free to any independent people or nation.

It cannot be doubted, but that God, as creator of all things, might, in his own person, have exercised a sovereign power over all his creatures, which, since he was not pleased to do, he thought fit, in his infinite wisdom, to appoint his lieutenants here on earth, to whom he communicates some rays of his divine majesty, both to beget a greater reverence for their persons, and procure a chearful obedience from those that were to be subject; so that the profound deference, and blind submission, which millions of men pay to a mortal, perhaps, subject to as many infirmities as the most part of those he rules over, can be ascribed to nothing else but the firm persuasion of a divine institution: but, that we may the more admire the goodness of God in ordaining magistracy, he hath no less proposed man's happiness, than his own glory, that we might find it our interest, as well as duty, in obeying. For though man was born free, and, consequently, by nature, desirous of liberty; yet, an unbounded freedom could have done him very little service in a natural state, when innocence was no protection from the oppression of the stronger; but rapines, violence, and murder were the chief ways of acquiring right; in this universal chaos, where *homo* was *homini* *lupus*, nothing was thought unlawful that ambition, malice, or cruelty, could propose; so that the weaker were driven to a necessity of uniting their forces against the stronger. Then began they to erect societies, and make-laws for regulating them; the executing of which laws was committed to one or more persons, as the major part of the society thought fit to trust, who had the name of captain, general, or king: it was he who led them out to battle, who disposed of prizes, and punished malefactors; his commands were easily obeyed, because but few; and all just, honest, and profitable. These had not learned the *arcana imperii*, or secret ways to enslave their people; but their eminent virtue and singular valour both procured their dignity, and maintained them in it; and having no sycophant flatterers about them, to abuse their easy credulity, they had not forgot that the people's liberty was resigned for no other end, but for obtaining a greater happiness under their protection, than what they could have proposed, if every individual had retained it in his own person.

There is no other original of magistracy to be learned from sacred or profane history; for though the patriarchs had the government of their own families (which, by reason of their long age, were very numerous) yet that right was derived from the law of nature, and not from any civil obligation. They had for the most part no fixed habitation, but lived as strangers and sojourners, by the favour of other princes, and were never modeled into a commonwealth.

When dominions were enlarged, and empires began to be erected, different forms of government were established, according to the vari-

ous inclinations of the people; when the conqueror gave laws to the conquered, it was called despotic; but when a free people did enter into a contract, and gave up their liberty on certain conditions, it was called a limited government, and these conditions the fundamental laws.

This sovereignty was either entailed upon a particular family, for considerable services done to the commonwealth, or it was only to be held during life, whence succession and election.

There is a majesty in every free state, which is nothing else but an independent power upon earth, tied to no laws, but these of God; these of nature and nations, and the fundamental laws of a kingdom.

This majesty is either real, or personal; real is that independency, which every free state hath in relation to one another; personal, that right, when it is lodged in a particular person; which, though it be inseparable from the sovereign power, for the greater splendor, yet it may be violate, when the real remains intire, otherwise the freedom and independency of a nation would be extinct, by the death or captivity of the prince.

To majesty or sovereign power are annexed the *regalia*,* or regal right, which are, more or less, according to the measure of liberty given from, or reserved to the people, or their representatives at the first constitution: for instance, a king may have power to make war or peace, and yet cannot raise money; the legislative power may be also divided, as it is in England, betwixt king and parliament, and generally in all mixed governments; for that maxim, that *jura majestatis sunt indivisa*, does only take place in an absolute monarchy.

That power which the people reserveth from the sovereign, is called liberty, and it is either tacit or express; tacit liberty is the exemption of such things as cannot fall under the cognisance of the supreme power, which may be reduced to three. 1st. Religion, or the empire over the conscience, which belongs only to God Almighty. 2dly, The power of life and death, till we forefault them by the divine law, or municipal laws of a kingdom. 3rdly, Our goods and heritages, which cannot be taken from us without a judicial process, or when the good of the commonwealth we live in, requires a share of them. These three privileges were ever reserved in the most ample resignation of liberty; the first we cannot give away, because not ours; we have right to the second, as men, who are to be governed by reason; to the third, as members of a society or commonwealth.

Express liberty is a stipulation, whereby some things are by express paction eximied from the power of the sovereign, by the people or their representatives; which reservations are called privileges, and are either thus established by contract and agreement, at the first constitution, or are afterwards granted by princes, when they would either oblige or gratify their people; as was the magna charta in England, and the edict of Nantes in France; or when they desire any favour from them, as was the golden bull, wherein the emperor, Charles the fourth, granted considerable immunities to the electors, to engage them to chuse the stupid Vensiaslus, his son, successor in the empire.

This property of the subject hath ever been the eye-sore of monarchs, though he has as just a claim to it, as these have to their crowns; and whoever goes about to subvert it, dissolves the constitution, and forfeits his own title; since the same laws that bestowed this, at the same time secured that; and maintaining the one was made an inseparable condition of possessing the other. Neither can a rape, committed on our liberty, be excused, upon pretence that authority is derived from heaven. For, the great Sovereign of the Universe, ordained magistracy for the preservation, not the destruction of mankind; and he never sent down any person or family from heaven, with a commission to enslave a people or nation, to whom the application of the civil power was left absolutely free, so that they might bestow it on whom, and after what manner they pleased; for, though God loves order, yet he never approved of tyranny and oppression; and he, who is all justice and mercy, can never be supposed to authorise what is contrary to both. So that whosoever acts beyond his commission, and destroys the flock, instead of protecting it, is so far from being God's vicegerent, that he is to be looked on as the common enemy of mankind.

The violation of the subject's property is called tyranny. A name, which, at first, did only signify the regal power; but, when liberty began to be oppressed, through the ambition, wickedness, or evil management of the governors, it was made use of, to denote the excess of power.

There are two sorts of tyrants, those in title, and those in administration of the government. The first sort is he who usurps the crown without any title or just pretence; as did Oliver Cromwell in England: of the other, one who hath a just right to the crown; but, postponing the public good, acts arbitrarily, and contrary to law: such a tyrant was Philip the second of Spain.

The want of a title, or a bad one, may be supplied by prescription, or the subsequent consent of the people; to which, perhaps, the most part of princes must at last recur, unless they would derive their pedigree from one of the sons of Noah, and instruct an uninterrupted succession ever since.

Tyranny is the most miserable condition a commonwealth can be in; it dissolves the union betwixt king and subject, and exposes both to all the miseries that attend a civil war, and to the hazard of falling under a foreign power. Yea, even though a tyrant should be successful in his attempt, yet is he as far from his happiness as ever; for, besides the inward remorses that incessantly gnaw his conscience, he suspects all men, fears every thing, and is most justly hated by all. So that they did not represent a tyrant ill, who drew him sitting under a canopy of state, feasting in great riot, with a naked sword hanging over his head.

What remedy is there then against so great an evil? are we tamely to subject our necks to a yoke so insupportable to the more refined sort of men? or are we to resist the supreme magistrate and reclaim him by arms when other means prove ineffectual? The difficulty is great, and each opinion hath had its champions, who writ volumes in defence of their cause.

The horrid parricide of King Charles I. in the middle of this age,* was with great heat and zeal defended by Milton,† and impugned by the learned Salmasius, who being a stranger to our constitution, and the transaction of our country, (I speak it with reverence to so great a man) did but weakly defend so good a cause, in endeavouring to prove, that tyranny was not to be resisted, whereas he should have evinced (as easily he might) that Charles I. was a good prince and no tyrant.

The present revolution ‡ in England revives the dispute, and engages me, contrary to my humour, to impart my thoughts to the public, with no other design than to contribute my mean endeavours for vindicating the nation's honour from the heavy imputations of treason and rebellion; and, if I can make out that resistance in some case is lawful, I doubt not but I shall be easily able to demonstrate that the present taking up arms by the nobility and gentry of England, in defence of their religion, laws, and liberties, is both just and necessary.

There are three degrees of resistance. The first is the taking up arms against the civil magistrate. The second is, the deposing him, and shaking off our allegiance. The third proceeds to the inflicting of capital punishment. Which last seems inhuman; because God has placed a certain sacredness in the person of princes, so that none can touch the Lord's anointed and be guiltless. And the depriving them of their crowns is a great enough punishment; and our injuries are sufficiently repaired, when we are out of the hazard of being any more obnoxious to them. The other two may be allowed of, provided the remedies be applied by fit persons, after a due manner, and with such caution, as a matter of so great importance does require.

First, By fit persons, as the nobility, gentry, and other representatives of the nation, who, as they are most concerned in the laws, are supposed to understand them, and consequently, are the best judges of liberty. And they are persons of so much honour that it were a piece of ill breeding to suspect them of partiality.

Secondly, The tyranny must be evident and manifest; some few tyrannical acts do not constitute tyranny; private injuries must be suffered, rather than hazard the public peace; there must be a wilful subversion of the laws, not those of lesser moment, but such as shake the very foundations of government. David's murder and adultery were very arbitrary and tyrannical, and yet did not make him a tyrant; for, human frailty is still to be indulged, seeing, on this side of time, perfection is not to be expected.

Thirdly, This is a violent remedy, and, consequently, should be the last; it ought to be gone about with the greatest deliberation and circumspection imaginable; when addresses, petitions, supplications, and such gentle methods prove ineffectual.

Fourthly, The commonwealth must be in such danger, that the whole fabric would otherwise be dissolved and overturned.

* Anno 1648, in the seventeenth century. † The poet and author of *Paradise Lost*, &c.

‡ King James II's misrule, flight, and abdication of the crown in 1688.

Lastly, The effectuating of the design must be certain, otherwise, we fall into a worse evil, than that we seek to shun ; for, confusion and anarchy are worse than tyranny ; and a wounded head is better than none at all.

What is objected against this opinion, from the old and new testament, is very judiciously refuted by the author of the "Inquiry into the measures of submission."

The second argument is taken from the oath of allegiance, which subjects swear to their prince, whereby they engage never to rise in arms against him, To which, it is answered, that this oath is accessory to the contract agreed on betwixt the king and people, and so must follow the nature of its principle. The nature of all contracts is obligatory on both parties ; so that, if one of the parties fail in the performing his part, the other is loosed from his obligation. As it is in this case, the people devolve the power on the prince upon certain conditions, expressly specified. The accepting of a crown on such terms, binds the prince to perform the conditions ; if he does not perform them, he, in effect, renounces his right, and tacitly consents that it return to those who bestowed it.

Lawyers say, that contracts can only oblige equals ; and therefore no paction betwixt king and subject can be binding. There is no force in this argument, if we advert that, when this stipulation was made, the prince and subjects were equal, and were only distinguished after the power was conferred.

Thirdly, They instance, that this does not bind the successor. To which, it is answered, that the prince engages for himself and successors ; who, if they would reap the advantage from their predecessors, must have also the disadvantage of being tied to the same rules they were adstricted to. But, for the further security, none is admitted to the government, till they take the coronation oath.

Fourthly, They upbraid us with the example of the primitive christians, who suffered the persecution of heathen emperors, with the greatest moderation and patience. I do admire, as well as they, the constancy, patience, and other virtues, which these holy men were endowed with ; but their case and ours is quite different. Paganism, at that time, was established by law, and christianity condemned ; the professors whereof suffered, as the disturbers of the public peace ; but, blessed be God, the law is now on our side ; and our religion is become a great part of our property ; and the peace of our country does very much depend on the preservation of it. Besides, if the christian religion had been propagated by arms, its worth had been diminished, and the reputation of the first founders of christianity had very much suffered ; whereas the morality and justice of all its precepts, the holiness and purity of its doctrine, were of sufficient efficacy to recommend it ; and the constancy and resolution, with which the first christians suffered martyrdom, were strong motives to convince the pagan world of the truth of it. But in our christian commonwealth, where there are no more heathens to convert, as the robbing us of our religion would be the highest act of injustice, so the parting with it tamely, would argue the greatest stupidity and unconcernedness that man can be capable of.

The only difficulty that remains, is, Who will be judge of the prince's actions, to know when he is a tyrant, and when not? If it were allowed to the Prince himself, he would be too partial. If we should constitute a right in the people, they would be too apt to misconstrue the prince's actions, which should ever receive the most benign interpretation that the subject can admit. So that, to shun both inconveniencies, the controversy must be decided by the laws of the kingdom. There is just such a plea betwixt the Church of Rome and the Protestants, concerning a judge of controversies. They contend for the Pope as Christ's Vicar, and reject the scriptures, which we believe are the only Rule of Faith; and that, in them, all things, which relate to salvation, are clearly set down, so that those of the meanest capacities may easily understand them.

In a politic state the supreme magistrate is sworn to rule according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, which we must suppose are known both to king and people; because they are a rule to direct the government of the one, and a measure of the obedience of the other, and were fairly enacted at the first constitution. It is true, indeed, that if a law, made by the civil power, contains any obscurity, the sole power of interpreting that law belongs to the lawgivers; but we must imagine the fundamental laws full of perspicuity, and, except there be a notorious violation of them, resistance can never be lawful.

What has been said on this general head, will not answer the design of this paper, if it cannot be applied to the present state of affairs in England. For it is of no purpose to prove, that tyranny is to be resisted by arms; unless we make it appear, that the English government had altogether degenerated into tyranny; and that the taking up of arms, under the auspicious conduct of his highness the Prince of Orange, was no rash act, but done after mature deliberation, and with all the circumspection that an affair of so great importance did require.

The great and earnest endeavours to have the bill of exclusion passed*, did sufficiently evince what fears and jealousies the parliament had of the danger to which their religion and liberties would necessarily be exposed under a popish successor. His Majesty's† behaviour since he came to the crown, has clearly demonstrated that these fears were not groundless; for, not being content to introduce the popish religion, so much contrary to law, he hath endeavoured to alter the whole frame of the constitution, and swallow up all our liberties and privileges, in an arbitrary and despotic power‡.

First, The first step was made against the freedom of parliaments (which makes up a great part of the government, by their having a share of the legislative power lodged in them) by their issuing quo-warranto's against all the burghs and corporations in England. The most part of them, either through fear or force, did surrender their charters to the king, who placed such magistrates in them, as he was

* In King Charles the Second's time, against the Duke of York, a papist, afterwards King James the Second, whose principles were destructive of our religion and ecclesiastical state, and all the laws by which our church was established.

† King James the Second.

‡ See his commission for erecting an Ecclesiastic Commission Court.

most assured of, and, by this means, did altogether invert the freedom of election.

Secondly, Nothing could be more contrary to law, than the erecting of seminaries of Priests and Jesuits in all the capital cities of his dominions; yea, such confidence hath he reposed in that order, that he hath committed the direction of his conscience to^a one of its fathers, and was not ashamed to own himself a son of their society.

Thirdly, His pretence to a dispensing power was no mean breach of his coronation oath; for, by it, he usurped the whole legislative power; and would have imposed on the people (in procuring the votes of the twelve mercenary judges) if they had not wisely foreseen the dangerous consequences, and feared that his majesty would farther oblige his Roman Catholic subjects, by repealing all the laws that were enacted in favour of the Protestant religion.

It was by virtue of this dispensing power, that the ecclesiastic commission was established; the Bishop of London suspended; the Fellows of Magdalen College turned out: and, because the bishops of England would not so far justify his illegal pretences, as to cause their clergy to read the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience† from their pulpits, they quickly saw all the fair promises made them vanish, and the Loyal Church of England was first branded with the infamous character of trumpeters of rebellion, and afterwards treated as the worst of criminals; a very bad recompence for that great zeal with which they had ever preached up the impracticable doctrine of non-resistance.

Fourthly, In prosecution of the blessed design of reducing heretics to the see of Rome, all ways were taken to discourage protestants, who were not only debarred from offices and employments of any trust, unless upon such conditions, as the court pleased to impose, but were even turned out of those that had been heritable to their families; and a great part of the militia was intrusted to Roman Catholics, of purpose to overawe the parliaments, in case the next assembly should have proved stubborn.

Fifthly, Though by many laws the holding correspondence, any way with Rome, be declared high-treason, yet hath his majesty had his resident there, and received his nuncio here, to the great scandal of all good Protestants, and true-hearted Englishmen: for it is in effect a subjecting the kingdom to a slavery from which our ancestors had most gloriously delivered us. These things were acted in the face of the sun‡, and none can deny them without renouncing the most comfortable of all his senses; yea, the king himself did sufficiently acknowledge them, by his sudden restoring the city charters, Magdalen College, and some other of the grosser sort of abuses, upon the first information he got of the Prince's|| Declaration.

The king's old age, and the fair prospect of a Protestant successor, made us suffer these things patiently, because we hoped to be very shortly delivered from them; but, to despair us, and cut off all our

^a Father Peters, a Jesuit, and one of his privy council.

† Calculated to introduce popery, against all the laws in force against that superstition.

‡ As shall be more particularly shewn in the course of this miscellany.

|| Of Orange.

hopes, and to punish the Prince and Princess of Orange, for refusing to comply with the king's will, there is a sudden rumour spread of the queen's being with child, which, as it did alarm the whole kingdom, so it made these, who were most concerned, be at some pains to be assured of the truth of it; and yet, after the most exact enquiry, their doubts were increased.

The court was not ignorant of all this, and yet would not give themselves the least trouble to satisfy them, though they had the greatest interest in the world to do it.

The place of the queen's lying-in was so uncertain, and the management of the birth so mysterious; the sending away the Princess of Denmark*, the imprisoning the bishops in the Tower, gave more than probable grounds to suspect an imposture; and though these be but presumptions, and have not the strength of a full probation, yet they transfer a necessity of eliding them by clearer evidences.

Thus, our religion, liberties, and laws being ready to sink, when gentle methods had proved ineffectual, when addresses and supplications, even from the most loyal part of the nation, were counted so many acts of treason, it was high time to recur to that remedy which nature seems to dictate to every individual in its own defence.

That zeal, with which his highness the Prince of Orange had ever espoused the Protestant interest, against all its adversaries, made the nobility and gentry of England unanimously pitch on him as the fittest person to be their deliverer; and, both he and his Princess being so nearly interested in the succession, no rational man can blame him for appearing in arms, and demanding satisfaction that way, which hitherto had been refused him. If the remedy had been delayed, it is more than probable, the greater part of the nation had fallen a sacrifice to popery and arbitrary government.

I shall conclude all with a short reflection upon his majesty's leaving the kingdom, and going for France, which action alone hath done him more hurt, than all the rest together; for, by depriving us of that protection, which we might expect from his government, he looses his subjects from that allegiance they swore unto, upon no other condition, than so long as they should enjoy so great a benefit: neither can any, who knows his majesty's temper, impute his flight to fear or cowardice, but rather of his being conscious of a certain guilt, which did banish him from one of the greatest stations in the world, and robbed him of that bravery and resolution, that he is naturally attended with; and which though he had wanted, yet innocence had supported him, and made him out-brave all the malicious calumnies of his enemies, with such an heroic constancy of mind, as seldom or never fails to come off victorious.

The Prince† had also acquainted him in his declaration, that he had no other design in coming to England, than to refer all the grievances of the nation, and his own pretences, to a free parliament. Neither the king, nor any man else, could ever accuse this prince with

* Afterwards Queen Anne, who was married to Prince George of Denmark.

† Of Orange.

the least breach of promise: and, though he had been wanting in that reverence that is due to the character of an uncle and father-in-law, yet the prince's own interest had secured the king from any harsh treatment; for, if any thing had been attempted against his person, the nation's eyes had been opened and would have seen clearly, that these specious pretences of liberty and property were but so many delusions, and such a treatment certainly had deserved the greatest resentment.

But if the king must needs go, can he find no place for shelter but France? Where so much Protestant blood hath been so lately shed*, with the greatest cruelty and barbarity that ever was heard; he cannot be ignorant that his subjects have a natural aversion for that nation, and that this close and constant correspondence with its monarch, gave them just jealousies to apprehend, that there was more than an ordinary friendship betwixt them, which was every day increased, by his copying so near the methods that had been used in that nation, for suppressing the protestant religion, and establishing† arbitrary government. And, if the king‡ have any hopes to reduce his subjects by invading them on the head of a French army, he will find them but ill-grounded; for, instead of reconciling them to him, so dangerous and improper a method would even alienate the hearts of his best friends, and Britain would shew itself as forward to fight against popery and tyranny, as it was averse from giving proofs of its courage, when it must needs have been fatal to liberty and the protestant religion.

* Against the faith of solemn treaties and national laws.

† Of which jealousies we can have no better idea than what is strongly conveyed to posterity by an ingenious author, who wrote soon after, in these words:

" Though I was never much surprised and alarmed with popular or artificial fears and jealousies (which will perhaps make a noise, even in the most promising seasons, as long as the world endures) yet, when matter of fact is notoriously plain and evident; when tyrannical, base, and undermining principles are seconded with power, revenge, and successful issues; it is a weak piece of bravery merely to defy danger, and rank folly and stupidity not to be nationally concerned.

" The politics of France are now fairly legible in speeches and bravadoes, in actions and menaces, and many self-evident tokens of a designed usurpation; and we are not only to expect the same burning effects from the same damning cause; but have also too just and apparent reason to fear, that we shall be graduated up, through all the decent forms of ingenious cruelty, and the several stages of torture to a more solemn and ceremonious death, if ever Popery lift up its head in England.

" Perhaps, the more dull and half-witted priests may content themselves with a short fiery trial; with the plain and old-fashioned way of sacrificing heretics to the Roman idol; and I have charity to believe, there are many kind and good-natured Romanists amongst us, who are so much our friends, as to shrink and tremble even at the thoughts of such barbarities as these. But all their good wishes prove but vain and plausible nothings, when the insolent Jesuit has got the ascendant, and is roaring up and down with racks, wheels, and damnation in his mouth, and all the terrors of the ten persecutions. And what will a Notswearing, or, Who would have thought it, signify, when our gates are set open to that Royal Thunderer, who has been so far influenced by his beloved oracles, and the omnipotent charms of canonical executioners, as to give no rest either to the world or himself; and whose magnified conduct bears a near resemblance to that awful sort of majesty, which Mr. D—— presents us with, in his notable description of a bull after this manner:

While monarch-like, he ranged the listed field,
Some toss'd, some gor'd, some trampling down he kill'd.

‡ James II.

VOX REGIS.

As an APPENDIX to what hath been said, we shall presume to annex part of King James the First's Speeches to the Parliaments in 1603 and 1609, who was grandfather to King James the Second: As also his Advice to his Son in his Basilicon Doron; which Appendix is entitled Vox Regia, or the Difference betwixt a King Ruling by Law, and a Tyrant by his own Will; and at the same time declaring his Royal Opinion of the Excellency of the English Laws, Rights, and Privileges, viz

In his speech to the parliament 1603, he expresseth himself in these words, viz.

‘ I DO acknowledge, that the special and greatest point of difference that is betwixt a rightful king, and an usurping tyrant, is this: that whereas the proud and ambitious tyrant doth think his kingdom and people are only ordained for satisfaction of his desires, and unreasonable appetites; the righteous and just king doth, by the contrary, acknowledge himself to be ordained for the procuring of the wealth and prosperity of his people; and that his great and principal worldly felicity must consist in their prosperity: if you be rich, I cannot be poor; if you be happy, I cannot but be fortunate; and, I protest, your welfare shall ever be my greatest care and contentment. And, that I am a servant, it is most true, that as I am head and governor of all the people in my dominion, who are my natural subjects, considering them in distinct ranks, so if we will take in the people as one body, then as the head is ordained for the body, and not the body for the head, so must a righteous king know himself to be ordained for his people, and not his people for him.

‘ Wherefore I will never be ashamed to confess it my principal honour, to be the great servant of the commonwealth, and ever think the prosperity thereof to be my greatest felicity, &c.

In his Speech to the Parliament, March 21, 1609, he expresseth himself as followeth:

‘ IN these, our times, we are to distinguish betwixt the state of kings in the first original, and between the state of settled kings and monarchs, that do at this time govern in civil kingdoms: for even as God, during the time of the old testament, spake by oracles, and wrought by miracles; yet, how soon it pleased him to settle a church (which was bought and redeemed by the blood of his only Son Christ) then was there a cession of both: he ever after governing his church and people within the limits of his revealed will. So in the first original of kings, whereof some had their beginning by conquest, and some by election of the people, their wills at that time served for a law; yet how soon kingdoms began to be settled in civility and policy, then did kings set down their minds by laws, which are properly made by the king only; but, at the rogation of the people, the king's grant being obtained thereunto; and so the king came to be *lex loquens*, a speaking law, after a sort, binding himself, by a double

‘oath, to the observation of the fundamental laws of his kingdom :
‘tacitly, as by being a king, and so bound to protect as well the people,
‘as the laws of his kingdom ; and expressly by his oath at his coronation :
‘so as every just king, in a settled kingdom, is bound to observe that paction
‘made to his people by his laws, in framing his government agreeable thereunto,
‘according to that paction which God made with Noah after the deluge :
‘hereafter, seed-time and harvest, summer and winter, cold and heat,
‘day and night shall not cease, so long as the earth remains. And therefore a king, governing in a
‘settled kingdom, leaves to be a king, and degenerates into a tyrant,
‘as soon as he leaves off to rule according to his laws. In which case,
‘the king’s conscience may speak unto him, as the poor widow said to
‘Philip of Macedon, either govern according to your law, *aut ne Rex sis*,
‘or cease to be king ; and though no christian man ought to allow any
‘rebellion of people against their prince ; yet doth God never leave
‘kings unpunished, when they transgress these limits*. For in that
‘same Psalm, where God saith to kings, *Vos dii estis*, Ye are Gods,
‘he immediately thereafter concludes, But ye shall die like men. The
‘higher we are placed, the greater shall our fall be ; *Ut casus sit dolor*,
‘as the fall, so the grief ; the taller the trees be, the more in danger of
‘the wind ; and the tempest beats sorest upon the highest mountains.
‘Therefore, all kings that are no tyrants, or perjured, will be glad to
‘bind themselves within the limits of their laws, and they that persuade
‘them the contrary, are vipers and pests, both against them and the
‘commonwealth. For it is a great difference betwixt a king’s government
‘in a settled estate, and what kings, in their original power, might do
‘in *Individo vago* : As for my part I thank God, I have ever given good
‘proof, that I never had intention to the contrary : and I am sure to go
‘to my grave with that reputation and comfort, that never king was,
‘in all his time, more careful to have his laws duly observed, and himself
‘to govern thereafter, than I.

‘Just kings will ever be willing to declare what they will do, if they
‘will not incur the curse of God. I will not be content that my power
‘be disputed upon, but I shall ever be willing to make the reason appear
‘of all my doings, and rule my actions according to the laws.

And, afterwards, speaking of the common law of England, which
‘some conceived he contemned, saith to this purpose : ‘That, as a king,
‘he had least cause of any man to dislike the common law ; for, no
‘law can be more favourable and advantageous for a king, and extendeth
‘further his prerogative, than it doth ; and for a king of England to
‘despise the common law, it is to neglect his own crown. It is true,
‘that no kingdom in the world but every one of them hath their own
‘municipal laws, agreeable to their customs, as this kingdom hath the
‘common law. Nay, I am so far from disallowing the common law, as I
‘protest, that, if it were in my hand to chuse a new law for this kingdom,
‘I would not only prefer it before any other national law, but even
‘before the very judicial law of Moses, for convenience to this kingdom
‘at this time, though in another respect, I must

* See this verified in the persons of King Charles the First, and King James the Second, his son and grandson.

'say, both our law, and all other laws else, are very inferior to that judicial law of God; for no book nor law is perfect, nor free from corruption, except only the book and law of God. And, therefore, I could wish, that some corruptions might be purged and cleared in the common law, but always by the advice of parliaments; for the king with his parliament, here,* are absolute in making or forming of any sort of laws.

'First, I could wish that it were written in our vulgar language; † for now it is an old mixed corrupt language, only understood by lawyers; whereas every subject ought to understand the law under which he lives; for, since it is our plea against the papists, that the language in God's service ought not to be an unknown tongue, according to the rule in the law of Moses, that the law should be written in the fringes of the priest's garment, and should be publicly read in the ears of all the people; so, methinks, ought our law to be made as plain as can be to the people, that the excuse of ignorance may be taken from them for conforming themselves thereunto.

'Next, Our common law hath not a settled text, being chiefly grounded upon old customs, which you call *responsa prudentum*—— I could wish that some more certain were set down in this case by parliament; for since the reports themselves are not always so binding, but that divers times judges do disclaim them, and recede from the judgement of their predecessors; it were good that upon a mature deliberation the exposition of the law were set down by act of parliament, and such reports therein confirmed as were thought fit to serve for law in all times hereafter, and so the people should not depend upon the bare opinions of judges, and uncertain reports.

'And lastly, there be in the law contrary reports and precedents; and this corruption doth likewise concern the statutes and acts of parliament, in respect there are divers cross and cuffling statutes, and some so penned as they may be taken in divers, yea contrary senses. And, therefore, would I wish both those statutes and reports, as well in the parliament as common law, to be once materially reviewed and reconciled.

'And that not only contrarieties should be scraped out of our books, but that even such penal statutes, as were made but for the use of the time, (for breach whereof no man can be free) which do not now agree with the condition of this our time, might likewise be left out of our books, which under a tyrannous and avaricious king could not be endured.

'And this reformation might, we think, be made a worthy work, and well deserves a parliament to be set of purpose for it, &c.'

And as to the point of grievances he tells them, 'That there are two special causes of the people's presenting grievances to their king in time of parliament.

'First, For that the king cannot at other times be so well informed of all the grievances of his people, as in time of parliament, which

* In England. † This has been lately enacted by the Parliament.

'is the representative body of the whole realm. Secondly, The parliament is the highest court of justice,' and therefore the fittest place where divers natures of grievances may have their proper remedy by the establishment of good and wholesome laws: wherein he addresses himself especially to the lower house, who, as representing the body of the people, may as it were both *opportune* and *inopportune*, in season and out of season; I mean either in Parliament, as a body, or out of parliament as private men, present your grievances unto me.——

'I am not to find fault that you inform yourselves of the particular grievances of the people: nay I must tell you, ye can neither be just nor faithful to me or to your countries, that trust and employ you, if you do not; for true complaints proceed not from the persons employed, but from the body represented, which is the people. And it may very well be, that many directions and commissions, justly given forth by me, may be abused in the execution thereof upon the people, and yet I never receive information, except it come by your means at such a time as this is.'

To which we may add what he saith to his son, in his Basilicon Doron, p. 155, 156, of his works, viz.

'FOR the part of making and executing of laws, consider first the true difference betwixt a lawful king and an usurping tyrant, and ye shall the more easily understand your duty herein; for *contraria juxta se posita magis elucescunt*. The one acknowledgeth himself ordained for his people, having received from God a burden of government, whereof he must be accountable; the other thinketh his people ordained for him, a prey to his passions and inordinate appetites, as the fruits of his magnanimity. And, therefore, as their ends are directly contrary, so are their whole actions, as means whereby they press to attain to their ends. A good king thinketh the highest honour to consist in the due discharge of his calling, employeth all by study and pains to procure and maintain, by the making and execution of good laws, the welfare and peace of his people; and, as their natural father and kindly master, thinketh his greatest contentment standeth in their prosperity, and his greatest surety in having their hearts, subjecting his own private affections and appetites to the weal and standing of his subjects, ever thinking the common interest his chiefest particular; whereby the contrary, an usurping tyrant thinking his greatest honour and felicity to consist in attaining *per fas aut nefas*, to his ambitious pretences, thinketh never himself sure but by the dissension and factions among his people, and counterfeiting the saint, while he once creep in credit, will then, by inverting all good laws to serve only his only private affections, frame the common weal ever to advance his particular, building his surety upon his people's misery; and in the end, as a step-father and an uncouth hireling, make up his own hand upon the ruins of the republic; and, according to their actions, so receive they their reward.

'For a good king, after a happy reign, dieth in peace, lamented by his subjects, admired by his neighbours, and, leaving a reverence

'behind him on earth, obtaineth the crown of eternal felicity in heaven. And, although some of them (which falleth out very rarely) may be cut off by the treason of some unnatural subjects, yet liveth their fame after them, and some notable plague faileth never to overtake the committers in this life, besides their infamy to all posterities hereafter.

'Whereby the contrary, a tyrant's miserable and infamous life armeth in the end his own subjects to become *by burreaux*; and, although that rebellion be ever unlawful on their part, yet is the world so wearied of him, that his fall is little meaned by the rest of his subjects, and but smiled at by his neighbours. And, besides the infamous memory he leaveth behind him here, and the endless pain he sustaineth hereafter, it oft falleth out, that the committers not only escape unpunished, but farther, the fact will remain as allowed by the law in divers ages thereafter.

'It is easy then for you, my son, to make choice of one of these two sorts of rulers, by following the way of virtue to establish your standing.'

A

PLEA FOR LIMITED MONARCHY,

As it was established in this Nation, before the late War,

In an humble ADDRESS to His Excellency GENERAL MONK,

By a Zealot for the good old Laws of his Country, before any Faction or Caprice,

WITH ADDITIONS.

Optima Libertas, ubi Rex, cum Lege, gubernat.

PRINTED IN THE YEAR MDCLX.

This excellent Tract is said to be written by Sir Roger L'Estrange, and without the heat of Party or Faction, conveys to us a desirable representation of true English Liberty, only to be supported by Monarchy; and the eminent danger it fell into by Anarchy, in the time of the great rebellion, and may properly be recorded as an efficacious Antidote against Republicans and State-levellers.

SIR,

FINDING, by several letters, published in your name, that you profess a more than ordinary zeal to popular government; and not knowing any thing herein, that can so mislead you, but the glorious pretence of a free state (a notion, which hath even intoxicated many otherwise great and worthy persons) I held it my duty, first, to acquaint you, how necessary it is to distinguish betwixt the form and

essence of a commonwealth; the mistake whereof (each for the other) hath proved so fatal in our times*. Next, to examine whether those that surfeited of our kingly government, and longed for novelty, have not, indeed (like the dog in the fable) lost the substance of liberty and happiness, in pursuit of the shadow.

Our fierce champions of a free state will not, I presume, maintain that it is subject to no violations, lest woeful experience confute, and force them to confess, either that a commonwealth may degenerate, or, at least, that this never was a commonwealth; and, as they must renounce their senses, so they must deny the faith of story, which proves that republicks have been sometimes invaded with usurpation, sometimes debauched and embased with oligarchy, mostly by reason of their weakness and divisions, subdued or forced to truckle under their neighbouring princes; always tormented with faction. Neither indeed do they themselves offer any argument but such as, in effect, beg the question, by presupposing great unity in the coalition, great probity in the intention, and great purity in the exercise; which, doubtless, being admitted, we should so little need to differ about forms, that, perhaps, we should scarce need any government at all. The stoutest assertors of monarchy must, likewise, acknowledge, that it, being but earthenware (though the finest and strongest) is subject to divers accidents; for nothing under heaven is perfect. And, when we constitute governments, we must not think to build Babels against the deluge, but imbank against floods, and inclose the best we can against trespassors. This being premised, let us consider these two governments, not metaphysically, in notions abstracted from their subjects (a pastime which our Platonicks much delight in) but morally and reasonably, as concrete and adapted to times, places, and persons, viz. our own.

I might, perhaps, decide the question in few words, by alledging the manifest inclination of the whole people, now, to monarchy; for, as no man can be wronged with his consent, so neither is any to be obliged against his will; and how should a government, founded upon inequality and force, ever subsist without it? Or, a state, which is the meer adjective of an army, become a substantive; beginnings of this kind being so ominous? As reasonably might I object matter of title and foreign pretence; for the same estate with a flaw in the conveyance, or clogged with statutes and judgments, is not surely of like value, as if it had descended clearly from the great-grandfather, and were free both from claims and incumbrances; and one that hath little, yet owes nothing, is likelier to thrive than he who owing vast sums (which he resolves never to pay) dares not walk the streets for fear of serjeants; but my intent is only to shew, that our former government (as it excellently complied with the laws, genius, and interest of this nation) so it comprehended all the benefits of a commonwealth in great perfection; and this I shall do as briefly as I can.

To shew how it complied with our laws and constitutions, let it suffice that (monarchy, in these nations, being more antient than story or

* Alluding to the days of Anarchy in the grand rebellion.
† i. e., Monarchical.

record, more venerable than tradition itself) our laws were, as it were, under that climate, habituated to that air and diet, grafted into that stock; and though they have, God be thanked! forgot their Norman*, yet they will hardly learn Greek†, much less Utopian‡. That, in the late Protector's§ times, our lawyers, with one voice, importuned him, rather to assume the stile and power of a king, to which they found all our laws were shaped, than retain that of a Protector, unknown to the law; that nothing had rendered our architects of a commonwealth more obnoxious, than that their infinite discords, in other things, generally agreed in the necessity of subverting all our fundamentals, in order to their design; which hath likewise obliged all sober men and true patriots, even the chiefest pillars of the parliament's cause, in the late war, to unite themselves with the royal interest, as not enduring to hear of those violent and dangerous alterations, which they see a republic must introduce.

For its compliance with our genius consider, that as our English nature is not, like the French, supple to oppression, and apt to delight in that pomp and magnificence of their lords, which they know is supported with their slavery and hunger; nor like the Highland Scots, where the honour and interest of the chief is the glory of the whole clan; so doth it as little or less agree with the Dutch humour, addicted only to traffic, navigation, handy-crafts, and sordid thrift; and (in defiance of heraldry) every man fancying his own scutcheon. Doth not every one amongst us, that hath the name of a gentleman, aim his utmost to uphold it? Every one that hath uot, to raise one? To this end, do not our very yeomen commonly leave their lands to the eldest son, and to the others nothing but a flail or plough? Did not every one, that had any thing like an estate, pinch himself in his condition, to purchase a knighthood or small patent? What need further proof? Our late experience|| of that glimpse and shadow of monarchy (though in persons hated and scorned, and upon a most scandalous account) yet, for mere resemblance, admitted as tolerable, and, in respect of a commonwealth, courted, clearly evinces, how grateful the subsance would be to Englishmen.

For our interest briefly (we wave tedious and politic discourses) certain it is, that our republic, were it like to settle, would alarm all our neighbours, would make our best allies our bitterest enemies, and, upon several accounts, probably draw upon us the united forces of christendom to crush the embryo. Which, the nation being so weakened and divided as it is, must evidently endanger our total oppression, or, at least, to bring in the king by conquest. Besides, by what title shall we pretend to hold Scotland and Ireland, since that of descent is now avoided, and consent we know there is none; nor, indeed, can any be expected?

I come now to assert, that our former¶ government eminently in-

* Brought in by William the Conqueror, Duke of Normandy.

† i.e. The forms of government which the Grecian republicks submitted to, which were as various as the humours of the people.

‡ A chimerical sort of government, which never had any existence.

§ Oliver Cromwell.

|| Under Richard Cromwell. See his speech and letter to the parliament in this number

¶ By king and parliament.

cluded all the perfections of a free state, and was the kernel, as it were, of a commonwealth, in the shell of monarchy. First, I will begin with the essential parts of a commonwealth, which are three, viz. the senate proposing, the people resolving, the magistrate executing. For the senate or parliament, if ever there were a free and honourable one, it was here; where the deputies of the whole nation, most freely chosen, did, with like freedom, meet, propound, debate, and vote all matters of common interest. No danger escaped their representing; no grievance, their complaint; no public right, their claim; or good, their demand; in all which, the least breach of privilege was branded as a civil sacrilege; and though there lay no appeal to the dispersed body of the people (a decision manifestly impracticable in government, and fitter indeed for tribunes to move than nations to admit) yet, elections being so popular, and assemblies frequent, the same end was attained with much more safety and convenience. The prince had, likewise, in effect, but an executive power, which he exercised by ministers and officers, not only sworn, but severely accountable. For, though both he and the lords had their negatives in making laws, yet (no tax being impossible, but by consent of the commons, nor any law, without it, of such validity, that the ministers of justice durst enforce it) there was a wise and sweet necessity for the king, and likewise for the lords, who were but as a grain in the royal scale, to confirm all such bills, as were convenient for the people, and not greatly hurtful to the prince; and so this bugbear negative was resolved into a meer target, to shelter and preserve the government from being altered, at the will of the commons, if, at any time, they should prove factious; which (being in reason manifest) hath been also confirmed by great experience. Our kings having, rarely, obstructed any bill, which they might safely grant; but, on the other side, passed many high acts of meer grace, circumscribing their prerogative, and clipping its wings; nay, I could wish they had not pierced its bowels. This was that triple cord, which, one would think, could not be broken; nor, indeed, was it broken, but cut asunder*. This was our gold, seven times refined; for every bill, being thrice read, debated, and agreed, in either house, was, at last, brought to the king, for his royal assent, the mint of our laws. A trial so exact, that, surely, no dross could escape it; since all interests must thereto concur, as truly it was but fit they should, in the establishment of that, which must bind them all. This was that temperament, which poised our humours, and, at once, endued us with health, vigour, and beauty. No vote was precipitated, no act was huddled up; as by sad events we have since seen, that, power being ingrossed by one of the estates, purged and modelled to the interests of a faction; a consequence natural to such premises. As in a balance consisting but of one scale, nothing hath been weighed; our laws have been made mandrakes of a night's growth, and our times as fickle as the weather, or multitude.

The king, indeed, had the power of making war, but he had not the means; and then it signified no more than giving him leave to fly,

* When King Charles the First's head was cut off.

† The rump parliament.

if he could get wings; or to go beyond sea, so he went without shipping. He had a sword, but he alone could never draw it; for the trained-bands* were a weapon, which he decently wore, but the nation only could use. He chose his ministers (as who doth not his servants?) but alas, he was accountable for them to the triennial parliament, which none but the soundest integrity could abide. He could hinder the stroke of justice with his pardon (though still, the jaws not being muzzled; it would bite terribly) but certainly, it was great wisdom rather to give way, since, with his own scandal, he could afford offenders but a lame and scurvy protection; and since the power of relieving his wants rested in the commons, to balance his will, and oblige him to a correspondence with parliaments.

That his person should be most sacred, it was but needful, to avoid circulation of account; reasonable, since it carries with it the consent of nations; just, that he should not be the meer butt of faction and malice, in worse condition than the basest of vassals; honourable, that the nakedness of government might not be daily uncovered; wise, in the constitution, not at once to trust and provoke, by forcing him to shift for his own indemnity, no danger to the public seeming so extreme as the outlawry of a prince; no task, by daily experience, so difficult, as the arraignment of any power, whether regal or popular; and since we make golden bridges, for flying enemies, much more may we afford them to relenting sovereigns; (upon which account, in our neighbour kingdom of France, even princes of the blood are not subjected to capital punishments;) finally, very safe, in the consequent, for, being, by the danger, threatening his corrupt ministers, in all probability, stripped of agents, his personal impunity might well signify somewhat to himself, but nothing to the people.

A revenue he had, for the support of his state and family, ample; for the ordinary protection of his people, sufficient; but for any undertaking, defective; and for public oppression, so inconsiderable, that when prerogative was most rampant, our greatest princes (and some, doubtless, we have had the most renowned warriors of their ages) could never prudently aspire to make themselves sole legislators, nor presumed to maintain red-coats in times of peace. If any object (as some concerned are ready enough) that kingly power could here no longer subsist, for want of revenue; it is easily answered, that a king of France, indeed, could not, and God forbid he should! but a king of England might, and, for aught I see, still may (the sale of crown-lands, which exceeded not the value of £100,000 per annum, being, methinks, no matter of utter ruin, but rather of easy compensation). For the public revenue was proportioned to the maintenance of courts, not camps and fleets. A gentleman of reasonable estate may live well on his rents; but then, it is not convenient he should keep wenches, or hangers-on, nor build, nor study chymistry†. In fine, the revenue was very competent for ordinary disbursements; as

* The army.

† Alluding to the bewitching study of finding out the philosopher's stone, which employed so many brains and drained so many pockets in those days.

for extraordinary, if he resorted to parliaments, the wiser he, the safer and happier we.

I desire all our projectors of commonwealths, to contrive greater freedom for their citizens, than is provided by magna charta, and the petition of right; or shew us, that it is not much easier to violate, than to mend them: for, thereby our lives, liberties, and estates were under monarchy secured and established, I think, as well as any thing on this side heaven. It were no solecism to say, the subject had his prerogative, as well as the king; and, sure I am, he was in as good (if not better) condition to maintain it, the dependence being less on his side. Liberty was no less sacred than majesty; *noli me tangere* was likewise its motto; and, in case of any, the least infringement (as escapes in government may happen even in the most perfect) it was resented, as if the nation had received a box on the ear. If it be, as they say, the glory of a free state, to exalt; the scandal of tyranny, to enbase our spirits; doubtless, this was our only commonwealth: for, ever since*, methinks, we have learned quietly to take the bastonade.

I wish we now could, or could ever hope, under our commonwealth (whatever promises may be made us) so perfectly to distinguish the legislative from the ministerial authority, as once we did; when the house of commons had not the power of a court-leet, to give an oath, nor of a justice of the peace, to make a mittimus: which distinction, doubtless, is the most vital part of freedom, and far more considerable to poor subjects than the pretended rotation; as, on the contrary, the confusion of them is an accomplishment of servitude; for which the best republicks, I fear, have more to answer, than any limited prince can have. Certain it is, that as our king, in his personal capacity, made no laws, so neither did he, by himself, interpret or execute any. No judge took notice of his single command, to justify any trespass; no, not so much as breaking of an hedge; his power limited by his justice, he was, equally with the meanest of his subjects, concerned in that honest maxim. We may do just so much and no more, than we have a right to do. And it was most properly said, He could do no wrong; because, if it were wrong, he did it not; he could not do it; it was void in the act, punishable in his agent. His officers, as they were alike liable, so, perhaps, they were more obnoxious to indictments and suits than any other, by how much their trespass seemed to be of an higher nature, and gave greater alarm. His private will could not countermand his public; his privy seal, ever buckled to the great seal, as being the nation's more than his; his order superseded no process, and his displeasure threatened no man with an hour's imprisonment, after the return of habeas corpus. An under-sheriff was more terrible, a constable more saucy, a bailiff more troublesome, than he; and yet, by his gentle authority, this scabbard of prerogative, as some in derision have called it, which, if it would, could scarce oppress an orphan, tumult was curbed, faction moderated, usurpation forestalled, intervals prevented, perpetuities obviated, equity administered, clemency exalted, and the people made only nice and wanton with their happiness,

* The usurpation of the ramp parliament.

as appears by their now so impatient calling for that manna*, which they so causelessly loathed.

To conclude, what shall I add? The act, enjoining the keepers of the great seal, under pain of high-treason, to summon a triennial parliament, of course, by virtue of the act, without further warrant; the act, forbidding the privy council, under like penalty, to intermeddle with *meum et tuum*; the laws, abolishing the star-chamber, high-commission, &c. branding all past, and bridling all future enormities; the statutes, limiting the king's claims, and relieving his tenants from exaction of forfeitures; besides many other principal immunities, wherewith (by the special favour of God, and bounty of our princes) we were blessed, far beyond any of our neighbours; above all, our assurance, that we might readily have obtained such farther addition and perfection of liberty, if, yet, any such there were, as would consist with modesty or liberty itself, to ask. Do they not aloud proclaim that we were then the mirror of governments, envy of monarchies, and shame of commonwealths; who could not but blush to see themselves so eclipsed and silenced, in all their pretences to freedom? Do they not more than justify my assertion, That, with all the ornaments of the noblest kingdom, we had, likewise, all the enjoyments of the freest state?

A LETTER

Written by the Emperor to the late King James,

Setting forth the true Occasion of his Fall, and the Treachery and Cruelty of the French.

As the foregoing Tract gives us the great Advantages of Monarchical Government, when justly limited, and content with the just bounds prescribed to it by the Laws of the Land; so this Letter, written by the Emperor of Germany to King James the Second, after his Abdication, setting forth the Causes of his Majesty's Desertion by his Subjects, is a proper Caveat to such Princes, always to preserve their Subjects in their just Rights, both in Church and State, as the best means to deserve their Affection, and to secure the Throne to themselves and their Posterity.

LEOPOLD, &c.

WE have received your majesty's letters, dated from St. Germain's, the 6th of February last, by the Earl of Carlingford, your envoy in our court. By them we have understood the condition your majesty is reduced to; and that you, being deserted after the landing of the Prince of Orange, by your army, and even by your domestic servants, and by those you most confided in, and almost by all your subjects, you have been forced, by a sudden flight, to provide for your own safety, and to seek shelter and protection in France. Lastly, that you desire assistance from us, for the recovery of your kingdoms. We do assure your majesty, that, as soon as we heard of this

* Monarchy, to be re-established in the person of King Charles the Second.

' severe turn of affairs, we were moved at it, not only with the common sense of humanity, but with much deeper impressions, suitable to the sincere affection which we have always borne to you. And we were heartily sorry, that, at last, that was come to pass, which (though we hoped for better things) yet our own sad thoughts had suggested to us would ensue. If your majesty had rather given credit to the friendly remonstrances that were made you by our late envoy, the Count de Kaunitz, in our name, than the deceitful insinuations of the French, whose chief aim was, by fomenting continual divisions between you and your people, to gain thereby an opportunity to insult the more securely over the rest of Christendom; and if your majesty had put a stop, by your force and authority, to their many infractions of the peace, of which, by the treaty of Nimegen, you are made the guarantee, and to that end entered into consultations with us, and such others, as have the like just sentiments in this matter; we are verily persuaded, that by this means you should have, in a great measure, quieted the minds of your people, which were much already exasperated through their aversion to our religion*, and the public peace had been preserved, as well in your kingdoms as here, in the Roman empire. But now we refer it even to your majesty, to judge what condition we can be in to afford you any assistance, we being not only engaged in a war with the Turks, but finding ourselves at the same time unjustly and barbarously attacked by the French, contrary to, and against the faith of treaties, they then reckoning themselves secure of England†. And this ought not to be concealed; that the greatest injuries, which have been done to our religion‡, have flowed from no other than the French themselves, who not only esteem it lawful for them to make perfidious leagues with§ the sworn enemies of the holy cross||, tending to the destruction both of us and the whole Christian world, in order to the checking our endeavours, which were undertaken for the glory of God, and to stop those successes, which it hath pleased Almighty God to give us hitherto; but further, have heaped one treachery on another, even within the empire itself¶. The cities of the empire, which were surrendered upon articles, signed by the dauphin himself, have been exhausted by excessive impositions; and, after their being exhausted, have been plundered; and, after plundering, have been burned and razed. The palaces of princes, which in all times, and even the most destructive wars, have been preserved, are now burnt down to the ground. The churches are robbed, and such as submitted themselves to them, are, in a most barbarous manner, carried away as slaves. In short, it is become a diversion to them, to commit all manner of insolences and cruelties in many places, but chiefly in Catholick countries, exceeding the cruelties of the Turks themselves;

* Which made use of so many unjust and cruel means to gain its establishment.

† Under a prince, that, to accomplish the slavery of his subjects, was making himself tributary and vassal of France.

‡ Popery.

§ The Turks.

|| Vis. all Christians.

¶ How justly does this reprove the present and late actions of the French in Germany.

'which, having imposed an absolute necessity upon us to secure ourselves, and the Holy Roman Empire, by the best means we can think on, and that no less against them than against the Turks; we promise ourselves, from your justice, ready assent to this, that it ought not to be imputed to us, if we endeavour to procure, by a just war, that security to ourselves, which we could not hitherto obtain by so many treaties; and that, in order to the obtaining thereof, we take measures for our mutual defence and preservation, with all those who are equally concerned in the same design with us. It remains, that we beg of God, that he would direct all things to his glory, and that he would grant your majesty true and solid comforts under this your great calamity; we embrace you with the tender affections of a brother.

'At Vienna, the 9th of April, 1689.'

THE SPEECH

OF

HIS HIGHNESS THE LORD PROTECTOR,

Made to both Houses of Parliament at their first Meeting, on Thursday the 27th of January, 1658.

The two following Tracts, which are the genuine Speech and Letter of Richard the Son of Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, as they are very scarce, and the former serving to give us a perfect idea of that new Protector; the desire he had to continue his Father's Usurpation; the Contrivance of gaining the Affections of the People, by acknowledging the Excellency of a mixt Government, composed of a Parliament and Chief Magistrate, as you will find in his Speech, which, abstract from the cant of his education and the fulsome encomiums of his deceased father, is a good one; I here endeavour to preserve it as well as his Letter to the Parliament, when he found it resolved to restore the Royal Family to the throne of its ancestors; which shews how far he was degenerated from the vigorous resolutions of his father, and how soon the greatest tyrants are reduced to a state of submission, when God pleases to release his people from their bondage.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

I BELIEVE there are scarce any of you here, who expected some months since to have seen this great assembly at this time, in this place, considering the great and unexpected change which it hath pleased the all-disposing hand of God to make in the midst of us. I can assure you, that if things had been according to our own fears, and the hopes of our enemies, it had not been thus with us; and therefore, it will become both you and me, in the first place, as to reverence and adore the great God, possessor of heaven and earth, in whose hands our breath is, and whose are all our ways, because of his judgments; so to acknowledge him in his goodness to these lands, in that he hath not added sorrow to sorrow, and made the period of his late

highness* his life, and that of the nation's peace, to have been in one day.

Peace was one of the blessings of my father's government; a mercy after so long a civil war, and in the midst of so great division which that war bred, is not usually afforded by God unto a people in so great a measure.

The cause of God, and these nations, which he was engaged in, met in all the parts of it, as you well know, with many enemies and great opposition; the archers, privily and openly, sorely grieved him, and shot at him, yet his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob.

As to himself, he died full of days, spent in great and sore travail; yet his eyes were not waxed dim, neither was his natural strength abated, as it was said of Moses, He was serviceable even to the last.

As to these nations, he left them in great honour abroad, and in full peace at home. All England, Scotland, and Ireland, dwelling safely, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, from Dan even to Beershebat.

He is gone to rest, and we are entered into his labours†; and if the Lord hath still a blessing for these lands (as I trust he hath) as our peace hath been lengthened out to this day, so shall we go on to reap the fruit, and gather the harvest of what his late highness has sown and laid the foundation of.

For my own part, being by the providence of God, and the disposition of the law, my father's successor, and bearing that place in the government that I do, I thought it for the public good to call a parliament of the three nations, now united, and conjoined together into one commonwealth, under one government.

It is agreeable not only to my trust, but to my principles, to govern these nations by the advice of my two houses of parliament; I find it asserted in the humble petition and advice (which is the corner-stone of this building, and that which I shall adhere to), That parliaments are the great council of the chief magistrate, in whose advice both he and these nations may be most safe and happy. I can assure you I have that esteem of them. And as I have made it the first act of my government to call you together, so I shall further let you see the value I have of you, by the answers that I shall return to the advice that shall be given me by you, for the good of these nations.

You are come up from your several countries, as the heads of your tribes, and with hearts, I persuade myself, to consult together their good. I can say I meet you with the same desires, having nothing in my design but the maintenance of the peace, laws, liberties, both civil and christian, of these nations; which I shall always make the measure and rule of my government, and be ready to spend my life for§.

* Oliver Cromwell.

† This panegyric must be remembered to be made by his son; for, though it is confessed, that Oliver was a great man, in the common acceptation of the word, I intend to present the public with a short political discourse, shewing that his administration laid the foundation of the decay of trade in this nation.

‡ The Protectorship.

§ See his following letter to the parliament.

We have summoned you up at this time to let you know the state of our affairs, and to have your advice in them; and, I believe, a parliament was never summoned upon a more important occasion.

It is true, as I have told you, We are, through the goodness of God, at this time in peace; but it is not thus with us, because we have no enemies. There are enough, both within us and without us, who would soon put an end to our peace*, were it in their powers, or should it, at any time, come into their powers.

It will be becoming your wisdoms to consider of the securing of our peace against those who, we all know, are, and ever will be, our implacable enemies†; what the means of doing this are, I shall refer unto you.

This I can assure you, that the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, are true and faithful to the peace and good interest of these nations, and it will be found so; and that they are a consisting body, and useful for any good ends; and, if they were not the best army in the world, you would have heard of inconveniencies, by reason of the great arrear of pay, which is now due unto them, whereby some of them are reduced to great necessities. But you shall have a particular account of their arrears, and I doubt not but consideration will be had thereupon, in some speedy and effectual way. And, this being matter of money, I recommend it particularly to the house of commons.

You have, you know, a war with Spain, carried on by the advice of parliament. He is an old enemy, and a potent one; and therefore it will be necessary, both for the honour and safety of these nations, that that war be vigorously prosecuted.

Furthermore, the constitution of affairs in all our neighbour countries, and round about us, as well friends as enemies, are very considerable, and calls upon us to be upon our guard both at land and sea, and to be in a posture able to maintain and conserve our own state and interest.

Great and powerful fleets are preparing to be set forth into these seas, and considerable armies of several nations, and kings are now disputing for the mastery of the Sound, with the adjacent islands and countries; among which is the Roman‡ Emperor, with other Popish states; I need not tell you of what consequence these things are to this state.

We have already interposed in these affairs, in such manner as we found it necessary for the interest of England; and matters are yet in such a condition in those parts, that this state may, with the assistance of God, provide that their differences may not prejudice us.

The other things that are to be said I shall refer to my lord-keeper Fiennes, and close up what I have to say with only adding two or three particulars to what I have already said.

And, first, I recommend to your care the people of God in these nations, with their concerns. The more they are divided among themselves, the greater prudence should be used to cement them.

* Meaning the Royalists, who would re-instate the royal family on the throne.

† Because of the usurpation then renewed in the person of Richard.

‡ Or German.

Secondly, The good and necessary work of reformation, both in manners and in the administration of justice; that profaneness may be discountenanced and suppressed, and that righteousness and justice may be executed in the land.

Thirdly, I recommend unto you the Protestant cause abroad, which seems, at this time, to be in some danger, having great and powerful enemies, and very few friends; and I hope and believe, that the old English zeal to that cause is still among us.

Lastly, My lords, and you gentlemen of the house of commons, that you will, in all your debates, maintain and conserve love and unity among yourselves, that therein you may be the pattern of the nation, who have sent you up in peace, and with their prayers, that the spirit of wisdom and peace may be among you; and this shall also be my prayer for you; and to this let us all add our utmost endeavours for the making this an happy parliament*.

HIS LATE HIGHNESS'S LETTER

TO THE
PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND,

Shewing his willingness to submit to this present Government.† Attested under his own hand, and read in the House on Wednesday the 25th of May, 1659.

I HAVE perused the resolve and declaration which you were pleased to deliver to me the other night; and for your information, touching what is mentioned in the said resolve, I have caused a true state of my debts to be transcribed, and annexed to this paper, which will shew what they are, and how they were contracted.

As to that part of the resolve whereby the committee are to inform themselves how far I do acquiesce in the government of this commonwealth, as it is declared by this parliament; I trust my past carriage, hitherto, hath manifested my acquiescence in the will and disposition of God, and that I love and value the commonwealth much above my own concerns; and I desire, that by this a measure of my future deportment may be taken, which, thro' the assistance of God, shall be such as shall bear the same witness, having, I hope, in some degree, learned rather to reverence and submit to the hand of God, than to be unquiet under it. And, as to the late providences that have fallen out among us, however in respect of the particular engagements that lay upon me, I could not be active in making a change in the government of these nations; yet, through the goodness of God, I can freely acquiesce in its being made, and do hold myself obliged, as, with other men, I expect protection from the present government, so to demean myself, with all peaceableness under it, and to procure to the uttermost of my power, that all, in whom I have any interest, do the same.

RICHARD CROMWELL.

* As it proved by restoring monarchical government.

† Intended monarchical government under King Charles II. then to be recalled by the states of the nation.

THE
PLOTS OF THE JESUITS,

VIZ. OF

*Adam Contzen, a Moguntine, Thomas Campanella, a Spaniard,
and Robert Parsons, an Englishman, &c.*

HOW TO

BRING ENGLAND TO THE ROMAN RELIGION,
Without Tumult.

These Jesuitical politicks, which are taken out of the above mentioned authors, were published by Michael Spark, Bookseller, in the year 1653, when there was not that public prospect of Popery, as there is now in this nation; and, therefore, it is, I presume, far from being unseasonable to be reprinted together with 'The Protestant's doom in Popish times', when the whole nation is alarmed with the apprehensions of a Popish invasion, and the constant endeavours of the French and Spaniards to deprive us of our religion and liberty, by attempting to set a Popish governor over a Protestant people. And how far these politicks were copied by James II. and his Counsel, I refer my reader to the history of those times.

The first of these tracts, which immediately follows, contains the directions of Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, that noted traytor to Queen Elizabeth; and employed by the enemies of our church and nation, to foment division, to illegitimise and dethrone, as far as in his power, her sacred Majesty, and to reduce the English State, under the Papal jurisdiction: as also the subtle intreaguings means of the Jesuit Adam Contzen, and Thomas Campanella, a Dominican Friar, to engage the Popish States to concur in the attempt to reinstate Popery in this land.

The other tract, is a most scarce, and ingenious piece; and, as it is supported in every sentence by the best authorities, properly referred to, I need not enter any further into its commendation; only I must do that justice to the memory of the Right Reverend Dr. Bull, to acquaint the reader that it was wrote by his learned and zealous pen, to deter Protestants from admitting, or so much as desiring a Popish king to rule over them.

CONTZEN's PLOT,

To cheat a Church of the Religion established therein, and to bring in Popery without noise or tumult; taken out of the second Book of his Politicks, chap. 18, 19, page 103, 104, &c.

IT is difficult to find out truth, but it is more hard to persuade him that erreth: yet, it is the duty of a prince, even in this, to bestir himself earnestly, that wicked opinions be taken away.

The first means. What musicians observe in tuning their instruments, gently setting up the strings by little and little, and, what in curing

diseases, physicians practise, abating noxious humours, by degrees and pauses; the same must be done in a commonwealth, labouring under the malady of errors: although, I approve not lingering bootless proceedings, since they often beget a desisting from the design. Whatever means can be used, my counsel is, that they be attempted; but in a soft and sure pace, for fear of a presepice. Here, mild commands and admonitions do very much further the work.

The second this. It is no hard matter, for any prince in Europe, to call back men's minds to the ancient rites of their predecessors, if he list. A matter heretofore held impossible to be effected; but now men begin again to love the old religion: nor can they be so held in, by their ministers, but that many do every year turn to the Catholic Unity. What they once most greedily desired, they now cast aside with disdain. This levity of the vulgar to admire new things and contemn old, is fatal. Many provinces in Germany have endured many religions; now retain none, being intent on the will of their governors. One cause of this is, as I said but now, levity and ignorance of the truth. Another, the impossibility of holding people long ignorant of the lewdness of heresies; and that they find hereticks to shift their opinions every year. It is as if you set a company of blind men to run a race; sooner will all miss than one get to the mark.

Thirdly, arch-hereticks are to be banished the commonwealth; at once, if it may safely be done; if not, then by degrees. Boisterous winds being sent packing, the sea will become calm; and error, which wanteth a protector, will soon be ruined.

In alterations, I have observed these twelve things following, for the most part out of 'The History of the Change of Religion in the Palatinate,' 'The Acts of Marpurg,' and 'The Edict of Brandenburg.' 1. They concealed their purpose of altering religion, and rooting out Lutheranism; not so that the wiser sort could not perceive it, but that the common people might not see it, and raise tumults. 2. By the art of the Zuinglians, some were suborned, who should crave the exercise of the Reformed Religion, and that with many sugared humble words; that the prince might not be thought, to be of his own accord, inclined to odious novelty, but only graciously indulgent to liberty of conscience, and to love and cherish that. Facility in a prince is commonly extolled; even when he yieldeth to those things which are fitter to be denied. 3. One church or so (and not above) was petitioned for: that this suit might not seem harsh to the multitude, who, in the mean time, were to have many more, and were not very solicitous of any. 4. Notwithstanding, the jealousy of the Lutherans did here oppose itself, seeing that with the Church, the maintenance would be withdrawn; therefore, they think of a conference and pacification. They assemble in the court; the matter is debated before the prince's council; a notary and witnesses are denied them. [But this course is by no means to be approved, for each part ought to have liberty. Otherwise, if men be borne down with the power of the stronger side, the victors shall ever be esteemed to have had the worst cause. This was the case of Arminians in Holland: whereas, they who had the advantage of the prince's favour, if they had indeed believed the goodness

of their cause, ought to have entred the lists upon equal terms.] 5. An edict was published, that none should cast aspersions upon another; but, by all means, cherish peace and concord. This proved an effectual engine to further the mutation: for hereby, none durst contradict the Calvinists, no, not so much as name them; and the prince was not traduced as a patron of heresies, but applauded as a lover of peace. 6. A disputation was appointed in the University. 7. All this while there was no open shew of making Zuinglianism heir to Lutheranism; but only this, that peace might be settled: for nothing was desired, but that the Lutherans (reserving all their dignities and revenues) would vouchsafe to sit in consistory with the rest, and consult as brethren; which when they refused, they were accused as proud and disobedient to authority, and seemed to deserve a dismissal. Hitherto things were thus carried, that trial might be made what the people would bear: for if any tumult had arose, a fair excuse might have been made for all things hitherto. 8. When the people of Heidelberg petitioned for the continuance of their Lutheran preachers, the matter was passed over in silence, without answer; and care taken, that those men who were petitioned for, should be traduced, as too furious and heady. And the people were fed so long with hope, till at length they laid aside all care of Lutheranism and hope together. 9. When all things now seemed ripe, the Lutherans were commanded to depart from their parochial charge, and all the churches bestowed upon the Calvinists: nor durst they complain, for if they did, they were banished. But now, betaking themselves to domestic care, they only sued for a pension, immunity from taxes, and the like: the Calvinists, in the mean while, laughing, to see a matter of such height and consequence brought so low as to make such humble and abject petitions. 10. Whereas the young scholars of the University were Lutherans, upon them also they practised with divers arts. Stipendiaries, such as were maintained at the elector's charge, were put to their choice; whether they would be Calvinists, or be expelled. And thus, an exceeding great alteration came on a sudden, without any tumult; for the country preachers followed the motion of the superior wheels. 11. When the Lutherans (professors in the University, and country preachers) refused to yield up their dignities, the prince told them, he wondered at them, seeing he had never taken them into his protection, nor given them any new possession of their places. For in that country, all places and offices become void upon the death of the prince, and the power of bestowing them is in the successor. 12. In Hassia, they went on very slowly, and by little and little. Nor was Calvinism offered them at once, but only a small part of it. And the people come on much more willingly, if at the same time they be whistled another way, as to Arminianism, or some other sect, which may seem more odious. Lastly, both sides fell to writing; but that party, which was most favoured at court, quickly prevailed. And the wickedness of the Lutherans (which upon all occasions was made known) did much advance the cause of their adversaries.

The fourth means, which I have seen put in execution heretofore, and still kept on foot, is this: viz. That such as are adverse to the Roman Catholic religion, be put by their honours, dignities, and public offices.

Nor is this unequal, that he who hindereth the welfare of the commonwealth, should be kept from the honours and commodities of it. Men guilty of great crimes are thrust from their dignities; why then should blasphemers and contemnners of truth be admitted thereto?

A fifth means. Let those particular tenents, which at first hear ill among the vulgar, and at first sight seem absurd, be called out, and load laid upon them.

A sixth. Make profit of the quarrels of erring men.

A seventh. Let all secret conventicles and public meetings be strictly forbidden.

Eighthly. By the severity of laws and punishments, compel the obstinate to duty; but let the rigour of laws be slowly drawn out, unless where there is danger of a contagion. Let those which be most dangerous be taken away, the rest by the authority of the prince will soon be brought into order. Within these few late years, a hundred thousand have been converted to the Roman religion in France; in Germany more. Not one of the German princes, that hath assayed to draw his subjects on to the Catholic religion, hath ever met with any power, resisting his decrees in that behalf, made and executed. Only the Netherlanders broke out into rebellion: but the cause thereof was not religion alone, nor was that pretended; but their privileges and liberty. The dominion of a foreign nation over them (a thing abhorred by ingenuous men) and the exaction of tenths, stirred up that people to sedition.

It is, I confess, the opinion of some politicians, that men are not to be compelled. But those which so advise are in an error; and give counsel not against the safety of religion only, but even of the commonwealth. For, by a wholesome law, men may be over-ruled, that they shall not do evil. And a good law will soon reduce those, who, being of tender years, are either not at all, or very little tainted with heresy. And so, if a compulsory reformation should not do good upon old men, it may make the younger Catholic. And I know many children have been a means of converting their parents. There are many examples of this in Bavaria, Stiria, Carinthia, and the Low Countries.

Ninthly. Care is to be taken for integrity of manners, and purity of life. For the filthy lives of Roman clergymen have made, augmented, and still do uphold heresies. And oftentimes, in my disputes with heretics, I have observed, that after very weak arguments, they fall to accusing the ill lives of our clergymen, and speak of things which can neither be denied nor defended. If the bishops be not able to amend this, God will send an avenger, who will take away the wicked men and their wickedness both together. Thus have the Turks got possession of Asia, Ægypt, Greece, &c. And religion will be rooted out of Europe, unless the manners of men be answerable to the sanctity of their doctrine.

Other helps there be, which wisdom may suggest, according to the variety of time and place. The Chineses are taken with the mathematics; the Japonians with ethicks; the Americans with ceremonies and musick: all ways are to be tried.

And first, Musick. Paulus Samosatenus turned certain ecclesiastical hymns into obscene and enticing rimes. Thus the Arians and Pelagians destroyed the faith and discipline of the church. Why then should not an orthodox prince make use of that for curing, which impostors have found to be a means of destroying?

Secondly, Before the banes of matrimony be publicly asked, let both the man and the woman be ordered, and compelled to yield an account of their faith. Upon this occasion they may be instructed in the true [Roman] religion: and so while they promise to continue in the church, and ever to hold fast the ancient faith, they are by degrees fastened to the truth, and cannot but love it.

Thirdly, To this of marriage, other things are to be adjoined. Let no ceremonies, but those of the Catholick church, approach the font. Let none have the honour to be god-fathers, unless they have given good testimony of their sincerity in the faith. Let no man have the honour of Christian burial, unless he hath been a partaker of the sacraments of the church.

Fourthly, If it fall out, that wandering souls must be leisurely reclaimed, and by art; and that the propagators of perverse opinions cannot be put from the places they once enjoyed; then, let an orthodox magistrate so bring it about, that the instituting, presenting, confirming, and examining of such men be committed to him. For so he may chase away every one that is apt to do mischief. Some wrangling fellows, that regard not controversies between Roman Catholicks and Protestants, and study only to enrich themselves, or to comply with the prince, he may (safely, now and then) set over those churches. So shall he be able to abate the rage of heresy, and yet not be troubled to remove the unlearned: for, by that means, error will grow into contempt. And, because unskillful men are wont to err often, all constancy in errors will be taken away by this means.

Fifthly, Likewise, let him nourish the differences of preachers which are in error: and let him so work that they may often confer and wrangle. For by this means, when all shall understand that there is nothing settled and certain among them, they will join in truth.

Sixthly, Many other means there be, which prudent care will dictate to a prince of its own accord. All those things, which draw love and honourable esteem to the prince, are of use, to fetch over the people easily to embrace his opinion in matters of religion. Of this sort are, his easing them of taxes, excise, speedy supplies to any part of the country spoiled by fire, provision of victuals, and other necessities. Hereby it will come to pass, that whatever they esteem distasteful to the prince, they will hold in detestation. If a prince make use of these means, he may in a short time root out the Protestant religion, although in the beginning it seem too strong for his laws or him.

CAMPANELLA'S PLOT.

CAMPANELLA, in his book, *De Monarchia Hispanica* (printed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth) shewing the King of Spain how to bring England under his own subjection, and to the Roman religion, hath these words, cap. 22. *Instiget primores comitiorum aut Parliamenti ut Angliam in formam Reipublicæ reducant*; that is, let the King of Spain instigate the leading men of the (English) Parliament, to bring England to the form of a commonwealth.* And, *Omnino id agat ut Anglorum vires infringat, ad quod efficiendam naves Hollandiæ & Frisiæ sufficerent; si nimirum classi Anglicæ opponerentur; ut infra palam fiet, &c.* that is, By all means let him make it his business to break the strength of England. To effect which, the ships of Holland and Frisia will be enough, if they be set against the English.

His twenty-fifth chapter beginneth thus, *Quamvis Anglus, &c.* Although the English doth of all nations seem least to affect an universal monarchy, yet they do much hinder Spain's attaining it: Queen Elizabeth hath given us examples; for she hath cherished corrupted humours, and helped Protestants with advice and supplies in the Low Countries against the Catholick king; and in France against the most Christian prince: for she is queen of an island which aboundeth with ships and soldiers, and maketh a prey of all that Spain hath in the north; and they ramble even to America, where, though they cannot erect a new kingdom, yet they do the Spaniard very much harm; for Drake, the Englishman, hath gone round the world more than once, though Magalanes did it before him. And it may come to pass, that all the kingdom of Baccalaost (which is nearer the English, and more commodious to them, by reason of the temperature of the air) may some time or other be put into their possession: certain it is, and evident enough, that, if the King of Spain could conquer but England and the Low Countries, he would quickly become the Monarch of all Europe, and of the greatest part of the New-found World.

Campanella goes on, advising the Spaniard to erect some new schools or colleges in Flanders, and to usher a new religion into England; first, with a new philosophy: (himself hath furnished us with one) *Anglorum religio facile restingui non potest, nisi aperiuntur scholæ in Flandriâ; interuentuque illarum spargantur semina schismatum in scientiis naturalibus, Stoicis videlicet, Peripateticis, & Telesianis, i.e.* The religion of the English cannot be easily brought to nothing, unless schools be opened in Flanders; and, by help of them, the seeds of schisms in natural sciences, and Stoick, Peripatetic, and Telesian philosophy be scattered abroad.†

* The same advice that Cardinal de Richelieu gave the King of France a little before his death.
† Newfoundland.

‡ There is more to the same purpose in the tenth chapter, which he beginneth thus; *Omnem Magnates Monarchiam, &c.* All great men, when they have gone about to set up a monarchy, have altered the sciences, and sometimes religion itself, that they might be admired. In the same chapter, his seventh direction is, 'To shut up all schools wherein Greek and Hebrew are taught, because they are (says he) the causes of heresies, and so destroy government.'

The last page of this twenty-fifth chapter is as followeth: *Cum insula hæc reductur in formam republicæ, quæ perpetuas inimicitias cum Scotia gerat, actionesque suas non nisi lente perficiet, &c.* When this island shall become a republick, it will be at perpetual enmity with Scotland, and move very slowly, and so do the less harm to Spain; whereupon, the King of Spain, as soon as the throne is empty, may step in, pretending to help the English: but let him be sure to keep correspondency with some English noblemen, who have power over the adjacent islands; and let every one of them have full and absolute dominion in his several place, as we read it was in the days of old. Then let him tamper with the nobility of Ireland, that, when the queen is dead, that nation may be formed either into a commonwealth, or, at least, into a kingdom distinct by itself; then let him promise supplies to each of those noblemen apart; and so much the more, because in that kingdom, or island, Catholicks (especially Monks of the Order of St. Francis) are very much beloved. Now the Irish agree better with the Spaniards than with the English, either because their manners or climates are alike, or because their countries are near one another. And there are in Ireland many vagabond persons who cannot endure to be in subjection, and yet they are good Catholicks, and able to do the King of Spain excellent service in the matter which we now speak of.

These and the like things may easily be prepared, that, when Queen Elizabeth is dead, they may be put in execution; for every one knoweth what bloody civil wars, what alterations and changes have been oftentimes in England. So that what I have propounded will not seem strange or impossible.

To conclude: The same Campanella, in his eighth chapter of the same book, lays down this rule or maxim, 'That the way to keep up, or increase the King of Spain's monarchy, is, to keep his own subjects in peace, and his neighbours in contention.'

Tho. Campanella having thus given the King of Spain directions how to get and keep the English nation.

PARSONS'S PLOT.

ROBERT PARSONS goes a step further, and will help him to a title to the crown of England: for, in the year 1593, he published a book under the name of R. Doleman, intituled, 'A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England, divided into two Parts.' The first was for chastising of kings, and proceeding against them, &c. and was lately reprinted by Robert Ibbitson,* in Smithfield, and called, 'Several Speeches made at a Conference.'

*Concerning this book (being condemned in Parliament, ann. 35 Elis. when it was enacted, That whoever should have it in his house should be guilty of high-treason, and the printer was hanged, drawn, and quartered) see a book intituled, 'His Majesty's Message for Peace,' page 123. Printed by R. Royston, 1646. Or see Mr. Prymme's Speech in the House of Commons, Dec. 4, 1646, page 109, where Mr. Prymme affirmeth, That he himself, and others, complained of this book, but that nothing was done to vindicate the House from this gross imputation; and it may be heald upon as one great means of corrupting the nation, seducing it from its allegiance to the crown, and turning the king's head to the block.

The second part was to prove, that the Infanta of Spain was the legal heir to the crown of England, the penning whereof did much indear him to the King of Spain, the Pope and cardinals, as Roman priests relate.

Not to repeat any thing of Parsons's Memorial; wherein he adviseth* to destroy the common law of England, &c. and to have no preachers but itinerary: I shall only transcribe a few lines, which you may read in an ordinary book, entitled, 'A Reply to Father Parsons's Libel, written by William Clark, a Roman Priest,' wher^t are these words, 'Such as have read [Parsons's Memorial for Reformation] being priests and men of credit, unto some of whom Father Parsons himself shewed the said book (as secretly as now it is kept) do report, That his directions are, that the municipal laws of our country [England] shall be so altered, that the civil laws must bear the sway.' And a little after, 'For our clergy also they say, That all men should be put to pensions in the beginning; and the colleges both in Oxford and Cambridge, in the same sort, deprived of their lands and revenues, and become pensioners. All religious orders (except only one, i. e. Jesuits) he excludeth out of England (as they affirm) for the first seven years and more; that Master-Jesuits, in the mean time, may have the sway of all, and enter into the houses, livings, and possessions of other religious orders, &c.'

THE PROTESTANTS' DOOM

IN POPISH TIMES.

A PRINCE putting himself, and his dominions, under the authority of the Pope, and admitting (as he must unavoidably) the laws and decrees of the Romish Church, all his protestant subjects being, by the judgment and sentence of that church, hereticks, do forthwith lie under the penalty which those laws and constitutions will have inflicted upon hereticks; heresy being the highest degree of high-treason: called, therefore, by them, *Læsa Crimen Majestatis Divinae*: So the English Protestant must be a traitor, and the worst of traitors, and exposed to the penalties of high treason.

THE LAWS AND DECREES OF THE ROMISH CHURCH AGAINST HERETICKS.

Heresy is denounced infamous, and the heretick must be dealt with as such; which are many penalties in one.

First, Whereby they are deprived of all nobility, jurisdiction, and dignity, and debarred from all offices, and public councils, parliaments

*The same that Gundamore wished a Roman Catholic to expect, and then [and not till then] a toleration of the Roman religion.

† Page 72.

as others ; being made incapable of choosing, and being chosen : so that it reacheth all sorts of clergy, laity, noble and ignoble ; which is extended to their children also : for, they say, 'The issue of traytors, civil and spiritual, lose their nobility.' And all, that owe any duty to such infamous persons, are discharged and exempted therefrom ; as subjects from their prince, servants from their masters, children from their parents ; whom they also may lawfully kill.

Whereby we may see a little, to what condition the admission of a Papal authority would reduce us, expelling both nature and humanity, and making the dearest relatives unnatural and barbarous to one another : it would leave no Protestant either dignity or authority, either safety or liberty ; nobles are sentenced to peasants, and peasants to slaves.

Secondly, Another penalty, to which hereticks are condemned by their laws, is confiscation of goods and estate ; and this they incur *Ipso jure, & ipso facto* ; that is, immediately, as soon as they shew themselves hereticks, before any legal sentence have passed : for which there is an express command in the canon-law, *Bona Hæreticorum ipso jure discernimus confiscata* ; 'We decree the goods of heretics to be confiscated by sentence of law.' The effect of this confiscation, wherein they all agree, makes the severity of the law apparent, viz. First, All the profits made of the estate, from the first day of their guilt, is to be refunded. Secondly, All alienations, by gift, sale, or otherwise, before sentence, are null and void ; and all contracts, for that purpose, rescinded. Thirdly, children, heirs of hereticks, are deprived of their portions ; yea, though they be Papisſts.

Whereby, it appears, that as soon as Papacy is admitted, all title and property is lost and extinct among us : and, therefore, we must not think that Pope acted extravagantly, who declared, 'That all his Majesty's territories were his own, as forfeited to the Holy See for the heresy of prince and people.' Not only abby-lands are in danger, whoever possess them, but all estates are forfeited to his exchequer, and legally confiscated : all is his own, which Protestants, in these three nations, have, or ever had, if he can but meet with a prince so wise, as to help him to catch it ; whose process follows them beyond their grave, and ruins their children, and children's children after them. And, when they have stripped the heretick of his all, they provide that no other shall relieve him, viz. 'That none shall receive him into their houses, nor afford him any help, nor shew him any favour, nor give him any counsel.' We are here, in England, zealous for property ; and all the reason in the world we should so be : but we must bid adieu to this, when we once come under the Pope's authority ; for, as soon as this is admitted, 'all the Protestants in these nations are beggars by law,' viz. by the laws of that church ; which will then of necessity be ours, divesting us of all property and title to whatever we count our own.

Thirdly, Another penalty which their law inflicts on hereticks, is death, which is the sentence of the canon-law ; and which is so absolute, that no secular judge can remit ; and which is the judgment of all the doctors, *Ita docent omnes doctores* : and from which penalties, neither emperors nor kings themselves are to be freed or exempt. And the death

they inflict is burning alive: no death more tolerable, or of less exquisite torture, will satisfy the mercy of that church. The canon saith thus: *Decernimus ut vivi in conspectu hominum comburantur*; 'We decree, That they shall be burnt alive, in the sight of the world.' So our last Popish Successor, Queen Mary, practised upon near three hundred persons, without regard either to age, sex, or quality. The scripture they urge for it, is John xv. 6. *If any one abide not in me, men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burnt.*

So that, as soon as the Papal authority is admitted among us, all the Protestants in these nations are dead men in law; being under a law that hath sentenced us to be burnt alive; and under a power that hath declared it necessary, that no one of us escape with life.

Fourthly, Where legal penalties cannot take place, by reason of opposite strength, they hold war necessary, and lawful, to chastise hereticks: for which we might give you divers authorities; but let Cardinal Allen, our countryman, suffice; who asserts, it is not only lawful, but necessary: his words are these; 'It is clear,' saith he, 'what people or persons soever be declared to be opposite to God's church, with what obligation soever, either of kindred, friendship, loyalty, or subjection, I be bound unto them; I may, or rather must, take up arms against them: and then must we take them for hereticks, when our lawful Popes adjudge them so to be. And which (saith Cardinal Pool) is a war more holy, than that against the Turks.'

Fifthly, To destroy them by massacres, is sometimes held more advisable, than to run the hazard of war; and which, they say, is both lawful and meritorious, for the rooting out a pestilent heresy, and the promoting the Romish interest. This set a-foot the Irish Massacre, that inhuman, bloody butchery, not so much from the savageness and cruelty of their natures, as the doctrines and principles which directed and encouraged it: as also that of Paris; than which nothing was more grateful and acceptable to their Popes, as their bulls make manifest, and the picturing it in the Pope's chamber; and for which, as a most glorious action, triumphs were made, and public thanksgivings were returned to God. So in Savoy, and elsewhere, both in former and later times. And this was that which the late conspirators aimed at so fully, intending a massacre. 'Those that escaped a massacre,' saith Dugdale,* 'must be cut off by the army.' And Coleman tells the Internuncio, in his letter,† 'That their design prospered so well, that he doubted not, in a little time, their business would be managed, to the utter ruin of the Protestant party: the effecting of whereof was so desirable and meritorious, that if he had a sea of blood, and an hundred lives, he would lose them all, to carry on the design. And if, to effect this, it were necessary to destroy an hundred heretical kings, he would do it.' Singleton, the Priest, affirmed,‡ 'That he would make no more to stab forty parliament-men, than to eat his dinner.' Gerard and Kelley, to encourage France to kill Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, told him, 'It was no murder, nor sin; and that to kill twenty of them was nothing in that

* Five Jesuits' Tryal, page 28.

† Coleman's Letter to the Pope's Nuncio.

‡ See France's Narrative, page 4.

case; which was both a charitable and meritorious act.' And Grant, one of the massacring gun-powder traytors, said, upon his execution, to one that urged him to repent of that wicked enterprize, 'That he was so far from counting it a sin, that, on the contrary, he was confident, that that noble design had so much of merit in it, as would be abundantly enough to make satisfaction for all the sins of his whole life.' Sir Everard Digby, speaking to the same purpose also. The Provincial, Garnet, did teach the conspirators the same Catholick doctrine, viz. 'That the king, nobility, clergy, and whole community of the realm of England (Papists excepted) were hereticks; and, that all hereticks were accursed and excommunicated; and, that no heretick could be a king; but that it was lawful and meritorious to kill him, and all other hereticks, within this realm of England, for the advancement and enlargement of the authority and jurisdiction of the Pope, and for the restoring of the Romish religion.' This was that Garnet whom the Papists here honoured as a Pope, and kissed his feet, and revered his judgment as an oracle; and, since his death, have given him the honour of saintship and martyrdom. Dugdale deposed,* 'That after they had dispatched the king, a massacre was to follow.'

But surely, it may be supposed, that the temper of such a prince, or his interest, would oblige him to forbid or restrain such violent executions in England: I, but what if his temper be to comply with such courses? Or if his temper be better? What if it be over-ruled? What if he be persuaded, as all other Catholicks are, that he must in conscience proceed thus? What if he cannot do otherwise, without hazard of his crown and life? For he is not to hold the reins of government alone, he will not be allowed to be much more than the Pope's postilion; and must look to be dismounted, if he act not according to order. The law† tells us, 'That it is not in the power of any civil magistrate, to remit the penalty, or abate the rigour of the law.' Nay, if the prince should plight his faith by oath, that he would not suffer their bloody laws to be executed upon his dissenting subjects, this would signify nothing; for they would soon tell him, 'That contracts made against the canon-law are invalid, though confirmed by oath; and, that he is not bound to stand to his promise, though he had sworn to it: and, that faith is no more to be kept with hereticks, than the Council of Constance would have it.' So that Protestants are to be burnt, as John Huss and Jerom of Prague were by that Council, though the Emperor had given them his safe conduct in that solemn manner, which could secure them only (as they said) from the civil, but not church process, which was the greatest. For it is their general rule, 'That faith is either not to be given or not to be kept with hereticks. Therefore, saith Simanca, 'That faith engaged to hereticks, though confirmed by oath, is in no wise to be performed; for,' saith he, 'if faith is not to be kept with tyrants and pirates, and others who kill the body, much less with hereticks who kill the souls;' and that the oath, in favour of them, is but *Vinculum Iniquitatis*, 'a bond of iniquity.' Though Popish princes, the better to promote their interests, and to insnare their Protestant subjects, to get

* See the Tryal of the Five Jesuits, page 28.

† Viz, The Law of the Romish Church, which begins, *Cognat Officium*.

advantage upon them, to their ruin, have made large promises, and plighted their faiths to them, when they did not intend to keep it; as the emperor to John Huss and Jerom; Charles the Ninth of France to his Protestant subjects before the massacre; the Duke of Savoy to his Protestant subjects, before their designed ruin; and Queen Mary, before her burning of them. But if there were neither law nor conscience to hinder, yet in point of interest he must not shew favour to hereticks, without apparent hazard, both of crown and life; for he forfeits both if he doth. The Pope every year doth not only curse hereticks, but every favourer of them, from which none but himself can absolve. Becanus very elegantly tells us, 'If a prince be a dull cur, and fly 'not upon hereticks, he is to be beaten out, and a keener dog must be 'got in his stead.' Henry the Third and Henry the Fourth*, were both assassinated upon this account, and because they were suspected to favour hereticks. And are we not told by the discoverers of the Popish Plot†, That, after they had dispatched the king, they would depose his brother also, that was to succeed him, if he did not answer their expectations, for rooting out the Protestant religion.

But may not parliaments secure us by laws and provisions, restraining the power which endangers us? Not possible, if once they secure and settle the throne for popery: For,

First, They can avoid parliaments as long as they please, and a government, that is more arbitrary and violent, is more agreeable to their designs and principles; it being apparent, that the English Papists have lost the spirit of their ancestors, who so well asserted the English liberties, being so generally now fixed for the Pope's universal monarchy, sacrificing all to that Roman Moloch; being much more his subjects than the king's; and, though natives by birth, yet are foreigners as to government, principle, interest, affection, and design; and therefore no friends to parliaments, as our experience hath told us.

But secondly, If their necessity should require a parliament, there is no question but they may get such a one as will serve their turns. For so have every of our former princes in all the changes of religion that have been amongst us; as Henry VIII. when he was both for and against popery; Edward VI. when he was wholly Protestant; Queen Mary, when she was for burning alive; and Queen Elizabeth, when she ran so counter to her sister. And the reason is clear, that he, who has the making of publick officers and the keys of preferment and profit, influenceth and swayeth elections and votes as he pleaseth. And, by how much the throne comes to be fixed in Popery, the Protestants must expect to be excluded from both houses, as they have excluded the Papists; for, as hereticks and traitors, they, as ignominious persons, &c. you have heard, forfeit all right, either to chuse or to be chosen in any publick councils; and then all laws, which have been made for the Protestants, and against the Popish religion, will be null and void, as being enacted by an incompetent authority, as being the acts of hereticks, kings, lords, and commons, who had forfeited all their rights and privileges.

* Kings of France.

† See Out's Nar. p. 4. &c.

But, thirdly, Suppose our laws were valid, as enacted by competent authority, and such good and wholesome provisions, as were those statutes made by our Popish ancestors, in those statutes of provisos in Edward the First's and Edward the Third's time; and that of premunire in Richard the Second's and Henry the Fourth's, for relief against papal incroachments and oppressions; yet being against the laws and canons of Holy Church, the sovereign authority, they will be all superseded; for so they determine, 'That when the canon and the civil laws clash, one requiring what the other allows not, the church law must have the observance, and that of the state neglected; and constitutions,' say they, 'made against the canons and decrees of the Roman bishops, are of no moment; their best authors are positive in it.' And our own experience and histories testify the truth thereof; for how were those good laws before-mentioned defeated by the Pope's authority, so that there was no effectual execution thereof till Henry the Eighth's time, as Dr. Burnet tells us? And how have the good laws, to suppress and prevent Popery, been very much obstructed in their execution by popish influence*.

THE PRESENT CASE OF ENGLAND,

AND THE

PROTESTANT INTEREST.

SINCE the present condition of the kingdom†, and the whole-protestant interest by the conjunction of France and Spain abroad, and a more horrid combination of several at home, must needs affect with the most melancholy reflexions all true English hearts, all such as have any real love or zeal for their religion, or their native country; I cannot think it amiss to present a short and impartial view to such as have not considered the same.

In the beginning of the last‡ age, the Protestant interest in Europe, was more than a match for the Roman Catholick; the kingdom of Bohemia was almost all Protestant; near half the subjects of Hungaria, of Austria, and Moravia, were Protestant, and did many times defend themselves by force against the emperor himself, when oppressed by him for the sake of their religion. That, in Germany, the houses of Newburgh were Protestant, the Palatinates, for the most part of them, Protestant of the strictest sort; the Saxons entirely Protestant, and, being hearty, unanimous, and seated

* In the reign of King Charles II. who was too often influenced by his Popish Brother.

† In the year 1690,

‡ Or Sixteenth.

in the midst of Germany, were a bulwark and defence to the Protestants of many other lesser states, as often as they were oppressed for their religion, by their own or their neighbouring princes; that many of the subjects of Bavaria, Bamburgh, Cologne, Wurtzburg, and Worms, were Protestants. Besides these, that the Protestants of France were so powerful as to maintain eight or nine civil wars in defence of their religion, and always came off with advantage. The Vaudois in Italy were all of them Protestant, and great numbers of the inhabitants of the Spanish Low Countries* were of the reformed religion. Besides, England and Holland, and the northern kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden, and the dutchy of Brandenburg, were intirely Protestant. But now, instead of this, Is not the Protestant power destroyed almost over Europe? The whole kingdom of Bohemia intirely Popish? Are not the Protestants of Poland, Austria, Moravia, utterly destroyed? Is not their destruction now carrying on, and almost finished in Hungary? In Germany the Newburghers of Protestants are become fierce enemies of the Protestant religion. The Protestants of Bavaria, Bamburgh, Cologne, Wurtzburg, and Worms, are all destroyed. In France, the Spanish Low Countries, Savoy, and Vaudois, after long and mighty struggles, the religion is utterly extinguished. Against the poor Palatines the persecution is now carrying on with its usual barbarity, and their neighbours, the Saxons, are so far from being able to help them, that they are under the fearful apprehension of suffering the like from their own prince, lately turned Roman Catholick to obtain the kingdom of Poland, so soon as his wars with Sweden, and other troubles, created him by his Polish and Lithuanian subjects, will give him leave. Besides this, two northern princes have given great cause to suspect their conversion to the Roman religion. That Sweden, by its separation from the rest of Europe by the Baltick, is unable to give assistance to the Protestants in any part of Europe, without the consent of the German Princes bordering on the Baltick, which will never be granted by Papists in favour of the Protestants.

Thus the Protestant religion, which had spread itself over almost all Europe, which had gained the intire possessions of some countries, the greater part of others, and mighty interest in most, has, through the restless malice and endeavours of its enemies, been subverted and destroyed in country after country, till it is at last reduced to a little corner of what it once† possessed, England and Holland. And do we think our enemies will not accomplish, what they have thus prosperously carried on so far, our utter destruction? Is it not high time then to think ourselves in danger, to look about us to enquire what it is hath thus weakened us, brought us so near our ruin, what measures will certainly accomplish it, and what we must take for the prevention of it.

The Romish methods of converting the Protestants have been in all countries the same, viz. Confiscation of their estates, goals, and imprisonments, fire and sword, dragooning and massacring, and inflicting the

* Now divided between France and the House of Austria.

† Father to the present Elector of Saxony and King of Poland.

‡ In the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

most inhuman torments, that rage and fury could invent, upon such, whose resolution and zeal for their religion could not be moved by the former means*.

If this be the true case of England and the Protestant religion, then what is wanting to give the finishing stroke to our destruction, but only an ability in the king of France, to break the powers of England and Holland? And when we consider, how, in the year 1672, the king of France marched his army through the midst of Flanders, fell directly upon Holland, then unprovided, entered their strongest towns like open villages, some without defence, or almost denial, most of them without any blows at all, and all of them with very few, and made himself master of three parts of Holland in two months' time, for which Sir William Temple, king Charles the Second's ambassador, then in Holland; tells us the reason was, 'That the Dutch, then not suspecting such a thing, had no field army, sufficient to encounter their enemies, or succour any town; that walled towns will not defend the men within, unless the hearts of the men will defend their walls; that no garrison will make any resolute defence, without the prospect or hopes at least of relief.' It is true, that the French king, having then all Flanders on his back, garrisoned with Spanish troops (then his implacable enemies) a powerful army of the German princes marching upon him down the Rhine; Spain and England, alarmed by his successes, preparing to attack him in all quarters, was glad to vomit up all again, and return home with as much precipitancy as he had invaded them, lest the provisions and retreat of his army through Flanders should be cut off. But now the case is otherwise, he has possessed himself of Flanders, extended his dominion to the very frontiers of Holland; Spain is all united to him; some German Princes, then his enemies, are now become his friends; others entered into conditions of neutrality with him; and should he now, by a fatal battle, which God of his infinite mercy forbid, break the Dutch army, which they have, with infinite charge and matchless vigour, gathered up from Denmark, Brandenburg, and other remote countries of Germany, might he not enter the heart of their country? And whence then can their strong cities depend upon relief? May he not, as formerly, possess himself of their whole country in less than one campaign? It was the opinion of that great statesman, Sir William Temple, 'That Holland would make a stout resistance in any quarrel remote from their own doors; but that which enables them (their wealth) to carry on a foreign war with vigour, would in a war at home render them defenceless: rich and populous towns are not fit for sieges, or were ever known to make any long and resolute defence.' If this be our case? if the whole power of the Protestant religion rests now in a manner, in England and Holland? if the destruction of England, as well as of our holy religion, must inevitably follow the loss of Holland? if Holland, by one unfortunate battle, might happen to be lost in one campaign or less, are we not in a most sad and deplorable condition? And, if some men are without their fears, have we not the

* See this particularly described on page, 36, &c.

greater reason to fear for ourselves, our religion, and our country! What should we judge of those who tell us, it is too early yet for England to declare? The enemy has raised his armies, furnished his magazines; and it is too early for us to think of raising a man. The enemy is before our outworks; and it is too soon for us to prepare ourselves to be on our guard. Will not those men tell us, when Holland is lost, it will then be too late? To what purpose, will they say, now do you think of raising forces? Is not the French king master of Holland? Possessed of all their ports? Where will you land them! To what use will you put them? Does not such language as this plainly shew the intention of the authors? Is it not plainly to deliver us blindfold, bound hand and foot, into the enemies' hand? Is not their design now so visible as not to be disguised? Do not some of the party begin to throw off the mask, and tell us, It will not be well with us till our old master* returns, till the government returns to its natural channel†. And are not those that were the very tools and instruments of Popery and arbitrary power in former reigns, and that owe their lives to acts of indemnity in this, industriously represented by some as the patriots of their country; and by a strange kind of paradox, those that have been always hearty for the church, and were for defending of it when others were for pulling it down; that were hearty for the king's‡ accession to the throne, and to his person and government ever since, are presented as betrayers of us, as having sold us to France. Would it not be a piece of rare refined policy, if France could hang up her greatest enemies, under the notion of her dearest friends, and give encouragement to her ancient friends under the notion of being her enemies?

Let us, therefore, while it is yet in our power (as we tender our religion and our country) use our utmost endeavours, by all legal ways, to assist his majesty and his government against all his and our enemies, both at home and abroad.

* Viz. King James.

† Is not this the language of the disaffected to a Protestant succession to this day? who are always plotting to disturb the quiet of that happy government under which we all enjoy our liberty, property, and religion; and combine with the enemies of our Church and State to reduce them to Popery and Slavery, by force of arms; which has been no less than five times threatened or attempted by France, since the publication of this pamphlet in the year 1690.

‡ King William and Queen Mary.

THE

Pre-eminence and Pedigree of Parliament.

By JAMES HOWELL, Esq.

PRINTED AT LONDON IN THE YEAR MDCLXXVII.

I AM a free-born subject of the realm of England, whereby I claim, as my native inheritance, an undoubted right, propriety, and portion in the laws of the land; and this distinguisheth me from a slave. I claim also an interest and common right in the high national court of parliament, and in the power, the privileges, and jurisdiction thereof, which I put in equal balance with the laws, in regard it is the fountain whence they spring; and this I hold also to be a principal part of my birth-right. Which great council I honour, respect, value, and love, in as high a degree as can be, as being the bulwark of our liberties, the main boundary and bank which keeps us from slavery, from the inundations of tyrannical rule, and unbounded will-go^g government. And I hold myself obliged, in a tie of indispensable obedience, to conform and submit myself to whatsoever shall be transacted, concluded, and constituted, by its authority, in church or state; whether it be by making, enlarging, altering, diminishing, disannulling, repealing, or reviving of any law, statute, act, or ordinance whatsoever, either touching matters ecclesiastical, civil, common, capital, criminal, martial, maritime, municipal, or any other: of all which the transcendent and uncontrollable jurisdiction of that court is capable to take cognizance.

Amongst the three things which the Athenian captain thanked the Gods for; one was, That he was born a Grecian, and not a Barbarian. For such was the vanity of the Greeks, and, after them, of the Romans, in the flourish of their monarchy, to arrogate all civility to themselves, and to term all the world besides, Barbarians. So I may say, to have cause to rejoice, that I was born a vassal to the crown of England; that I was born under so well moulded and tempered a government, which endows the subject with such liberties and enfranchisements, that bear up his natural courage, and keep him still in heart; such liberties, that fence and secure him eternally from the gripes and talions of tyranny. And all this may be imputed to the authority and wisdom of this high court of parliament; wherein there is such a rare co-ordination of power (though the sovereignty remain still intire and untransferable in the person of the prince), there is, I say, such a wholesome mixture betwixt monarchy, optimacy, and democracy, betwixt prince, peers, and commonalty, during the time of consultation, that, of so many distinct parts, by a rare co-operation and unanimity, they make but one body

politick (like that sheaf of arrows in the emblem) one entire concentric piece; and the results of their deliberations, but as so many harmonious diapasons arising from different strings. And what greater immunity and happiness can there be to a people, than to be liable to no laws, but what they make themselves? to be subject to no contribution, assessment, or any pecuniar levy whatsoever, but what they vote, and voluntarily yield unto themselves? For, in this compacted politick body, there be all degrees of people represented; both the mechanic, tradesmen, merchant, and yeoman, have their inclusive vote, as well as the gentry, in the persons of their trustees, their knights and burgesses, in passing of all things. Nor is this sovereign superintendent council an epitome of this kingdom only; but it may be said to have a representation of the whole universe; as I heard a fluent well-worded knight deliver in the last parliament, who compared the beautiful composure of that high court to the great work of God, the world itself. The king is as the sun, the nobles the fixed stars, the itinerant judges and other officers, that go upon messages betwixt both houses, to the planets; the clergy to the element of fire; the commons to the solid body of the earth, and the rest of the elements. And, to pursue this comparison a little further: as the heavenly bodies, when three of them meet in conjunction, do use to produce some admirable effects in the elementary world; so when these three states convene and assemble in one solemn great junta, some notable and extraordinary things are brought forth, tending to the welfare of the whole kingdom, our microcosm.

He, that is never so little versed in the annals of this isle, will find, that it hath been her fate to be four times conquered. I exclude the Scot; for the situation of his country, and the quality of the clime, hath been such an advantage and security to him, that neither the Roman eagles would fly thither for fear of freezing their wings, nor any other nation attempt the work.

These so many conquests must needs bring with them many tumblings and tossings, many disturbances and changes in government; yet I have observed, that, notwithstanding these tumblings, it retained still the form of a monarchy, and something there was always, that had analogy with the great assembly, the parliament.

The first conquest, I find, was made by Claudius Cæsar; at which time, as some well observe, the Roman ensigns and the standard of Christ, came in together. It is well known what laws the Roman had; he had his comitia, which bore a resemblance with our convention in parliament; the place of their meeting was called *Prætorium**, and the laws which they enacted, *Plebiscitæ*.

The Saxon conquest succeeded next, which were the English, there being no name in Welch or Irish for an Englishman, but Saxon, to this day. They governed by Parliament, though it were under other names, as Michel Sinoth, Michel Gemote, and Witenage Mote.[†]

There are records above a thousand years old, of these parliaments, in the reigns of King Ina, Offa, Ethelbert, and the rest of the seven kings, during the heptarchy. The British kings also, who retained a

* The Senate or Parliament House.

† &c. The voluntary acts or laws made by the representatives of the People.

great while some part of the isle unconquered, governed and made laws by a kind of parliamentary way; witness the famous laws of prince Howel, called Howel Dha (the good Prince Howel) whereof there are yet extant some Welch records. Parliaments were also used after the heptarchy, by King Kenulphus, Alphred, and others, witness that renowned parliament held at Grately, by King Athelstan.

The third conquest was by the Danes, and they governed also by such general assemblies (as they do to this day) witness that great and so much celebrated parliament, held by that mighty monarch Canutus, who was king of England, Denmark, Norway, and other regions, 150 years before the compiling of Magna Charta; and this the learned in the laws do hold to be one of the speciallest, and most authentick pieces of antiquity we have extant. Edward the Confessor made all his laws thus (and he was a great legislator) which the Norman conqueror did ratify and establish, and digested them into one intire methodical system, which, being violated by Rufus* (who came to such a disastrous end as to be shot to death in lieu of a buck, for his sacrileges) were restored by Henry the First, and so they continued in force till King John, whose reign is renowned for first confirming Magna Charta, the foundation of our liberties ever since; which may be compared to divers outlandish grafts set upon our English stock, or to a posy of sundry fragrant flowers: for, the choicest of the British, Roman, Saxon, Danish, and Norman laws, being culled and picked out, and gathered, as it were, into one bundle; out of them the aforesaid Grand Charter was extracted: And the establishment of this great charter was the work of a parliament.

Nor are the laws of this island only, and the freedom of the subject, conserved by parliament; but all the best policed countries of Europe have the like. The Germans have their *Diets*, the Danes and Swedes their *Riicks Dachs*; the Spaniard calls his parliament *Las Cortes*; and the French have, or should have, at least, their *Assembly of Three States*, though it be grown now in a manner obsolete, because the authority thereof was, by accident, devolved to the king. And very remarkable it is how this happened; for when the English had taken such large footing in most parts of France, having advanced as far as Orleans, and driven their then King Charles the Seventh, to Bourges in Berry, the Assembly of the Three States, in these pressures, being not able to meet after the usual manner, in full parliament; because the country was unpassable, the enemy having made such firm invasions up and down through the very bowels of the kingdom; that power, which formerly was inherent in the parliamentary assembly, of making laws, of assessing the subject with taxes, subsidiary levies, and other impositions, was transmitted to the king, during the war; which, continuing many years, that intrusted power, by length of time, grew, as it were, habitual in him, and could never after be re-assumed, and taken from him; so that, ever since, his edicts countervail acts of parliament: And that which made the business more feasible was, that the burthen fell most upon the commonalty (the clergy and nobility not feeling the weight of it) who were willing to see the peasant pulled

* William the Second, son and successor to the Conqueror.

down a little ; because, not many years before, in that notable rebellion, called *La Jaquerie de Beauvoisin*, which was suppressed by Charles the Wise, the common people put themselves boldly in arms against the nobility and gentry, to lessen their power. Add hereunto, as an advantage to the work, that the next succeeding king, Lewis the Eleventh, was a close, cunning prince, and could well tell how to play his game, and draw water to his own mill ; for, amongst all the rest, he was said to be the first that put the Kings of France, *hors de page*, out of their minority, or from being pages* any more, tho' thereby, he brought the poor peasants to be worse than lacquies.

With the fall, or, at least, the discountenance of that usual Parliamentary Assembly of the Three States, the liberty of the French nation utterly fell ; the poor roturier and vine-yard man, with the rest of the yeomanry, being reduced ever since to such an abject *asinine* condition, that they serve but as sponges for the king to squeeze when he list. Nevertheless, as that king hath an advantage hereby one way, to monarchise more absolutely, and never to want money, but to ballast his purse when he will : So there is another mighty inconvenience ariseth to him and his whole kingdom another way ; for this illegal peeling of the poor peasant hath so dejected him, and cowed his native courage so much, by the sense of poverty (which brings along with it a narrowness of soul) that he is little useful for the war : Which puts the French king to make other nations mercenary to him, to fill up his infantry ; insomuch, that the kingdom of France may be not unfitly compared to a body that hath all its blood drawn up into the arms, breast, and back, and scarce any left from the girdle downwards, to cherish and bear up the lower parts, and keep them from starving.

All this seriously considered, there cannot be a more proper and pregnant example than this of our next neighbours, to prove how infinitely necessary the parliament is, to assert, to prop up, and preserve the public liberty and national rights of the people, with the incolumity and welfare of a country.

Nor doth the subject only reap benefit thus by parliament, but the prince, if it be well considered, hath equal advantage thereby ; it rendereth him a king of free and able men, which is far more glorious than to be a king of slaves, beggars, and bankrupts ; men, that by their freedom, and competency of wealth, are kept still in heart to do him service against any foreign force. And it is a true maxim in all states, that it is less danger and dishonour for the prince to be poor, than his people : Rich subjects can make their king rich, when they please ; if he gain their hearts, he will quickly get their purses. Parliament increaseth love and good intelligence betwixt him and his people ; it acquaints him with the reality of things, and with the true state and diseases of his kingdom ; it brings him to the knowledge of his better sort of subjects, and of their abilities, which he may employ accordingly upon all occasions ; it provides for his royal issue, pays his debts, finds means to fill his coffers : And it is no ill observation, The parliamentary-monies (the great aid) have prospered best with the kings of Eng

* Minors.

land; it exceedingly raiseth his repute abroad, and enableth him to keep his foes in fear, his subjects in awe, his neighbours and confederates in security; the three main things which go to aggrandise a prince, and render him glorious. In sum, it is the parliament that supports and bears up the honour of his crown, and settles his throne in safety, which is the chief end of all their consultations: For whosoever is entrusted to be a member of this high court, carrieth with him a double capacity; he sits there as a patriot, and as a subject: As he is the one, the country is his object, his duty being to vindicate the publick liberty, to make wholesome laws, to put his hand to the pump, and stop the leaks of the great vessel of the state; to pry into, and punish corruption and oppression: to improve and advance trade; to have the grievances of the place he serves for redressed, and cast about how to find something that may tend to the advantage of it.

But he must not forget that he sits there also as a subject, and according to that capacity, he must apply himself to do his sovereign's business, to provide not only for his publick, but his personal wants; to bear up the lustre and glory of his court; to consider what occasions of extraordinary expences he may have, by increase of royal issue, or maintenance of any of them abroad; to enable him to vindicate any affront or indignity, that might be offered to his person, crown, or dignity, by any foreign state or kingdom; to consult what may enlarge his honour, contentment, and pleasure. And as the French Tacitus (Comines) hath it, The English nation was used to be more forward and zealous in this particular than any other; according to that ancient eloquent speech of a great lawyer, *Domus Regis vigilia defendit omnium, otium illius labor omnium, delicia illius industria omnium, vacatio illius occupatio omnium, salus illius periculum omnium, honor illius objectum omnium*. i. e. Every one should stand centinel, to defend the king's houses; his danger should be the safety of all, his pleasures the industry of all, his ease should be the labour of all, his honour the object of all.

Out of these premisses this conclusion may be easily deduced, that, The principal fountain, whence the king derives his happiness and safety, is his parliament: It is that great conduit-pipe which conveighs unto him his people's bounty and gratitude; the truest looking-glass, wherein he discerns their loves; now the subjects' love hath been always accounted the prime cittadel of a prince. In his parliament he appears as the sun in the meridian, in the altitude of his glory, in his highest state royal, as the law tells us.

Therefore whosoever is averse or disaffected to this sovereign law-making court, cannot have his heart well planted within him: He can be neither good subject, nor good patriot; and therefore unworthy to breathe the English air, or have any benefit, advantage, or protection from the laws.

THE
MISCHIEFS AND UNREASONABLENESS
 OF ENDEAVOURING TO DEPRIVE
HIS MAJESTY OF THE AFFECTIONS OF HIS SUBJECTS,
By misrepresenting him and his Ministers.

Cum hominum animi vanis timoribus & suspicionibus implentur, calamitas & maledicta in Principes sine ullo veri falsive discrimine avidè accipiuntur, avidè communicantur.
Fam. Strada de bello Belg.

This Loyal Tract, containing the true sense of every good subject, was originally published to deter the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, from fomenting that discontent against kingly government, which brought these nations into that horrid rebellion, that began in the year 1641, and deserves to be recorded, so long as monarchy aways these kingdoms; and always necessary to be read, so long as that best of governments is struck at by by designing men; or ignorantly traversed in the conversation of the causelessly discontented subject. have only taken the liberty to strike out some expressions that were temporary, in order to render it the more general and useful at all times.

IT is the common unhappiness of all states, that some persons every where are proud of being thought wise at suspecting, and of an extraordinary reach in foreseeing evils, which, perhaps, never come to pass. The vanity of appearing more acute and sagacious than their neighbours does so possess them, that they make it their business and employment, to discover or to invent approaching mischiefs. And, if we look into those histories which give us an account of the grand transactions and revolutions of kingdoms; which do not barely tell things as tales, and say, only such and such things happened, but do search into the real causes of, and acquaint us what occasioned them; We shall find, that this humour has frequently been of greatest consequence, and that none have contributed more to the unhappiness and destruction of a nation, than the over-politick and notable men; who, by shew of concern for the publick, and great insight into intrigues and cabals, have laboured to bring the government into suspicion, and to alienate the hearts of the people from their prince. But we need not appeal to foreign occurrences, or elder times. The miseries which these three kingdoms for several years groaned under, do sufficiently attest it; and they who understand any thing of England's troubles*, in the grand rebellion, are not ignorant that the grave men of fears and jealousies, who discovered what no man could ever find out since; and the seditious preachers, who endeavoured to gain the people's hearts by

* *Vid.* The view of the late troubles in England, p. 96. & *alii.*

aspersing their king, and shewing them dangers and enemies round about them, where none meant to hurt them; who with scripture phrases, and sacred railing, and profane abuse of God's word to base and malicious purposes, demonstrated their governors to be the designers of their ruin, were not the least promoters of all our shameful confusions.

But either we are so unwilling to reflect upon what then followed, or so inclinable to gratify our own little humour that way, that we too generally tread in the steps of the fomenters of those disturbances, without the least misgivings of what it may end in. We are as polittick and as sharp-sighted, and as disingenuous as they were in 1641. We do, indeed, enjoy our liberties and properties, and the free exercise of our religion, peace, and plenty, justice equally distributed to all, are governed by known laws, and no man is oppressed, and yet we have grievances to complain of; dangers we foresee do threaten us; we groan, and sigh, and cry out at the badness of the times, are apprehensive of strange designs on foot, and cannot afford our governors one good word. Indeed, they among us who have a great reach, and would be thought politicians of the first rate, do give only notable hints, emphatical nods, intimate somewhat of our fears, but darkly; speak dubiously of what may happen, wish the king better advised, whisper somewhat about evil counsellors, and the like. But the vulgar part of us are more rash, and blunder it out more plainly, and prophesy of arbitrary government; cry out that we are sold and betrayed, and not far from being enslaved.

Some men have so strange fond conceits of themselves, that they are too ready to fancy their own petty interests and absurd desires so twisted and interwoven with the publick happiness of the nation, that, from any little disappointment of their ill-laid projects, they will take occasion to predict some signal mischiefs, if not ruin to the commonwealth. For they look on themselves as persons no less in favour with God, nor less wise in their designs than others; and how can publick mischiefs be brought on us, but by the ill administration of those who are concerned in the government? And when this propheticall foundation is once laid, then every accident which happens shall minister some jealousies and suspicions; every suspicion shall beget another; and can a man think much, and say nothing of such matters?

Besides, some men strangely affect the favour and good word of the common people; and what readier way to obtain it, than by persuading them that they are not so well governed as they ought to be? Some things will happen amiss, let men do what they can; and the common people who see the immediate and obvious effects of some inconveniencies, to which all sorts of governments are subject, have not the judgment to discern the secret lets and difficulties, which in publick proceedings are innumerable and inevitable. And does not the reproving the supposed disorders of state shew the persons, who do so, to be principal friends to the common interest, and honest men of singular freedom of mind? And what can be more popular and plausible?

Once more. When every private and ordinary person turns states-

man, and with a judicious gravity canvasses and determines the particular interests and designs of kings and princes; when he, perhaps, who has hardly wit enough to govern his own little family, takes upon him to settle the affairs of Christendom, and fancies himself able to give this or the other prince advice how to govern his subjects, and enlarge his dominions: In fine, when men spend their time, they should employ in their several callings to gain their livelihood, in running about after news, and make themselves poor by idleness and negligence; what can we expect among these people but perverse censures and silly conclusions, seditious repinings and discontents?

But, certainly, no wise man can think the worse of any government, because unthinking people speak ill of it; nor will he, who is but a little above the multitude, think himself in danger, and bound to vex and to be discontented, because they are not pleased.

Indeed, we have been so long used to concern ourselves in matters that do not belong to us, to arraign, and, at our pleasure, to condemn the government; that either our governors must publish to the world all their designs and consultations, and inform the people of all their motives to such or such resolutions (which would be the most absurd thing in the world, and the greatest contradiction to all the uses and ends of government), or else they must expect to have evil censures passed on them for all they do, to be complained of as enemies to their country, and betrayers of their trust. A humour fit for the senseless rabble, but below any one of parts and ingenuity.

But now let us think a little what 'will be the end of all these things? The most experienced and ablest disturbers have always first struck at the reputation of the government, and frequently with great success. For can there be obedience where there is not so much as respect? Will their knees bow whilst their hearts insult? and their actions submit, whilst their apprehensions and tongues do rebel?

And when the people are thus prepared with jealousies and discontents, and some accidents happen, which offer an opportunity, then out steps some bold hypocritical rebel, and heads the discontented party; puts forth remonstrances of grievances and misdemeanors in the government, and engages to remedy them; and the devil, who is never wanting to men, that are set upon mischief, sets forward the work, till it improve into an open and detestable civil war. All histories are full of examples; and we are not so happy as not to know, and to be one.

Away, therefore, with our murmuring and querulousness; we do but assist evil men, and vex and trouble ourselves by them. Let us do our duty, every one in his place, and leave the great business of all to God, and to the king, whom he has given us. Let not our curiosity, or what is worse, make us over-careful and solicitous about many things which belong not to us, but rather take the advice given us in scripture, 'Study to be quiet, and do our own business, and wait with patience and modesty.' The reports, which we hear concerning our governor's determinations, are very uncertain, and often false; and set about by seditious and unquiet men, who perhaps underhand work for that design, which they seem to the world to be most violently set

against. And as to those, which are true, we, who know not the circumstances of them, must be very arrogant and presumptuous, if we take upon us to judge of their conveniency or inconveniency. But this we may be assured of, that all our malicious and seditious discourses will very little promote the safety of ourselves, or of our governors; and that there are those who have better information and greater abilities than we, who will be as much concerned for their lives, their liberties, and their religion, as any of us can pretend to be. Let us assist them with our prayers, and the reformation of our lives; which are the most effectual means to secure our other interests.

To inforce this yet farther. It is by God that kings reign, and from him alone can they receive their authority; and since he has sufficiently declared that he would have us be submissive and respectful, patient and obedient; if we murmur against them, we murmur at God's management of the world; we arraign Providence, and shew, that, let us talk as much as we will of it, we are not for it but when it is for us.

Let us question, as a good man among the Jews did: 'Whose ox has our king taken, or whose ass has he taken? or whom has he defrauded? Whom has he oppressed? or of whose hands has he received any bribes, to blind his eyes therewith?'

We talk of arbitrary government; What man has lost his life or estate under his government, but by due form and procedure of law? We talk of tyranny; can any man charge this prince with the least act of cruelty? Did he ever shew any thing of a bloody revengeful spirit? Or can we read of a more merciful, and condescending, and obliging king that ever ruled in Europe? And all the returns that we make to so much justice, and sweetness, and goodness, are unkind, and rude, and undutiful reflexions. We most ungratefully endeavour to render him as odious in the eyes of the world as we can; and not only so, but settle a way of putting a most invidious interpretation on all his future actions. But, should we endeavour to ruin the reputation of one of the meanest of our neighbours, would it not be a great sin in the eyes of God, and a great injury and wrong to him; and would not we esteem it so in our own case, if we were so dealt with by others? and do we not think it a sin of much greater magnitude, to speak evil of dignities, to revile God's vice-gerent, and to lay his honour in the dust? Certainly we must be very partial to ourselves if we judge otherwise. And indeed, this is a crime of so extensive a bad influence, and so much mischief, that they who consider the injury the publick receives by it, admire that no severer punishments are appointed by the laws for those who are guilty of it; and they who consider the heinousness of the sin, do not less wonder that our divines do not more frequently lay open the guilt of it to the people.

To make an end. Could all our complaints and unquietness take away the pretended occasions of them; could our fancying ourselves in an ill condition deliver us out of it; could our persuading ourselves that our liberty and religion is in danger, make both secure; and our wilful fears and jealous surmises prevent real evils: It were unkind to dissuade you from murmuring, and he would prove your enemy

who would make you so yourselves. Could groundless fears and imaginary dangers establish peace on a lasting foundation ; could false alarms and mutinous discourses contribute any thing to the plenty and quiet of the kingdom : Could our suspecting our governors render our fellow-subjects more obedient, and our aspersing those, who are concerned in the management of highest affairs, strengthen your hands, and inspire their resolutions ; then we could have some pretence for our restlessness and clamorousness.

But since it stands upon record in the histories of all ages ; since we have had late and dismal effects of such practices, and have too frequently found that jealousies and suspicions, out-cries and complaints, vain fears and imaginary grievances, have produced real mischief, and brought on us those misfortunes, which they seemed only to foretel : Since they are the most effectual encouragements to seditious persons, and aspiring disturbers need no greater than to have their pretences abetted by sober, grave men, and their cause voted up by the common cry of the whole people ; it cannot be thought indiscreet, or useless, or pragmatical in any one to intreat you to live at ease, and to enjoy yourselves, the blessed serenity of an undisturbed mind ; to banish out of your hearts and mouths such hurtful follies ; and to persuade you to let peace and prosperity continue among you, whilst they seem to court you, and to beg only your consent.

Dublin, May 24, 1681.

A WORD WITHOUT-DOORS,

CONCERNING

THE BILL OF SUCCESSION.

The occasion of writing this Pamphlet was the great dispute concerning the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne of these kingdoms, upon the death of King Charles II. his brother, on account of his religion, having professed himself a Papist, and openly declared himself a zealous protector of such as were so affected.

The Argument is founded upon the divine institution and proper end of government ; the laws of the land ; the reasons that may warrant such an exclusion ; examples of the like proceedings and the impossibility that a popish king can ever prove a true defender of the Protestant Christian Faith ; all which equally serves to justify the Revolution in 1688, and the Protestant Establishment of the Crown in the Protestant House of Hanover, and the necessity of preserving the said establishment, as to perpetuate a memorial of that noble stand against Popery, and the utmost effort of that Parliament here mentioned, to secure our religion and laws ; even at the hazard of their own dissolution, which the duke was able to obtain.

SIR,

I AM very sensible of the great honour you were pleased to do me in your last, which I received immediately after our late unhappy dissolution ; but could have wished you would have laid your com-

mends on some more able person, to have given you satisfaction in the matter you there propose relating to the Duke,* who, you seem to insinuate, was like (if the Parliament had continued) to have received hard measure.† I must ingenuously confess to you, I was not long since perfectly of your opinion, and thought it the highest injustice imaginable, for any prince to be debarred of his native right of succession upon any pretence whatsoever. But, upon a more mature deliberation and enquiry, I found my error proceeded principally from the false notions I had took up of government itself, and from my ignorance of the practices of all communities of men in all ages, whenever self-preservation and the necessity of their affairs obliged them to declare their opinion in cases of the like nature: to the knowledge of all which, the following accident, I shall relate to you, did very much contribute.

My occasions obliging me one day to attend the coming of a friend in a coffee-house near Charing-cross, there happened to sit at the same table with me two ingenious gentlemen, who, according to the frankness of conversation now used in the town, began a discourse on the same subject‡ you desire to be more particularly informed in; and having extolled the late House of Commons, as the best number of men that had ever sat within these walls;§ and that no house had ever more vigorously maintained and asserted English liberty and Protestant religion than they had done, as far as the nature of the things that came before them, and the circumstances of time would admit; to all which I very readily and heartily assented. They then added, that the great wisdom and zeal of that house had appeared in nothing more, than in ordering a bill to be brought in for debarring the Duke of York from inheriting the crown: a law they affirmed to be the most just and reasonable in the world, and the only proper remedy to establish this nation on a true and solid interest, both in relation to the present and future times.¶

To which I could not but reply, That I begged their pardon if I differed from them in opinion; and did believe, that how honestly soever the House of Commons might intend in that matter, yet that the point of succession was so sacred a thing, and of so high a nature, that it was not subjected to their cognizance; that monarchy was of divine right; that princes succeeded by nature and generation only, and not by authority, admission, or approbation of the people; and consequently, that neither the merit or demerit of their persons, nor the different influences from thence upon the people, were to be respected or had in consideration; but the commonwealth ought to obey and submit to the next heir, without any further inquisition; and, if he proved a worthy, virtuous, and just prince, it was a great happiness; if unjust, barbarous, and tyrannical, there was no other remedy, but prayer, patience,

* Of York, afterwards King James II.

† i. e. To have been excluded from succeeding to the Crown of England, upon the demise of his brother, King Charles II. who said that he had no lawful issue.

‡ Of the succession to the Crown.

§ Because they, without respect to persons, would have excluded the enemies of our holy religion from the throne, and established a true Protestant succession, under which only it is possible for us to be happy.

¶ As it has been long since manifested, both in King James II.'s male-administration, and the happiness we now enjoy under a Protestant King.

and an entire submission to so difficult a dispensation of God's providence.

I had no sooner ended my discourse, but one of the gentlemen, that was the most serious in the company, seeing me a young man, gravely replied, That he could not but be extremely concerned to hear, that such pernicious notions against all lawful government had been taught in the world; that he believed, they were in me purely the effects of an university-education; and, that it had been my misfortune, to have had a very high churchman* for my tutor, who had endeavoured (as it was their constant practice to all young gentlemen under their care) to debauch me with such principles as would enslave my mind to their hierarchy and the monarchical part of the government, without any regard at all to the aristocratical and popular; and that fat parsonages, prebendships, deanries, and episcopal sees, were the certain and constant rewards of such services; † that the place we were in was a little too publick for discourses of this nature; but, if I would accept of a bottle of wine at the next tavern, he would undertake to give me juster measures; adding, It was a pity so hopeful a gentleman should be tainted with bad principles. My friend coming in at the same time, proved to be one of their particular acquaintance; and both he and I readily complied with so generous a motion.

We had no sooner drank a glass round, but the old gentleman was pleased to renew his discourse, and said, It was undoubtedly true, that the inclination of mankind to live in company (from whence come towns, cities, and commonwealths) did proceed of nature, and consequently of God, the Author of Nature. So likewise government, and the jurisdiction of magistrates in general (which does necessarily flow from the living together in society) is also of nature, and ordained by God for the common good of mankind; but that the particular species and forms of this or that government, in this or that manner, to have many, few, or one governor; or that they should have this or that authority, more or less, for a longer or a shorter time; or whether ordinarily by succession or by election; all these things, he said, are ordained and diversified by the particular laws of every country, and are not established either by law natural or divine, but left by God unto every nation and country, to pitch upon what form of government they shall think most proper to promote the common good of the whole, and best adapted to the natures, constitutions, and other circumstances of the people; which accordingly, for the same reasons, may be altered or amended in any of its parts, by the mutual consent of the governors and governed, whenever they shall see reasonable cause so to do; all which appears plainly, both from the diversity of governments extant in the world, and by the same nations living sometimes under one sort of government, and sometimes under another. So we see God himself permitted his peculiar people, the Jews, to live under divers forms of government: as, first, under patriarchs; then under captains; then

* Which, in those days, signified one that was ready to turn Papist as soon as the Prince should countenance that superstition.

† This describes the way to preferment in the Church, when the Duke of York influenced his brother's counsels, and disposed of his places in Church and State.

under judges; then under high-priests; next under kings; and then under captains and high-priests again; until they were conquered by the Romans, who themselves also first lived under kings and then consuls, whose authority they afterwards limited by a senate, by adding tribunes of the people; and, in extraordinary emergencies of the commonwealth, they were governed by dictators, and last of all by emperors. So that it is plain, no magistrate has his particular government, or an interest of succession in it, by any institution of nature, but only by the particular constitution of the commonwealth within itself. And as the kinds of government are different, so also are the measures of power and authority in the same kind, in different countries.

I shall begin, said he, with that of the Roman empire, which, though it be the first in dignity amongst Christian princes, yet it is so restrained and limited by the particular laws of the empire, that he can do much less in his state, than other kings in theirs. He can neither make war, nor exact any contribution of men or money, but by the consent of all the states of the German Diet: and as for his children and relations, they have no interest or pretence to succeed, but only by election, if they shall be thought worthy. Nay, the chiefest article the emperor swears to keep, at his admission to that honour, is, That he shall never endeavour to make the dignity of the empire hereditary to his family.

In Spain and in France the privileges of kings are much more eminent, both in power and succession; their authority is more absolute; every order of theirs having the validity of a law, and their next of blood does ordinarily inherit, though in a different manner. In Spain the next heir cannot succeed, but by the approbation of the nobility, bishops, and states of the realm. In France the women are not admitted to succeed, let them be never so lineally descended. In England our kings are much more limited and confined in their power than either of the two former; for here no law can be made, but by consent and authority of parliament; and as to the point of succession, the next of kin is admitted, unless in extraordinary cases, and when important reasons of state require an alteration: and then the parliaments of England, according to the antient laws and statutes of the realm, have frequently directed and appointed the succession of the crown in other manner than in course it would have gone; of which I shall give you some examples in order.

But first let us look abroad, and see how things have been carried, as to this point, in other countries.

Amongst the Jews, the laws of succession did ordinarily hold; and accordingly Rehoboam, the lawful son and heir of Solomon, after his father's decease, went to Sichem, to be crowned and admitted by the people; and the whole body of the people of Israel, being there gathered together, did (before they would admit him their lawful king) make unto him certain propositions for taking away some heavy taxes that had been imposed on them by his father Solomon; which he refusing to gratify them in, and following the advice of young men, ten of the twelve tribes immediately chose Jeroboam, a servant of Rehoboam's, a meer stranger, and of mean parentage, and made him their king; and God approved thereof, as the scriptures in express words do

testify: for when Rehoboam had raised an army of one hundred and fourscore thousand men, intending by force of arms to have justified his claim, God appeared unto Semajah, and commanded him to go to Rehoboam, and to the house of Judah and Benjamin, saying, 'Return every man to his house, for this thing is of me, saith the Lord.' So that, since God did permit and allow this in his own commonwealth, which was to be the pattern for all others, no doubt he will approve the same in other kingdoms, whenever his service and glory, or the happiness of the weal-publick, shall require it.

The next instance I shall give you shall be in Spain, where Don Alonso de la Cerda, having been admitted Prince of Spain, in his father's life-time (according to the custom of that realm) married Blancha, daughter of Lewis the First, King of France, and had by her two sons, named Alonso and Hernando de la Cerda; but their father (who was only prince) dying before Alonso the Ninth, then king, he recommended them to the realm, as lawful heirs apparent to the crown; but Don Sancho, their father's younger brother, who was a great warrior, and surnamed El Bravo,* was admitted prince, and they put by, in their grand-father's life-time, by his and the states' consent; and this was done at a parliament† held at Segovia, in the year 1276; and in the year 1284 (Alonso the Ninth being dead) Don Sancho was acknowledged king, and the two princes imprisoned; but at the mediation of Philip the third, King of France, their uncle, they were set free, and endowed with considerable revenues in land; and from them do descend the Dukes de Medina Celi at this day; and the present King of Spain that is in possession,‡ descendeth from Don Sancho.

In France, Lewis the Fourth had two sons, Lotharin, who succeeded him, and Charles, whom he made Duke of Lorrain. Lotharin dying, left an only son, named Lewis, who dying without issue, after he had reigned two years, the crown was to have descended on his uncle Charles, Duke of Lorrain. But the States of France did exclude him, and chose Hugo Capetus, Earl of Paris, for their king; and, in an oration made by their ambassador to Charles of Lorrain, did give an account of their reasons for so doing, as it is related by Belforest, a French historian, in these very words:

"Every man knoweth, Lord Charles, that the succession of the crown and kingdom of France, according to the ordinary rights and laws of the same belongeth unto you, and not unto Hugh Capet now our king: but yet the same laws, which do give unto you such right of succession, do judge you also unworthy of the same: for that you have not endeavoured, hitherto, to frame your life according to the pre-script of those laws, nor according to the use and custom of the kingdom of France; but rather have allied yourselves with the Germans, our old enemies, and have accustomed yourself to their vile and base manners. Wherefore, since you have abandoned and forsaken the antient virtue, amity, and sweetness of your country, your country has abandoned and forsaken you; for we have chosen Hugh Capet for our King, and have put you by,

* The Valiant. † Or Cortes, i. e. The general meeting of the States. ‡ Anno 1678.

and this without any scruple in our consciences at all ; esteeming it far better, and more just, to live under Hugh Capet, the possessor of the crown, with enjoying the ancient use of our laws, customs, privileges, and liberties, than under you, the next heir, by blood, in oppression, strange customs, and cruelty. For as they, who are to make a voyage in a ship on a dangerous sea, do not so much respect, whether the pilot claims title to the ship or no, but rather whether he be skilful, valiant, and like to bring them in safety to their way's end ; even so our principal care is to have a good prince to lead and guide us happily in this way of civil and politick life ; which is the end for which princes are appointed."

And with this message ended his succession and life, he dying not long after in prison.

And now I shall come home, and give you an instance or two in England since the conquest, and so conclude.

William Rufus, second son of William the Conqueror, by the assistance of Lanfrank, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had a great opinion of his virtue and probity, was admitted king by the consent of the realm, his elder brother Robert, Duke of Normandy, being then in the war at Jerusalem. William dying, his younger brother Henry, by his ingenuity and fair carriage, and by the assistance of Henry Earl of Warwick, who had greatest interest in the nobility, and Maurice, Bishop of London, a leading-man amongst the clergy, obtained also the crown. And Robert, Duke of Normandy, was a second time excluded. And though this King Henry could pretend no other title to the crown, than the election and admission of the realm ; yet he defended it so well, and God prospered him with such success, that, when his eldest brother Robert came to claim the kingdom by force of arms, he beat him in a pitched battle, took him prisoner, and so he died miserably in bonds.

King Henry had one only daughter named Maud, or Matilda, who was married to the emperor ; and he dying without issue, she was afterwards married to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou, in France, by whom she had a son named Henry, whom his grandfather declared heir-apparent to the crown in his life-time ; yet, after his death, Henry was excluded, and Stephen, Earl of Bulloine, Son of Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, was, by the states, thought more fit to govern than Prince Henry, who was then but a child. And this was done by the persuasion of Henry, Bishop of Winchester, and at the solicitation of the Abbot of Glastenbury, and others, who thought they might do the same lawfully, and with a good conscience, for the publick good of the realm.

But the event did not prove so well as they intended ; for this occasioned great factions and divisions in the kingdom ; for the quieting of which, there was a parliament held at Wallingford, which passed a law, ' That Stephen should be king only during his life, and that Prince Henry and his off-spring should succeed him ; ' and by the same law debarred William, son of King Stephen, from inheriting the crown, and only made him Earl of Norfolk.

Thus did the parliament dispose of the crown in those days, which was in the year 1153, which sufficiently proves what I have asserted.

The sum of all I have said, amounts to this: That governmen'

in general is by the law of nature, and consequently the ordinance of God ; but that the different forms of government, whether to reside in one, few, or many ; or whether it shall be continued by succession or by election, together with the different measures and limitations of power and authority in governors of the same kind in several countries: All these things, I say, are ordained by, and purely depend upon, positive and human laws. From whence it will necessarily follow, that the same human authority (residing in king, lords, and commons, here in England) which gave being to those laws for the good of the community, is superintendent over them, and both may and ought to make any addition to, or alteration of them, when the publick good and welfare of the nation shall require it ; unless you will admit, that an human authority, establishing any thing intentionally for the common good of the society, which in tract of time, by reason of unforeseen circumstances and emergencies, proves destructive of it, has by that act concluded itself, and made that accidental evil, moral and unchangeable ; which to affirm, is senseless and repugnant.

And now, Sir, I hope, by this time, said the old gentleman, you begin to think that the bill for disabling the duke was not so unjust and unreasonable as was pretended ; and that the course of succession, being founded upon the same bottom with other civil constitutions, might likewise as justly have been altered by the king, lords, and commons, as any other law or custom whatever.

And here I might conclude ; but because a late pensionary pen has publicly arraigned the wisdom, loyalty, and justice of the honourable house of commons, on the account of this bill, I will, *ex abundanti*, add a word or two more to that particular.

Whereupon he plucked a paper out of his pocket, intituled, ‘ Great and weighty considerations relating to the duke, and successor of the crown, &c.’ Which, as soon as he had read unto us, You see here, said he, the true temper of those men, of whom I first gave you caution. There never was an endeavour (though in a legal and parliamentary way) after any reformation either in church or state, but the promoters of it were sure to be branded by them with the odious imputations of fanaticism and faction: Nay, if the country electors of parliament-men will not pitch upon such rake-hells of the nation as are usually proposed by them, but, on the contrary, make use of their freedom and consciences in chusing able, upright, and deserving persons ; and if good men, thus chosen, do but, according to their duty in the house, enquire into publick grievances, pursue in a legal course notorious offenders, and consult and advise the security of the government and Protestant religion, the time-server immediately swells, and, in a passion, tells you, that all this proceeds from the old phanatick leaven, not yet worn out amongst the people ; that we are going back again to forty-one* ; and acting over afresh the sins of our forefathers.

Thus ignorantly do they compliment the times and persons they endeavour to expose, by appropriating to them such virtues as were common to good men in all ages. But enough of this.

* Viz. To grow seditious.

In the next place, pray observe how hypocritically the considerer puts this question, viz.:

'Whether Protestant religion was not settled in this nation by the same mighty hand of God that established Jeroboam in the kingdom of Israel?' And then adds, 'Whether we, like that wicked king, should so far despair of God's providence in preserving the work of his own hands, as never to think it safe, unless it be established on the quicksands of our own wicked inventions?' viz. the Bill against the Duke.

And, throughout his whole discourse, he frequently calls all care of preserving our religion, a mistrust of God's Providence; and on that score calls out to the nation, 'O ye of little faith,' &c. Now I will allow him, That the least evil is not to be done, that the greatest and most important good may ensue; but that the bill for disabling the duke is highly justifiable both by the laws of God, and constitution of our government, I think by my former discourse I have left no room to doubt; and, the considerer having scarce attempted to prove the contrary, it is preposterously done of him, to give us his use of reproof, before he has cleared his doctrine.

However, I owe him many thanks for putting me in mind how Protestant religion was first established here in England; it was, indeed, by the mighty hand of God influencing the publick councils of the nation, so that all imaginable care was taken both by prince and people, to rescue themselves from under the Romish yoke; and, accordingly, most excellent laws were made against the usurpation and tyranny of that man of sin*. Our noble ancestors, in those days, did not palliate a want of zeal for their religion, with a lazy pretence of trusting in God's providence; but, together with their prayers to, and affiance in heaven, they joined the acts of their own duty, without which, they very well knew, they had no reason to expect a blessing from it.

But now be pleased to take notice of the candor of this worthy considerer: nothing less will serve his turn, than the proving all the voters for the bill guilty of the highest perjury: 'For,' says he, 'they have all sworn in the oath of allegiance, to bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty, his heirs and successors: but the duke is heir, ergo, &c.' A very hopeful argument, indeed! But what if it should happen (as it is neither impossible, nor very improbable to imagine it) that the next heir to the crown should commit treason, and conspire the death of the present possessor, and for this treason should not only be attainted by parliament, but executed too! pray, Mr. Considerer, would the parliament, in this case, be guilty of murder and perjury? I am confident you will not say it. If, therefore, the next heir become obnoxious to the government in a lower degree, why may not the same authority proportion the punishment, and leave him his life, but debar him of the succession? This I say, only to shew the absurdity of his argument.

My answer is this: 'No man can bear allegiance to two persons at the same time, nor can allegiance be ever due to a subject; and,

* The Pope.

† This was laid to the charge of the Duke of York.

therefore, my obligation by the word *heir*, in the oath, does not commence till such heir has a present right* to, or actual possession of the crown; which, if he never attains, either by reason of death, or any other act that incapacitates and bars him, then can my obligation to him by the word *heir* in the oath never have a beginning.

But, besides all this, it cannot be denied but that Mr. Considerer's doctrine does bring great inconveniences on succession; for the next heir, by his way of arguing, is let loose from all the restrictions and penalties of human laws, and has no other ties upon him not to snatch the crown out of the hands of the possessor, than purely those of his own conscience; which is worthy Mr. Considerer's highest consideration.

I shall only take notice of one objection more, and then conclude, fearing I have too much trespassed on your patience already.

'It is very hard, says he, 'that a man should lose his inheritance, because he is of this or that persuasion in matters of religion.'

And, truly, gentlemen, were the case only so, I should be intirely of his mind. But, alas! Popery, whatever Mr. Considerer is pleased to insinuate, is not an harmless innocent persuasion of a number of men differing in matters relating to Christian religion; but is really and truly a different religion from Christianity itself. Nor is the inheritance, he there mentions, an inheritance only of Black Acre and White Acre, without any office annexed, which requires him to be *per officio*: But the government and protection of several nations; the making of war and peace for them; the preservation of their religion; the disposal of publick places and revenues; the execution of all laws; together with many other things of the greatest importance, are, in this case, claimed by the word inheritance; which, if you consider, and at the same time reflect upon the enslaving and bloody tenets of the Church of Rome, more particularly the hellish and damnable conspiracy those of that communion are now carrying on against our lives, our religion, and our government; I am confident you will think it as proper for a wolf to be a shepherd, as it is for a papist to be the defender of our faith, &c.

The old gentleman had no sooner ended his discourse, but I returned him my hearty thanks for the trouble he had been pleased to give himself on this occasion; and I could not but acknowledge, he had given me great satisfaction in that affair; what it will give thee, Charles, I know not. I am sure I parted with him very melauncholy, for having been a fool so long. Adieu.

I am thy affectionate,

J. D.

* Alluding to the possibility that King Charles the Second might have a legitimate child before he died.

ROBIN CONSCIENCE;

OR,

CONSCIONABLE ROBIN:

HIS PROGRESS THROUGH COURT, CITY, AND COUNTRY,

With his bad Entertainment at each several Place, &c.

EDINBURGH, PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1683.

I HAVE been quite through England wide,
With many a faint and weary stride,
To see what people there abide,
That loves me.

Poor Robin Conscience is my name,
Sore vexed with reproach and blame:
For all, wherever yet I came,
reprove me.

Few now endure my presence here:
I shall be banish'd quite I fear;
I am despised every where,
and scorned.

Yet is my fortune now and then
To meet some good woman or man,
Who have (when they my woes did scan)
sore mourned,

To think that Conscience is despised,
Which ought to be most highly priz'd:
This trick the devil hath devised,
to blind men.

'Cause Conscience tells them of their ways,
Which are so wicked now-a-days,
They stop their ears to what he says,
unkind men.

I first of all went to the court,
Where lords and ladies did resort,
My entertainment there was short,
cold welcome.

As soon as e'er my name they heard,
They ran away full sore afraid,
And thought some goblin had appear'd,
from hell come.

I told them of a cheating trick,
Which makes the horses run and kik,
By putting in an eel that's-quick,
i'th belly.

Another which they use full oft,
To bear their lame jades heads aloft,
And beat their buttocks till they're soft,
as jelly.

I told them that their wealth would rot,
That they by cheating men thus got,
But they for this same tale would not
abide me.

And charg'd me quickly to be gone :
Quoth they of Conscience we use none.
Those, whom I follow with my mone.
out-ride me.

From thence I stepp'd into Long-lane,
Where many brokers did remain,
To try how they would entertain
poor Conscience.

But my name when I to them told,
The women did begin to scold,
The men said, they that word did hold
but nonsense.

For Conscience is so hard a word,
That scarce the broker can afford
To read it, for his mouth is stor'd
with lying ;

He knows not what this Conscience means,
That is no cause unto his gains ;
Thus I was scorned for my pains,
all crying,

Away with Conscience from this lane,
For we his presence do disdain.

They said, if I come there again
among them,

They said, they'd band me back and side.

Being menaced, away I hie'd ;

Thus worldlings think that, when I chide,
I wrong them.

Among the butchers then went I,

As soon as e'er they did me spy,

They threaten'd me most spitefully,
to kill me.

Quoth one, if Conscience here should dwell,

We were not able to live well,

Nor could we gain, by'th meat we sell,
nor will we

ROBIN CONSCIENCE.

Be bound to follow Conscience nice,
 Which would confine us to a price:
 Robin be rul'd by my advice,
 quoth he then,
 And get thee to some other place,
 We hate to look thee in the face.
 I, hearing this, from thence a-pace
 did fly them.
 To New-gate market went I then,
 Where country-women, maids, and men
 Were selling needful things; and when
 they saw me;
 At me the butter-woman rails,
 Whose butter weigh'd not down the scales;
 Another comes, and with her nails
 did claw me;
 The bakers, which stood in a row,
 Began to brawl at me also,
 And charged me away to go,
 because I
 Told them they did make lesser bread;
 Did not the law put them in dread;
 There's some of them would wish them dead,
 might laws die.
 Thus chid of them, my way I took,
 Unto Pye-corner, where a cook
 Glanc'd at me as the devil did look
 o'er Lincoln.
 Conscience, quoth he, thou shew'st not wit,
 In coming to this place unfit:
 I'll run thee thorow with a spit;
 then think on
 Those words to thee which I have said,
 I cannot well live by my trade,
 If I should still require thy aid
 in selling;
 Sometimes one joint I must roast thrice
 'Ere I can sell it at my price,
 Then here's for thee (who art so nice)
 no dwelling.
 Perforce he drave me backward still,
 Until I came unto Snow-hill,
 The sale-men there with voices shrill
 fell on me.
 I was so irksome in their sight
 That they conjured me to flight,
 Or else they swore (such was their spight)
 they'd stone me.

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F 2

ROBIN CONSCIENCE.

Think'st thou, that we have so much gold,
 Before our eyes still to behold,
 Will this by Conscience be controll'd,
 and curb'd!

Oh no, poor fellow, haste away,
 For, if long in this place thou stay,
 Thou shalt be (I'll be bold to say)
 disturbed.

From thence I turned down Bread-street,
 A cheese-monger I there did meet,
 He hied away with winged feet
 to shun me.

How now, quoth I, why run ye so?
 Quoth he, because I well do know,
 That thou art Conscience, my old foe,
 thou'st done me

Great wrong; while I made use of thee,
 And dealt with all men honestly,
 A rich man I could never be:
 but since then,

I banish'd have thy company,
 And us'd deceit with those that buy,
 I thrive, and therefore Robin hie
 thee hence then.

I left him with his bad intent,
 And unto Fish-street straight I went,
 Among those lads, who wish that Lent
 were all year:

As soon as e'er they me esp'd,
 They all at once upon me cry'd,
 And swore that Conscience should not guide
 a stall there,

I seeing things thus seeming strange,
 That all men did from goodness range,
 Did hie me straight to the Exchange:
 a merchant

Was so affrighted when I came,
 But presently he blush'd for shame,
 His countenance did shew the same
 in searchant.

Quoth he, Friend Robin, what dost thou,
 Here among us merchants now,
 Our business will not allow
 to use thee:

For we have traffick without thee,
 And thrive best, if thou absent be;
 I, for my part, will utterly
 refuse thee.

I, being thus abus'd below,
 Did walk up stairs, where on a row,
 Brave shops of ware did make a show
 most sumptuous ;
 But, when the shop folk me did spy,
 They drew their dark-light instantly,
 And said, in coming there was I
 presumptuous.
 The gallant girls, that there sold knacks,
 Which ladies and brave women lacks,
 When they did see me, they did wax
 In choler.
 Quoth they, we ne'er knew Conscience yet,
 And, if he comes our gains to let,
 We'll banish him, he'll here not get
 one scholar.
 I, being jeered thus and scorn'd,
 Went down the stairs, and sorely mourn'd,
 To think that I should thus be turn'd
 a begging.
 To Gracechurch-street I went along,
 Where dwell a great ungracious throng,
 That will deceive both old and young
 with cogging :
 As drapers, poulterers, and such,
 Who think they never get too much :
 The word Conscience to them is Dutch,
 or Spanish ;
 And harder too, for speech they'll learn,
 With all their heart, to serve their turn,
 But Conscience, when they him discern,
 they banish.
 I, seeing all the city given
 To use deceit in spite of heaven,
 To leave their company I was driven
 perforce then.
 So over London-bridge, in haste,
 I hiss'd and scoff'd of all men past,
 Then I to Southwark took, at last,
 my course then.
 When I came there, I hop'd to find
 Welcome according to my mind,
 But they were rather more unkind
 than London :
 All sorts of men and women, there,
 Ask'd how I durst to them appear,
 And swore my presence they would clear
 abandon.

ROBIN CONSCIENCE.

I, being sore athirst, did go
 Unto an ale-house in the row,
 Meaning a penny to bestow

on strong beer ;
 But, 'cause I for a quart did call,
 My hostess swore she'd bring me small,
 Or else I should have none at all.

Thus wrong'd there,
 I bade her on her licence look ;
 Oh, sir, quoth she, ye are mistook,
 I have a lesson without book,
 most perfect.

If I my licence should observe,
 And not in any point to swerve,
 Both I and mine, alas ! should starve,
 not surfeit :

Instead of quart-pot of pewter,
 I fill small jugs, and need no tutor ;
 I quartridge give to the geometer
 most duly ;

And he will see, and yet be blind,
 A knave, made much of, will be kind,
 If you be one, sir, tell your mind,
 no truly ;

No, no, quoth I, I am no knave,
 No fellowship with such I have ;
 My name is Robin Conscience, brave,
 that wander

From place to place, in hope that some
 Will as a servant give me room ;
 But all abuse me, where I come.
 with slander.

Now, when my hostess heard me tell
 My name, she swore I should not dwell,
 With her, for I would make her sell
 full measure ;

She did conjure me to depart ;
 Hang Conscience, quoth she, give me art,
 I have not got, by a penny a quart,
 my treasure.

So out of doors I went with speed,
 And glad she was to be thus freed
 Of Conscience, that she might speed
 in frothing.

To the King's Bench I needs would go,
 The jailor did me backward throw :
 Quoth he, for conscience here ye know
 is nothing.

Through Blackman-street I went, where whores
 Stood gazing, there is many doors,
 There two or three bawds against me roars
 most loudly;
 And bade me get hence a-pace,
 Or else they'd claw me by the face;
 They swore they scorn'd me and all grace,
 most proudly.
 I walk'd into St. George's Field,
 Where rooking rascals I beheld,
 That all the year their hopes did build
 on cheating;
 They were close playing at nine pins,
 I came and told them of their sins:
 Then one among the rest begins
 intreating,
 That I would not torment them so:
 I told them that I would not go:
 Why then, quoth he, I'll let thee know,
 we care not:
 And yet we'll banish thee perforce:
 Then he began to swear and curse,
 And said, prate on till thou art hoarse,
 and spare not.
 I left them in their wickedness,
 And went along in great distress,
 Bewailing of my bad success,
 and speed.
 A wind-mill standing there hard by,
 Towards the same then passed I,
 But when the miller did me spy,
 he cryed,
 Away with Conscience I'll none such,
 That smell with honesty so much,
 I shall not quickly fill my hutch
 by due toll;
 I must, for every bushel of meal,
 A peck if not three gallons steal,
 Therefore with thee I will not deal,
 thou true soul.
 Then leaving cities, skirts and all,
 Where my welcome it was but small,
 I went to try what would befall
 i' th' country;
 There thought I to be entertain'd:
 But I was likewise there diadain'd;
 A long time bootless I complain'd
 to th' gentry.

AN ADDRESS

AGREED UPON AT

THE COMMITTEE FOR THE FRENCH WAR,

And read in the House of Commons, April the 19th, 1689.

WE your Majesty's most loyal subjects, the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, have taken into our most serious consideration the condition and state of this nation, in respect of France, and foreign alliances; in order to which, we have examined the mischiefs brought upon Christendom, in late years, by the French King, who, without any respect to justice, has, by fraud and force, endeavoured to subject it to an arbitrary and universal monarchy.

In prosecution of this design, so pernicious to the repose and safety of Europe, he has neglected none of those means, how indirect soever, which his ambition or avarice could suggest to him. The faith of treaties, among all princes, especially Christian princes, ever held most inviolable, has never been able to restrain him, nor the solemnest oaths to bind him, when any occasion presented itself for extending the limits of his kingdom, or oppressing those, whom his interest inclined him to qualify by the name of his enemies. Witness his haughty and groundless declaration of war against the States General of the United Provinces, in the year 1672, in which he assigned no other reason for disturbing that profound peace, which, thro' God's mercy, all Europe enjoyed at that time; but his own glory, and his resolution to punish the Dutch, for some imaginary slights and disrespects, which he would have had the world believe, they had put upon him: whereas, the true occasion of that war was nothing else but a formed design, laid down and agreed upon by that king and his accomplices, for the subversion of the liberties of Europe, and for abolishing the Commonwealth of Holland, as being too dangerous an example of liberty to the subjects of neighbouring monarchs. The zeal for Catholick religion, which was pretended by him in this and the following wars, did afterwards sufficiently appear to the world, to be no other than a cloak for his unmeasurable ambition; for, at the same time when the persecution grew hottest against the protestants of France, letters were intercepted, and published, from him to Count Teckely, to give him the greatest encouragement, and promise him the utmost assistance in the war, which, in conjunction with the Turk, he then managed against* the first and greatest of all Roman Catholick princes.

Witness, also, the many open infractions of the treaties, both of Aix la Chapelle and Nimenguen, (whereof your Majesty† is the strongest

* The King of Hungary, &c.

† As King of England. See the Emperor's Letter to King James the Second, page 23.

(guaranty) upon the most frivolous pretences imaginable, of which the most usual was that of dependencies; an invention set on foot on purpose to serve for a pretext of rupture with all his neighbours, unless they chose rather to satisfy his endless demands, by abandoning one place after another, to his insatiable appetite of empire, and for maintaining whereof, the two chambers of Metz and Brissach were erected to find out and forge titles, and to invent equivocal constructions for eluding the plain meaning of treaties concluded and sworn with the greatest solemnity, and than which nothing can be more sacred among mankind.

From hence it was, also, that Strasburg was so infamously surprised by the French King, in a time of full peace; and though great conditions were agreed and promised to the inhabitants of that city, yet as soon as he in possession of it, but all stipulations were forgotten, and that ancient free city doth now groan under the same yoke with the rest of that^e king's subjects.

The building the fort of Hunninghen, contrary to so many solemn assurances given to the Swiss, and the affair of Luxemburg, are too well known, to need a particular deduction. In a word, the whole series of the French King's actions, for many years last past, has been so ordered, as if it were his intention, not only to render his own people extremely miserable, by intolerable imposition of taxes, to be employed in maintaining an incredible number of dragoons, and other soldiers, to be the instruments of his cruelty upon such of them as refuse in all things to comply with his unjust commands, but likewise to hold all the neighbouring powers in perpetual alarm and expence, for the maintaining armies and fleets, that they may be in a posture to defend themselves against the invador of their common safety and liberties.

Examples of this sort might be innumerable; but his invasion of Flanders and Holland, since the last truce of 1684, and the outrages committed upon the empire, by attacking the fort of Philipsburg, without any declaration of war, at the same time that his imperial Majesty was employing all his forces against[†] the common enemy of the Christian faith, and his wasting the Palatinate with fire and sword, and murdering an infinite number of innocent persons, for no other reasons, as himself hath publicly declared, but because he thought the Elector Palatine faithful to the interest of the empire, and an obstacle to the compassing his ambitious designs, are sufficient instances of this.

To these we cannot, but with a particular resentment, add the injuries done to your Majesty, in the most unjust and violent seizing of your Principality of Orange, and the utmost insolencies committed on the persons of your Majesty's subjects there: and how, to facilitate his conquests upon his neighbour princes, he engaged the Turks in a war against Christendom at the same time.

And, as if violating of treaties, and ravaging the countries of his neighbours states, were not sufficient means of advancing his exorbitant power and greatness, he has constantly had recourse to the vilest and meanest arts, for the ruin of those whom he had taken upon him to subdue to his will and power, insinuating himself, by his emissaries, un-

^e French.

[†] The Turk.

der the sacred name and character of publick ministers, into those who were intrusted in the government of kingdoms and states, suborning them, by gifts and pensions, to the selling their masters, and betraying their trusts, and descending even to intrigues by women, who were sent or married into the countries of diverse potent princes, to lie as snakes in their bosoms, to eat out their bowels, or to instil that poison into them, which might prove the destruction of them and their countries, of which Poland, Savoy, and Spain, to mention no more at present, can give but too ample testimonies.

The insolent use he has made of his ill-gotten greatness, has been as extravagant as the means of procuring it. For this the single instance of Genoa may suffice; which, without the least notice or any ground of a quarrel whatsoever, was bombarded by the French fleet, and the dogs, four principal senators of that free state, constrained in person to humble themselves at that monarch's feet; which, in the style of France, was called 'chastising sovereigns for casting umbrage upon his greatness.'

His practices against England have been of the same nature, and by corrupt means he has constantly, and with too much success, endeavoured to get such power in the court of England, in the time of King Charles the Second, and the late King James, as might by degrees undermine the government, and true interest of this flourishing kingdom.*

Another art which he has used to weaken England, and subject it to his aspiring designs, was never to admit an equal balance of trade, nor consent to any just treaty or settlement of commerce, by which he promoted our ruin at our own charge.

When, from a just apprehension of this formidable growing power of France, the nation became zealous to right themselves; and the House of Commons, in the year 1677, being assured they should have an actual war against France, cheerfully raised a great sum of money, and an army as readily appeared to carry on the war; that interest of France had still power enough to render all this ineffectual, and to frustrate the nation of all their hopes and expectations.

Nor did France only render this desired war ineffectual, but had power enough to make us practise their injustice and irregularities, some years before, by turning our force against our next neighbours,† by assailing their Smyrna fleet.

Nor were they more industrious, by corrupt means, to obtain this power, than careful, by the same ways, to support it; and knowing that from parliaments only could probably proceed an obstruction to their secret practices, they attempted to make a bargain, That they should not meet in such a time; in which they might hope to perfect their designs of enslaving the nation.

In the same confidence of this power, they violently seized upon part of Hudson's Bay; and, when the matter was complained of by the company, and the injury offered to be proved, the best expedient France could find to cover their injustice, and prevent satisfaction, was to make use of their great interest in the Court of England to keep it from ever coming to be heard.

* See the Emperor's Letter, in page 23. † The Dutch. ‡ With the King and Ministry.

The French king, in pursuance of his usual methods, of laying hold of any opportunity that might increase his power, and give disturbance to others, has now* carried on an actual war in Ireland, sending thither a great number of officers with money, arms, and ammunition, and, under the pretence of assisting the late King James, he has taken the government of affairs into his hands, by putting all officers into commands, and managing the whole business by his ministers, and has already begun to use the same cruelties and violences upon your majesty's subjects, as he has lately practised in his own dominions, and in all other places, where he has got power enough to destroy.

Lastly, The French king's declaration of war against the crown of Spain, is wholly grounded upon its friendship to your majesty's royal person, and no other cause of denouncing war against it is therein alleged, than the resolution taken in that court, to favour your majesty, whom he most injuriously terms the Usurper of England, an insolence never-enough to be resented and detested by your majesty's subjects.

After our humble representation of all these particulars to your majesty, if your majesty shall think fit to enter into a war against France, we humbly assure your majesty, That we will give you such assistance in a parliamentary way, as shall enable your majesty to support and go through the same; and we shall not doubt, but by the blessing of God, upon your majesty's prudent conduct, a stop may be put to that growing greatness of the French king, which threatens all Christendom with no less than absolute slavery; the incredible quantity of innocent blood shed may be revenged; his oppressed neighbours restored to their just rights and possessions; your majesty's alliances, and the treaty of Nimenguent† supported to that degree, that all Europe in general, and this nation, in particular, may for ever have occasion to celebrate your majesty as the great maintainer of justice and liberty, and the opposer and overthrower of all violence, cruelty, and arbitrary power.

* In the Year 1689.

† By which, proper caution was taken to curb the haughty designs of France, to maintain the balance of Europe, and to secure the prosperity of the Protestant States.

MACHIAVEL'S VINDICATION
OF
HIMSELF AND HIS WRITINGS,
AGAINST THE
IMPUTATION OF IMPIETY, ATHEISM, AND OTHER HIGH CRIMES;
 EXTRACTED FROM HIS LETTER TO HIS FRIEND SENOCIUS.

In this Apologetical Letter, Machiavel endeavours to clear himself of three accusations: 1. Of his favouring democracy. 2. Of his vilifying the church, as author of all the misgovernment in the world; and by such contempts, making way for profaneness and atheism. 3. Of teaching monarchs, in his book of the Prince, all the execrable villainies that can be invented, and instructing them how to break faith, and so to oppress and enslave their subjects; which particulars are generally laid to his charge.

I. To the first, he answers, 'That being born and brought up in a commonwealth, viz. Florence, and having had his share in the managing affairs, sometimes in the quality of secretary to that city, and sometimes employed in embassages abroad; to quit himself of his duty, he began to read the histories of ancient and modern times, and thereupon made some observations on Livy, wherein he carefully avoided all dogmaticalness, and never concluded, from the excellency of the Roman counsels and achievements, that they naturally proceeded from their government, and were a plain effect and consequence of the perfection of their commonwealth. 'But,' says he, 'if readers will thus judge, how can I in reason be accused for that?'

Then he gives you a description of rebellion, which he extends not only to a rising in arms against any government we live under, but to all clandestine conspiracies too, and believes it to be the greatest crime that can be committed amongst men; and yet a sin which will be committed, while the world lasts, as often as princes tyrannise over their subjects; for, let the horror and guilt be never so great, it is impossible that human nature, which consists of passion, as well as virtue, can support, with patience and submission, the greatest cruelty and injustice, whenever either the weakness of their princes, the unanimity of the people, or any other favourable accident shall give them reasonable hopes to mend their condition, and provide better for their own interest by insurrection.

But as to those who take up arms to maintain the politick constitution or government of their country, in the condition it then is, and to defend it from being changed or invaded by the craft or force of any man, though it were the prince, or chief magistrate himself; if such taking up of arms be commanded or authorised by those who are, by the orders of that government, legally intrusted with the custody of the liberty of the people, and foundation of the government: Our author is so far from accounting it a rebellion, that he believes it laudable, and the duty of every member of such commonwealth.—If this be not granted, it will be in vain to frame any mixt monarchies in the world.

II. As to the accusation of impiety, Machiavel denies, that his laying the blame upon the church of Rome, not only for all the misgovernment of Christendom, but even for the depravation, and almost total destruction of the Christian religion in Italy; he denies, I say, that such a blame should make way for atheism. In order to a further clearing of himself, he makes a most pure profession of

faith, and then goes on to prove, that the Popes have corrupted the Christianity: 'Nay,' adds he, 'we have something more to say against those sacrilegious pretenders to God's power; for whereas all other false worships have been set up by some politick legislators, for the support and preservation of government; this false, this spurious religion, brought in upon the ruins of Christianity, by the Popes, has deformed the face of the government in Europe, destroying all the good principles and morality left us by the heathens themselves; and introduced, instead thereof, sordid, cowardly, and impolitick notions, whereby they have subjected mankind, and even great princes and states to their empire; and never suffered any orders or maxims to take place (where they had power) that might make a nation wise, honest, great, and wealthy. This I have set down so plainly in those passages of my book, which are complained of,' &c. And, indeed, I remember to have read many things to that purpose, in his observations on Livy. True, it is, that he does not there express his mind so fully, but what may be written in a letter to particular friends, may not be allowed in a book, especially under the tyranny of the inquisition, to which he was subject.

Afterwards he pursues to enumerate the prevarications of the Church of Rome, and shews, that the Popes are so far from being the successors of St. Peter, and the vicars of Christ, that they are rather the antichrist and man of sin. He briefly confutes the worship of images, the invocation of saints, the persecution of heretics, the indulgences and purgatory, the immunities of the clergy and monks, &c. There he says something, by the way, worthy our observation, namely, 'That the very same year in which Luther began to thunder against the Pope's indulgences, our author prophesies, that the scourge of the church was not far off.' What kind of prophecies those of Machiavel might be, I leave politicians to judge. However, this undeniably proves, that this letter is genuine. I might add, that those, who are excellently learned in that science, have something divine in them; and, because of the great chain of consequences they foresee, may foretel several things some ages before the event. The prophecy of our author, concerning the reformation, and the reviving of Popery, may be an instance of it.

III. Concerning the last accusation, That he teaches princes how to enslave and oppress their subjects: He answers, That his treatise is both a satire against tyrants, and a true character of them; and that he only designed to draw such monsters to the life, that people might the better know and avoid them. Just as a physician describes a foul disease, to the end men may be deterred, and shun the infection of it, or may discern and cure it, if it comes upon them. And as to what he affirmed in another book, That in what way soever men defended their country, whether by breaking or keeping their faith, 'It was ever well defended;' he says, he meant it not in a strict moral sense, or point of honour; but would only signify, that the infamy of the breach of word would quickly be forgotten and pardoned by the world; which is so true, that even good success, a far less consideration than piety to our country, commonly cancels the blame of such a perfidy. As we see Caesar (though not a whit better than Cataline) not only not detested by posterity, but even crowned with renown and immortal fame.

THE discourse we had lately, dear Zenobio, and the pressing importunity of Guilio Salviati, that I would use some means to wipe off the many aspersions cast upon my writings, gives you the present trouble of reading this letter, and me the pleasure of writing it.

I have yielded, you see, to the intreaty of Guilio, and the rest of that company, for that I esteem it a duty to clear that excellent society from the scandal of having so dangerous and pernicious a person to be a member of their conversation. For by reason of my age, and since the loss of my liberty, and my sufferings under that monster of lust and cruelty, Alexander de Medici, set over us by the divine vengeance for our sins, I can be capable of no other design or enjoyment, than to delight and be delighted in the company of so many choice and vir-

tuous persons, who now assemble themselves with all security, under the happy and hopeful reign of our new prince Cosimo; and, we may say, that, though our commonwealth be not restored, our slavery is at an end, and, that he, coming in by our own choice, may prove, if I have as good skill in prophesying, as I have had formerly, ancestor to many renowned princes, who will govern this state in great quietness, and with great clemency; so that our posterity is like to enjoy ease and security, though not that greatness, wealth, and glory, by which our city hath for some years past, even in the most factious and tumultuous times of our democracy, given law to Italy, and bridled the ambition of foreign princes. But that I may avoid the loquacity incident to old men, I will come to the business; if I remember well, the exceptions, that are taken to these poor things I have published, are reducible to three.

First, That in all my writings I insinuate my great affection to the democratical government, even so much as to undervalue that of monarchy in respect of it; which last I do not obscurely in many passages teach, and, as it were, persuade the people to throw off.

Next, That in some places I vent very great impieties, slighting and vilifying the church as author of all the misgovernment in the world, and by such contempt make way for atheism and profaneness.

And lastly, That in my Book of the Prince, I teach monarchs all the execrable villanies that can be invented, and instruct them how to break faith, and to oppress and to enslave their subjects.

I shall answer something to every one of these; and, that I may observe a right method, will begin with the first.—

I shall speak to that which is indeed fit to be wiped off, and which, if it were true, would not only justly expose me to the hatred and vengeance of God, and all good men, but even destroy the design and purpose of all my writings; which is to treat in some sort, as well as one of my small parts can hope to do, of the politicks. And how can any man pretend to write concerning policy, who destroys the most essential part of it, which is obedience to all governments? It will be very easy then for Guilio Salviati, or any other member of our society, to believe the protestation I make, That the animating of private men, either directly or indirectly, to disobey, much less to shake off any government, how despotical soever, was never in my thoughts or writings; those, who are unwilling to give credit to this, may take the pains to assign, in any of my books, the passages they imagine to tend that way (for I can think of none myself) that so I may give such person more particular satisfaction.

I must confess I have a discourse in one of my books to encourage the Italian nation, to assume their ancient valour, and to expel the Barbarians, meaning, as the ancient Romans use the word, all strangers from among us; but that was before the kings of Spain had quiet possession of the kingdom of Naples, or the emperor of the duchy of Milan; so that I could not be interpreted to mean that the people of those two dominions should be stirred up to shake off their princes, because they were foreigners; since at that time Lodovico Sforza was in the possession of the one, and king Frederick restored to the other, both natives of

Italy. But my design was to exhort our country-men not to suffer this province to be the scene of the arms and ambition of Charles VIII. or King Lewis his successor, who, when they had a mind to renew the old title of the house of Anjou to the kingdom of Naples, came with such force into Italy, that not only our goods were plundered, and our lands wasted; but even the liberty of our cities and government endangered; but to unite and oppose them, and to keep this province in the hands of princes of our own nation; this my intention is so visible in the chapter itself, that I need but refer you to it. Yet, that I may not answer this imputation barely by denying, I shall assert in this place what my principles are in that which the world calls rebellion; which I believe to be, not only a rising in arms against any government we live under, but to acknowledge that word to extend to all clandestine conspiracies too, by which the peace and quiet of any country may be interrupted, and, by consequence, the lives and estates of innocent persons endangered. Rebellion, then, so described, I hold to be the greatest crime that can be committed among men, both against policy, morality, and in *foro conscientie*; but, notwithstanding all this, it is an offence, which will be committed whilst the world lasts, as often as princes tyrannise, and, by enslaving and oppressing their subjects, make magistracy, which was intended for the benefit of mankind, prove a plague and destruction to it. For, let the terror and the guilt be never so great, it is impossible that human nature, which consists of passion, as well as virtue, can support, with patience and submission, the greatest cruelty and injustice, whenever either the weakness of their princes, the unanimity of the people, or any other favourable accident, shall give them reasonable hopes to mend their condition, and provide better for their own interest by insurrection. So that princes and states, ought, in the conduct of their affairs, not only to consider what their people are bound to submit to, if they were inspired from heaven, or were all moral philosophers; but to weigh likewise what is probable, *de facto*, to fall out in this corrupt age of the world, and to reflect upon those dangerous tumults which have happened frequently, not only upon oppression, but even by reason of malversation, and how some monarchies have been wholly subverted, and changed into democracies, by the tyranny of their princes; as we see, to say nothing of Rome, the powerful cantons of Switzerland, brought, by that means, a little before the last age, to a considerable commonwealth, courted and sought to by all the potentates in Christendom. If princes will seriously consider this matter, I make no question, but they will rule with clemency and moderation, and return to that excellent maxim of the ancients, almost exploded in this age, That the interest of kings and of their people is the same: Which truth, it hath been the whole design of my writings, to convince them of.

Now, having gone thus far in the description of rebellion, I think myself obliged to tell you, what I conceive not to be rebellion. Whosoever then takes arms to maintain the politick constitution or government of the country in the condition it then is, I mean, to defend it from being changed or invaded by the craft or force of any man (although it be the prince or chief magistrate himself) provided that such taking up

of arms, be commanded or authorised by those, who are, by the order of that government, legally entrusted with the custody of the liberty of the people, and foundation of the government; this I hold to be so far from rebellion, that I believe it laudable, nay, the duty of every member of such commonwealth; for that he who fights to support and defend the government he was born and lives under, cannot deserve the odious name of rebel, but he who endeavours to destroy it. If this be not granted, it will be in vain to frame any mixt government in the world. Yet such is, at this day, the happy form under which almost all Europe lives, as the people of France, Spain, Germany, Poland, Swedeland, Denmark, &c. wherein the prince hath his share, and the people theirs: Which last, if they had no means of recovering their right, if taken away from them, or defending them, if invaded, would be in the same estate as if they had no title to them, but lived under the empire of Turkey or Muscovy; and since they have no other remedy but by arms, and that it would be of ill consequence to make every private man judge when the rights of the people are invaded (to which they have as lawful a claim as a prince to his) which would be apt to produce frequent, and sometimes causeless tumults; therefore, it hath been the great wisdom of the founders of such monarchies, to appoint guardians to their liberty, which, if it be not otherwise expressed, is, and ought to be understood, to reside in the estates of the country; which, for that reason (as also to exercise their shares in the sovereignty, as making laws, levying money) are to be frequently assembled in all the regions of Europe, before-mentioned; These are to assert and maintain the orders of the government and the laws established, and, if it cannot be done otherwise, to arm the people to defend and repel the force that is upon them: Nay, the government of Arragon goes farther, and, because, in the intervals of the estates or courts, many accidents may intervene to the prejudice of their rights, or juroes, as they call them, they having, during the intermission, appointed a magistrate called El Justicia, who is, by the law and constitution of that kingdom, to assemble the whole people to his banner, whenever such rights are incroached upon; who are not only justified by the laws, for such coming together, but are severely punishable in case of refusal; so that there is no question, but that if the kings of Arragon, at this day, very powerful by the addition of the kingdom of Naples, and of Sicily, and the union with Castile, should in time to come invade their kingdom of Arragon, with the forces of their new dominions, and endeavour to take from them the rights and privileges, they enjoy lawfully, by their constitution, there is no question, I say, but they may (though their king be there in person against them) assemble under Justicia, and defend their liberties with as much justice, as if they were invaded by the French, or by the Turk: For it were absurd to think, since the people may be legally assembled to apprehend robbers; nay, to deliver possession forcibly detained against the sentence of some inferior court, that they may, and ought not to bestir themselves, to keep in being, and preserve that government which maintains them in possession of their liberties and properties, and defends their lives too, from being arbitrarily taken away. But I know,

this clear truth receives opposition in this unseasonable and corrupt age, when men are more prone to flatter the lust of princes than formerly, and the favourites are more impatient to bear the impartiality of laws, than the sons of Brutus were, who complained *Leges esse surdas*; that is, though they were fine gentlemen, in favour with the ladies, and ministers of king's pleasure, yet they could not oppress, drink, whore, nor kill the officers of justice in the streets, returning from their night revels, but the execution of the laws would reach them, as well as others, who, in the time of Tarquin, it seems, found the prince more clozable. Nay, the divines* themselves help with their fallacies to oppugn this doctrine, by making us believe, as I said before, that it is God's will, all princes should be absolute; and are so far in conspiracy against all mankind, that they assert, that in the text, this shall be the manner of your kings, God was giving that people the *Jus Divinum* of government, when in truth he was threatening them with the plagues of tyrants. But I spare the divines here, since I shall have occasion, in the discoursing of my next accusation, to shew how that sort of people have dealt with God's truth, and with the interest of men; and to be as good as my word, I shall presently fall upon that point, having been tedious already in the former.

I am charged then, in the second place, with impiety, in vilifying the Church†, and so to make way for Atheism. I do not deny, but I have very frequently in my writings laid the blame upon the Church of Rome, not only for all the misgovernment of Christendom, but even for the depravation, and almost total destruction of Christian religion itself, in this province‡; but that this discourse of mine doth or can tend to teach men impiety, or to make way for atheism, I peremptorily deny: And, although, for proof of my innocence herein, I need but refer you and all others to my papers themselves, as they are now published, where you will find all my reasons drawn from experience and frequent example cited, which is ever my way of arguing; yet since I am put upon it, I shall, in a few lines, make that matter possibly a little clearer, and shall first make protestation, 'That, as I do undoubtedly hope by the merits of Christ and by faith in him to attain eternal salvation, so I do firmly believe the Christian profession, to be the only true religion now in the world. Next, I am fully persuaded that all divine virtues, which God then designed to teach the world, are contained in the books of the holy scripture, as they are now extant and received among us. From them I understand, that God created man in purity and innocence, and that the first of that species, by their frailty, lost at once their integrity and their paradise, and entailed sin and misery upon their posterity: That Almighty God, to repair this loss, did out of his infinite mercy, and with unparalleled grace and goodness, send his only begotten son into the world to teach us new truths, to be a perfect example of virtue, goodness, and obedience to restore true religion, degenerated among the Jews into superstition, formality, and hypocrisy, to die for the salvation of mankind, and, in fine, to give to us the holy spirit to regenerate our hearts, support our faith, and lead us into all truth.'

* Of the Church of Rome, and such as would make their court to an arbitrary prince.
† Of Rome.

‡ Viz. Italy, or wherever Popery sways the people.

Now, if it shall appear, that as the lust of our first parents did, at that time, disappoint the good intention of God in making a pure world, and brought in by their disobedience the corruptions that are now in it; so that since likewise the bishops of Rome, by their unsatiable ambition and avarice, have designedly, as much as in them lies, frustrated the merciful purpose, he had in the happy restoration he intended the world by his son, and in the renewing and reforming of human nature, and have wholly defaced and spoiled Christian religion, and made it a worldly and heathenish thing, and altogether incapable, as it is practised among them, either of directing the ways of its professors to virtue and good life, or of saving their souls hereafter; if, I say, this do appear, I know no reason why I, for detecting thus much, and for giving warning to the world to take heed of their ways, should be accused of impiety or atheism; or why his holiness should be so enraged against the poor inhabitants of the vallies in Savoy, and against the Albigenes for calling him Antichrist. But to find that this is an undoubted truth, I mean, that the Popes have corrupted Christian religion, we need but read the New Testament, acknowledged by themselves to be of infallible truth, and there we shall see that the faith and religion preached by Christ, and settled afterwards by his apostles, and cultivated by their sacred epistles, is so different a thing from the Christianity that is now professed and taught at Rome, that we should be convinced, that, if those holy men should be sent by God again into the world, they would take more pains to confute this gallimaufry, than ever they did to preach down the tradition of the Pharisees, or the fables and idolatry of the Gentiles, and would, in probability, suffer a new martyrdom in that city under the vicar of Christ, for the same doctrine which once animated the Heathen tyrants against them. Nay, we have something more to say against these sacrilegious pretenders to God's power; for, whereas all other false worships have been set up by some politick legislators, for the support and preservation of government, this false, this spurious religion brought in upon the ruins of Christianity by the Popes, hath deformed the face of government in Europe, destroying all the good principles and morality left us by the heathens themselves, and introduced, instead thereof, sordid, cowardly, impolitick notions, whereby they have subjected mankind, and even great princes and states to their own empire, and never suffered any orders or maxims to take place, where they have power, that might make a nation wise, honest, great, or wealthy; this I have set down so plainly in those passages of my book which are complained of, that I shall say nothing at all for the proof of it in this place, but refer you thither; and come to speak a little more particularly of my first assertion, That the Pope and his clergy have depraved Christian religion: Upon this subject I could infinitely wish, now letters begin to revive again, that some learned pen would employ itself, and that some person, versed in the chronology of the church, as they call it, would deduce, out of the ecclesiastical writers, the time and manner how these abuses crept in*, and by what art and steps this Babel, that reaches at heaven, was built

* This shall be done in the course of this collection.

by these sons of the earth. But this matter, as unsuitable to the brevity of a letter, and, indeed, more to my small parts and learning, I shall not pretend to, being one who never hitherto studied or writ of theology, further than it did naturally concern the politicks; therefore I shall not deal by the New Testament as I have done formerly by Titus Livius, that is, make observations or reflexions upon it, and leave you, and Mr. Guilio, and the rest of our society, to make their judgment, not citing, like preachers, the chapter or verse, because the reading the holy scripture is little used, and, indeed, hardly permitted among us*.

To begin at the top, I would have any reasonable man tell me, whence this unmeasurable power, long claimed, and now possessed by the Bishop of Rome, is derived, first, of being Christ's vicar, and by that, as I may so say, pretending to a monopoly of the holy spirit, which was promised and given to the whole Church, that is, to the elect or saints, as is plain by a clause in St. Peter's sermon, made the very same time that the miraculous gifts of the spirit of God were first given to the apostles, who says to the Jews and Gentiles, 'Repent and be baptised every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and you shall receive the gift of the holy ghost; for this promise is to you and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call.'

Next to judge infallibly of divine truth, and to forgive sins as Christ did, then to be the head of all ecclesiastical persons and causes in the world, to be so far above kings and princes, as to judge, depose, and deprive them, and to have an absolute jurisdiction over all the affairs in Christendom, *in ordine ad spiritualia*; yet all this the canonists allow him, and he makes no scruple to assume, whilst it is plain, that, in the whole New Testament, there is no description made of such an officer to be at any time in the Church, except it be in the Prophecy of the Apocalypse, or in one of St. Paul's epistles, where he says, 'who it is that shall sit in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.' Christ tells us his kingdom is not of this world, and if any will be the greatest among his disciples, that he must be servant to the rest; which shews that his followers were to be great in sanctity and humility, and not in worldly power.

The Apostle Paul, writing to the Christians of those times, almost in every epistle commands them, to be obedient to the higher powers or magistrates set over them: And St. Peter himself (from whom this extravagant empire is pretended to be derived) in his first epistle bids us 'submit ourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the kings, or,' &c. And this is enjoined, although it is plain, that they who governed the world, in those days, were both heathens, tyrants, and usurpers; and in this submission there is no exception or proviso for ecclesiastical immunity. The practice as well as precepts of these holy men shews plainly that they had no intention to leave successors, who should deprive hereditary princes, from their right of reigning, for differing in religion, who, without all doubt, are by the ap-

* Roman Catholics in Popish states.

† Alluding to De'lanan, or Father Parson's Book against Queen Elizabeth; and to the Popish doctrine of deposing kings for their religion. See page 35.

pointment of the apostle, and by the principles of Christianity, to be obeyed and submitted to in things wherein the fundamental laws of the government give them the power, tho' they were Jews or Gentiles. If I should tell you by what texts in scripture the Popes claim the powers before-mentioned, it would stir up your laughter, and prove too light for so serious a matter; yet, because possibly you may never have heard so much of this subject before, I shall instance in a few; they tell you, therefore, that the jurisdiction they pretend over the church, and the power of pardoning sins comes from Christ, to St. Peter, and from him to them. 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth', &c. From these two texts, ridiculously applied, comes this great tree, which hath, with its branches, overspread the whole earth, and killed all the good and wholesome plants growing upon it: The first text will never by any man of sense be understood to say more than that the 'preachings, sufferings, and ministry of Peter was like to be a great foundation and pillar of the doctrine of Christ.' The other text, as also another spoken by our Saviour and his apostles, 'Whose sins ye remit they are remitted, and whose sins ye retain they are retained,' are, by all primitive fathers, interpreted in this manner, 'Whosoever you shall effectually preach the gospel, you shall carry with you grace and remission of sins to them which shall follow your instructions: But the people, who shall not have these joyful tidings communicated by you to them, shall remain in darkness and in their sins.' But if any will contest, that, by some of these last texts, that evangelical excommunication, which was afterwards brought into the Church by the apostles, was here presignified by our great master, how unlike were those censures, to those now thundered out, as he calls it, by the Pope. These were for edification and not destruction, to afflict the flesh for the salvation of the soul; that apostolical ordinance was pronounced for some notorious scandal or apostasy from the faith, and first decreed by the Church, that is, the whole congregation present, and then denounced by the pastor, and reached only to debar such person from partaking of the communion of fellowship of that Church, till repentance should re-admit him, but was followed by no other prosecution or chastisement, as is now practised*. But suppose all these texts had been as they would have them, how does this make for the successors of St. Peter, or the rest? Or, how can this prove the bishops of Rome to have right to such succession? But I make haste from this subject, and shall urge but one text more, which is, 'the spiritual man judgeth all men, but is himself judged of none;' from whence it is inferred by the Canonists, that, first, 'the Pope is the spiritual man;' and then, that 'he is to be judge of all the world;' and last, 'that he is never to be liable to any judgment himself;' whereas it is obvious to the meanest understanding, that St. Paul, in this text, means to distinguish between a person inspired with the spirit of God, and one remaining in the state of nature; which latter, he says, cannot judge of those heavenly gifts and graces, as he explains himself,

* In the Church of Rome.

when he says, 'The natural man cannot discern the things of the spirit, because they are foolishness unto him.'

To take my leave of this matter wholly out of the way of my studies, I beg of you Zenobio, and of Guilio, and the rest of our society, to read over, carefully, the New Testament, and then to see what ground there is for purgatory, by which all the wealth and greatness hath accrued to these men; what colour for their idolatrous worship of saints and their images, and particularly for speaking in their hymns and prayers to a piece of wood, the cross I mean, *salve lignum*, &c. And then *fac nos dignos beneficiorum Christi*, as you may read in that office*; what colour, or rather what excuse for that horrid, unchristian, and barbarous engine, called the Inquisition. brought in by the command and authority of the Pope, the inventor of which Peter, a Dominican friar, having been slain among the Albigenes, as he well deserved, is now canonised for a saint, and stiled San Pietro Martine?

In the dreadful prisons of this inquisition, many faithful and pious Christians, to say nothing of honest moral Moors, or Mahometans, are tormented and famished, or, if they outlive their sufferings, burnt publicly to death, and that only for differing in religion from the Pope, without having any crime or the least misdemeanor proved or alledged against them; and this is inflicted upon these poor creatures, by those who profess to believe the scripture; which tells us, that 'faith is the gift of God,' without whose special illumination no man can obtain it; and therefore is not in reason or humanity to be punished for wanting it? And Christ himself hath so clearly decided that point in bidding us let the 'tares and wheat grow together till the harvest,' that I shall never make any difficulty to call him Antichrist, who shall use the least persecution whatsoever, against any differing in matters of faith from himself, whether the person, so dissenting, be Heretick, Jew, Gentile, or Mahometan.

Next, I beseech you to observe in reading that holy book, though Christian fasts are doubtless of divine right, 'what ground there is for enjoining fish to be eaten, at least flesh to be abstained from one third part of the year,' by which they put the poor to great hardship, who not having purses to buy wholesome fish, are subjected to all the miseries and diseases incident to a bad and unhealthful diet; whilst the rich, and chiefly themselves and their cardinals, exceed Lucullus in their luxury of oysters, turbats, tender crabs, and carps, brought some hundreds of miles to feed their gluttony, upon these penitential days of abstinence from beef and pork. It may be it will lie in the way of those who observe this, to enquire what St. Paul means, when he says, 'That in the latter days some shall depart from the faith, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving;' but all these things, and many other abuses brought in by these perverters of Christianity, will, I hope, ere long be enquired into by some of the disciples of that bold friar, who, the very same year† in which I prophesied that the scourge of the Church was not far off, began to thunder against their indulgences; and since, hath ques-

* The adoration of the cross on Good Friday.

† Martin Luther, who was an Augustine Friar.

tioned many tenets long received and imposed upon the world. I shall conclude this discourse, after I have said a word of the most hellish of all the innovations brought in by the Popes, which is, the clergy; these are a sort of men, under pretence of ministring to the people in holy things, set a-part and separated from the rest of mankind, from whom they have a very distinct and a very opposite interest by a human ceremony, called by a divine name, viz. Ordination; these, wherever they are found, with the whole body of the Monks and Friars, who are called the regular clergy, 'make a band which may be called the Janizaries of the Papacy'; these have been the causes of all the solecisms and immoralities in government, and of all the impieties and abominations in religion; and by consequence, of all the disorder, villany, and corruption we suffer under in this detestable age; these men, by the Bishop of Rome's help, 'have crept into all the governments of Christendom, where there is any mixture of monarchy, and made themselves a third estate'; that is, have by their temporalities, which are almost a third part of all the land in Europe, given them by the blind zeal, or rather folly of the northern people, who over-ran this part of the world, stepped into the throne, and what they cannot perform by these secular helps, and by the dependency their vassals have upon them, they fail not to claim and to usurp by the power they pretend to have from God and his vicegerent at Rome. They* exempt themselves, their lands, and goods, from all secular jurisdiction, that is, from all courts of justice and magistracy, and will be judges in their own causes, as in matters of tythe, &c. and not content with this, will appoint courts of their own to decide sovereignty in testamentary matters and many other causes, and take upon them to be the sole punishers of many great crimes, as witchcraft, sorcery, adultery, and all uncleanness. To say nothing of the forementioned judicatory of the inquisition; in these last cases, 'they turn the offenders over to be punished (when they have given sentence) by the secular arm (so they call the magistrate) who is blindly to execute their decrees under pain of hell-fire; as if Christian princes and governors were appointed only by God to be their bravo's or hangmen.' They give protection and sanctuary to all execrable offenders†, even to murderers themselves, whom God commanded to be indispensably punished with death. If they come within their Churches, cloysters, or any other place, which they will please to call holy ground; and if the ordinary justice, nay, the sovereign power, do proceed against such offender, they thunder out their excommunication; that is, cut off from the body of Christ not the prince only, but the whole nation and people, shutting the church doors, and commanding divine offices to cease, and sometimes even authorising the people to rise up in arms, and constrain their governors to a submission, as happened to this poor city in the time of our ancestors; when, for but forbidding the servant of a poor Carmelite friar who had vowed poverty, and should have kept none to go armed, and punishing his disobedience with imprisonment, our whole senate, with their Gonfalonier, were constrained to go to Avignon for absolution; and, in case of refusal, had been mac-

* In the Church of Rome.

† In Popish states, whoever flees to a convent, church, or other place set apart for religious exercises, is protected from justice.

sacred by the people. It would almost astonish a wise man to imagine how these folks should acquire an empire so destructive to Christian religion, and so pernicious to the interests of men; but it will not seem so miraculous to them who shall seriously consider, that the clergy hath been for more than this thousand years upon the catch, and a formed united corporation against the purity of religion and interest of mankind, and have not only wrested the holy scriptures to their own advantage, which they have kept from the laity in unknown languages, and by prohibiting the reading thereof; but made use likewise, first, of the blind devotion and ignorance of the Goths, Vandals, Huns, &c. and since, of the ambition and avarice of Christian princes, stirring them up, one against another, and sending them upon foolish errands to the Holy Land* to lose their lives and to leave their dominions, in the mean time, exposed to themselves and their complices; they have, besides, kept learning and knowledge among themselves, stifling the light of the gospel, crying down moral virtues as splendid sins, defacing human policy, destroying the purity of the Christian faith and profession, and all that was virtuous, prudent, regular, and orderly upon earth, so that whoever would do good and good men service, get himself immortal honour in this life, and eternal glory in the next, would restore the good policy (I had almost said with my author, Livy, the sanctity too) of the heathens, with all their valour and other glorious endowments; I say, whoever would do this, must make himself powerful enough to extirpate this cursed and apostate race† out of the world.

I hope I shall not be thought impious any longer upon this point, I mean for vindicating Christian religion from the assaults of these men, who having the confidence to believe, or, at least, profess themselves the only instruments which God hath chosen, or can choose, to teach and reform the world, though they have neither moral virtues nor natural parts equal to other men, for the most part, have by this pretence prevailed so far upon the common sort of people, and upon some too of a better quality, that they are persuaded their salvation, or eternal damnation, depends upon believing or not believing of what they say. I would not be understood to dissuade any from honouring the 'true apostolick teachers,' when they shall be re-established among us, or 'from allowing them' (even of right, and not of alms or courtesy) 'such emoluments as may enable them cheerfully to perform the duties of their charge, to provide for their children, and even to use hospitality,' as they are commanded by St. Paul. But this 'I will prophesy' before I conclude, That 'if princes shall perform this business by halves, and leave any root of this clergy, or priesthood, as it now is, in the ground; then I say, I must foretel, that the magistrates will find themselves deceived in their expectation; and that the least fibre of this plant will over-run again the whole vineyard of the Lord,' and turn to a diffusive papacy in every diocese, perhaps in every parish: 'So that God in his mercy inspire them to cut out the core of the ulcer, and the bag of this imposture, that it may never rankle or fester any more, nor break out hereafter to diffuse new corruption and putrefaction through the body of Christ, which is his

* To recover Jerusalem from the Turk.

† Of Popery.

Holy Church, to viciate and infect the good order and true policy of government.'

I come now to the last branch of my charge, which is, 'That I teach princes villany, and how to enslave and oppress their subjects.' If any man will read over my book of the prince with impartiality and ordinary charity, he will easily perceive, that it is not my intention therein to recommend that government, or those men there described to the world; much less to teach men to trample upon good men, and all that is sacred and venerable upon earth, laws, religion, honesty, and what not. If I have been a little too punctual in describing these monsters, and drawn them to the life in all their lineaments and colours, I hope mankind will know them the better, to avoid them, my treatise being both a satire against them, and a true character of them.—

'Whoever, in his empire, is tied to no other rules than those of his own will and lust, must either be a saint or else a very devil incarnate; or, if he be neither of these, both his life and his reign are like to be very short; for whosoever takes upon him so execrable an employment, as to rule men against the laws of nature and reason, must turn all topsy turvy, and never stick at any thing;' for, if he once halt, he will fall and never rise again, &c. And so I bid you farewell. (1 April, 1537.)

THE HISTORY OF THE MOST UNFORTUNATE PRINCE, KING EDWARD THE SECOND;

With choice Political Observations on him and his unhappy Favourites,

GAVESTON AND SPENCER:

Containing several rare passages of those times, not found in other historians; found among the papers of, and supposed to be writ by, the Right Honourable Henry Viscount Faulkland, sometime Lord Deputy of Ireland.

Henry Cary, Viscount Faulkland, (among whose papers the following history was found) was born at Aldnam, in Hertfordshire; his extraordinary parts, being a most accomplished gentleman, and a compleat courtier, got him such an esteem with King James the First, that he thought him a person fitly qualified to be Lord Deputy of Ireland (the government of which place required, at that time, a man of more than ordinary abilities) which trust he very well discharged. Being recalled into England, he lived honourable here, until, by an unfortunate accident, he broke his leg in Theobald's Park; of which, soon after, he died. He was a person of great gallantry, the ornament and support of his country, which he served with no less faithfulness and prudence abroad, than honour and justice at home, being an excellent statesman. During his stay at the University of Oxford, his chamber was the rendezvous of all the eminent wits, divines, philosophers, lawyers, historians, and politicians of that time; for whose conversation he became eminent in all those qualifications.

The subject of the following history (supposed to be written by the above-mentioned nobleman) is the unhappy lives, and untimely deaths, of that unfortunate English King, Edward the Second, and his two Favourites, Gaveston and Spencer;

'for his immoderate love to whom,' says Dr. Heylin, 'he was hated by the nobles, and contemned by the Commons.' 'This King,' saith Sir Richard Baker, 'was a comely person, and of great strength, but much given to drink, which rendered him unapt to keep any thing secret. His greatest fault was, he loved but one: for, if his love had been divided, it could not have been so violent; and, though love moderated be the best of affections, yet the extremity of it is the worst of passions. Two virtues were eminent in him, above all his predecessors, continence and abstinence; so continent, that he left no base issue behind him; so abstinent, that he took no base courses for raising money.'

Our author closes his history without declaring the particulars of the murder of this Prince; wherefore I shall give you an account thereof, as I find it set down by the aforesaid Sir Richard Baker.

'Many ways were attempted to take away his life. First, they vexed him in his diet, allowing him nothing that he could well endure to eat, but this succeeded not: then they lodged him in a chamber over carrion, and dead carcases, enough to have poisoned him; and, indeed, he told a workman at his window, he never endured so great a misery in all his life; but neither did this succeed. Then they attempted it by poisons, but whether by the strength of his constitution, or by the Divine Providence, neither did this succeed. At last the Pestilent Achitophel, the Bishop of Hereford, devised a letter to his keepers, Sir Thomas Gourney and Sir John Mattrevers, blaming them for giving him too much liberty, and for not doing the service which was expected from them; and in the end of his letter wrote this line, *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est*; craftily contriving it in this doubtful sense, that both the keepers might find sufficient warrant, and himself excuse. The keepers, guessing at his meaning, took it in the worst sense, and accordingly put it into execution. They took him in his bed, and casting heavy bolters upon him, and pressing him down, stifled him; and, not content with that, they heated an iron red-hot, and, through a pipe, thrust it up into his fundament, that no marks of violence might be seen; but, though none were seen, yet some were heard: for, when the fact was in doing, he was heard to roar and cry all the castle over. This was the lamentable end of King Edward of Carnarvan, Son of King Edward the First.'

What became of the actors and abettors of this deep tragedy, Sir Winston Churchill tells us, in these words:

'Poor Prince, how unkindly was he treated, upon no other account but that of his overgreat kindness! Other princes are blamed for not being ruled by their counsellors, he for being so; who, whilst he lived, they would have thought him to be a sot, but, being dead, they could have found in their hearts to have made him a saint. How far he wronged his people doth not appear, there being 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 paid by divine vengeance, not only upon the whole kingdom, (when every vein in the body politic was afterwards opened, to the endangering the letting out the life-blood of the monarchy in the age following) but upon every particular person consenting to, or concerned in his death. For as the throne of his son, that was thus set in blood, (though without his own guilt) continued to be imbrued all his reign, which lasted above fifty years, with frequent executions, battles, or slaughters; the sword of justice, or his own, being hardly ever sheathed all his time: so it is said, that the queen herself died mad, upon the apprehension of her own, in Mortimer's disgrace, who was executed at Tyburn, and hung there two days, to be a spectacle of scorn. The king's brother, Edmund, had this punishment of his disloyalty, to be condemned to lose his head for his loyalty, it being suggested (and happy had it been for him if it had been proved) that he endeavoured the restoration of his brother; his death being embittered 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 being saved. The fiend, Tarlton, Bishop of Hereford, who invented the cursed oracle that justified the murderers, died with the very same torture, as if the hot iron, that scared his conscience, had been thrust into his bowels. Of the two murderers, one was taken and butchered at sea, the other died in exile, perhaps more miserable. And for the nobility in general, that were actors in this 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. A dreadful example, both to prince and people, that usurp unlawful methods to accomplish their unjust intentions.

EDWARD the Second, born at Carnarvan, was immediately after the death of Edward the First, his father, crowned King of England. If we may credit the historians of those times, this prince was of an aspect fair and lovely, carrying in his outward appearance many promising predictions of a singular expectation. But the judgment, not the eye, must have preheminance in the censure of human passages; the visible calendar is not the true character of inward perfection, evidently proved in the life, reign, and untimely death of this unfortunate monarch.

His story eclipseth this glorious morning, making the noon-tide of his sovereignty full of tyrannical oppressions, and the evening more memorable by his death and ruin. Time, the discoverer of truth, makes evident his imposture, and shews him to the world in conversation light, in will violent, in condition wayward, and in passion irreconcilable.

Edward, his father, a king no less wise than fortunate, by his discreet providence, and the glory of his arms, had laid him the sure foundation of a happy monarchy. He makes it his last care so to inable and instruct him, that he might be powerful enough to keep it so. From this consideration he leads him to the Scottish wars, and brings him home an exact and able scholar in the art military. He shews him the benefit of time and occasion, and makes him understand the right use and advantage. He instructs him with the precious rules of discipline, that he might truly know how to obey, before he came to command a kingdom. Lastly, he opens the closet of his heart, and presents him with the politick mysteries of state, and teacheth him how to use them by his own example; letting him know, that all these helps are little enough to support the weight of a crown, if there were not a correspondent worth in him that wears it.

These principles make the way open, but the prudent father had a remaining task of a much harder temper. He beheld many sad remonstrations of a depraved and vicious inclination; these must be purified, or his other cautions were useless, and to little purpose. A corruption in nature, that by practice hath won itself the habit of being ill, requires a more than ordinary care to give it reformation. Tenderness of fatherly love abuseth his belief, and makes him ascribe the imperfections of the son, to the heat of youth, want of experience, and the wickedness of those that had betrayed his unripe knowledge, and easy nature, with so base impressions. He imagines, age, and the sad burthen of a kingdom, would, in the sense of honour, work him to thoughts more innocent and noble; yet he neglects not the best means to prepare and assure it. He extends the use of intreaty, and useth the befitting severity of his paternal power; making his son know, he must be fit for a scepter, before he enjoy it. He takes from him those tainted humours of his leprosy, and enjoins him by all the ties of duty and obedience, no more to admit the society of so base and unworthy companions. Gaveston, the Ganymede of his affections, a man, as base in birth as conditions, he sentenceth to perpetual exile.

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The melancholy apparitions, of this loth to depart, give the aged father an assurance, that this syren had too dear a room in the wanton cabinet of his son's heart. He strives to enlighten his mind, and to make him quit the memory of that dotage, which he foresaw, in time, would be his destruction. But death overtakes him before he could give it perfection; the time is come, that he must, by the law of nature, resign both his life and kingdom.

He summons his son, and bequeaths him this dying legacy; commanding him, as he will in another day answer his disobedience, never to repeal his sentence. To his kindred and peers, that with sad tears and watery eyes, were the companions of his death-bed, he shortly discourseth the base conditions of this parasite, and lets them understand both their own and the kingdom's danger; if they withstood not his return, if it were occasioned. They knew his injunctions were just, and promise to observe them; he is not satisfied till they bind it with an oath, and vow religiously to perform it. This sends him out of the world with more confidence, than in the true knowledge of his son's wilful disposition he had cause to ground on.

The father's funeral rights performed, Edward, in the pride of his years, undertakes the crown and guidance of this glorious kingdom. He glories in the advantage, knowing himself to be an absolute king, and at liberty; yet thinks it not enough, till the belief of the kingdom did equally assure it. He esteems no act more proper to confirm it, than running in a direct strain of opposition against his predecessor's will and pleasure. The strong motive of his violent affection suggests reasons, that the majesty of a king may not be confined from his dearest pleasure. When he was a son, and a subject, he had witnessed his obedience: being now a king and a sovereign, he expects a correspondence of the same nature. Where there was so ready an inclination in the will, reason found strength enough to warrant it; which made him make Gaveston's return the first act of his sovereignty. No protestation of his lords, nor persuasion of his council, can work a diversion, or win so much as a befitting respect. The barons, that were unable to withstand, are contented to obey, attending the issue of this so dangerous a resolution. Where the news was so pleasing, the journey is as sudden; Gaveston loseth not a minute, till he felt the embraces of his royal lord and master.

Edward, having thus regained his beloved Damon, is so transported with his presence, that he forgets the will and ordinary respect, due to the greatest lords and pillars of this kingdom; and hence proceeds their first discontent and murmur. Many ways are invented to dissolve this enchantment, but none more fit and worthy than to engage him in the sacred knot of wedlock. The interest of a wife was believed the only remedy to engross or divert those unsteady affections, which they beheld so loosely and unworthily prostituted. Isabel, the daughter of the French King, the goodliest and beautifulest lady of her time, is moved, and the tender on all sides as plausibly accepted.

This sends Edward, scarce a king of nine months standing, into France, and brings him back, adorned of a jewel, which, not being rightly valued, occasioned his ensuing ruin. The excellency of so sweet and virtuous a

companion could not so surprise her bridegroom, but Gaveston still kept possession of the fairest room in his affections. He makes it more notorious by creating him Earl of Cornwall, and the gift of the goodly castle and lordship of Wallingford.

Gaveston applies himself wholly to the humour of the king, and makes each word that falls from his mouth an oracle. Their affections go hand in hand, and the apparent injustice of the one, never found contradiction of the other. The subject's voice was so fortunate, that it was always concurrent where the king maintained the party. If the discourse were arms, Gaveston extolled it as an heroic virtue; if peace, he maintained it not more useful than necessary; unlawful pleasure, he stiled a noble recreation; and unjust actions, the proper and becoming fruits of an absolute monarchy. These glosses so betray the willing ear that heard them, that no honour is thought great and good enough for the reporter.

The greatest command and offices are in the person or disposal of Gaveston. The command of war, and all provisions foreign and domestic, are committed solely to his care and custody. All treaties for peace or war had their success or ruin by his direction and pleasure. The king signed no dispatch, private or publick, but by his consent or appointment: so that all men believed their sovereign to be a meer royal shadow, without a real substance. Neither was it enough to advance him beyond his desert, or the rules of a modest proportion; but his power must be made more extant, in the commitment, to the Tower, of the Bishop of Chester, whom he quarrels, as the occasion of his first banishment.

These insolencies, carried with so great an height and contempt, are accompanied with all the remonstrances of a justly grieved kingdom. The ancient nobility, that disdained such an equal, justly exclaim against the iniquity of the time that made him their superior. The grave senators, that understood their own worths, are discontent to see themselves rejected, while upstarts, by money or favour, possess the higher places. The soldier, that with his blood had purchased his experience, laments his own dishonour; seeing unworthy striplings advanced, while he, like the ruins of a goodly building, is left to the wide world, without use or reparation. The Commons, in a more intemperate fashion, make known their griefs and sad oppressions.

Gaveston, that both saw and knew the general discontent, sought not to redress it; but, with an ill advised confidence, strives to outdare the worst of his approaching danger. Lincoln, Warwick, and Pembroke, whose noble hearts disdained the overgrown height of this untimely mushroom, let the king know their fidelity, and his apparent error. He must free himself, and right them, or else they will seek it in another fashion.

Edward knew their complaints were just, yet was most unwilling to hear or relieve them; till, seeing their strong resolution, and himself wholly unprovided to withstand the danger, he makes his affections stoop to the present necessity, and consents to a second banishment of his so dearly beloved favourite. Gaveston, in the height and pride of his ambition, is forced to leave his protector, and to make Ireland the place of

his abiding. With a sad heart he takes his leave, departing, yet, with a more desire of revenge, than sorrow for his absence.

All things thus reconciled, the kingdom began to receive a new life; men's hopes were suitable to their desires, and all things seem to promise a swift and fair reformation. But the bewitching charms of this wily serpent made it soon evident, that alone his death must prevent his mischief. The personal correspondency taken away, the affections of the restless king becomes far more violent. In the short interim of his absence, many reciprocal and sweet messages interchangeably pass betwixt them: Edward receives none, but he returns with a golden interest. He is not more sensible of his loss, than the affront and injury, which persuades him, it were too great indignity for him to suffer at the hand of a subject: though, with his own hazard, he once more calls him home, pacifying the incensed lords, with an assurance of reconciliation and amendment. Those strict admonitions, so fully expressed, were not powerful enough to reclaim the fondness of the one, and insolency of the other.

The king, regaining thus his beloved minion, doats on him in a far greater measure; and he, to make the musick perfect, is of a far more violent temper. He affronts and condemns his adversaries, the ancient nobility, surreptitiously wasting and imbezeling the revenues of the crown. He inflames the king's heart, so apt to receive it, with all the motives of revenge, unquietness, and disorder. The jewels of the crown, and that rich table and tressels of gold, are purloined and pawned, to supply this wanton riot. He had so true a knowledge of his master's weakness, that he made him solely his. His creatures were alone preferred; his agents were the guides; and no man hath the king's ear, hand, or purse, but such as were by Gaveston preferred or recommended.

Edward, by his voluptuous sensuality, supplies the place; but he had the sole execution of that royal prerogative, that was alone proper to the crown. The nobility, whose lion-hearts struggled betwixt the sense of their just grief and allegiance, at length resolve, the king, as to himself, must be so to them and the kingdom, or they may no more endure it. With grave and weighty reasons, they make the king know both the error and the vanity of his affections; letting him truly understand, that they had a dear interest, both in him and the kingdom, which they would no longer suffer to be so abused and misguided.

Edward, being himself thus hardly pressed, and that no entreaty or dissimulation could prevail, he must now set right the disorders of the kingdom, or have his work done to his hand, with less honour and more danger. Once more he subscribes to their will, which he sees he cannot withstand or alter. Gaveston is again banished, and makes Flanders, the next neighbour, the place of his reception. Infinite was the joy of the kingdom, who expected secure freedom from that dangerous convulsion that threatened so apparent an intestine ruin.

This, their imaginary happiness, was made more real and perfect, in the knowledge, that Windsor had blessed them with an heir apparent. The royal father is pleased with the news, but had not (whether his divining spirit, or Gaveston's absence, were the cause) those true expressions of joy, that in justice became so great a blessing. The absence

of his minions could not lighten his heavy soul; but all other comforts seemed vain and counterfeit; his distracted brains take new and desperate resolutions; he revokes the sentence of his grief, and vows to justify it against the utmost strength of contradiction.

He, that dares do those things that are dishonest and unjust, is not ashamed to justify and maintain them. This error gave this unfortunate king more enemies, than he had friends to defend them. Kings, that once falsify their faiths, more by their proper will, than a necessary impulsion, grow infamous to foreign nations, and fearful or suspected to their own peculiar subjects. He that is guilty of doing ill, and justifies the action, makes it evident, he hath won unto himself a habit of doing so, and a daring impudence to maintain it by the protection, of which he believes all things in a politick wisdom lawful. This position may, for a time, flatter the professor, but it perpetually ends with infamy, which stands with reason and justice; for, as virtue is the road-way to perfection, so is the corruption of a false heart the true path to a certain and an unpitied ruin.

The enraged barons are not more sensible of their own disparagement, than the inconstancy and injustice of their sovereign. They think this affront done to them, and the whole kingdom, of too high a nature to be dispensed with, yet, with a temperate resolution, they a while attend the issue. The actions of injustice seldom lessen; they believe progression to be in all things an excellent moral virtue. He that hath a will to do ill, and doth it, seldom looks back, until he be at the top of the stairs. This makes the ill-affected return of this our favourite, more infamous and hated. With an imperious storm, he lets the lords know, he meditates nothing but revenge, and waits a fit advantage to entertain it. They believe time ill lost in so weighty a cause; and therefore draw themselves and their forces together, before the king could prevent, or his abuser shun it. The clouds presaging so great a storm, he studies the best means he could to avoid it. The general distaste of the kingdom takes from him the hope of an able party. Scarborough castle, his last refuge, he makes his sanctuary; but it was too weak against the number of his enemies, and the justice of their quarrel. He falls at length into the power of those, from whom he had no cause to expect protection or mercy. The butterflies of the time, that were the friends of his fortunes, not him, seeing the season changed, betake themselves into the warmer climate. His greatness had won him many servants; but they were but retainers, that, like rats, forsook the house, when they beheld it falling. The spring was laden with many glorious and goodly blossoms, but the winter of his age leaves him naked, without a leaf to trust to.

In this uncomfortable case, remains this glorious cedar, in the hands of those, whom, in his greater height, he had too much condemned and abused. They resolve to make short and sure work, unwilling to receive a command to the contrary, which they must not obey, though it should come from him to whom they had sworn obedience. Forsaken, unpitied, scorned, and hated, he falls under the hands of justice. Gaverseed is the place which gives the epilogue to this fatal tragedy, whence his adversaries return more satisfied than assured.

Thus fell that glorious minion of Edward the Second, who, for a time, appeared like a blazing comet, and swayed the jurisdiction of the state of England, and her confederates: He did not remember, in the smiles and embraces of his lovely mistress, that she was blind; nor made himself such a refuge as might secure him when she proved unconstant. Such a providence had made his end as glorious as his beginning fortunate; leaving neither to the just censure of time or envy.

The king's vexations, in the knowledge, are as infinite as hopeless; his passions transport him beyond the height of sorrow. He vows a bitter revenge; which, in his weakness, he strives to execute with more speed than advisement. The graver senators, that had most interest in his favour, mildly discourse his loss to the best advantage. They lay before him his contempt and abusive carriage, his insolence, honour beyond his birth, and wealth above his merit; which must, to all ages, give a just cause to approve their actions, and his fortune. The least touch of his memory adds more to the king's affliction, who is fixed not to forget, or forgive, so bold and heinous a trespass.

The operations in the king were yet so powerful, but the jealousies of the actors are as cautious; so fair a warning-piece bids them in time make good their own security. Lincoln, the principal pillar of this faction, follows his adversary to the grave, but with a much fairer fortune. This man was a goodly piece of true nobility, being in speech and conversation sweet and affable; in resolution grave and weighty; his aged temper active above belief; and his wisdom far more excellent in a solid inward knowledge, than in outward appearance.

When the harbinger of death plucked him by the sleeve, and he saw and knew he must leave the world, he calls unto him Thomas Earl of Lancaster, that had married his daughter, giving him a strict imposition on his death-bed, that he should carefully maintain the welfare of the kingdom, and make good his place among the barons. This reverend old statesman saw the king's ways, and knew him to be a most implacable enemy; and, with a kind of speculative prediction, would often seem to lament the misery of the time, where either the king, kingdom, or both must suffer. The son, whose noble heart was before seasoned with the same impressions, assures it, which he in time as really performs, though it cost him the loss of his estate, life, and honour.

Things are too far past to admit a reconciliation. The king's meditations are solely built upon revenge; and the lords, how they may prevent, or withstand it. The kingdom hangs in a doubtful suspense, and all men's minds are variously carried with the expectation of what would be the issue. Meditation and intercession brings it at length to parliamentary discussion; which, being assembled at London, enacts many excellent laws, and binds both the king and lords by a solemn oath to observe them. Thus the violence of this fire is a while suppressed, and raked up in the embers, that it may (in opportunity and advantage) beget a great danger.

A new occasion presents itself, that makes each part temporise for a while, and smothers the thoughts of the ensuing rumour. Robert le Bruce re-enters Scotland, whence he had been by Edward the First

expulsed, inverting all the English institutions, that had so lately settled the peace and subjection of the kingdom. Edward, tender of his honour, and careful to preserve that purchase, that had proved so dear a bargain, adjourns his private spleen, and provides to suppress this unlooked for rebellion. He knew the justice of his quarrel, and wakens from the dream, that had given him so large a cause of sorrow. He gives his intentions a small intermission, and a less respite; with all speed, he levies an army, and leads it with his own person. Whether it were the justice of heaven, or his own misfortune or improvidence, the Scots attend and encounter him, making Eastrevelyn the fatal witness of his disaster. His army lost and defeated, he returns home laden with his own shame and sorrow. His return is welcomed with a strange impostor, that pretends himself the heir of Edward the First, and the king, the son of a baker. A tale, so weak in truth and probability, wins neither belief or credit. Voidras, this imaginary king, is apprehended, and makes Northampton gallows the first stair of his preferment. His execution is accompanied with as strange a story, which suggests the instigation of a spirit, that, in likeness of a cat, had for two years space advised it.

The king, with a true feeling grief, lamenting his dishonourable return from Scotland, where his noble father had so oft displayed his victorious arms, doth vow with a speedy rescue to revenge it. He communicates his resolution with the whole body of his council, who are, in their advice, equally concurrent in the action. The former loss exacts a more care, and a better provision. York, as the fittest place, is made the senate of this great assembly. Thither resort all the sages of the kingdom, and make it their first deliberation to secure Berwick, that is one of the keys of the kingdom, and exposed to the greatest hazard. This charge is given to Sir Peter Spalden, who was believed able enough both in fidelity and valour. A short time discovers him truly possessed of neither. A small sum of money, with an expectant preferment promised, betrays the trust reposed, and gives the Scots the full possession of the charge to him committed.

The Pope, wisely foreseeing into the misery of this dissension, out of his Christian and pious care, sends over two cardinals, to mediate a peace and agreement. They, being arrived in England, find the king well disposed, so the conditions might be reasonable, and such as might become his interest and honour. They pass from hence into Scotland, and are by the way, with a barbarous example, surprised and robbed. The king is infinitely discontented with so inhuman an act, that threw a taint upon the whole nation. Great inquiry is presently made, which finds out the actors, and sends Sir Peter Middleton, and Sir Walter Selby, to a shameful and untimely execution. Immediately at the heels of this follows another example, no less infamous, and full of danger.

Sir Gilbert Denvil, and others, pretending themselves to be outlaws, with a jolly army, to the number of two-hundred, ramble up and down the country, acting divers notorious insolencies and robberies. The fame of an attempt so new and unexpected, without a speedy prevention, seemed to intimate a greater danger. A commission is immedi-

ately sent out, which apprehends the heads of this increasing mischief, and delivers them over to the hands of justice. They which confessed themselves out of the protection of the law, and glory in their being so, fall under his rigour.

Those, that duly examined the truth of this action, believed the pretence to be but a mask, that hid a more perilous intention. The king, by his untemperate and indiscreet actions, had lost the hearts of his people, and there was a general face of discontent throughout the whole kingdom. The ulcers festered daily, more and more, which seemed to presage and threaten, without some speedy prevention, a dangerous issue. All men discover their ill affections, expecting but a patron that durst declare himself, and adventure to hang the bell about the cat's neck. If this disorderly attempt, which was but to taste the people's inclinations, had succeeded, the king, as it was to be feared, had much sooner felt the general loss, and revolt of his whole kingdom. But this work was reserved to future time, and the operation of those who had the time to effect it with more power and pretence of justice. The crying maladies of this climate were such, that the Divine Power sent down, at one and the self-same instant, his three fatal executioners, plague, dearth, and famine, to call upon us for a repentant reformation. No part of the kingdom is free, but was grievously afflicted by the unmerciful prosecution of one, or all these fatal angry sisters. So great a misery was too much, but it is seconded with a sudden invasion of the hungry Scots, who apprehending the advantage of the present visitation, and ill-estate of their neighbours, like a land-flood, over-run the naked and unprovided borders.

The archbishop of York, a grave and wise prelate in his element, but as far from the nature as name of a soldier, resolves to oppose this over-daring and insolent eruption. He levies in haste an army, in number hopeful; but it was composed of men, fitter to pray for the success of a battle than to fight it. With these, and an undaunted hoping spirit, he affronts the Scots, and gives them battle, making Mitton upon Swale, that honoured his enemies with the glory of a second triumph, the place of his disaster. Many religious churchmen, with the purchase of their lives, begin their first apprenticeship in arms; whose loss christened this overthrow, *The White Battle*.

The intent of this grave prelate was, questionless, worthy of a great and singular commendation; but the act was wholly inconsiderate, weak, and unadvised. It was not proper for his calling to undertake a military function, in which he had no experience; neither did it agree with his wisdom, or piety, to be an actor in blood, though the occasion were so great and weighty. Too much care and confidence, improperly expressed, doth many times overthrow and ruin the cause it seeks to strengthen and advantage. There ought to be, in all considerations of this nature, a mature deliberation, before we come to action; else we lose the glory of our aims, and commit all to the uncertain hazard of time and fortune. The cardinals are now returned out of Scotland, by whom the king truly understands, that the hopes of peace are desperate. Their leave taken, and losses fairly repaired, they return to Rome, acquainting his holiness with the success of their employment.

The Pope being truly informed that the Scots were neither conformable to his will, or the general good, excommunicates both that usurping king and kingdom.

The king, nearly touched with the loss of Berwick, inflamed with the insolency of his barbarous enemies, and grieved with so great a loss of his people, resolves no more to suffer, but to transport the war into the very bowels of Scotland. To this effect, with speed he hastens out his directions, and gives present order for the levying of men, arms, and money, to begin the war, and continue it. The royal command, and desire of revenge, gives wings to this resolution. An army is ready, and attends the king's pleasure, before he conceits his will truly understood, or bruited. Nothing is wanting but his own person, or a fit commander to lead them; he loseth no time, but appears in the head of his army, before his enemies had the least knowledge of this assembly. With a hopeful expectation he leads them on, and makes Berwick the rendezvous, that should make his number compleat and perfect. Before this strength that had the warranty of art and nature, he makes the first experiment of this expedition. The town, begirt, was not more confident of their own strength, than assured of a speedy supply or rescue. This gave the king a longer delay than he believed, and his enemies leisure to raise and enable their provisions. They saw it a work too full of danger and hazard, to venture the breach of the body of so great an army, that in worth and number so far exceeded. The memory of former passages and trials taught them how to understand their present condition; this begets in them a resolution more solid and hopeful. They leave the road-way, and war rather by discretion than valour? which succeeds so fortunately, that they surprise all the English provisions, and enforce the king to a second return, more fortunate, yet much less honourable. It is true, he retreated, and brought back his army in safety; but he had quitted the siege, which he had vowed to continue against the united power of Scotland, and lost wholly all that wealth and luggage he had carried with him.

This filled all men's mouths with a complaining grief, and made foreign nations think the English had lost their former lustre, and renowned valour. It was wondered that an enemy, so weak and contemptible, should, three several times successively, bear away the garland from those that had so often, and knew the way so well, to win and wear it.

But now begins a second fire of a higher nature, that made the kingdom a theatre stained with the noblest blood, that within her confines had or life or being. The king, discouraged with his foreign fortune, lays aside the thoughts of arms, and recalls into his wanton heart the bewitching vanities of his youth, that had formerly bred him such distemper. He was royally attended; but it was by those that made their tongues rather the orators of a pleasing falshood, than a true sincerity. These were fit instruments for such an ear that would not hear, unless the musick answered in an even correspondence. The infidelity of the servant is, in a true construction, the misery of the master; which is more or less dangerous, as is the weight or measure of his employment. It is in the election of a crown a principal consideration,

to chuse such attendants whose integrity may be the inducement, as well as the ability; else the imaginary help proves rather a danger than assistance. Neither is it safe or honourable, for the majesty of a king, to seem to depend solely on the wisdom, care, or fidelity of one particular servant. Multiplicity of able men is the glory and safety of a crown; which falls by degrees into confusion, when one man alone acts all parts, whence proceeds a world of error and confusion.

The king was not ignorant, that such a course would make such as were his but at second hand; yet he resolves to make a new choice of one to supply the room of his lost beloved Gaveston. Though his diseased court was furnished with a large variety, yet his eye fixeth on Hugh, the younger of the Spencers, who was always tractable and conformable to the king's will and pleasure. This man was in show smooth and humble, of an insinuating spirit, one that knew his master's ways, and was ever careful to observe them. He had applied himself wholly to Edward's will, and fed his wanton pleasures with the strains of their own affection. Heat of spirit, and height of blood, consult more with passion than reason; and a short deliberation may serve, where the subject was so pleasing, and to each side agreeable.

The king, to make his resolutions eminent, with more haste than advisement, makes him his lord chamberlain, and lets the world know, it was his love and will that thus advanced him. Scarcely is this new great officer warm in his unbefitting authority, but he exactly follows his predecessor-precedent to the life, making all things lawful that were agreeable to his master's will, or his fantastical humour.

The peers of the kingdom, that saw this sudden and hasty growth of this underserving canker, resolve to lop or root it up, before it should overtop their lustre. Spencer, that in the precedent story of Gaveston, beheld the danger of his own condition, begins, in time, to provide and strengthen a party. His aged father, fitter for his beads than action, he makes a young courtier, and wins the king to give him power and assistance. He labours to remove from his master's ear all such as might endanger him, and supplies their places with such as were his creatures. Those that were too high for such a surprisal, by persuasion, money, or alliance, he seeks to engage, and make the parties of this his coming faction. The body of the court thus assured, his actions in the state went in an even correspondency. Those that held him at a distance, valuing their fidelity and honour before so base an advantage, saw themselves disgracefully cashiered, and others installed in their rooms, that had neither worth, birth, or merit. The factious entertainers of his proffered amity, not only enjoy their own, but are advanced higher, which made them but the instruments to act and further the corruptions of his will and wicked nature.

This foundation laid, they now seem to condemn all fear of danger; and in that assurance, express their contempt and scorn against the nobility, who, they knew, would never entertain their society or friendship. While thus the rule and manage of all the royal affairs, in their power, was daily more and more abused, the incensed barons met at Sherborough, where the Earl of Lancaster, the prime agent, lays before them, in a short and grave discourse, the iniquity and danger that

seemed eminently to threaten both them and the whole kingdom, if such a resolution were not taken, as might assure a speedy prevention. The fore-knowledge of their sovereign's behaviour, which would observe no rule or proportion in his immodest affections, gave them small hope to prevail by persuasion or entreaty. They too well understood, that Spencer's pride was too great and haughty to go less without compulsion; and they must sink a key, or neither the kingdom or themselves, against so inveterate a hatred, could expect in reason, safety, or assurance. Hertford, Mowbray, and Clifford, soar a higher pitch, and, in plain terms, affirm, That all other resolutions were vain and hopeless, it was only arms that must right the time and state so much disordered. Benningfield and Mortimer approve this resolution, and as soon give it life and action. They enter furiously on the possessions of their enemies, spoiling and wasting like professed enemies.

Such an outrage flies with a nimble wing to the ears of the owner, who as soon makes the king the sharer of his intelligence, and increaseth it to his own advantage. The king, sensible of so great an affront, and as tender of the one, as cruel to the other, publisheth, by proclamation, the sentence of his royal will and pleasure. The actors of this misdemeanor must appear and justify themselves, or presently forsake the kingdom.

The lords that saw their interest at stake, as they had begun, resolve to maintain the quarrel. New levies and preparations are daily made, to make good the succeeding issue. Yet the more to justify those arms, that in the best construction were deemed rebellious, they send to the king a fair and humble message. The tenor whereof lets him know, their intentions were fair and honest, and the arms, thus levied, were rather to defend, than offend his person; only they, in all humility desire, he would be graciously pleased to remove and punish those vipers, which had too near a room in his royal heart, whereby they had overthrown and undone the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom.

The king, that fears, is enforced to believe. He knew their informations were just, and he had no power to deny, or withstand them. He assures a reformation; to make it more real, he adjourns it to the ensuing parliament, which is immediately summoned to appear at London. The jealous lords, that too well knew the cunning and hatred of their malicious adversaries, appear like themselves, bravely attended with a crew of lusty yeomen well armed, which stiled this *The Parliament of White Bands*. The mayor, seeing such a confluence from all parts of the kingdom, so ill inclined and well appointed, with a careful providence reinforceth the city guards, and planteth a strong watch throughout all the strengths and parts of his jurisdiction.

This great assembly being now met, the complaining barons find in both houses a ready belief, and as sudden a censure. A solemn declaration gives the king knowledge of their sentence, which commands both the Spencers, father and son, into perpetual exile. The king, as weak in his disability, as wilful in the least advantage, gives a sad and unwilling consent; which, being known, gives the Spencers no time of imparience; their judgment is immediately put in execution, and they find more servants than they desire to attend them to Dover, where they are

immediately shipped to go and seek a new fortune. The elder, whose snowy age, and more innocence, deserved pity, makes his tears witness his true sorrow, and his tongue unfold them. He taxeth his son's vanity and ambition, and his own weakness, that had so easily consented to his ruin. He laments his misfortune, that in the winter of his age had cast him from his inheritance, and had made him the sea-mark and scorn of a whole kingdom. He confesseth the folly that led him, by indirect means, to the preservation of his high and ill-acquired greatness. He wisheth his carriage had been such, that, in this so sad change of fortune, he might have found either pity or assistance. But it is the inseparable companion of greatness that is gotten in the by-way, and not by a just desert or virtue. It labours to support itself more by cunning and falshood, than by a sweet and winning temper, when it is of all others the most erroneous maxim, that believes, affections can be in a subordinate way gotten or assured. They are the proper functions of the soul, which move alone in their own course, without force, or the least impulsion. All other ways are but temporary provisions, that serve the present advantage; but he, that by a just desert wins the love and belief of his worth, hath laid a sure foundation, making his honour his own, and the succession hereditary and permanent, to his everlasting glory.

These imperious servants thus removed, the father, in obedience to his doom, betakes himself to a foreign quietness. The son, of a more turbulent and revengeful spirit, keeps still a sea-board in the skirts of the kingdom, and falling short in power, to requite the authors of his disgrace, he expresseth his malice to the whole nation. The merchants, free from all suspicion, in their voyages and returns, are pillaged and rifled, and he the principal actor.

Such a domestick piracy begets a general terror and exclamation, which fills the king's ears, and presseth, as it required, a speedy prevention or remedy. He knew the action was foul, but it was one of his own that had done it; and such a one that was too dearly valued, to be either persecuted or punished. He studies first to satisfy his own passion, before he right this injurious carriage against the subject. This makes him reject the wholesome admonition of friends, the validity of his laws, and those fearful apparitions that present him with the danger of so foul an enterprise, while, with an example, new, and full of assured hazard, he repeals the sentence of their exile. This act gave him too large a time of repentance, and may be a befitting instance to all ensuing posterity. The actions of a crown are exemplary, and should be clean, pure, and innocent; the stains of their errors die not with them, but are registered in the story of their lives, either with honour or infamy.

But to proceed in this historical relation: The Spencers thus recalled, and reinvested in their former favour, they express themselves in another kind; and now, by a strong hand, strive to crush, by degrees, all those of the adverse faction. Sir Bartholomew Baldsmer was the first that tasted their fury and injustice. His castle of Leedes in Kent, under a pretended and feigned title, is surprised and taken from him, without a due form, or any legal proceeding. Their return, and the abro-

gation of that law that banished them, was provocation enough, there needed not this second motive to inflame the hearts of the angry barons. But when the unjust oppression of the knight, their ally and confederate, was divulged, and came to their ears, they vow a bitter revenge, and make speed to put it in execution. They see the fruits of their dalliance, and long abused confidence, and waken out of that slumber that had fed him with the chimeras of so dull and cold a proceeding.

The king, who formerly had been so often surprised, in time arrives to provide a remedy: He knew his arms, and not his tongue, must plead the injustice of his actions, wherein, if he again failed, he feared another manner of proceeding. The Spencers, that evidently saw the eminency of their own dangers, make it their master-piece to crush the serpent in the head before it grew to perfection. They knew the height of their offences were beyond the hope of mercy, and there was no way left of assurance, but that, which they must wade through in blood, and make good, with the sword, their lives, or else be sure to lose them. An army is provided, and appears at Shrewsbury almost before it was bruited. The first exploit seizeth the two Mortimers, that had begun again their former invasion of the Spencers. Their strength was great enough for such an incursion, but much too weak to withstand or encounter this royal army. This first hanel, so fortunate, gives life to their adversaries, and imprisons them in the tower, before their associates could be truly informed, or ready to relieve them.

There is now left no time to dispute; the barons must with their arms warrant their proceedings, or they must miscarry in the action. They had soon gathered a strength, with which they resolve to encounter the king at Burton. The knowledge of the great power that came against them, and their own weakness, wins them to a retreat, not more dangerous than dishonourable. But their reasons were just and weighty; the Earl of Lancaster had sent Sir Robert Holland to raise his tenants and friends, which he hoped would, in time, reinforce his army.

Valence, Earl of Pembroke, that commands his master's forces, seeing the disorder of their going off, lays hold of the advantage, and chargeth them so hotly, that they break and betake themselves to their heels, with great losses and confusion. Holland, entrusted by the Earl of Lancaster, having accordingly performed the work he was employed in, marching up to the rescue, is advertised of the state of their affairs, which makes him seek his own peace, and resign this supply wholly up, to be disposed at the king's will and pleasure. The supply, so unexpected, is graciously received, and there is a set resolution to employ it to the best advantage.

The despairing lords, with their adherents, with much ado, recover Pomfret; there a second deliberation is taken, which held it the safest course to pass on, and to possess the castle of Donstanborough, which was deemed a strength tenable enough until they could reinforce their party, or work their own conditions. This resolution is presently attempted with more haste than fortune. Sir Andrew Harkely meets and encounters them at Burrowbridge, where Hertford, Clifford, and others, died honourably, in maintaining a brave defence, while Lancaster, Mowbray, and many of their adherents, were taken, and with their heads paid

the ransom of their errors. The Spencers, like two furious tigers that had seized their prey, give not their incensed master leave to deliberate on the weight of so sad a work; the lives of so many brave subjects are taken away in an instant, and each part of the kingdom is stained with loss of that noble blood, that had been much more gloriously spent in a foreign war, than in these domestick and civil tumults.

Edward, who was apparently guilty of too many other vices, drowns their memory in this so cruel and bloody a tyranny. The wreaking blood of so many brave gentlemen, so unfortunately and untimely lost, doth cry for vengeance, and hurry on the destruction of the chief and principal actors. Mercy should precede the severity of justice, if not to all, yet to some, since they were not alike guilty. If Lancaster had been of so un noble a disposition, the Spencers had neither had time nor cause to rejoice in his ruin. How often had they by a full advantage had power of these their enemies, yet made it evident, their aims were not blood but reformation. And assuredly, in this their last act, their intents towards the crown were innocent in all other respects, than the desire of supporting it with more honour. As things fell afterwards out, it had been to the king a happiness if their arms had prevailed; for this victory was the principal and fundamental cause of his ensuing ruin. Fear, and the expectation of danger, kept both him and his favourites in a better temper, so long as there was so strong a bridle. Certainly, in the regimen of a kingdom, it is a wise and discreet consideration to maintain and uphold a divided faction, and to countenance them so, that the one may be still a counterpoise to the other; by this means the king shall be more truly served and informed.

The subject that is too far exalted, and hath no one to contradict or question him, considers not the justice, but the means to preserve him; by which the judgment of the king is taxed, and he is robbed of the hearts of his people. The greater the height, the stronger is the working to maintain it; which seldom goes alone, but is accompanied, for the most part, with those state-actions of impiety and injustice, which draws with it so perpetual an envy and hatred, that it leads him headlong to a fatal and dishonourable conclusion. Though the fury of this enraged king had so fully acted this bloody tragedy, yet Mortimer is spared, rather out of forgetfulness than pity; whose life had been more available than all these, that with so great a speed had felt his rigour. But he is reserved for a second course, to teach the Spencers the same *legem talionis*, and Edward the plain song of his error. The kingdom seems now in better peace and settled; the principal pillars of the commonwealth were taken away, and those which remained are utterly disheartened in the danger of so fresh an example.

This gains such a liberty to these triumphing sycophants, that they make the whole kingdom, as it were, the just fruits of an absolute conquest. The king approves and maintains their actions, giving them the regal power for their warranty. All kinds of insolent and unjust oppressions are now confidently practised, without contradiction or question. No exaction or unlawful action is left unattempted; while the grieved kingdom languisheth under the burden, yet durst not stir to redress it. The great ones suffer basely beyond their birth or honour,

yet look faintly one upon another, nor daring to revenge their quarrel. The commons murmuring complain, yet find not a man that will give them heart or leading.

The watchful Spencers, that saw and knew the general hatred, and infamy of their own conditions, lessen not their height, or fear the sequel. With a politick care they use their best means to prevent it. The king's humour, naturally vicious, they feed, with all the proper objects, that might please or more betray his senses. They strive to make him alike hateful to his subjects, that in the change of fortune they might together run one and the self-same hazard.

There is yet another piece of state to this great work as proper. Edward is but a man, and a creature in nothing more constant than his affections; yet these with age and time may alter. This gap must be stopped, that they may be more assured. Hugh, the younger of the Spencers, who had a searching brain, wise and active, believes this work had two several dependences, the one to keep him in continual fear, the other in a perpetual want. These, being marshalled with discretion, he knew would knit fast his master's love, and add to the opinion of his wisdom and fidelity; imposing a kind of necessary impulsion still to continue him. In his breast alone were locked all the passages and mysteries of state, whereby he was almost able to provide for the future inconveniencies.

From this ground, with a kind of loose scorn, he continues the French correspondence, and secretly contriveth a continuance of the Scottish rebellion. He omits no act of contempt against the antient nobility, that they might in the sense of their disgrace be, or at least daily threaten some now combustion. The confluence of so many threatening dangers work the wished effect, and keep the king in perpetual fear and agitation. The ill success of his armies, and expeditions in their memory, help strongly to increase it: yet is not his faithful servant neglecting in the second and remaining part. He so orders his business, within doors and without, that the royal treasure of the crown is profusely wasted and spent without account or honour. The ancient plate and jewels of the crown are in the Lombard, and their engagement drowned, before it had the warmth of a sure possession. The subject is racked with strange inventions, and new unheard-of propositions for money, and many great loans required, beyond all proportion or order. Lastly, the royal demesnes are set at sale, and all things that might make money within the kingdom.

To supply these inconveniencies, which are now grown to a greater height than the plotter of them intended; a new parliament is called at York, where the elder Spencer is advanced to the earldom of Winchester; and Harkely, another chip of the same block, is made Earl of Carlisle. Baldock, a mean man in birth, worth, and ability, is made Lord Chancellor of England.

In this parliament, which was by fear and favour made to his hand, he makes known the greatness of his want and occasions; the justly aggrieved commons, entering into a deep consideration of the times, freely give the sixth penny of all the temporal goods throughout the whole kingdom.

When this act came to the general knowledge, it utterly estranged the hearts of the subjects, which plead an impossibility to perform it, in respect of those many former exactions. Yet after some light constestation it is levied, no man daring to make so much as a show of resistance.

If we may credit all the antient historians, and who seem to agree in this relation, there were seen, at that time, many sights fearful and prodigious. Amongst them no one was so remarkable, as that which for six hours space shewed the glorious sun cloathed all in perfect blood, to the great admiration and amazement of all those that beheld it. Following times, that had recorded it in their memories by the sequel, believed it the fatal prediction of the ensuing miseries. Those, that more aptly censure the present view of a wonder, conceited, the just heavens shewed their incensed anger, for the noble blood of the Earl of Lancaster, and his adherents, so cruelly shed, without compassion or mercy.

The Scots, working on the condition of the times, so much dejected and amazed, seize the advantage. They saw by the last parliamentary proceedings, that the king was so enabled, as the hope of any attempt, in England, was altogether hopeless. Yet they resolve to be doing somewhere within the king's dominions, or at least his jurisdiction. This draws them to assemble themselves, and to attempt a surprisal of the northern places in Ireland. As the action was vain, so the success proved as unfortunate; they are defeated, slain, overthrown, and return not with the twentieth part of their number.

The king, remembering those many indignities he had suffered, and resenting this their last attempt, with an implacable scorn and anger, resolves to let them speedily know that he meant to call them to an after-reckoning. Upon this he sends out his summons, to call his men of war together, and makes all provisions be prepared, for this so constantly resolved a journey. His former misfortunes had instructed him to undertake this design much more strongly and warily. And this so grave a consideration brought him together the remaining glory and strength of the greater part of his kingdom. With these he marcheth forward and invadeth the nearer parts of Scotland; but, whether it were the infidelity of those about him, the will and pleasure of him that is the guider and director of human actions, or the unfortunate destiny of this unhappy king, he is enforced to return, without doing any act that is truly worthy of his greatness or memory.

The wily Scots, that durst not set upon the face of his army, wait upon the rear, and, in a watched opportunity, surprise his stuff and treasure. This sends him home a third time a discontented man; and, whether with a just guilt, or to transfer his own fault upon others, the newly created Earl of Carlisle is put to a shameful execution. The grounds against him were very probable, but not certain; and it was enough that he is believed, like Judas, for money to have sold his master. The principal motive, that may lead us to think he was deeply faulty, was the honour and gravity of his tryal, which gave him, on a full hearing, so sincere and sharp a sentence.

Scarcely is the king settled, after his tedious journey, when comes a

stranger news, that the French king had made a hostile attempt upon the frontier-parts of Guyenne; which was seconded with a declaration, That he was no longer resolved to entertain the friendship or peace with England.

This feat had been cunningly before-hand wrought by the secret working of Spencer; yet he desired to have it still in agitation, and not in action. He wished his master thence might be possessed with the fear of war, and not feel it. The French were of another mind; they saw into the great disorders and misguidance of England, and thought it a time, either by war or policy, to unite so goodly a branch of their kingdom. It is true, they had matched a daughter of France to the crown of England, and had solemnly sworn a peace; but these they thought might be with ease dispensed with on so weighty a cause, and so fair an advantage. Edward seeing into the danger, and taxing bitterly the infidelity of the French, begins to survey his own condition; whereby he might accordingly sort his resolution, either to entertain the war, or to seek peace upon some honourable, or at least reasonable conditions.

He in this passage finds himself more hated and feared than beloved; he saw his coffers empty, the Scottish war and surprisal had quite exhausted the sinews of his last parliamentary contribution. He feared the inclination of the subjects would refuse any further supply; or, in consenting, make it conditional, which he was unwilling to undergo or adventure.

Lastly, The misfortune, that waited on him ever since he was absolute, he feared, had estranged and dejected so the hearts of his soldiers, that they would hardly be drawn forth, or act any thing with their accustomed valour and resolution. In this distraction, he seeks not by the advice of a grave council to qualify or prevent it; this medicine he conceits is worse than the disease, but calls unto him Spencer, the cabinet of his heart; he alone is thought fit to communicate this deep secret, and to give the resolution. His father, Baldock, and the rest of that faction, by his persuasion and entreaty, are admitted to make the party greater, and the discourse more serious and likely. Before them is laid the condition of the king, the estate of the kingdom, their own danger, and the intentions of their foreign adversary. Many several ways are devised and advised, and in conclusion, no one is believed more sound and proper, than that the queen should personally mediate the atonement with her royal brother. This as it was cunningly laid, so had it a double use and reflection. The Spencers saw the subjects more inclinable to adore the rising sun; in which act they thought the queen's mediation and presence would be a dangerous instigator. They believed her absence could not work such and so great an assistance as might countervail the domestick danger. They knew the French light and inconstant, and those which, with a kind of natural fear, abhorred the English wars, out of the limits of their own kingdom. And, in the worst construction, they concealed money, or a resignation of that part which was holden by the king in France, would beget a peace at their own will and pleasure. Yet these considerations

were attended with some doubts, which delayed and put off the execution.

The queen, who had long hated the insolency of the Spencers, and pitying the languishing estate of the kingdom, resolves in her mind all the possible ways to reform them. Love and jealousy, two powerful motives, spurred her on to undertake it. She saw the king a stranger to her bed, and revelling in the embraces of his wanton minions, without so much as a glance or look on her deserving beauty. This contempt had begot in her impressions of a like, though not so wanton and licentious a nature. She wanting a fit subject for her affections to work on (her wedlock being thus estranged) had fixed her wandering eye upon the goodly shape and beauty of the gallant Mortimer. He was not behind-hand in the reception and comely entertainment of so rich and desired a purchase. But his last act had lodged him in the tower, which was a cage too strait to crown their desires with their full perfection. Yet there is a sweet correspondence continued; letters and many loving messages bring their hearts together, tho' their bodies were divided.

By these is Mortimer informed of the resolution for the intended journey of his royal mistress, whom he vows to attend, or lose his life in the adventure. The queen, understanding the intentions of her servant, strives to advance her dispatch, and hasten it with all her best endeavours. But, where was so great an inconstancy, there could be no expectation, that this proposition should be more assured and permanent. New delays and doubts interpose; insomuch, that the hopes of this journey were now grown cold and desperate.

The queen seeing herself deluded, and this opportunity stolen from her, by those whom she before so mortally hated, sets her own brains a working, to invent a speedy remedy. She was therein so fortunate, as to pretend a journey of devotion and pilgrimage to St. Thomas, of Canterbury, which by her overseers was wholly unsuspected. Things thus prepared, by a faithful messenger she gives Mortimer the knowledge of her design, who prepares himself with a more dangerous stratagem to meet it. Her eldest son, her dearest comfort, and the chief spring that must set all these wheels a going, she leaves not behind, but makes him the companion of her travels.

The king's joy was great, that saw, by this occasion, he should gain a free liberty to enjoy his stolen pleasures, which were before so narrowly attended by the jealous eyes of his queen, that in this kind had been so often wronged.

The aspiring Spencers were well pleased, that to be assured would have given a free consent to her perpetual absence. A short time brings her to the end of so short a journey, where she makes her stay of the same measure. Winchelsey had the honour to have the last farewell of this pair of precious jewels. Thither comes Mortimer, having made a fortunate escape; and, with the Earl of Cane, resolves to venture his life in the attendance and service of so brave a mistress. An exploit so weighty and dangerous gave no time of stay or ceremony. They immediately embark, and make a trial where they may find another climate more propitious and fortunate. The watery billows and

the peaceful winds, as if they were consenting to their enterprise, entertain them with an aspect clear and quiet, sending them with a fresh and pleasing gale safe to their desired port of Bulloign.

The king and Spencers, being truly informed, are startled with the matter and manner of their escape. They knew the birds were too far flown to be caught or reclaimed; and did imagine the plot was too surely laid that had so prosperous a beginning. Now all the former resolutions were useless; new deliberations are required how this breach may be handsomely sodered, or the threatening danger prevented. All other ways are deemed short; that one of taking off the King of France, was believed most sure and easy. They knew the French strain to be giddy, light, and covetous, and applied themselves in the right key to fit these several humours.

The king, whose presaging soul misgave his welfare, grows sad and melancholy, calling to mind the injustice of his own actions, and the fair cause his wife had to seek her right and refuge. The neglect and breach of wedlock was so great an error; but so to condemn so sweet and great a queen was a fault, in his own thoughts, deserved a heavy censure. She had not only felt a particular share of her own grief, but suffered deeply in the sorrow of the whole kingdom. Those, which had erected their petty tyrannies over the subjects, were in like sort authorised by him that ought to have had an equal share of her affliction, more and more to abuse her.

The sad impressions of these disorders, and the reeking blood of so many noble and brave subjects, so basely spilt, do seem to cry for vengeance. This, for a while, wrought deeply in his distressed thoughts; but a small intermission brings him back to his former temper. A customary habit of a depraved nature dulleth the sense of the soul and conscience; so that, when our better angels summon us to repentance, the want of a lively true apprehension leads us blindfold into a dangerous despairing hazard.

The French king having notice of his sister's arrival, with a wonderful plausible and seeming joy, doth entertain it with an honourable attendance, fitting more her estate, birth, and dignity, than her present miserable condition; she is waited on to Paris, where she is soon visited by the royal king, her brother. When she beheld the refuge of her hopes, she falls upon her knees, and, with a sweetly coming modesty, she thus begins her story:

The king, unwilling to suffer such an idolatry from her that had a father, brother, and husband so great and royal, takes her up in his arms, and then attends her motives:

'Great Sir,' quoth she, 'behold in me your most unfortunate sister, the true picture of a dejected greatness, and the essential substance of an unhappy wedlock. I have, with a suffering beyond the belief of my sex, overcome a world of bitter trials. Time lessens not, but adds to my afflictions; my burthen is grown too heavy for my long abused patience. Yet it is not I alone, but a whole kingdom, heretofore truly glorious, that are thus unjustly wronged. My blushing cheek may give you knowledge, I too much honour the cause of my affliction, to let my tongue discover it. Yet this in duty and modesty I may ingenuously confess, my royal husband is too far seduced, his ear is too open,

his will too violent, and his heart too free, to those bewitching syrens, that makes his errors their profit and glory. All hope of his return is lost, so long as they shall live, and remain his leaders. How many of his noblest and bravest subjects have attempted his freedom, and by an unjust and inglorious death miscarried? Alas! all expectations are vain and desperate; if I had not known the impossibility to disenchanted him, I had not in so mean and miserable a case stolen to you for succour. You have a fair way to make known to the world the truth of your own glory and goodness. Fortune leads you by the hand to an action not more just than honourable, if you would dispute it. Can there be a more precious motive to invite you, than the view of these unhappy ruins? See here two royal branches of the flower-de-luce withering, sullied, and depressed. Would you truly consider, how great and noble a work it is, to support those that are unworthily oppressed, heaven and earth must witness the true value of your worth and my petition. Let it not breed a jealousy or discouragement, that I appear before you, and seek your help with so poor a train and mean attendance. Besides the justice of my cause, I bring with me the griefs and hearts of a kingdom, that have both sworn and vowed to defend it. Nor may you with reason doubt their integrity, while you have my wretched self, and the heir-apparent, to be your pawn and warrant. For God's sake, Sir, by your own virtue and goodness I desire it, and, in the challenge of that royal blood, whereof by the laws of God, men, and nature, I have so large a share and interest. Left not after-ages taint your memory with such an aspersion, That you are the first of all the Kings of France, that denied to relieve a sister so deeply wronged and distressed.'

She would have spoken more, but here the big swollen fountains of her watery eyes discharge their heavy burthen. Her tears, like orient pearls, bedew her lovely cheeks, while she with a silent rhetorick invites a noble pity. Her sad complaint now won a general remorse; and her liquid tears, a deep and strong compassion. Her brother vows revenge, and promiseth to make England and the world know she was his sister.

The lords and peers of France tender their ready help and assistance; the service is so hotly pursued, that the poor queen, with an abused confidence, believes she shall be speedily and strongly righted. It was not alone her error; it is a general disease. We easily credit that news we most desire and hope for.

The Spencers, whose watchful eyes were soon informed of these passages, too late condemn their own providence and folly, that gave the wronged queen so fit and fair an advantage. They fear not all the power of France, but suspect intestine danger, where they knew the hearts of all were aliened and estranged. They well enough understood the vanity of female passion, but suspect, that the rising sun would be followed and admired, whilst their declining master would be left forsaken and dejected. These conceits work so deeply, that they conclude they must fall, if they could not stop the foreign danger. The English were cowed; there was in them no fear, unless the stranger's strength gave them new life and spirit. In so weighty a

cause there was no time left for delay or dalliance. They dispatch presently away their agents to the French court, laden with the treasure of the kingdom, and many glorious promises. They instruct them how to apply themselves to the time and present necessity; and teach them the way to work and undermine the queen's proceedings.

These messengers, arriving at Paris, find the French heat well qualified and cooled. This gave them more time and hope, to bring their master's will and their own employment to a speedy perfection. They set upon the pillars of the state, such as in their master's ear, or in his council, had most sway and pre-eminence; they give freely and promise more, till they have won a firm and fair assurance. No one had an interest, and was known to be a favourer of the adverse party, but his tongue is tied with a golden chain to a perpetual silence.

When thus this practice was ripe, the king is persuaded to the danger and peril of so great and weighty an action. His sister's reputation and intemperate carriage, though tenderly, is often touched. A woman's passion is believed too weak a reason to engage two so warlike nations in a war, wherein themselves had formerly so often suffered.

The king, for all his first great and high expressions, had much rather have to do with the English in their own kingdom than in France, yet was well enough content not to try their arms in either. Yet still he feeds his sorrowing sister with good words, pretending many vain excuses, which made her suspect and doubt his meaning. She arms herself with a noble patience, hopeful, at least, that she and her son might there remain in peace and safety.

By the intercourse of messages that had so often passed and repassed, the Spencers are assured, that their affairs in France went fairly on, by which they were well onward in their journey.

There could be yet no certain or assured confidence, until they had again gotten the queen and her son into possession. No promise or persuasion is left to win her to return, but her ears were stopped; she too well knew the sweet enticements of such alluring serpents. This project falling short, a solemn letter is framed from King Edward to the Pope, and a messenger after their own hearts appointed to carry it. The contents were full of humility and bitterness, complaining to his holiness, that his wife had, without just cause, forsaken both him and his kingdom, carrying away his son, the stay of his age, without his leave or license; a traitor to him and his crown, who had publicly acted a rebellion, and was taken and imprisoned for it, had made an escape, and was now her sole companion; and though he was not hasty to report or credit, yet he had just cause to fear he was the abuser of his wedlock. The King of France, with whom he had sworn so solemn and firm a league, being summoned, had denied to restore her.

These goodly glosses and pretexts find a ready passage, and an easy belief, where there was none to contradict or justify. If these aspersions had been, as they were pretended, just and true, the fact had been odious, and justly deserved a speedy reformation. The greater Cardinals, who were at that time most great and eminent, had tasted deeply of the King's bounty; which gave the Pope a daily instigation to pity and reform so great and gross an error. On which an admonition is pre-

sently sent out to the French King, that he cause immediately the Queen of England to depart forth of his dominions.

Whilst this device was in action, the English discontented barons send privately to the queen, informing her that they were almost crushed to pieces with their suffering. They solicit her to hasten her return, and promise really to engage themselves and their estates in her quarrel. With a joyful heart (as it deserves) she entertains this loving proffer; and, the more to advance her declining affairs, she instantly acquaints her brother with the tender. He had then newly received his summons from the Pope, which taking out of his pocket, he delivers her back, wishing her to peruse and read it. The amazed queen, when she beheld so sad a sentence, falls humbly on her knees, and desires, that his Majesty would grant her but so much favour, that she might more truly inform his Holiness, and justify herself by a fairer and noble trial. With tears, she instanceth the malice of her adversaries, that had taken so strange a course, both to abuse and wrong her. Her brother, glad of such a protection to shadow his dishonourable and unnatural falsehood, lets her know the necessity of his obedience, and that he must not, for her sake, adventure the censure and interdiction of himself and a whole kingdom. He wisheth her to arm herself with patience, and to return and make a peace with her husband, in which act himself would use both the persuasion and strength of his best power and interest, letting her withal know, that she had but a short time to deliberate, for she must instantly leave his kingdom. Scarcely had he ended these his last unwelcome words, when away he flings, with a seeming discontented show of sorrow, rejoicing inwardly, that he had freed himself of the expence of her entertainment, and found so fair a colour to avoid the justice of her daily importunity.

The drooping queen, thus abandoned, with an amazed grief, relates this unkind sad passage to her faithful servants, Cane and Mortimer. Their valiant hearts make good the loss of their hopes; they accuse the injustice of time, and exclaim against the French unnatural baseness. Mortimer, whose inflamed passion flew a higher pitch, breaks out, and, with a bold freedom, would have fallen to a bitter expostulation. The Queen, who knew the danger, and was loth to lose that little miserable freedom she had left, with sweet and mild persuasions reclaims him to a milder temper. She had a second doubt, lest in such a contestation she might be sent back, against her will, to her husband. This makes her temporise, and cunningly seem to provide for a voluntary return, which might prevent that danger. She, failing in the master, yet tastes anew his servants, and leaves no means unattempted, to bring about and alter so hard and strict a censure. They, that were the first betrayers of her hopes, do now with a more confidence and constancy express it, and, with one voice, sing the same tune with their master; declining misery, the touchstone of friendship, finds itself shunned, like some infectious fever. The sunshine of fortune hath as many professors as beams; but, if her glory be once eclipsed, they all, with a coward baseness, seek some other succour. This lesson, that is so frequent and familiar, should guide our election more by judgment than affection. They are not to

be chosen or valued, that in the pretence of love, though it be for our proper good and service, will act any thing that is base and unworthy; the same, in the least change, will not be squeamish, for a poor advantage to confirm their former practice, though it be to our loss or destruction. Where virtue guides our choice, it begins with truth and honour, ending with a like resplendent glory. No worldly cross, nor height of affliction, lessens the worth and value of such a friend; who, like a goodly rock, in fury of the greatest storms, makes good his proper station. Mutual correspondency in affections ought to be pure and innocent; if private respects taint the sincerity of the intentions, it makes this traffick rather a commerce than friendship. Opinion of faith is a powerful motive, yet not weighty enough, unless it become as well with real ability, as appearance, the subject of our election.

But, to proceed, the Queen, being in this distressed agony, finds an unexpected refuge. The gracious God of Heaven, who never forsakes those which are his, sends her a comfort when her dying hopes were almost sunk and desperate.

Robert of Artois, a man as truly valiant as noble, was one of the first that, in the French Court, had tendered the Queen his service. He was a wise, grave, and steady, well resolved gentleman; his first devotion was not led by matter of form or compliment, but was truly grounded on a true compassion and honour. This brave friend, beholding with a noble eye, the vanity of his fellow-friends and courtiers, and looking into the misery of the queen's forsaken condition, sets up his rest to appear like himself, a friend in all her fortune, firm and constant. In this resolution, he waits a fitting opportunity to let her see and know it. The time was favourable; he finds her in her melancholy chamber, confused in her restless thoughts, with many sad distractions. She, fancying the occasion of the coming of so great a person was great and weighty, with a silent and attentive ear expects his message.

'Madam,' quoth he, 'it is the most excellent part of wisdom, with an equal virtue, to entertain the different kinds of fortune. This world is but a mere composition of troubles, which seems greater or less, as is the quality of the heart that entertains them. I confess the justice of your grief, and truly share it, but tears and sorrow are not means to relieve or right you. The just heavens assist those that with an active and lively hope invoke their succour. The tenderness of your sex, and former free condition, is yet a stranger to these trials: time will let you know they are the familiar attendants of our frail structure of flesh and blood, when you will confess it too great a weakness to sink under the burthen of our afflictions. For your own goodness, noble Queen, erect and elevate your thus dejected spirits. Behold, in me, the character of an unworthy, but true friend, that am resolved my life and state shall attend and run with you the self-same fortune. You may no longer make this unthankful climate, the place of your birth, the stage of your abiding; the way is paved with gold to your destruction. Wherefore, if my advice may sway, let speed prevent your danger. The confines of the sacred empire are near adjoining, where are many brave princes, who may happily afford you a succour; at the worst, you may there enjoy a more assured peace and safety. Neither do I presume to direct this

course, but lay it humbly before you; offering my faithful service to attend you, to what part soever of the universal world your resolution shall fix on, desiring you to be assured, my life, before my faith, shall perish; for I have vowed myself, and will continue your everlasting servant.'

Infinitely was the Queen rejoiced in this so grave and sincere an expression. She doubles a world of promises and thanks for this so free an offer, and with a secret and wary carriage she speedily provides to begin her thus resolved journey. Though here she saw a far less appearance of hope, when her dearest brother, and her native kingdom had forsaken her, yet she resolves the trial rather than to return without a more assurance. She knew she had too far waded, and incensed her malicious adversaries, to expect a reconciliation, and feared to be mewed up from all hope of future advantage. These considerations made her, with a sad heart and weeping eyes, forsake the fruitful limits of ingrateful France, and betake herself to her last but most uncertain refuge. The condition, that is truly miserable, finds few real friends, but never wants infidelity to increase its sorrow.

Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, who had fled to the Queen, and made himself a sharer in this weighty action, forsakes her party. He, seeing the French hopes vanished, and these remaining so poorly grounded, thought to work his peace by losing his faith, and, in this conceit, in haste returns for England. His intelligence reconciles and wins him favour, but it was purchased at too dear a rate, that stained the honour of so high a calling, and made him most unworthy of so divine and grave a profession.

By this treachery, the king and Spencers understand both the queen's resolution and weakness. They fear not the German motions, that were a dull sad nation, that seldom used to fight for nothing. Time hath at last brought our royal English pilgrims to the shrine of their devotion. The Earl of Heinnault, a man truly noble and virtuous, understanding her arrival within the precincts of his jurisdiction, gives her a free and loving welcome. This bountiful honest earl esteems it his glory to entertain so princely guests like themselves, and to become the patron of their so weak condition. He had a brother that made his arms the honour of his profession, who thinks the estate of this forsaken queen, in justice, deserved a true relief and pity. He tenders her his service; and believes the occasion happily offered, that might leave to ensuing times the memory of his virtue, worth, and valour.

So fair a morning puts the queen in hope, the evening would prove as fortunate. By all those winning graces of a distressed beauty, she strives to confirm, and more engage, this first and fair affection.

The earl, having knowledge of his brother's resolution, thought the attempt too full of hazard, and, with a grave and mild temper, commending the nobility and greatness of his spirit, adviseth him to quit the action; he lays before him the weakness of the foundation; the queen was in want of men and money, and had not such a correspondency in England, as might warrant her against her incensed husband, who was waited on by so warlike and valiant a nation. He, in like sort, acquaints him, how impossible a thing it was for him to raise such an army,

as might credit the cause, and countenance the beginning; true valour consisting not in daring impossibilities, but exposing itself where reason, judgment, and discretion were the leaders.

Sir John, with a quiet patience, hears his brother's admonitions, which he knew sprung from the freedom of an honest and a loving heart; but he imagined age had robbed his breast and head of all their noble vigour.

"Sir, (quoth he) If you and all the world forsake this noble lady, my single arm shall maintain her quarrel, since I had rather lose my life than my faith, so full and freely engaged. After ages shall not blot the glory of our house, so great and noble, with so inglorious a stain of baseness and infidelity. Such precedents are seldom seen, and ought to be more tenderly regarded. A queen, and the heir apparent of so great a crown, pleading so just a pity, nor may, nor shall be forsaken. If, in the reason of state, you list not to be an actor, reserve yourself, and make not the king of England your enemy. Know, I have both arms and friends; I will pawn them all, rather than, in the least degree, falsify my word and promise."

These words, spoken with such a resolution and fearless bravery, stopped all reply and contradiction. The queen, that had already both a French and an Italian trick, had no less reason here to doubt it. She knew no means would be left unattempted from her domestic spies, to make her once more forsaken. This enforceth her with a more importunity to hasten and advance her enterprise. All the good offices that might spur on the inflamed heart of her brave protector, she makes the handmaids of her female wisdom. But, alas, they needed not her careful agent; they had quickly gotten together a voluntary troop of three hundred well-resolved gallants, that vow themselves to follow him, even into the mouth of the cannon. He stays not to increase his number with a multitude, but believes, if there were an answering correspondence in the English, with these, to over-run the kingdom. Arms, shipping, and all provisions necessary, attend their coming. They, with the glory of their hopes, lead the revived queen a ship-board. Now do they expose themselves to the first trial of their fortune, aiming at Donge Port, to take their hoped possession. The heavens, that favoured their design, out of their present fear, preserve them beyond belief or expectation. Her adversaries had a forerunning knowledge of their intended place of landing, and had there provided to give them a hot and bitter welcome. The raging billows, and the blustering winds, or rather the Divine Providence, after the second day's extremity, brings them a-land safe at Orwel, near Harwich. They were ignorant, being driven to and fro by the violence of the weather, what part of the kingdom they had light on; and were as much distressed with the unshipping of their men and baggage, as with the want of harbour and victuals. Three whole days in disorder and confusion, they make the bleak and yielding sands their habitation, perceiving the vanity of their rash and desperate attempt, which, in the least opposition or encounter, must have wrought their confusion. It was in vain to attend longer here, where they saw so small sign of better entertainment; this makes them march on with this little weather-beaten troop, to win and conquer a kingdom. St. Hammond's, an abbey of black monks, was honoured with the welcome

of their long lost mistress. Here she and her princely son had their first reception and entertainment.

The bruit of this novelty, like a Welch hubbub, had quickly overtaken the willing ears of the displeased Commons; who, ever desirous of innovation, like bees in swarms, do run to her assistance. The barons, so depressed, and unjustly grieved, with itching ears, attend the news of this advantage. When the tidings of their arrival came to their knowledge, with so liberal a relation, which made her army ten times greater than it was, they lose no time, for fear of some prevention.

Henry of Lancaster was the first, who was seconded by many others of the braver peers of the kingdom. By this means the queen and her adherent strangers lose the depth of that agitation, that till now had kept them doubtful.

The king, that till this time had slumbered out the prologue of this ensuing danger, secure in the belief of the Spencers' strength and providence, in so general a revolt, awakens from his licentious pleasure, and beholds nothing but a grim and fearful face of sorrow. The council of his cabinet, accompanied with their own guilt, are affrighted in the sad apparitions of their approaching ruin. The time of prevention is lost; their abused confidence had only laboured to shut the gate, but not assured the family. The present necessity admits no long deliberation; this flame was too violent to be quenched; and such a course is to be taken as may rather assure them time to temporise, than with a strong hand to strive to repel it.

The city's guard is recommended to Stapleton, that had so unhappily, and with so little credit changed his master. The king and the Spencers forsaken, but yet strongly attended with the guilt of so many, and so foul errors, fly to Bristol, a town strong enough, and well provided. Arundel, and the elder Spencer, undertake the defence of the city, while the king, and the others, make the castle their hope and refuge.

The queen being informed that the king had forsaken his royal chamber, and had stolen a flight to Bristol, she soon apprehends, and lays hold of the advantage, addressing a fair but mandatory letter to the mayor, to keep the city, to the use of her, and her son, that was so like to be his sovereign. The inconstant citizens, that ever cleave to the stronger party, are easily persuaded and intreated. Stapleton, that foresaw and feared the danger, summons the mayor to surrender him the keys of the gates for his assurance. Chickwell, that was then lord mayor, incensed with the imperiousness and injustice of this demand, apprehends this inconsiderate bishop, and, without all respect to his place or dignity, makes his head the sacrifice to appease the angry commons. This act had too far engaged him to recoil; he must now wholly adhere to the queen's faction. Four of the gravest and most substantial burghers are sent, to let her truly understand their devotion. They are graciously and lovingly received; the mayor hath thanks for his late bloody act, which was stiled an excellent piece of justice.

This gap thus stopped, with her army she marched to the cage that kept those birds, whose wings she would be clipping. She knew, if she struck not while the iron was hot, the heat of a popular faction would quickly sink and lessen. All the way of her journey she finds,

according to heart's desire, a free and noble welcome. Her troops, like snow balls, in her motion, more and more increasing. When she came before this great and goodly city, she saw it was a strength by art and nature, and did believe it furnished to out-wear a siege of long continuance, which made both her and her adherents more jealous, and suspect the issue. Where the person of an anointed king was at stake, there could be no assurance. But smiling fortune, that had turned her wheel, resolves this doubt, and makes the action easy. The citizens, that knew not the laws of war or honour, will not expose their lives and goods to the mercy of the strangers, and the hazard of an unruly conquest. They had too much tasted the afflictions of the kingdom to think the quarrel just, or to adventure their protection at so dear a hazard, for those that had been the cause and instrument of so much blood and trouble.

From this consideration, they send an humble message to the queen, and desire as well to capitulate for their commanders, as their own interest. All other conditions are despised and disdained; if they will have grace, they must purchase it with the resignation and delivering up their captains. This doom was esteemed heavy; they would have been glad, that she had her will, but were themselves unwilling to be the actors. But the time no more imparleance admitted, neither could they have a delay or remedy. The queen, that had won so far upon their yielding hearts, knew their condition well enough, and would not give them respite, but calls upon their present answer.

This round and smart summons brings, with one and the same art, Arundel, Spencer, and the city, into her possession. This part of the prey thus gotten, no time is lost to call them to a reckoning. Sir Thomas Wadge, the marshal of the army, recites a short calendar of their large offences, when, by a general consent, they are approved guilty, and, without judge, or other jury, they are sentenced to be drawn and hanged, and their bodies to remain upon the gibbet. The rigour of this doom, Spencer, the father, feels, that was ninety years old, and could not long have lived by the course of nature.

The castle-walls, and the eyes of the king, and his unhappy son, were witnesses of this sad spectacle and his disaster. This præludium gives them the sense of their ensuing story, which, with a world of melancholy thoughts, they study to prevent or alter. A despairing resolution at length wins them to a desperate hazard. While the queen was labouring to surprise their fortress, which was like too long to hold good, if some stratagem were not found to get it; there were no citizens to betray them; it needed not, themselves were soon the actors. They steal into a small bark, that rode within the harbour, hoping by this means, to make an escape undiscovered; they find the merciless waves and winds a like cruel. Twice had they gained St. Vincent's Rock, but, from that reach, were hurried back, with sudden gusts and tempests. The often going off and return of this unguided pinnace, begets a shrewd suspicion. At length she is surprised; and in her bulk is found that treasure that ends the war, and gave the work perfection.

The king is comforted with the smooth language of those which had the honour to take him; and believes the title of a king, father, and husband, would preserve his life, if not his sovereignty.

The queen, having now made the victory perfect, no enemy or other work remaining, resolves with herself to use it to her best advantage. Yet she gives her incensed passion preëminence, revenge must precede her desire and strong ambition. No sooner had Sir Henry Beaumont brought the imprisoned king and his dejected favourite to the army, but she dispatcheth away her husband to Barkley-castle, and Spencer is delivered over to the Martial, and immediately hath the like entertainment; only he hath somewhat a longer time, and a far more cruel sentence than his father. All things thus ordered, the queen removes to Hereford, and in all the places of her passage is welcomed with joyful acclamations. With a kind of insupportable triumphing tyranny, far unworthy the nobility of her sex and virtue, she makes her poor condemned adversary, in a strange disguise, attend her progress. He was set upon a poor, lean, deformed jade, and cloathed in a tabarce, the robe, in those days, due to the basest thieves and rascals, and so was led through all the market-towns and villages, with trumpets sounding before him, and all the spiteful disgraces and affronts that they could devise to cast upon him.

Certainly this man was infinitely tyrannical and vicious, deserving more than could be laid upon him; yet it had been much more to the queen's reputation and honour, if she had given him a fair and legal trial, by his peers, according to that ancient and laudable custom of England, wherein, by his death, he might have given both the law and his adversaries a full satisfaction. It is certainly, give it what other title you will, an argument of a wonderful base condition, to insult or to tyrannise over those poor ruins, which fortune hath thrown into our power. A noble pity is the argument of an honourable and sweet disposition; and the life of man is great enough to expiate all offences. To satisfy our passions, with the bitterest extremity of our power, may justly be stiled rather a savage and barbarous cruelty, than true and perfect justice. No question it was a pleasing sight to all the wronged subjects, to see such a leprous monster so monstrously used. But when the heat of blood was past, and men had recollected their senses, it then appeared to be too great a blemish to a queen, a woman, and a victor. But whether she were now weary with imposing, or he with suffering, Hereford, on a lofty gibbet, of an extraordinary height, erected on purpose, gives him the end of all his torments; which being performed, order is left behind for the execution of Arundel four days after, which is accordingly performed.

I could never yet read a fair and just cause, why this Earl lost his life; unless it may be counted treason not to forsake his lord and master, to whom he had so solemnly sworn his faith and obedience. It certainly was no such capital fault, to accompany and seek to defend his sovereign, when he was by all others forsaken, that, by their vows and oaths, ought to have been as deeply engaged. If being taken with those that were so corrupt and wicked occasioned it, I see yet no reason why he alone was executed, and those that, in their knowledge, were his only instruments and creatures, were suffered to live, and be promoted. But we may not properly expect reason in women's actions, whose passions are their principal guide and mover.

Now she is come to London, and received with all the honour due to so great a queen and conquest; the people croud to see her, and with applauding shouts extol her, that, in the least change of fortune, would be the first should cut her throat, or do her any other mischief.

A parliament is immediately called and assembled, in which the pack was before-hand easily laid, for Edward had lost the hearts and love of all his people; the errors and abuses of the kingdom are there, with too great a liberty against a sacred king yet living, laid open and discoursed. All men were of one mind; a present reformation must be had; which, in a true construction, was but a mere politick treason. The three estates presently assent to the deposition of the elder, and raising the younger Edward, to the sole regimen and guidance of the kingdom; not a peer, bishop, knight, or burges, speaks a word in defence of him that was their master; but divers are sent from both houses to the yet king, to let him know their declaration. When they were come into his presence, Trussel, speaker in the lower house, in the name of the whole kingdom, resigned up all the homage due to him, and then pronounceth the sentence of his deprivation.

Edward, that long before had notice of these proceedings, arms himself to receive it with patience. He gives them back no answer; knowing a contestation or denial might hasten on his death, and a consent had made him guilty by his own confession.

Thus did this unfortunate king, after he had, with perpetual agitation and trouble, governed this kingdom eighteen years, odd months and days, lose it by his own disorder and providence, accompanied with the treachery and falshood of his own subjects. And that which is most miraculous, an army of three or four hundred men entered his dominions, and took from him the rule and governance, without so much as a blow given, or the loss of one man, more than such as perished by the hand of justice. In a declining fortune, all things conspire a ruin; yet never was it seen, that so great a king fell with so little honour, and so great an infidelity. But what could be expected, when, to satisfy his own unjust passions, he had consented to the oppressions of his subjects, tyrannised over the nobility, abused his wedlock, and lost all fatherly care of the kingdom, and that issue that was to succeed him. Certainly it is no less honourable than proper, for the majesty and greatness of a king, to have that same free and full use of his affection and favour, that each particular man hath in his œconomic government; yet, as his calling is the greatest, such should be his care, to square them always out by those sacred rules of equity and justice; for if they once transcend to exceed, falling into an extremity, they are the predictions of a fatal and inevitable ruin. Let the favourite taste the king's bounty, and enjoy his ear; but let him not engross it wholly, or take upon him the sway and governance of all the affairs of his master. This begets not more envy than multiplicity of error; whose effects do, for the most part, occasion a desperate convulsion, if not the destruction of that state, where it hath his allowance and practice. As kings ought to limit their favours, so ought they to be curious in the election; for persons of baser or meaner quality, exalted, are followed at the heels with a perpetual murmur and hatred.

Neither is it safe or proper, that all the principal dignities or strengths of a kingdom, should be committed to the fidelity of any one particular subject, though never so gracious or able. There must be then a kind of impulsive necessity still to continue his power, and approve his actions; else, having the keys in his hand, he may at all times open the gates to a foreign trouble, or a domestick mischief.

The number of servants, as it is the master's honour, so is the knowledge of their ability his glory. Where, by a discreet distribution, they find variety of employment, and are indifferently heard, both in advice and action; they more secure their master's safety and greatness. Kings, in their deliberations, should be swayed by the whole body of a council; and, in my opinion, should take it ill, to have any servant esteemed much wiser than his master. Their royal glory should be pure and transparent, suffering not the least eclipse, or shadow. Be the advice of a single wit never so grave and weighty, let the act and honour be solely the king's; which adds more and more to the belief of his ability and greatness.

If once the royal heart be so given over to sensuality, that the befitting and necessary cares of a kingdom seem a burden, and, by letter of attorney, assigned over to the fidelity of another; he is then, by his own indiscretion, no more an absolute king, but at second-hand, and by direction. It is the practice, and not the theoretic act of state that awes and assures the heart of the subject; this, being once doubtful or suspected, estrangeth the will of our obedience, and gives a belief of liberty to the actions of disorder and injustice.

Neither is the error and imbecillity of a crown more prejudicial to itself than dangerous in the example. Majestick vanities and vices find a ready imitation and practice; so that it may be concluded, that an ill king may endanger the virtue and goodness of a whole kingdom. Our nature is prone to the worser part; which we more readily are inclined to practise, with the condition of time, and so powerful and eminent a precedent.

Kings that are subject to a natural weakness, or grown to the practice of any other particular error, by corruption, should act their deeds of darkness, with such a reserved secrecy and caution, that there be not a suspicion to taint him; for, if it once win an open knowledge, besides the particular aspersion, it brings with it an ensuing supposed liberty of practice, both in court and state, by his example.

As these are most proper to the affections, so are there some as necessary instructions for kingly passions, which, of the two, are more violent and dangerous.

Though it a while delay the concluding part of the history, yet my pen must not leave them untouched. I must confess, if man could master and govern these rebellious monsters, he might justly merit rather the name of an angel than a mortal creature. But this, in a true perfection, is most impossible. It is yet, in divinity and all moral construction, the most absolute master-piece of this our pilgrimage, to dispose them so, that they wait on the operations of the soul, rather as obedient servants, than loose and uncontrouled vagabonds. A king, that is in these deficient, having so unlimited a power, and making his will his

law; in short time loseth the honour of his calling, and makes himself a tyrant. Intemperate and heady actions beget but disorder and confusion; and if they end in blood, without a warranty of apparent justice, or inevitable necessity, they cry to heaven for a deserved vengeance. The law hath advantages and punishments enough for those that lie at his mercy. Let not incensed haste betray the royalty of a crown, to make itself both judge and executioner. Kings are gods on earth; and ought, in all their actions, to direct the imitation after a divine nature, which inclines to mercy more than justice. Men's lives, once lost, cannot be redeemed; there ought, therefore, to be a tender consideration before they be taken, lest the injustice of the actor, in time, be brought to suffer in the same measure. As is the quality of the fact, so is the condition of his agent to be maturely deliberated; wherein there may be such dependencies, that it is for the crown more profitable, safe, and honourable, to save, or delay the execution of the law, than to advance or hasten it. Howsoever, it is the more innocent and excellent way, to offend in the better part; and rather to let the law, than once own virtue and goodness to be visibly deficient, and disesteemed. The actions of repentance are numbered with the register of our misdemeanours, where none appear more tearful than those, which an inconsiderate fury, or the violence of passion, hath acted with too much haste and cruelty. Let then the height of so great and excellent a calling be suited with as sweet a temper; neither too precipitate or slow, but with a steady and well-advised motion.

As these considerations are in the one part necessary, so ought there to be a correspondent worth and care in him that hath the happiness to enjoy in so great a measure his royal master's ear and favour. If the actions of the king be never so clear and innocent, yet he must favour or protect the error of so great a servant, which makes him an accessory, if not an actor, in the unjust oppression of his kingdom. It is not discretion, neither hath it any society, with the well grounded rules of wisdom, for the subject to exalt or amplify the height of his own glory; it is, in the eye of all, too great a presuming insolence, and kings themselves will rather alter their affections, than to be outshined or dazzled in their own sphere or element.

He that hath made his master's love, and hath ascended the stairs of his preferment, should make the same virtue the stay of his advantage, framing his carriage to his equals and inferiors, with a like sweet and winning temper. If he swerve from this sacred rule, and arrive to win fear, or a vain adoration, let him know, the first is the companion of trust and safety, the other of a jealous diffidence, that must betray his life and honour.

But, to return to our history, which now removes Edward, the father, to Killingworth; where he remains under the keeping of the Earl of Lancaster, while his unripe son is crowned king; and the queen, with Mortimer, take into their hands the whole sway and administration of the kingdom. Their first act sends Baldock, the lord chancellor, to Newgate, a fit cage for such a haggard, though far unworthy the eminency of his height and dignity.

Now do the recollected spirits of the kingdom begin to survey and

examine the injustice of that act, that had disrobed and put down a king, their unquestionable sovereign, that had been so solemnly anointed, and so long enjoyed the regimen of the kingdom. They find the condition of their estate but little altered; and, according to the vanity of their hearts, are as ready to attempt a new innovation. Many suits are made to the king, and the protectors, to release him out of his imprisonment; but all prove vain and fruitless. The black friars were, in this request, more earnest; who, in their denial, sought to bring it to pass by force or surprisal. They make Donhead, one of their number, their captain; but he knew better the use of church-ornaments, than how to handle his weapons, or manage an army. He is intercepted, and sent to prison, where he dies, before he had so much as mustered his congregation.

This cloud dispersed, the queen believes it a fit time to take her leave of her assistant strangers, who mainly hasten their departure. She was unwilling they should be witnesses to the unnatural succeeding tragedy; which was too much for her own kingdom, and unfit for the strangers' climate, which was filled with the belief of her virtue and honour. She liberally and freely requites, to each particular, the minute of his pains and travel; but Sir John of Heinnault, and the better sort, are honoured with many rich jewels and gifts, besides continuing annuities, and annual revenues. They hold themselves nobly contented; and, taking a solemn leave, are honourably attended to Dover, leaving the kingdom with a merrier eye, than when they first beheld it.

Now is the Earl of Lancaster, who, though he had least cause, was nobly disposed towards his old master removed; and delivers over his charge by indenture, to Sir Morice Berkeley, and Sir John Mattreviers, who led him back to his first place of imprisonment, where, in the presence of his keepers, he one day, in a melancholy passion, doth thus discourse his sorrows:

'Alas! is my offence so great, that it deserves nor pity nor assistance? Is human piety and goodness so wholly lost, that neither in child, wife, servant, or subject, appears the least expression of love or duty? Admit my errors unexcusable, wherein I will not justify myself, nor accuse others: though it hath taken from me the glory of my former being, I am yet a father and a husband; these titles are without the jurisdiction of fortune. If I be so, where is the affection and duty that becomes the child, and wedlock? Sure, my misery hath not made me such a basilisk, or monster, that my sight should beget or fear or hatred? can they believe a danger in the visitation of a poor distressed captive? I know their hardened hearts are not so noble, and apt for compassion, that they need suspect themselves, or me, in so poor a courtesy. What then occasions this neglect or estrangement? Are they not content to enjoy all that was mine, as yet, by the laws of God, man, and nature, but they must despise and forsake my withered ruins?

'Alas! I know my poor children are innocent. Both they, and my injurious queen, are betrayed by cunning, wicked Mortimer; whom, if I had paid with his just desert, when heaven, and his own guilt, had

laid him at my mercy, I had not lived to endure this affliction, nor he to be the insulting instrument of my dishonour. But time, and this sad trial, hath taught me patience, and learned me how to know the height of my misfortunes; which (if my divining spirit err not) will not be long unseen and unrevenge. Am I unworthy to be seen? I am then unfit to live, and will receive it as a well-becoming pity, if my death may send me hence, from this so great a sorrow.'

When he had thus ended, and, with a few manly tears, smothered in the depth of that heart-breaking sigh, that enforced his silence, he was, by one of his attendants, made this rough uncivil answer.

'My Lord, your wife and children are jealous, and fearful of your cruel furious nature, whereof both they and the kingdom have too true a knowledge to trust you: besides, they are informed, your resolution is to do them mischief, if they approach your danger. This keeps your queen from you she once so truly loved.'

'My queen,' quoth he, 'hath she that remaining title, while I, that made her so, am less than nothing? Alas, poor wretched woman! hath she, nor could she find no other more tolerable excuse than this, so faint a pretended fear and danger? Is there a possibility in her suspicion? or have I the means (if I were so resolved) to do it, that am here a poor forsaken man, as far from power as comfort? And, fellow, thou that takest so audacious and sawcy a liberty, to character thy sovereign's disposition, which thou art bound to honour, and not to question: know, Edward's heart is as free from thy base aspersion, as thine from truth or honesty.'

When he had ended these words, he retires himself to his chamber, sad and melancholy, believing his case was hard and desperate, when so base a groom durst face to face affront him.

The queen and Mortimer, revelling now in the height of their ambition and felicity, had yet a wary eye to the main; which they knew did principally rest on the safeguard and sure keeping of the deposed king. Though they had all the marks and essential parts of an absolute sovereignty, the name alone excepted; yet they had unquiet and troubled thoughts, in the fear and imagination of losing it. They saw their plausible incomes were dully continued, and there was a beginning murmur against the manner of their proceedings. They knew there was no constancy in the people, that would be as ready to take them off, as they were to bring them on, in any new stirring or innovation. The Lords, that were their principal supporters, were content, but not satisfied, all things concurring to make them suspect their own condition.

Edward, the father's faults, were extenuated; his vices ascribed to those that had betrayed him; and his estate infinitely pitied, that had so dishonourable an usage, far short of what in justice appertained to the honour of his first calling. These reports made their ears tingle, and incite them in time to think upon some befitting remedy. Many ways and devices are thought upon, but they are all subject to some manifest imperfection. On this, Mortimer falls to the matter roundly, and tells the queen plainly, that there is no way left to make all sure,

but absolutely to take away the cause, and to leave the party by Edward's death hopeless, that, by his life, sought to make a new combustion.

The queen, whose heart was yet innocent of so deep a transgression, was deeply and inwardly troubled with this unhappy proposition. She believed his sufferings were already greater than his faults, and was unwilling to stain the opinion of her worth and virtue, with so foul an act of injustice. She was assured it could not be so done, but it would be discovered; if the eyes of men could be blinded, yet, that all-knowing power of heaven would reveal and punish it. Such deep actions of crying sins are seldom long unrevenged; which made her most unwilling, that her consent should pass, or be assistant. To kill a king, her husband, that had once so dearly loved her, was more than an act of blood; nor could she expect, but that the son, grown up, would revenge the death of the father. 'Therefore,' quoth she, 'sweet Mortimer, let us resolve rather any other hazard, than this which is waited on with so great infamy and certain ruin.'

Mortimer replies, 'madam, who hath the benefit of time, and neglects the advantage, if he fall, is justly unworthy pity or compassion. Have you exposed yourself to all the bitter trials of fortune, suffering, so meanly, so many miseries; and having overcome them according to your desire, are you willing to return to your own condition, and former sorrow? If it be so, Mortimer is wretched, in sacrificing his devotion and heart to such a female weakness. In cases of extremity, a tenderness of conscience begets a certain danger, nor is it disproportionate so to continue a crown, that by blood was gotten and surprised; had Edward known I should have lived to see his ruin, my head had paid my ransom. The impressions of fear make his subject less in sense than apparition; think not me of so poor a brain, but I as well know how to work as move it; such actions are not to be done, but such a way as may prevent proof, if not suspicion. But why do I seek thus to charm your ears, if you be willing he shall live, let him; let the inclining people set him free, to call you to an account for his oppression; let him parallel his Spencer's death in your affliction; perhaps he will spare you for your brother's sake, who, he knows, so dearly loves you, and did so bravely witness it in your affliction; perhaps he will suffer you still to guide the crown, and your fair son to wear it. If you be pleased, you may abide the trial. Mortimer's resolved, since you neglect his judgment, you will as soon forget his service, which he will in time prevent, before it be debarred.'

With this, he flings away, as if he meant, to give his words a real execution. The amazed queen pursues and overtakes him.

'Stay, gentle Mortimer,' quoth she, 'forgive my error, I am a woman fitter to take advice than to give it. Think not I prize thy love so little as to lose thee. If Edward must die, I will not seek to divert it; only I thus much beg, I may not be partaker, or privy to the time, means, or manner.'

'Madam, leave that to me, who will, alone, both undertake the act and danger; all I require from you, is, but to seal a warrant to change his former keepers.'

Sir Morris Barkley had been tampered withal, and was so far from consent, that he plainly declared he did abhor the action. This answer suddenly discharged him, and commits his master's guard to Sir Thomas Gourney, and his former partner, Mattrevs. They, having received both their warrant and prisoner, convey him to Cork-castle, the place in all the world he most hated. Some say, he was foretold, by certain magick spells, that this place was to him both fatal and ominous. But, whatsoever the cause was, he was, at his first arrival, deeply sad and passionate. His keepers, to repel this humour, and make him less suspicious, feed him with pleasant discourse, and better entertainment, while his misgiving spirit was heavy, sad, and melancholy.

The night before his death, he supped heartily, and went to bed betimes; scarcely were his heavy eyes locked up in silent slumber, when his forsworn traitorous murderers enter his chamber, and, finding him asleep, inhumanly and barbarously stifled him, before he could avoid or resist it. The writers differ mainly in the manner of his death, but all conclude him murdered; yet so, that the way, on search and view, could not be known or discovered. A small passage of time gave the most part of all these actors of his death an end fit for their deserts, and this so bloody an action. Their several relations and confessions occasion so many various reports, and different kinds of writing; the truth whereof is not much material, since all agree, he came to an unnatural and untimely death.

Thus fell that unhappy king, Edward the second, who was son and father to two of the most glorious kings that ever held the monarchy of the English nation. Main reasons are given probable enough to instance the necessity of his fall, which, questionless, were the secondary means to work it. But his doom was registered by that inscrutable providence of heaven, who, with the self-same sentence, punished both him, and Richard the second, his great grandchild, who were guilty of the same offences. The example of these two so unfortunate kings, may be justly a leading precedent to all posterity.

Certainly, we have had other kings as faulty and vicious, that have overlived their errors, and died not by a violent hand, but by the ordinary and easy course of nature. The condition and quality of these was not, in themselves, more perilous and exorbitant, than hurtful and dangerous to the estate, peace, and tranquillity of the whole kingdom. If, by height of youth, height of fortune, or a corrupt natural inclination, the royal affections loosely fly at random; yet, if it extend no farther than the satisfaction of the proper appetite, it may obscure the glory, but not supplant the strength and welfare of a monarchy. But when it is, in itself, not only vicious and ill affected, but doth patrocine and maintain it in others, not blushing in such a justification, it is a fore-running and presaging evidence, that betokens a fatal and unpitied ruin.

It is too much in a king, that hath so great a charge delivered to his care and custody, to be dissolute, or wantonly given; but when it falls into a second error, which makes more kings than one in the self-same kingdom, he opens the way to his own destruction. The subjects

hearts, as they are obliged, so are they continued by the majesty and goodness of a king; if either of these prove prostitute, it unties the links of duty and allegiance, and hunts after change and innovation.

It is of so singular and great a consequence, that kings ought to be well advised, and sparingly to accumulate their honours and favours, wherein both the time, person, and occasion, ought to be both worthy and weighty; for the eye of the subject waits curiously on his actions, which, finding them degenerating from his own greatness, and inclinable to their oppression, vary their integrity to a murmuring discontent, which is the harbinger to a revolt and mischief. Nor is it proper (if the sovereign's affections must dote) that the object of their weakness should sway the government of the kingdom. Such an intermixture begets confusion and error, and is attended by a perpetual envy and hatred.

Is it possible, but there must be perpetual error and injustice, where all things are carried more by favour and affection, than law and reason? Or can the lesser fountains be clear, when the main spring that feeds them is tainted and polluted? Alas, common and familiar experience tells, that the actions and principal use of a favourite, is to make good, by his strength and favour, those designs that are, in themselves, unjust, perverse, and insupportable.

A good cause, in the integrity of time, needs no protection but its own innocence. But where the sacred rules of justice are inverted, the sincerity of the law abused, the conscience of the judge corrupted or enforced, and all things made mercenary, or carried by indirect favour; what expectation can there be, but that kingdom, which is the theatre of so infamous a practice, should fall speedily into a fearful and desperate convulsion? Though the histories of these times are plentifully stored, and few commonwealths are free from the examples of this nature; yet I shall not need any other instance, than the story of this unfortunate prince, whose time presents a perfect mirror, wherein ensuing kings may see how full of danger and hazard it is, for one man's love, to sell the affections and peace of the whole kingdom.

Had Edward, in his own particular, been far worse than he was, he might have still subsisted; but when for his inglorious minions, Gaveston and Spencer, who successively engross him, he fell to those injurious and dissolute actions, that made all men, and the kingdom, pray to their insolent and imperious humours, he quickly found both heaven and earth resolved to work his ruin. Not only his own, but theirs, and those of their ignoble agents, were made his proper errors; which took so wholly from him the love and hearts of his subjects, that he found neither arms nor tongue to defend him. A more remarkable misery, I think, no time of ours produceth; that brings this king to destruction, without so much as any one kinsman, friend, or subject, that declared himself in his quarrel.

But he found the climacterick year of his reign, before he did expect it: and made that unhappy castle, which he ever hated, the witness of his cruel murder; where I must leave him, 'till he find a more honourable place of burial, and my weary pen a fortunate subject, that may invite it to some other new relation.

A LETTER

FROM THE

NOBILITY, BARONS, AND COMMONS OF SCOTLAND,

IN THE YEAR MCCCIX,

Yet extant, under all the Seals of the Nobility,

DIRECTED TO POPE JOHN:

Wherein they declare their firm resolutions to adhere to their King, Robert the Bruce, as the Restorer of the safety and liberties of the People, and as having the true right of succession: but, withal, they notwithstanding declare, That, if the King should offer to subvert their civil liberties, they will disown him as an enemy, and choose another to be King for their own defence. Translated from the original, in Latin, as it is inserted by Sir George Mackenzy of Rosehaugh, in his 'Observations on Precedency, &c.' Quarto, containing eight pages.

SANCTISSIMO Patri in Christo, ac Domino, Joanni, Divina Providentia, Sacrosanctæ Romanæ & Universalis Ecclesiæ summo Pontifici, filii sui humiles & devoti, Duncanus, Comes de Fyfe, Thomas Ranulphi, Comes Moraviæ, Dominus Manniæ, & Vallis Annandæ, Patricius de Dumbar, Comes Marchiæ, Malisius, Comes de Strathern, Malcolmus, Comes de Levenox, Willielmus, Comes de Ross, Magnus, Comes de Cathaniæ & Orcadiæ, & Willielmus, Comes de Sutherlandiæ, Walterus, Senescallus Scotiæ, Willielmus de Soules, Buttellarius Scotiæ, Jacobus, Dominus de Douglas, Rogerus de Mowbray, David, Dominus de Brechine, David de Graham, Ingelramus de Umfravile, Joannes de Monteith, Custos Commitatus de Monteith, Alexander Frazier, Gilbertus de

TO Our Most Holy Father in Christ, and our Lord, John, by the Divine Providence, Chief Bishop of the most Holy Roman and Universal Church, your humble and devoted Sons, Duncan, Earl of Fyfe, Thomas Randolph, Earl of Murray, Lord Mannia, and Annandale, Patrick de Dumbar, Earl of March, Malisius, Earl of Strathern, Malcolm, Earl of Lenox, William, Earl of Ross, Magnus, Earl of Caithness and Orkney, William, Earl of Sutherland, Walter, Steward of Scotland, William de Soules, Buttellarius of Scotland, James, Lord Douglas, Roger de Mowbray, David, Lord Brechin, David de Grahame, Ingelramus de Umfravile, John de Monteith, Warder of the County of Monteith, Alexander Frazer, Gilbert de Hay, Constable of Scotland, Robert de Keith, Mar-

Haia, Constabularius Scotiæ, Robertus de Keith, Mariscallus Scotiæ, Henricus de Sancto claro, Joannes de Graham, David de Lindsey, Willielmus Oliphant, Patricus de Graham, Joannes de Fenton, Willielmus de Abernethy, David de Weyms, Willielmus de Montefixo, Fergusius de Ardrosan, Eustachius de Maxwell, Willielmus de Ramsay, Willielmus de Montalto, Alanus de Moravia, Dovenaldus Campbel, Joannes Campburn, Reginaldus le Chene, Alexander de Seton, Andreas de Lesceline, et Alexander de Straton, cæterique barones et libertenentes, ac tota Communitas regni Scotiæ, omnimodam reverentiam filialem, cum devotis pedum osculis beatorum. Scimus, sanctissime Pater et Domine, et ex antiquorum gestis et libris colligimus, quod inter cæteras nationes egregias, nostra scil. Scotorum natio, multis præconiis fuerit insignita: quæ de majori Scythia per mare Tyrrenum et Columnas Herculis transiens, et in Hispania inter ferocissimos, per multa temporum curricula, residens, a nullis quantumcunque barbaricis poterat alicubi subjugari; indeque veniens post mille et ducentos annos a transitu populi Israelitici, sibi sedes in occidente quas nunc obtinet, expulsis Britonibus, et Pictis omnino deletis, licet per Norwegienses, Danos, et Anglos sæpius impugnata fuerit, multis sibi victoriis, et laboribus quamplurimis, adquisivit; ipsasque ab omni servitute liberaas, ut priscorum testantur historiæ, semper tenuit. In quorum regno, centum et tresdecem reges de ipsorum regali prosapia, nulla alienigena interveniente, regnaverunt, quorum nobilitates et merita, licet ex aliis non clarent, satis tamen patenter effulgent, ex eo quod Rex Regum Dominus Jesus Christus, post passionem et resur-

shal of Scotland, Henry de Sancto Claro, John de Graham, David de Lindsey, William Oliphant, Patrick de Graham, John de Fenton, William de Abernethy, David de Weyms, William de Montefixo, Fergus de Ardrosan, Eustachius de Maxwell, William de Ramsay, William de Monte-alto, Allan de Murray, Donald Campbel, John Camburn, Reginald le Chene, Alexander de Seton, Andrew de Lesceline, and Alexander Straton, and the rest of the barons and freeholders, and whole community, or commons of the kingdom of Scotland, send all manner of filial reverence, with devout kisses, of your blessed and happy feet. Most Holy Father and Lord, we know, and gather from ancient acts and records, that, in every famous nation, this of Scotland hath been celebrated with many praises: this nation having come from Scythia the Greater, through the Tuscan sea, and by Hercules's Pillars; and having, for many ages, taken its residence in Spain, in the midst of a most fierce people, could never be brought in subjection by any people, how barbarous soever: and having removed from these parts, above twelve hundred years after the coming of the Israelites out of Egypt, did, by many victories and much toil, obtain these parts in the west, which they still possess; having expelled the Britons, and intirely rooted out the Picts, notwithstanding the frequent assaults and invasions they met with from the Norwegians, Danes, and English: and these parts and possessions they have always retained free from all manner of servitude and subjection, as antient histories do witness. This kingdom hath been governed by an uninterrupted succession of 113 kings, all of our own native and royal stock, without the interve-

rectionem suam, ipsos in ultimis terræ finibus constitutos, quasi primos, ad suam fidem sanctissimam, convocavit: nec eos, per quemlibet in dicta fide, confirmari voluit, sed per suum primum apostolum, quamvis ordine secundum vel tertium, sanctum Andream, meritissimum beati Petri Germanum, quem semper ipsis præesse voluit ut patronum. Hæc autem sanctissimi patres et predecessores vestri sollicita mente pensantes ipsum regnum et populum, ut beati Petri Germani peculium, multis favoribus et privilegiis quamplurimis muniverunt. Itaque gens nostra, sub ipsorum protectione, libera hactenus deguit et quietate; donec ille Princeps Magnificus Rex Anglorum Edwardus, pater istius qui nunc est, Regnum nostrum acephalum, Populum que nullius mali aut doli conscium, nec bellis aut insultibus tunc assuetum, sub amici et confederati specie, innumerabiliter infestavit: cujus injurias, cædes et violentias, prædationes, incendia, prælatorum incarcerationes, monasteriorum combustiones, religiosorum spoliationes, et occisiones, alia quoque enormia, quæ indicto populo exercuit, nulli parcens ætati aut sexui, religioni aut ordini, nullus scriberet, nec ad plenum intelligeret, nisi quem experientia informaret. A quibus malis innumerais, ipso juvante qui post vulnera medetur et sanat, liberati sumus per serenissimum principem, regem, et dominum nostrum, dominum Robertum, qui pro populo et hæreditati suis, de manibus inimicorum liberandis, quasi alter Maccabæus, aut Josue laboris et tædia, inedia et pericula, læto sustinuit animo: quem etiam divina dispositio, et juxta leges et consuetudines nostras quas, usque ad mortem sustinere volumus, juris successio, et debitus nostrorum con-

ning of any stranger. The true nobility and merits of these princes and people are very remarkable, from this one consideration, though there were no other evidence for it: that the King of Kings, the Lord Jesus Christ, after his passion and resurrection, honoured them, as it were, the first (though living in the outmost ends of the earth) with a call to his most holy faith: neither would our Saviour have them confirmed in the Christian faith, by any other instrument, than his own first apostle, (though, in order, the second or third) St. Andrew, the most worthy brother of the blessed Peter, whom he would always have to be over us, as our patron or protector. Upon the weighty consideration of these things, our most holy fathers, your predecessors, did, with many great and singular favours and privileges fence and secure this kingdom and people, as being the peculiar charge and care of the brother of St. Peter; so that our nation hath hitherto lived in freedom and quietness, under their protection, till the magnificent King Edward, father to the present King of England, did, under the colour of friendship and alliance, or confederacy, with innumerable oppressions infest us, who minded no fraud or deceit, at a time when we were without a king or head, and when the people were unacquainted with wars and invasions. It is impossible for any, whose own experience hath not informed him, to describe, or fully to understand, the injuries, blood, and violence; the depredations and fire, the imprisonments of prelates, the burning, slaughter, and robbery, committed upon holy persons, and religious houses, and a vast multitude of other barbarities, which that king executed on this people, without sparing of any sex, or age,

sensus et assensus, nostrum fecerunt principem atque regem. Cui tanquam illi per quem salus in populo facta est pro nostra libertate tuenda, tam jure quam meritis tenemur, et volumus in omnibus adhærere. Quem, si ab inceptis desistet, Regi Anglorum aut Anglicis nos aut regnum nostrum volens subjicere, tanquam inimicum nostrum et sui nostrique juris subversorem statim expellere niteremur, et alium regem nostrum, qui ad defensionem nostram sufficeret, faciemus; quia, quamdiu centum vivi remanserint, nunquam Anglorum dominio aliquatenus volumus subjugari. Non enim propter gloriam, divitias, aut honores pugnamus, sed propter libertatem solummodo, quam nemo bonus nisi simul cum vita amittit. Hinc est, Reverende Pater ac Domine, quod sanctitatem vestram cum omni præcum instantia, genu flexis cordibus exoramus; quatenus sincero corde menteque pia recalescentes, quod apud eum cujus vices in terris geritis, non sic pondus et pondus nec distinctio Judæi et Græci, Scoti aut Anglici, tribulationes et angustias nobis et Ecclesiæ Dei illatas ab Anglicis paternis oculis intuentes; Regem Anglorum, cui sufficere debet quod possidet, cum olim Anglia septem aut pluribus solebat sufficere regibus, monere et exhortari dignemini, ut nos Scotos in exili degentes Scotia ultra quam habitatio non est, nihilque nisi nostrum cupientes in pace dimittat. Cui pro nostra procuranda quiete quicquid possumus, ad statum nostrum respectu habito, hoc facere volumus cum effectu. Vestra enim interest, Sancte Pater, hoc facere qui Paganorum feritatem, Christianorum culpis exigentibus, in Christianos sævientem aspiciat, et Christianorum terminos artari indies: quare ne quid ves-

religion, or order of men whatsoever. But, at length, it pleased God, who only can heal after wounds, to restore us to liberty, from these innumerable calamities, by our Most Serene Prince, King, and Lord, Robert; who, for the delivering of his people, and his own rightful inheritance, from the enemy's hand, did, like another Joshua, or Maccabeus, most cheerfully undergo all manner of toil, fatigue, hardship, and hazard. The divine Providence, the right of succession, by the laws and customs of the kingdom, which we will defend till death, and the due and lawful consent and assent of all the people, made him our King and Prince. To him we are obliged, and resolved to adhere in all things, both upon the account of his right, and his own merit, as being the person who hath restored the people's safety, in defence of their liberties. But, after all, if this Prince shall leave these principles he hath so nobly pursued, and consent that we or our kingdom be subjected to the King or People of England, we will immediately endeavour to expel him, as our enemy, and as the subverter both of his own and our rights, and will make another king, who will defend our liberties: for, so long as there shall but one-hundred of us remain alive, we will never subject ourselves to the dominion of the English: for it is not glory, it is not riches, neither is it honour, but it is liberty alone that we fight and contend for, which no honest man will lose but with his life. For these reasons, Most Reverend Father and Lord, we do, with most earnest prayers, from our bended knees and hearts, beg and intreat your Holiness, that you may be pleased, with a sincere and cordial piety, to consider, that with

træ sanctitatis memoriæ deroget et, si quod absit, Ecclesia in aliqua sui parte vestris temporibus patiatuꝛ eclipsin aut scandalum vos videritis, Exhorter igituꝛ Christianos principes, qui, non casum ut casum ponentes, se fingunt in subsidium Terræ Sanctæ, propter guerras quas habent cum proximis, ire non posse: cujus impedimenti causa est verior, quod, in minoribus proximis debellandis, utilitas propior et resistentia debilior æstimantur. Sic quam læto corde dictus Dominus Rex noster, et nos, si Rex Anglorum nos in pace dimittet, illuc iremus; qui nihil ignoret satis novit: quod Christi Vicario totique Christianitati ostendimus et testamur. Quibus si sanctitas vestra Anglorum relatibus nimis credula fidem sinceram non adhibet, aut ipsis in nostram confusionem favere non desinat; corporum excidia, animarum exitia, et cætera quæ sequuntur incommoda, quæ ipsi in nobis et nos in ipsis secerimus; vobis ab altissimo credimus imputanda. Ex quo sumus et erimus in his quæ tenemur tanquam obedientiæ filii vobis tanquam ipsius Vicario in omnibus complacere; ipsique tanquam summo Regi et Judici causam nostram tuendam committimus cogitatum nostrum jactantes in ipso, sperantesque linem; quod in nobis virtutem faciet et ad nihilum rediget hostes nostros. Serenitatem et Sanctitatem vestram conservet Altissimus Ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ per tempora diuturna. Datum apud Monasterium de Aberbrothock in Scotia, sexto die Aprilis, Anno Gratiae millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo, Anno vero Regni Regis nostri supradicti quintodecimo.

ignorant of nothing, knows with how much cheerfulness, both our King and we would go thither, if the King of England would leave us in peace; and we do hereby testify and declare it to the Vicar of Christ, and to all

him, whose Vicar on earth you are, there is no respect nor distinction of Jew nor Greek, Scots nor English; and that, with a tender and fatherly eye, you may look upon the calamities and streights brought upon us, and the Church of God, by the English; and that you may admonish and exhort the King of England, (who may well rest satisfied with his own possessions, since that kingdom, of old, used to be sufficient for seven or more kings) to suffer us to live at peace in that narrow spot of Scotland, beyond which we have no habitation, since we desire nothing but our own; and we, on our part, as far as we are able, with respect to our own condition, shall effectually agree to him in every thing that may procure our quiet. It is your concernment, Most Holy Father, to interpose in this, when you see how far the violence and barbarity of the Pagans is let loose against Christendom, for punishing of the sins of the Christians, and how much they daily inroach upon the Christian territories. And it is your interest to notice, that there be no ground given for reflecting on your memory, if you should suffer any part of the Church to come under a scandal or eclipse (which we pray God may prevent) during your time. Let it, therefore, please your Holiness, to exhort the Christian Princes, not to make the wars, betwixt them and their neighbours, a pretext for not going to the relief of the Holy Land, since that is not the true cause of the impediment; the truer ground of it is, That they have a much nearer prospect of advantage, and far less opposition, in the subduing of their weaker neighbours. And God, who is

Christendom. But, if your Holiness shall be too credulous of the English misrepresentations, and not give firm credit to what we have said, nor desist to favour the English, to our destruction, we must believe that the Most High will lay to your charge all the blood, loss of souls, and other calamities, that shall follow, on either hand, betwixt them and us. Your Holiness, in granting our just desires, will oblige us, in every case where our duty shall require it, to endeavour your satisfaction, as becomes the obedient sons of the Vicar of Christ. We commit the defence of our cause to him who is the sovereign King and Judge; we cast the burden of our cares upon him, and hope for such an issue, as may give strength and courage to us, and bring our enemies to nothing. The Most High God long preserve your Serenity and Holiness to his holy church. Given at the Monastery of Aberbrothock, in Scotland, the sixth day of April, in the year of grace M,CCC,XX, and of our said king's reign, the fifteenth year.'

AN HISTORICAL NARRATION

Of the Manner and Form of that

MEMORABLE PARLIAMENT

WHICH WROUGHT WONDERS.

Begun at Westminster, 1386, in the tenth year of the reign of King Richard the Second. Related and published by Thomas Fannant, Clerk. Printed in the year 1641. Quarto, containing forty pages.

THIS present occasion so opportunely befitting me, I am resolved to treat of that which hath been omitted, and slipped out of memory long since, concerning divers and sundry changes and alterations in England, in former times; nor will it be burthensome to write of that, whereby every good and careful reader may learn to avoid diversities of miseries, and the danger and fear of cruel death. I will, therefore, speak of that which hath lain hid in the darksome shade of forgetfulness, concerning men who have been led away by the deceitful path of covetousness, and have come to a most shameful and ignominious death; a famous example, to deter all men from practising those, or the like courses,

ABOUT the year of Christ, 1386, at such time as Richard, the second of that name, then in the prime of his youth, swayed the imperial scepter of our realm, there flourished, famous in his court, certain peers, though some of them not of any honourable descent, yet favoured by

fortune; by name, Alexander Nevell, Archbishop of York; Robert Vere, Duke of Ireland; Michael de la Poole, Earl of Suffolk, then Lord Chancellor; Robert Tresilian, Lord Chief Justice of England; and Nicholas Brambre, sometimes mayor of London.

These men, being raised from mean estates by the special favour of the king, and advanced to the degree of privy-counsellors, were the men who had the only rule of the commonwealth, which they, under the king, governed for some small space with careful diligence, meriting thereby deserved commendations. But not long did they thus steer the ship of the kingdom; for, many of them being of inferior rank by birth, not having their veins dignified with the streams of noble blood, they were the sooner inticed with the libidinous baits of voluptuousness, and infected with the insatiable itch of avarice; insomuch that, despising the authority of the king, and neglecting the commodity of the realm, but only desiring to keep up the revenues of the kingdom, so wrought, that, by their policy, the king is impoverished, and the treasure exhausted; the commons murmur at the multiplicity of tenths, levies, and subsidies; the peers repine to see themselves disgraced, and their inferiors honoured; and, in a word, the whole kingdom endures an universal misery.

The nobility, seeing the miserable state wherein the kingdom lay, bleeding, as it were, to death, urged their king to summon a parliament; which was done shortly after; in which, amongst many other acts, the aforesaid Michael de la Poole is dismissed from his chancellorship; and, being accused of divers and many points of injustice, as bribery, extortion, and the like, he was soon after cast into the castle of Windsor, and all his lands, which were of no small revenue, were confiscated to the king. Neither did the parliament here give over, but provided further for the whole state: By the mutual consent of the king and prelates, barons and commons, with an unanimous conjunction, they constitute, and give plenary and absolute power to certain commissioners, as well of the spirituality, as of the temporality, for the ordering and disposing of the publick affairs, according as shall seem best and most necessary for the desperate state of the commonwealth, to depress civil dissensions, and to pacify and appease the grudgings of the people.

Of the spirituality, were chosen the Archbishop of Canterbury, the aforesaid Bishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, lately made Chancellor of England; the Bishop of Winchester, Bishop of Hereford, Lord Treasurer; Bishop of Exeter, Abbot of Waleham, and the Lord John of Waltham.

Of the laity were elected the Duke of York, the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Coltham, the Lord Scroope, and John Devereux, knight. These, as men eminent in virtue, were chosen by the general suffrage, and sworn to carry themselves as dutiful and obedient subjects in all their actions. And it was further enacted, that, if any should refuse, or disobey, the ordinances so made for publick good, the punishment of his first offence should be the confiscation of his goods; and, for the second, the loss of life. Thus disposing all things for the best, the parliament being dissolved, every man returned to his own house.

Soon after, the aforesaid chancellor, with others of their confederates, being moved with implacable fury against the statutes of the

late parliament, they buzzed into the king's ears, that the statutes, lately enacted, were very prejudicial to the honour of his crown, and much derogatory to his princely prerogative; insomuch that he should not have power, without the consent of the new appointed commissioners, to do any thing befitting a king, no, not so much as to bestow a largess; a principal means to gain the people's love upon any, though never so well deserving.

By these, and other the like instigations, with which the devil (as never unmindful of the end of those, who by their lives do prove themselves) did continually supply them, they practised to annihilate and disannul these acts of the parliament, which seemed any ways to abbreviate or curb their usurped authority.

And, first, by their serpentine tongues, ambitious projects, flattery painted out with glossing discourses, and covered over with the shadow of vigilancy for the good of the kingdom, they so bewitched the noble inclination of the youthful king, whom they induced to believe that all the ill they did was a general good, that he began to distaste, and at last to abhor the last passed acts, as treacherous plots, and most wicked devices.

Next, They studied how to ingross all, or the most part, of the wealth and riches of the kingdom, into their own coffers; and, to the same end, dealed so cunningly, yet pleasingly, with the king, that he gave to the Duke of Ireland, John of Bloys, the heir of the duchy of Brittany, and his ransom; to others, towns; to others, cities; to others, lands; to others, money; amounting to the sum of one hundred thousand marks, to the great impoverishment both of king and kingdom; neither did these king eaters and realm devourers any thing regard it, but, setting unskilful and insufficient captains and governors over towns and forts so obtained, gave occasion to the enemies of the crown to surprise them, and dispossess the king of them.

Thirdly, Vilifying the dignity of the king, contrary to their allegiance, they drew the king to swear, that, with all his power, during his life, he should maintain and defend them from all their enemies, whether foreign or domestick.

Fourthly, Whereas it was enacted by the last parliament, that the king, at certain seasonable times, and when his leisure would permit him, should sit at Westminster, with his council there, to consult of the publick affairs; through the persuasions of the aforesaid conspirators, he was drawn into the remotest parts of the realm, to the great disparagement of the fidelity of those honourable, grave, and faithful peers, late made joint commissioners, in whose hands the whole safety and prosperity of the commonwealth did reside.

And whenas the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, or any other of their privy-council, came to relate any of their own actions, or the state of the realm, they could not be granted access, unless they related the business in the presence and hearing of the conspirators, who were always ready to upbraid them, if they uttered any thing that displeased them; and to commend them for any thing, though most nefarious, that did content them; for thus could they the sooner learn and dive into the acts of the commissioners, and the better find

evasions for their accusations. Furthermore, whenas the king, in company of the conspirators, went in progress towards the parts of Cheshire, Wales, and Lancashire, they made proclamation, in the king's name, throughout the shires, as they journeyed, that all barons, knights, esquires, with the greatest part of the commonalty able to bear arms, should speedily repair to the king for his defence against the power of the commissioners, chiefly of the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earl of Arundel, because they, above the rest, did, with their chiefest endeavours, study to suppress and quell the devices of the conspirators.

Fifthly, Contrary to the aforesaid acts, they caused the Duke of Ireland to be created Chief Justice of Chester, thereby selling justice as they listed, condemning the guiltless, and remitting the guilty, never respecting or looking unto the equal balance of justice, but poisoning down the scales with heaps of bribery.

Sixthly, By the procurement of the confederates, they caused certain honest persons, who would not consent to their extortions, to be called and summoned to their court, and there to answer to certain false accusations, wherewith they were unjustly charged by perjured hirelings; of which men so accused, some were put to death, some cast into prison, all were vexed and troubled with delays, length of their journey to and fro, and excessive charges; neither were they eased of any of their burthens, unless they would part with round sums of money to the duke and his accomplices.

Seventhly, They gave pardons under the broad seal to felons, murderers, and such like, only with this condition, that they should murder any whomsoever they thought did dislike their exaction.

Eighthly, They taught the country of Ireland to look to its pristine state; I mean, of having a king; for they plotted to have the Duke created king of Ireland; and, for the confirmation of which their design, they allured the king to send his letters to the Pope.

Ninthly, The aforesaid Nicholas Brambre, in the time of his mayoralty, caused twenty-two to be falsely accused of felonies, and laid into Newgate, under pretext and colour of divers crimes; and, in the silent and dead time of the night, to be fast bound, and, by a strong hand, to be carried into Kent, to a place commonly called Fawlocks, and then to have their heads struck off, except one, who, being favoured by the murderers, safely escaped; the blood of the rest dyed the streams of a small rivulet adjoining.

Tenthly, Soon after, to add one mischief to another, they sent letters, under the king's signet, to the Mayor of London, by John Rippon, clerk, with a certain libel, or schedule, inclosed in the said letters, the tenor of which is as followeth:

That the aforementioned three commissioners, viz. the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, and others of the council, were to be arrested, indicted, condemned, and put to lamentable death, as being such as had conspired against the king, against his prerogative, and against his crown and imperial dignity; and this they did, in a manner, constrain the king to assent unto. Upon receipt of these letters, the mayor and aldermen of the city of London called a common council, wherein they consulted what course was best to be taken in this

matter; and, after long debate *pro* and *con*, it was on all sides agreed, to deny and not to suffer that cruel and unheard of tragical complot to be executed.

It ever happeneth, one wicked act draws on a second, and that second a third, and so forwards, till the weight cracks the supporter.

Therefore the said conspirators, being blinded with rashness, principally sent letters by John Godfrey, knight, to the King of France, the king's adversary, to conclude a five years truce, who should come over to Calais, and from thence should send for the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, and for some other of the commissioners, as though the king were unwilling to determine of any thing without their advice; and, being thus circumvented, should be condemned as traitors, and so put to an ignominious and cruel death.

And, for the doing and performing of these things, the King of France was to recover all the castles, towns, and lands, lying in these countries, and belonging to the King of England. To prove these things to be true, there were certain writings produced by the commissioners, wherein were contained letters from the king of France to the king of England, and from the conspirators, in the king of England's name, to the king of France.

Moreover, there were other letters intercepted, directed to the said king of France; the substance whereof was to incite the king of France to levy a puissant power, both horse and foot, and to draw them down to Boulogne, and thence to transport them into England, against the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, and the rest of the commissioners, and all those that did either countenance or favour the said statutes and commissioners; which, as they falsely alledged, were made in derogation of the king's prerogative; and the aforesaid commissioners to vanquish, oppress, and put to death, and consequently, the whole nation and language utterly to ruin.

Not here concluding their devilish conspiracy, the five aforesaid conspirators departed from Westminster to the castle of Nottingham, and sent a writ for Robert Beale, lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, John Holt, Roger Fulthorp, and William Burleigh, judges of the said court, and for John Locton, the king's serjeant at law: Who being come into the council-chamber, not knowing what they were sent for, the aforesaid conspirators caused the gates and doors of the castle to be shut, and then propounded these questions following unto them:

First, Whether those statutes, ordinances, and commission, made in the late parliament at Westminster, were derogatory to the king's dignity and kingly prerogative? And because they were to be punished who did procure those constitutions, and did incite and move the king to consent unto them, and did, as much as in them lay, to hinder the king from exercising his royal prerogative.

To these, and other the like questions, with a joint consent, they answered, That they were to suffer death as traitors, or else to endure some capital punishment: In witness of which assertion, being terrified with the fear of present death, the aforesaid judges, together with John Carey, lord chief Baron of the Exchequer, they signed and sealed a certain writing, in manner of a protestation, in presence of these witnesses,

Alexander Nevill, Archbishop of York; Robert, Duke of Ireland; Michael, Earl of Suffolk; John Rippon, clerk; and John Blake, fruiterer; dated the 19th of September, anno dom. 1387, in the eleventh year of the reign of King Richard the Second. Then were they compelled to swear that they should keep the passages undiscovered, upon pain of death; and so they had licence to depart. And, when they had plotted those and many other devilish conspiracies, they bound themselves, by an oath, to try all ways, and use all means, as far forth as lay in their power, to disannul and utterly abrogate the acts and statutes of the last parliament.

And, that which is worse, they caused the king to swear, that in his proper person with his whole power he should take revenge of the Duke of Gloucester, of the two earls and their adherents, by causing them to be put to death.

The carriage of all which actions may more easily be known, if the time and the order of them be duly considered.

But our merciful and ever-gracious God, although there were so many plots, so many conspiracies, so many treasons wrought against our state, whereby many miseries did accrue to our kingdom; yet unwilling to take revenge, or to punish us for our sins, but rather, according to his gracious pity, to ease us of our burthenous calamity; inspired into the hearts of the aforesaid Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, the spirit of valour and magnanimity: Who seeing the heap of ills that daily did arise by the practices of those conspirators, they set almost in every part of the kingdom intelligencers, who should apprehend all messengers, and intercept all letters of the king, or that went under the king's name, and should send them to the commissioners.

And thus did they come to have intelligence of the whole plot of the conspirators; all their letters being indorsed with 'Glory be to God on high, on earth peace, and good-will towards men.' And, by coming to the knowledge of each circumstance, they found that the kingdom was at the point of destruction, according to that evangelical saying, 'Every kingdom divided against itself shall be dissolved.' Wherefore they sought for a remedy; for, by the law of nature, it is tolerable to repel violence by violence: Since it is better to prevent than to apply a remedy to a wound, every man according to his ability levied a power for the preservation of the king and kingdom; all which forces being united, amounting to the number of twenty-thousand fighting men, and courageously resolved to frustrate all the intended designs of the conspirators, and to open the nut by cracking the shell; they divided their army, committing part of it to the Earl of Arundel, who, by night, marched away with his forces, and pitched his tents near to London, there fortifying himself in the forest adjoining, until such time as he had gained more convenient time and greater force, by the coming of his consorts. And in the mean time he used such discipline in his camp, that he lacked nothing, but all things were there sold at reasonable rates, as it had been at a market; and hardly could he contain the common people from joining with him, for the overthrow of the conspirators and their adherents.

On the other side, the conspirators intending to prevent their purposes, by power of a certain spiritual commission, and by vertue of certain letters patents in the hands of the conspirators, though nothing to the purpose; yet, to blind the people, they caused to be proclaimed throughout the whole city of London, that none, upon pain of the forfeiture of all their goods, should either sell, give, or communicate privately or publickly victuals, armour, or any other necessities to the army of the Earl of Arundel, but should debar them of sustentation, comfort, or help, as rebels to the king and country. But, on the other side, they began to fear when they were denied their hoped for aid by the mayor and commonalty of the city of London; and again, they were troubled at the rising of the commoners, to invade them. Wherefore they counselled the king to absent himself from the parliament, which was to begin at Candlemas next, according as the king and commissioners had appointed it, and not consult of the affairs of the kingdom, nor of his own estate, commodity, or discommodity, unless the Duke of Gloucester, the two Earls of Arundel and Warwick, with the rest of the commissioners, would swear, that neither they, nor any in their name, should accuse them or urge any accusation against them.

And they caused it to be proclaimed through the city of London, that none, under pain of confiscation of all their goods, should speak any upbraiding speeches concerning the king or the conspirators; which was a thing impossible to hinder.

Not long after it happened, that the king, with the aforesaid five conspirators, came from his manor of Sheeve to Westminster, to St. Edmond's tomb, for the solemnizing of a pilgrimage. The mayor and aldermen of the city of London met him on horseback sumptuously attired, honouring him very much. And, when they came to the Mews, they descended from their horses, and went barefoot to the tomb of St. Edmond; whereas the chaplain of the commissioners, with the abbot and convent, met them with a stately procession.

In the mean time the three noblemen, viz. the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, having mustered their troops on the fourteenth of November, in the same year, at Waltham-Cross, in the county of Hertford, and from thence sent for the commissioners, that were there at Westminster in Parliament with the king, sending an accusation in writing to the king against the aforesaid conspirators, viz. the Archbishop of York, Duke of Ireland, Earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, and Nicholas Brambre; wherein they accused them of high treason: Which their appellation they did offer to maintain, and that they were willing to prosecute the same; and, to prove it to be true, they caused also the rest of the commissioners to subscribe, as parties to their appellation.

When these things came to the ears of the king, he sent unto them, requiring to know what their request was, and what they wished to have done. They returned answer thus: That they did desire, that the traitors, which were always about him, filling his ears with false reports, and did daily commit insufferable crimes and injuries, might be rewarded with condign punishment; for it were better, that some few should die for the people, than the whole nation should perish.

And they likewise craved, That they might have safe liberty of going and coming to his grace.

When the king heard their request, he gave them his royal consent, and commanded them to appear at Westminster; and, the king sitting on his throne in the great hall, the three aforesaid peers appellants, with a gallant troop of gentlemen, entered; and, making three lowly obeysances on their bended knees, they revered the king; and, drawing near (the cause of their coming being alledged) they there again appealed the Archbishop, Duke of Ireland, lord treasurer, and Brambre, of high treason, according as they had done before at Waltham-Cross; but they betook themselves to the private corners of the palace, even as Adam and Eve from the presence of God, not having the heart to appear to justify themselves.

The king called forth the appellants to prove and prosecute the appellation, prescribing them a day and place for the trial, which was to be on the morrow after Candlemas-day; and in the mean time the king commanded them, upon their honours, not any party to molest the other, until the next parliament.

Those things, thus passed, were publickly proclaimed throughout all England, and they departed joyfully.

The Duke of Ireland, under the guidance of his grand captain the devil, marching into Cheshire, Lancashire, and Wales, raised a new power, amounting to the number of six thousand fighting men, in the king's name, to overthrow and confound the appellants; from thence he marched towards London with his army, with a furious intent and resolution to perform his bloody design: But God, beholding their foolish hearts, filled them with vain hopes, that they should accomplish their enterprises. And, whilst these plots were laid, the appellants, being suddenly apprised thereof, raised a power, and, joining with them the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Nottingham, and other commissioners, marched with long and wearisome marches into a field, near a village called Whitney, at a place called Lockford-bridge; in which field the Duke of Ireland was with the army, having a river on the one side of them, whereas they stood ready prepared to give an overthrow to the appellants, and displaying the king's standard, contrary to the laws of the land: But, although they were so valiant at the beginning, yet were they discouraged at the end; for when they saw the army of the appellants march down from the mountains like a hive of bees, and with such a violent fury, fear benumbed them, and they were so amazed, that, when they should have given the assault (God not suffering the effusion of blood) they stood like a hive of bees, or a flock of cattle without a head, making no shew or countenance of resisting; but, without any stroke given, they flung down their arms, and yielded themselves to the mercy of the appellants, and, a few being slain, and some drowned in the river, gave an easy victory to the conquerors. The Duke of Ireland himself, putting spurs to his horse, took the river, and hardly escaped; and, though he was pursued, yet he escaped through the midst of the troops: And thus, by the mercy of God, they obtained the glorious palm of victory from the hand of heaven.

When the news of the victory was blown to the ears of the rest of the

conspirators, who were then struck with fear, and careful for their preservation, under covert of the night they fled by water to the Tower, drawing the king along with them.

On the other side, Nicholas Brambre, with a bold and resolute courage, in the king's name, caused all the gates of the city to be shut against the appellants, and to be guarded with an able and sufficient watch: But these worthy and dauntless members of the commonwealth marched towards London to confer with the king; but, when they heard that the said Nicholas Brambre had caused the gates of the city to be shut against them, and to be strongly guarded, and that the whole city did purpose to keep them out, they stayed their resolution.

On the twenty-seventh day of September, in the same year, with a melodious sound of divers kind of instruments, as well of war as of peace, they incamped themselves in Clerkenwell, within the liberties of the city of London, not purposing, on the one side, rashly or unadvisedly to enter the city, nor, on the other side, to make any shew of fear, but with a stayed mind, as befitting wise men, with good deliberation to conclude every thing in its due time. And, whenas the mayor, with the citizens, came unto them with pleasing words, promising unto them all that the city could afford with reason and equity, the Duke of Gloucester said, 'Now I know, that lyars speak nothing but lyes, neither can any man hinder them from the relating.' Whereupon, by a joint consent, in the evening they removed their tents, and pitched them before divers gates of the city.

On the morrow, there happened an interview between the king and the appellants, so far, that they opened their minds one to the other; but, because the king loathed to speak with them with such a rabble of men, and in regard of an intolerable boldness, and some quarrel which was like to arise; and, on the other side, refusing to go out of the Tower to speak with them; and the appellants, fearing some violence or wrong to be offered to them, would not speak with the king without a strong guard of valiant warriors; therefore the most wise of the appellants, after disputations, had resolved to go and confer with the king. But first they sent a strong troop, well armed, to search all the corners and caves of the Tower; and, relation being made of the safety of the place, with a selected band of valiant cavaliers, they entered the Tower, and, seizing the gates, and placing a guard, appeared before the king, and there the third time appealed the aforesaid conspirators, in the same sort and form as before; which appellation being ended, the king swore, That he would adhere to their counsel, as a good king and a just judge, so far as the rule of law, reason, and equity did require.

These things being accomplished, they departed from the Tower to their tenements and lodgings; and then it was published and made known in the presence of the king, and throughout the dominions, That, on the morrow after Candlemas-day, the aforesaid conspirators should personally appear to answer to the appellation, whereby they were charged with so many treasons.

And, because the harvest was now ripe, and time convenient to cut up those pestiferous cockles and thistles, by the assent of the king, and

consent of the said commissioners and appellants, they expelled divers of the officers of the houshold, viz. in the place of John Beauchamp, steward of the houshold, they appointed John Devereux, knight, one of the commissioners; Peter Courtney, knight, was made chamberlain, in the stead of Robert Duke of Ireland; and the aforesaid John de Beauchamp, Simon de Burleigh, vice-chamberlain; John Salisbury, Thomas Trynnett, James Barats, William Ellingham, and Nicholas Nagworth, knights; and officers of the clergy, viz. Richard Metford, secretary; John Blake, dean of the chapel; John Lincoln, chancellor of the exchequer, and John Clifford, clerk of the chapel, were kept under arrest too, and were as partakers in the aforesaid treason, for that they, knowing and having intelligence of the said conspiracy, did not discover them.

Others, also, as servants of the aforesaid conspirators, and drawn in by craft, yet guiltless, were dismissed and sent away, as men unprofitable, and good for no use.

And thus this hideous brood of monsters, so often shaken, was quite overthrown.

And, on the vigil of the Purification of Saint Mary, in the privy-chamber at Westminster, by joint consent of all the commissioners, the aforesaid John Holt, Roger Fulthorp, William Burleigh, John Locton, and John Carey, were displaced from their offices, and, without any further ado, arrested of treason, and, by the command of the chancellor, clapped into the Tower; and Roger Carleton in the place of Belknap, Walter Clapton in the place of Tresilian, were constituted. And so for that time they departed, and went to dinner.

And, because Shrovetide was thought a fit time to punish the delinquents, according to their deserts, therefore the great parliament began the second of February following, in this manner:

All the peers, as well of the spirituality as of the temporality, being assembled in the great hall at Westminster, the king soon after came, and sat down on his throne; and after him appeared the five noblemen, appellants, the fame of whose admired worth ecchoed thro' all the land, who entered the house in their costly robes, leading one another hand in hand, with an innumerable company following them; and, beholding where the king sat, all at once, with submissive gestures, they revered the king. The hall was so full of spectators, that the very roofs were filled with them; and yet, amongst this infinite multitude of the people, there could not be found any of the conspirators, or of their accomplices; but Brambre was taken a little before, and cast into the gaol of Gloucester.

The clergy then placing themselves on the right-hand, and the nobility on the left-hand of the king, according to the ancient custom of the high-court of parliament; the lord chancellor standing with his back towards the king, by the king's command, declared the cause of their summons to parliament: which being ended, the five foresaid appellants, arising, declared their appellation by the mouth of Robert Pleasington, their speaker, who thus spoke:

'Behold, the Duke of Gloucester comes to purge himself of treasons, which are laid to his charge by the conspirators.' 'To whom

the lord chancellor, by the command of the king, answered, 'My lord duke, the king conceiveth so honourably of you, that he cannot be induced to believe, that you, who are of affinity to him in a collateral line, should attempt any treason against his sacred majesty.' The duke, with his four companions, upon their knees, humbly gave thanks to the king, for his gracious opinion of their fidelity.

Then, after silence proclaimed, they arose, and delivered in certain articles in writing, wherein were contained the particularities of the treason. Which said articles were read by Godfrey Martin, the clerk of the crown, standing in the midst of the parliament-house, by the space of two hours, with an audible voice. At the reading of which, there was a wonderful alteration in the house; for, whereas before the people were glad of the discovery of the treason, at the rehearsal of it, their hearts were so overcome with grief, that they could not refrain from tears. When the articles were read, the appellants requested the king, that sentence of condemnation might be given against the conspirators, and they to receive the reward of their deserts; which the king promised to grant. This was the first day's work. The second was ended with variation of divers consultations, which I will not relate in particular, but treat of the whole parliament in general.

And, when the third day came of their proceedings against the conspirators, the lord chancellor, in the name of the clergy, in open parliament, made an oration, shewing, that they could not by any means be present at the proceeding, where there is any censure of death to be passed. For the confirmation whereof, they delivered in a protestation; which, being read, they spoke, That, neither in respect of any favour, nor for fear of any man's hate, nor in hope of any reward, they did desire to absent themselves; but only, that they were bound by the canon, not to be present at any man's arraignment or condemnation. They likewise sent their protestation to the chapel of the Abbey, where the commons sat; which was allowed of. And then, when the appellants called for justice against the conspirators, the lords of the spirituality arose, and went into the king's chamber, near adjoining.

But the king moved in conscience, and in charity, perceiving that in every work they are to remember the end; and being willing, contrary to the rigour of the law, to favour rather those that were guilty, than the actors in that treason, if they were able to alledge any thing in their defence, caused the process to cease; but the peers, being earnest, requested, That no business, past, present, or to come, might be debated until this treason were adjudged; to which petition the king graciously granted his assent.

On the eleventh day of February, when nothing could be alledged, nor no witness produced, in justification of the conspirators, but the definitive sentence of condemnation must be pronounced against them, the aforesaid John Devereux, marshal of the court, and, for that time, the king's lieutenant, adjudged them this heavy doom: That the said archbishop of York, Duke of Ireland, Earl of Suffolk, Tresilian, and Brambre should be drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, and there to be hanged upon a gibbet until they were dead, and all their lands and

goods to be confiscated, that none of their posterity might be by them any way enriched.

On the twelfth day of February, which was the first day of Shrovetide, Nicholas Brambre appeared in parliament; and, being charged with the aforesaid articles of treason, he craved favour to advise of council learned, and some longer time for his more full answer to his accusation; but yet he desired a thing neither usual, nor allowable by the law, and required a thing, which the rigour of the law, in a case of that nature, would not afford. But the judges charged him to answer severally to every point in the articles contained: Whereunto Brambre answered, Whosoever hath branded me with this ignominious mark, with him I am ready to fight in the lists, to maintain my innocency, whensoever the king shall appoint. And this he spoke with such a fury, that his eyes sparkled with rage, and he breathed as if an *Ætna* had laid hid in his breast; chusing rather to die gloriously in the field, than disgracefully on a gibbet.

The appellants, hearing this courageous challenge, with resolute countenance, answered, That they would willingly accept of the combat, and thereupon flung down their gages before the king; and, on a sudden, the whole company of lords, knights, esquires, and commons flung down their gages so thick, that they seemed like snow in a winter's day, crying out, We also will accept of the combat, and will prove these articles to be true to thy head, most damnable traitor; and so they departed for that day.

And, although the appellants were not idle in the night, yet, on the next day, to aggravate their appellation against the conspirators, there came divers companies of the city of London, complaining of the manifold injuries they had suffered by Brambre, and other extortioners and exactions wherewith they had been daily charged; and yet they protested, that they did not accuse him, either for hate to his person, or for love, fear, or hope of reward from his enemies, but only they charged him with the truth.

But, before they proceed with his trial, they were staid by most unfortunate Tresilian, who, being got upon the top of an house, adjoining to the palace, and having descended into a gutter, only to look about him, he was discovered by certain of the peers, who presently sent some of the guard to apprehend him; who entering into the house where he was, and having spent long time in vain in looking for him, at length one of the guard stepped to the master of the house, and taking him by the shoulder, with his dagger drawn, said thus, Shew us where thou hast hid Tresilian, or else resolve thy days are accomplished; the master trembled, ready to yield up the ghost, for fear, answered, Yonder is the place where he lies, and shews them a round table, covered with branches of bay, under which Tresilian lay close covered; when they had found him, they drew him out by the heels, wondering to see him, as vipers use, to wear his head and beard overgrown, with old clowted shoes, and patched hose, more like a miserable poor beggar, than a judge.

When this came to the ears of the peers, the five appellants suddenly

arose up, and, without expressing any reason, departed out of the parliament-house, which bred great altercation in the house, in-somuch that many followed them; and, when they came to the gate of the hall, they met the guard leading Tresilian bound, crying, as they came, 'We have him, we have him.'

Tresilian, being come into the hall, was asked what he could say for himself, why judgment should not pass upon him for his treason so often committed? He became as one that had been struck dumb; and his heart was, as it were, hardened to the last, and would not confess himself guilty of any thing: and for this cause the parliament arose, deferring Brambre's trial till the next day. But Tresilian was, without delay, led to the tower, that he might suffer the execution of the sentence passed against him; his wife and his children did, with many tears, accompany him to the tower; but his wife was so overcome with dolour and grief, that she fell down in a swoon, as if she had been dead.

Immediately, Tresilian is upon a hurdle, and drawn through the streets of the city, with a wonderful concourse of people following him; at every furlong's end, he was suffered to stand still to rest himself, and to see if he would confess and report himself of any thing; but what he said to the friar, his confessor, is not known, neither am I able to search it out. When he came to the place of execution, he would not climb the ladder, until such time, as being soundly beaten with bats and staves, he was forced to go up; and when he was up, he said, 'So long as I do wear any thing upon me, I shall not die;' wherefore the executioner stripped him, and found certain images, painted like to the signs of heaven; and the head of a devil painted, and the names of many of the devils wrote in parchment; the exorcising toys being taken away, he was hanged up naked; and because the spectators should be certainly assured that he was dead, they cut his throat; and, because the night approached, they let him hang until the next morning; and then his wife, having obtained a licence of the king, took down his body, and carried it to the Grey-friars, where it was buried. On the morrow, sentence was likewise pronounced against Brambre, who being drawn upon a hurdle from the Tower to Tyburn, through the city, shewed himself very penitent, humbly craving mercy and forgiveness at the hands of God and men, whom he had so grievously offended, and whom he had so injuriously wronged in time past, and did earnestly desire them all to pray for him. When the rope was about his neck, ready to be turned off, a certain young man, the son of one Northampton, asked him, if he had done justice to his father, or not; for Northampton was sometime mayor of the city of London, more wealthy, and more substantial, than any else in the city; him did Brambre and Tresilian accuse of treason and conspiracy against the state, and condemned him to die; being dispoiled of his estate, he himself, at length, hardly escaped; to whom Brambre answered, and confessed, with bitter tears, that what he did was most vile and wicked, and with an intent only to murder and overthrow the said Northampton; for which, craving pardon of the young man, being suddenly turned off, and the executioner cutting his throat, he

died. Behold how pleasant and delightful it is to climb up to honour! I suppose it is better to live meanly at home, with quietness, amongst poor men, than to lord it amongst princes, and, in the end, to climb a ladder amongst thieves; it is even better to undergo the burden, than to assume the name of honour; therefore, whosoever do not regard the laws, let them observe and consider the end of these men, and with what period they finished their days.

These men being dispatched, the parliament discontinued their proceedings against the rest of the conspirators till a more convenient time, and took into their consideration other more weighty affairs of the weal-publick; they made the Earl of Arundel Lord Admiral, giving him authority to resist and to repulse, either by sea or land, the enemies of the crown, wheresoever he should find them.

And it was further agreed on, that, for the appeasing of all private discontents, if any were, the king, and the rest of the appellants, with the rest of the commissioners, should dine together in the great hall; which they did, and there was great joy at this reconciliation through all the kingdom.

When these things were concluded, they then began again this arraignment of the traitors; wherupon John Blake and Thomas Uske were indicted on the fourth day of March, who, although they were men of inferior quality, yet were they found to be parties in the said treason: Uske was a serjeant at arms, and was indicted amongst the conspirators, for that, being late made sheriff of Middlesex, he had indicted the five appellants and the commissioners, as traitors; and Blake was an intelligencer of Tresilian's, one that used to go and come between the conspirators, and relate the state and success of the treason from one to another.

And, when they could say nothing to prove themselves clear, sentence was pronounced upon them, as on their masters before them; they were carried to the tower, and from thence were dragged at the horse-tail to Tyburn, and there hanged.

But Uske obtained this favour, that his head was cut off, after he was hanged, and set aloft upon Newgate, for fowls of the air to take repast.

On the sixth day of March, there were called to answer Robert Belknap, John Holt, Roger Falthorp, William Burleigh, John Locton, and John Carey, baron of the exchequer, for their conspiracy against the commissioners at Nottingham; but, because it is not needful to rehearse every part of their indictment, they were all condemned like as the rest.

Whilst the peers were trying them, the clergy were retired into the king's chambers; but, when word was brought to them of the condemnation of the judges, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Winchester, the chancellor, the treasurer, and lord keeper of the privy-seal, arose hastily, and went into the parliament-house, pouring forth their complaints before the king and the peers, humbly upon their knees, beseeching them that, for the love of God, the Virgin Mary, and of all the saints, even as they hoped to have mercy at the day of judgment, they should shew favour, and not put to death the said

judges then present; and bitterly bewailing their iniquities, in whose hearts the very life, soul, and spirit of our English laws lived, flourished, and appeared; and there appeared great sorrow, both on the part of the complainants, and also of the defendants.

The Duke of Gloucester likewise, with the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, Nottingham, and Derby, whose hearts began to be mollified, joined with them in their lamentable petition.

At length, by intercession of the clergy, the execution upon the persons was ceased, and their lives were granted them, but they were sent to the tower to be kept close prisoners.

On the twelfth of March, being Thursday, it happened, that the aforesaid knights, Simon de Burleigh, John de Beuchamp, James Bereverous, and John Salisbury, were brought into the parliament-house, where their accusations were read, proved, and they found guilty, and not any way able to clear themselves.

From this day, almost till the ascension of our lord, the parliament-house was only taken up with the trial of Sir Simon Burleigh; for three appellants, viz. the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, with the whole house of commons, urged that execution might be performed according to law: and, on the other side, the king and queen, the Earls of Derby and Nottingham, and the Prior of St. John, his uncle, with the major part of the upper house, did labour to have him saved.

But, because the commons were tired with so many delays and excuses in the parliament, and fearing, as it was most likely, that all their pains would be to little or no purpose, they humbly craved leave of the king, to go to their habitations.

There was also some muttering amongst the common people; and it was reported to the parliament, that the commons did rise in divers parts of the realm, but especially about Kent, in favour of the said Sir Simon Burleigh; which, when they heard, those, that before spoke and stood for him, now flew clean from him; and, by joint consent, on the fifth day of May, sentence was pronounced only against the said Sir Simon, that he should be drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, and there to be hanged till he was dead, and then to have his head struck from his body. But, because he was a knight of the garter, a gallant courtier, powerful, and once a favourite of the king's, and much respected of all the court, the king, of his special grace, was pleased to mitigate his doom, that he should only be led to Tower-hill, and there be beheaded.

On the twelfth of May, the Thursday before Whitsontide, in like manner were condemned John Beuchamp, steward of the household to the king; James Bereverous, and John Salisbury, knights, gentlemen of the privy-chamber; whereof the two first, viz. John Beuchamp and James Bereverous, were beheaded on Tower-hill; but John Salisbury was drawn from Tower-hill to Tyburn, and there was hanged.

On the same day, also, was condemned the Bishop of Chichester, the king's confessor; but, because of his great dignity, he was pardoned. Now they began to loath the shedding of so much christian blood, they took into consideration other more weighty affairs for the good of

the realm, concerning the wars with the Scots and French, concerning loans and subsidies, and of the customs of wine and wool.

And also concerning the translation of some bishops, because Pope Urban the sixth, after it came to his ears, that the Archbishop of York was condemned, to avoid all hope of irregularity, created him Archbishop of St. Andrew's in Scotland; which archbishoprick was under the power of the Scots, enemies to the crown, and in the gift of the archpope; and, because the pope did challenge half the titles of all England to maintain his wars, but, although he craved it, yet he was denied; therefore he dealt warily and craftily, hoping to make up his mouth by the translation of bishops; the Bishop of Ely, then Lord Chancellor, was made Archbishop of York; the Bishop of Dublin succeeded in his place, the Bishop of Bath and Wells in his place, the Bishop of Sarum in his place, and the Lord John of Waltham, Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal, in his place: and thus, by his translation of bishops, he gained himself much money, according to the laws of the canon; and, when this came to the ears of the parliament, that such a sum of money should be transported out of the land, they strove what they could to hinder it, but could not, because the clergy gave their consent.

On the last day of May, the king appointed both houses to meet at Keemington, where they made a conclusion of all the trials of the said treason, granting licence to Thomas Trenet, William Ellingham, and Nicholas Nagworth, knights; Richard Metford, John Slake, and John Lincolne, clerks, to put in bail, provided they were sufficient, and to go into any place of England where they listed, without any let or hinderance of any of the king's officers.

Moreover, the six justices, with the Bishop of Chichester, who stood condemned with them, were sent into Ireland, there to remain for term of life; and thus they were to be divided, viz.

Robert Belknap and John Holt, in the village of Dromore in Ireland, not to remain as justices, or any officers, but to live as banished offenders, not to be out of town, above the space of two miles, upon pain of death; but the king, out of his gracious bounty, was pleased to give a yearly annuity of forty pounds to Robert Belknap, and of twenty marks to John Holt, during their lives; and to Roger Fulthorp the king allowed forty pounds, and to William Burleigh forty pounds, during life; confining them to the city of Dublin; granting Burleigh the liberty of two miles, and to Fulthorp three miles, for their recreation; John Carey and John Locton, with the yearly allowance of twenty pounds during life, are confined to the town of Waterford, with the like liberty, and the like penalty; and the Bishop of Chichester is likewise sent to Cork, there to remain, with some allowance, and the like penalty.

Behold these men, who feared not God, nor regarded men, but having the laws in their own hands, wrested them now this way, now that way, as pleased best their appetites, wresting them at their pleasure for their own commodity, were, at the last, brought down to the depth of misery, from whence they were never able to free themselves!

On the third day of June, which was the last day of the parliament,

the king, the queen, the peers of both states, with the commons, came to the Abbey of Westminster; where the Bishop of London, because it was in his diocese, sung mass; and, the mass being ended, the Archbishop of Canterbury made an oration concerning the form and danger of the oath, which being, although the peers and commons had taken the oath of allegiance and homage to the king, yet because the king was young, when they took the oath a-new, as at the first, at his coronation.

These ceremonies being performed, the metropolitan of England, with all his suffragans there present, having lighted a candle, and putting it under a stool, put it out; thereby excommunicating all such as should seem to distaste, dislike, or contradict any of the forepassed acts in the last parliament; and the Lord Chancellor, by the king's appointment, caused all that were present, to swear to keep the said statutes inviolably whole and undissolved, as good and faithful liegepeople of the king's; and the form of the parliament was observed throughout all the realm.

On the morrow, which was the fourth day of June, many courteous salutations and congratulations having passed between the king, the nobility, and commonalty, the parliament was dissolved, and every man returned home.

And now let England rejoice in Christ, for that the net, which was laid so cunningly for our destruction, is broken asunder, and we are delivered. To God be the praise for all.

*The Names of such as were charged and condemned of High Treason
in this aforesaid memorable parliament.*

ALEXANDER NEVILLE, Archbishop of York.

Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland, who was banished into France, where he was killed by a wild boar.

Michael de la Poole, Earl of Suffolk, and Lord Chancellor.

Robert Tresilian, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

Sir Nicholas Brambre, sometime Lord Mayor of London, made a Privy Counsellor.

John Blake, a Serjeant at Arms.

Thomas Uske, an Intelligencer of Tresilian's.

All these, except the Duke of Ireland, were drawn and hanged at the Elms, now called Tyburn.

Robert Belknap.

John Holt.

Roger Falthorp.

William Burleigh.

John Locton.

John Carey, Baron of the Exchequer.

All these former six named men were, as it seems, Judges; and, although condemned, yet their lives were saved at the intercession of some of the guiltless peers, and they afterwards were banished into Ireland.

Sir Simon de Burleigh was also condemned and beheaded: he was a Knight Banneret, and of the Garter, a great and gallant courtier, and his body lieth honourably buried and intombed in Paul's Church.

Sir John Beuchamp, Steward of the Household to the King, and

Sir James Bereverous, were also condemned and beheaded at Tower-hill.

Sir John Salisbury was condemned, drawn from Tower-hill to Tyburn, and then hanged.

There were also detected, and condemned of the aforesaid treason, The Bishop of Chichester, the king's confessor.

Sir William Ellingham, Knight.

Sir Thomas Trinet, Knight.

Sir Nicholas Nagworth, Knight,

Richard Metford, Clerk.

John Slake, Clerk.

John Lincolne, Clerk,

An Abstract of many memorable Matters, done by Parliaments, in this Kingdom of England.

BY parliament, Sir Thomas Wayland, chief justice of the common-pleas, 17 Edw. I. was attainted of felony for taking bribes, and his lands and goods forfeited, as appears in the pleas of parliament, 18 Edw. I. and he was banished the kingdom, as unworthy to live in that state, against which he had so much offended,

By parliament, Sir William Thorp, chief justice of the king's bench in Edw. III's time, having of five persons received five several bribes, which in all amounted to but one hundred pounds, was for this alone adjudged to be hanged, and all his goods and lands forfeited.

The reason of the judgment is entered in the roll in these words:

'Because that, as much as in him lay, he had broken the king's oath made to the people, which the king had intrusted him withal.'

By the parliament, holden, Anno 22, Hen. II, assembled at Nottingham, and by advice thereof, the king caused the kingdom to be divided into six parts, and justices itinerants appointed for every part, with an oath by them to be taken for themselves, to observe and cause inviolably to be observed, of all his subjects of England, the assizes made at Clarendon, and renewed at Northton.

By the parliament, in the 11th of Edw. I, the dominion of Wales was united to the crown of England; in the parliament, in Anno 16 of Edw. I. 1289, upon the general accounts made of the ill administration of justice in the king's absence, by divers great officers and

ministers of justice, these penalties were inflicted upon the chief ministers thereof; whose manifest corruptions the hatred of the people to men of that profession, apt to abuse their science, and authority, and the necessity of reforming so grievous a mischief in the kingdom, gave ease thereunto by the parliament then assembled, wherein, upon due examinations of their offences, they are fined to pay to the king these sums following :

First, Sir Ralph Hengham, chief justice of the higher bench, seven thousand marks.

Sir John Loveton, justice of the lower bench, three thousand marks.

Sir William Brompton, justice, six thousand marks.

Sir Soloman Rochester, four thousand marks.

Sir Richard Boyland, four thousand marks.

Sir Thomas Sadington, two thousand marks.

Sir Walter Hopton, two thousand marks.

These four last were justices itinerants.

Sir William Saham, three thousand marks.

Robert Lithbury, master of the rolls, one thousand marks.

Roger Leicester, one thousand marks.

Henry Bray, escheator and judge for the jews, one thousand marks.

But Sir Adam Stratton, chief baron of the exchequer, was fined in four and thirty thousand marks. These fines, as the rate of money goes now, amount to near three hundred thousand marks; a mighty treasure to be gotten out of the hands of so few men, which, how they could amass in those days, when litigation and law had not spread itself into those infinite wreathings of contention, as since it hath, may seem strange even to our greater-getting times.

In the parliament Anno 2 of Edw. III. held at Nottingham, that great aspirer Mortimer was accused, condemned, and sent up to London, and drawn, and hanged at the common gallows at the Elms, now called Tyburn.

In the fiftieth year of the reign of Edw. III. Anno Dom. 1376, was held a parliament at Westminster, which was called the Great Parliament, where were divers complaints exhibited by the parliament, charging the king's officers with fraud, and humbly craving that the Duke of Lancaster, the Lord Latimer, then Lord Chamberlain, Dame Alice Peirce the king's concubine, and one Sir Richard Sturry, might be removed from court; their complaints and desires are so vehemently urged by their speaker, Sir Peter la Moore, that all these persons were presently put from court.

By parliaments, all the wholesome fundamental laws of this land were and are established and confirmed.

By act of parliament, the pope's power and supremacy, and all superstition and idolatry, are abrogated, abolished, and banished out of this land.

By act of parliament, God's true religion, worship, and service are maintained and established.

By act of parliament, the two famous universities of Cambridge and Oxford have many wholesome and helpful immunities.

By parliament, one Pierce Gaveston, a great favourite and notable misleader of king Edw. II. was removed, banished, and afterwards

by the lords executed. So were Hugh Spencer the father, and Hugh the son.

By parliament, Epsom and Dudley, two notorious pollers of the commonwealth, by exacting penal laws on the subjects, were discovered, and afterwards executed.

By parliament, the damnable gun-powder treason, hatched in hell, is recorded to be had in eternal infamy.

By parliament, one Sir Giles Mompesson, a modern caterpillar and poller of the commonwealth, by exacting upon Innholders, &c. was discovered, degraded from knighthood, and banished by proclamation.

By parliament, Sir Francis Bacon, made by King James, Baron Verulam, and Viscount St. Albans, and Lord Chancellor of England, very grievous to the commonwealth, by bribery, was discovered and displaced.

By parliament, Sir John Bennet, judge of the prerogative court, pernicious to the commonwealth in his place, was discovered and displaced.

By parliament, Lionel Cranfield, sometime a merchant of London, made by King James, Earl of Middlesex, and Lord Treasurer of England, hurtful in his place to the commonwealth, was discovered and displaced.

By parliament, one Sir Francis Mitchel, a jolly justice of peace for Middlesex in the suburbs of London, another notable canker-worm of the commonwealth, by corruption in exacting the penal laws upon poor alehouse-keepers and victuallers, &c. was discovered, degraded from knighthood, and utterly disabled for being justice of peace.

By parliament, Spain's late fraud was discovered, and by act the two treaties, with that perfidious nation, for the match of the prince, our now gracious king, and restitution of the palatinate, were dissolved and annihilated: both which had cost the king and his subjects much money, and much blood. We may remember, that that sage counsellor of state, Sir William Cecill, Lord Burleigh, and Lord Treasurer of England, was oftentimes heard to say, 'He knew not what an act of parliament might not do:' which sage saying was approved by King James, and by his majesty alledged in one of his published speeches.

Which being so, now the face of christendom being at this present so torn and miserably macerated, and the christian world distracted; the gospel in all places almost persecuted; both church and commonwealth, where the gospel is professed in all places beyond the seas, lying a bleeding, as we may say, and we ourselves at home, not without fear and danger: to conclude, what good may we not hope and pray for, by this present and other ensuing parliaments, the only means to rectify and remedy matters in church and commonwealth much amiss.

THE

PRAIER AND COMPLAYNTE* OF THE PLOWEMAN

VNTO CHRISTE :

Written not long after the yere of our Lord, a thousande and thre hundred.

CHRISTUS MATT. x.*If they haue called the Lorde of the House Beelzebub : how moch more shal they so call them of hys Howshold ?*Printed, without date, Octavo, Black Letter, containing ninety-six pages.

TO THE CHRISTEN READER.

Grace be with the, and peace be multiplied in the knowlege of God the Father, and of oure Lorde Iesus Christe. Amen.

CHRISTE, oure Sauioure, and his Apostels after hym, although they taught no thinge which was not taught in the law and the prophetes more then a thousande yeres before, ever and in euery place, desyringe the audience to serche the Olde Scriptures, and proue whether they testified with hym or no: yet, all this not withstandinge, the scribes, the phareses, the bysshops, the prestes, the lawyers, and the elders of the people, cryed alwayes: 'What new lerninge is this? These fellowes teach new lerninge. These be they that trouble all the world with their new lerning, & cete. And so with awayne name of new lerninge, and with their autorite and opinion of olde lerninge and auncientnes of the Church, they so blinded the same people that herde Christes doctrine of his awne mouth, sawe hys lyuyinge and his miracles, and they that at his cominge to Hierusalem mette hym by the waye, cast their clothes and grene bowes in his waye, cryenge with an open voyce, 'Blessed ys he that cometh in the name of the Lorde:' The same people, I say, were so blinded and iugled with them, that the sixt daye after they cryed, 'Hange hym on the crosse; hange hym on the crosse.'

And quitte one Barabas, a mortherer, and deluyered innocent Christ unto deth.'

All this did their bysshops, prestes, and lawyers bringe to passe, only by that they made the people beleve it was new lerninge. And that the Scripture there was no man that cowlde vnderstande but they; and that Christ and his disciples were men nother of autorite nor reputacion, but laye men, ydiotes, fyschers, carpenters, and other of the rascall sorte. So that it was not possible that ever God wold open that vnto such a rude sorte, which the religious phareses, the holy bysshops, the vertu-

* This is the 103d article in the catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

ous prestes, the auncient doctours, the gret lerned lawyers, and the wise and sage elders knew not. But it must nedes be that Christe and al his disciples were heretiques, scismaticques, and disceauvers of the people, and well worthy to be put to some shamefull dede for it, to the example of all other. As they were in dede afterwarde.

But yet, for all this, even apou the crosse Christe ouercame his enemies. And, when they thought that they had layed him to slepe for ever, he rose agayne. And his disciples haue ever had the victory upon the crosse, and testified vnto the worlde the wisdom of God in these pore ydiotes, and veray folishnes and wisdom of the flesh in these gret lerned aunciente fathers.

Even now after the same manner, that ye maye grope with your fingers, that oure holy byshops, with all their ragman's rolle, be of the selfe same sorte, and veray childerne of their fathers the pharases, bischops and prestes, which so accused Christ and his apostles of new lerninge: ye do se how they defame, sclauder, and persecute the same worde and preachers and folowers of it, with the selfe same names, calling it new lerninge, and them new masters. And retayne the people in erreure with their fathers olde face of religiouse pharases: fryars, I wolde say, and monkes, of holy byshops, of vertuous prestes, of aunciente doctors, of the gret lerned lawyers, and of the wise and sage elders. And take away the autorite and estimacion of Gods worde and the credence of the preacher, with 'Ye maye se there ys no man preaches so but two or-three, and they haue no lerninge, and the folish people which hath no lernynge for lowes them. But ye shall se no man of substance, of reputacion, of autorite, or lerninge take parte with them.

And so, with these old clokes of their fathers, the pharases, byshops, and prestes, fyrst they persuede the people the worde of God to be heresy. And by that means they liberally prison and persecute vnto the deeth all the professours of the same. Even as the old pharases, with the bischops and prestes, prisoned and persecuted Christe and his apostles, that all the rightuous bloude may fall on their hecdes, that hath been shed, from the bloude of Steuen, the first martyr, to the bloude of that innocent man of God, Thomas Hitton, whom Willyam Werham, Byschop of Canturbury, and John Fyscher, Byschop of Rochestur, morthered, at Maydeston in Kente, the last yere, for the same trouthe. I pray God that they maye be ones turned vnto the Lorde, that he maye heale them, and forgeue them that sin of ignorancy. For as for these malicious tyrautes that persecute against their awn conscience, I praye not, but leaue them to the iudgemente of God, as manyfest synners against the Holy Goost.

As for the trouthe, when they haue slayne and put to sylence al the preachers of the same, and layed it to slepe, doutles God, after his old facion, shall there, by them and by those meanes that they doubt leest, reyse vp the trouthe agayne, to the vtter confusion of al hys enemies, whose iudgemente doth not slepe.

Now, good reader, that thou maist se playnly that it ys no new thinge, but an olde practyse of oure prelates lerned of their fathers, the byshops, pharases, and prestes of the olde law, to defame the doctrine of Christe with the name of new lerninge, and the teachers therof with the name

of new masters: I haue put forth here in printe this 'Prayer and Complaynte of the Ploweman, which was written not longe after the yere of oure Lorde, a thousand and thre-hundred, in his awne olde English, chaingynge there in nothinge, as ferforth as I could obserue it, other the English or ortographic, addinge also there to a table of soch olde wordes as be now antiquate and worne out of knowlege by processe of tyme. I desyre the to reade it with descrecion and earnestly, or ever thou iudge, and, if thou fynde anythinge in it when thou haste conferred it with the Scripture to thy edificacion or lerninge, geve God thanks. And if here after there shall chaunce to come into my handes any more soch holy reliques, perceauinge this to be accepted, I shall spare nother laboure nor cost to distribute it in to as many partes as I haue done thys, by the help of God, to whome be all honoure, glorye, and prayse, for ever, Amen,

The last daye of February, Anno 1531.

Here followeth the Table.

<i>Apayed</i> , Contented or pleased.	<i>Forwarde</i> , Convenaunte or Bargaen.
<i>Ar than</i> , Before that.	<i>Herynge</i> , Worship or worshipinge.
<i>Bekizte</i> , Promised.	<i>Hired Men</i> , Parish Prestes.
<i>Byhest</i> , Promyse.	<i>Lewed Man</i> , Laye Man.
<i>Byhoten</i> , Promised.	<i>Lesewes</i> , Pastures or Feldes.
<i>Blise</i> , Quyeckely.	<i>Mawmetis</i> , Images.
<i>Beneuen</i> , Take a waye.	<i>Nele</i> , Will not.
<i>Clepe</i> , Call.	<i>Sternship</i> , Cruelnes.
<i>Cheruteyn</i> , Capitain.	<i>Shepherd</i> , Byschops, Persons or Vicars.
<i>Chepinge</i> , Market.	<i>Sweuens</i> , Drcames.
<i>Dreynte</i> , Drowned.	<i>Seggen</i> , Saye.
<i>Desert</i> , Wilderness.	<i>Thralles</i> , Bonde Men.
<i>Dome</i> , Iudgement.	<i>Thraldome</i> , Bondage.
<i>Fele</i> , Often.	<i>Wonniers</i> , Inhabitauntes or Dwellers.
<i>Fullen</i> , Baptise.	<i>Zerners</i> , Chapmen.

THE PLOWEMAN'S PRAYER.

IESU CHRIST, that was ybore of the Mayde Marie, haue on thy pore seruautes mercye and pity, and helpe hem in her gret nede to fize azens synne, and azens the Deuele that is autor of synne; and more nede nes ther neuer to crie to Christ for helpe, then it ys rizt now, for it ys fulfilled that God sayde by Isaye the Prophete, 'Ze ryseth up erlich to folow dronkenes, and to drinke to it be even; the herpe and other mynstresies bith in your festes and wine. But the warke of God ye ne beholdeth not, ne taketh no kepe to the warkes of his handes: and therefore my people ys take prisoner, for they ne had no connyng; and the

noble men of my people deyeden for honger; and the multitude of my people weren drye for thyrst: and therefore hell hath drawn abroad her sowle, and hath yopened hys mouth withouten any ende. And eft sones, sayeth Isaye the Prophete, 'The word ys floten a waye, and the hynnes of the people ys ymade seek, and the erth ys infect of hys wonyers; for theyhaue broken my lawes, and ychaunged my rizt, and han destroyed myn everlastinge bonde and forwarde betwene hem and me. And therefore cursynge shall deuoure the erthe, and they that wonneth on the ertly shullen don synne. And therefore the erth tilyars shullen waxe wood, and few men shullen ben yleft apon the erth.' And zet, sayethe Isaye the Prophete, 'This sayeth God, For as moch as this people nyzeth me with her mouth, and glorifieth me with her lippys, and her harte ys ferre from me; and they hanydrad more mennys commaundementes then myne, and more draw to her doctrines then to myne. Therefore woll I make a gret wondringe vnto this puple; wisdom shall perish awaye from wise men, and vnderstandinge of readie men shall bee yhid.' And so it semeth that another sayenge of Isaye ys fulfilled, there as God bade hym go teach the puple, and sayed, 'Go forth and saye to this puple, Eres hereye and vnderstand ye not, and yes ze haue fixt and ne know ye not. Make blinde the hert of this puple, and make her eres hevy, and close her yeen, lest he se with his yeen, and yhere with his eres, and vnderstand with his hert, and be yturned, and ych hele hym of his sykenes.' And Isaye sayed to God, 'How longe, Lord, shal this be?' And God sayed, 'For to that cyties ben desolate with outen a wonyer, and an howse withouten a man.'

There ys mychel nede for to make sorrow, and to crye to owre Lorde Iesu Christ hertilich for help and for succoure, that he wole forzeue vs owre synnes, and zeve vs grace and connyng to seruen hym bettur here after. And God of hys endles mercy zeve vs grace and connyng trulich to tellen which ys Christes law in helpinge of mennes sowles, for we beth lewde men, and synneful men, and uncominge; and, yf he woll be owre help and owre succoure, we shullen well perfourme owre purpose. And yblessed be owre Lorde God, that hydeth his wisdom from wise men, and from redye men, and teacheth it to small childern, as Christ teacheth in the gossell.

Christen men han a law to kepe, the which law hath twee parties. Beleve in Christ that ys God, and ys the foundement of her law, and vpon thys foundemente, as he sayed to Peter, and the gospel bereth witnes, he woll byelden hys church. And this ys the fyrst partie of Christes law. The seconde partie of his law beth Christes commaundementes, that beth written in the gossell, and more verilech in Christen mennes hertes.

And, as towchinge the beleve, we beleven that Christ ys God, and that there ne ys no God but he. We beleven, never the lesse, that in the Godhed ther ben thre parsones, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Gost, and all these thre parsones ben one God and not many Goddes, and all they beth ylich mizty, ylich good, and ylich wise, and ever have ben, and ever shullen ben. We beleven this God made the worlde of nozt, and man he made after his awne lykenesse, in Paradise, that was a londe of blyssc, and zaue hym that londe for his crytage, and bad hym that he

shuld not eate of the tre of knowlege of good and evill, that was amydde Paradyse.

Then the devell, that was fallen out of heven for hys pride, had envye to man, and by a fals suggestion he made man eate of this tree, and breake the commaundement of God; and tho was man ouercomen of the devell, and so he lost his heritage, and was yput out there of into the worlde, that was a londe of trauel and of sorowe, undre the fyndes thraldome to be punyshed for his trespasse. There man folowed wyckednesse and synne, and God, for synne of man, sent a flode in to this worlde, and dreyned all mankynde saue eght sowles. And after this flode he late men multipli in the worlde, and so he assayed whether man drad hym or loued hym, and, amonge other, he fonde a man that hyzt Abraham: this man he proued whether he loued him and drad hym, and bade hym that he shulde offeren Isaac his sonne apon an hyll; and Abraham, as a trewe seruant, fulfilled his Lordes commaundement, and, for this buxumnes and treweth, God sware vnto Abraham, that he wold multiplie his sede as the gravell in the see, and the sterres of heven; and he behizt to hym and to hys heyres the Londe of Bcheest for eretage for ever, zyf they wolde ben his trewe seruantes, and kepe hys heestes. And God helde him forward: for Isaac, Abrahams sonne, begat Iacob and Esau, and of Iacob that ys ycleped Ysraell comen Gods puple, that he chose to be his seruantes, and to whome he behizt the Londe of Byhest; this puple was in gret thraldom in Egypt, under Pharao, that was Kynge of Egypt; and they cry even to God that he shuld delyveren hem oute of that thraldom, and so he dyd: for he sente to Pharao, Moses and his brother Aaron, and bade hym delyver hys puple to don hym sacryfice, and to fore Pharao he made Moses don many wondres, or that Pharao wold delyver hys puple, and at the last bymyzt he delyvered his puple oute of thraldom, and led hem thorowz a desert toward the Londe of Byheste, and there he gaue hem a law that they shulden lyuen after, when they comen in to her contry, and in ther wey thider warde, the ten commaundements God wrote himselfe in two tables of stoon. The remnawnt of the lawe he tawzt hem by Moses his seruant, how they shulden do eurichone to other; and, zif they trespassed azeyn the law, he ordered how they shulden be punished. Also he tawzt hem what maner sacrifices they shulden do to hym, and he chees hym a puple to ben hys prestes, that was Aaron, and his children to don sacryfices in the tabernacle, and afterwarde in the temple also. He chees hym the remenaunt of the children of Levy to ben seruantes in the tabernacle to the prestes, and he sayde, 'When ze comen in to the Londe of Behest, the children of Levy, they shullen haue noon heritage amonges her bretherne, for ych wold be here parte, and her heritage, and they shullen serue me in the tabernacle by dayes and by nyztes. And he ordered that prestes shulden haue a part of the sacryfyses that weren offered in the tabernacle, and the fyrst begooten beestes, both of men and beestes and other thinges, as the law telleth. And the other children of Levy, that seruened in the tabernacle shulden haue thythinges of the puple to her lyuelood, of the which thythinges, they shulden zeven the prestes the tenth partie in forme of offeringe. The children of Levy, both prestes and other, shulden haue howses, and croftes, and lesuvoys for her beestes

in the Lande of Byhest, and non other ertage; and so God zaue hem her londe of byhest, and bad hem that they ne shuld worship no other God then hym. Also he bade that they shulden kepe hys commaundementes and, zif they dyden so, all her enemyes, a boute hem, shulden drede hem, and ben her seruantes; and, zif they worshippeden fals Gods and so forsoken hys lawes, he byhizt hem that he wold bringgen hem out of that londe and maken hem seruen her enemyes; but yet he sayed he nolde not bynemen his mercy awaye from hem, if they wolden crye mercye and amenden her defautes, and all this was ydone on Gods syde.

And here is mychell love yshowed of God to man. And who so loketh the Pyble, he shall fynde that man showed him litle love azyenwarde; for, when they weren ycomen in to her eritige, the forzeyten her God, and worshippeden fals Gods. And God sente to hem the prophetes and hys seruantes foele tymes to bydden hem withdrawn hem from her synnes, and other they flowen them, or they beten hem or the laden hem in prison, and ofte tymes God toke apon hem gret vengeance for her synnes; and when they cryeden after help to God, he sente hem help and succoure; thisys the generall proces of the Olde Testamente that God zaue to his puple by Moses his seruant. And all this testamente and this doinge ne was but a schadewe and a fygere of a New Testamente that was zeuen in by Christ. And it was byhoben by Ieremie the prophete, as Saint Paul beareth witnesse in the pistle that he writeth to the fewys. And Ieremie saith in this wise: 'Lo dayes shall come, God sayeth, and ych woll make a new bande to the hous of Israel and to the hous of Iude, not lyche the forwarde that I made withe her faders in the day that I toke her honde to leden hem out of the londe of Egypte; the which forwarde they maden veyne, and yche had lordshippe ouer hem. But this shalbe the forwarde that yche wold maken with hem after thilke dayes: Yche wole zeue my lawes with yn hem in her inwardnesse, and yche wole writen hem in her hartes, and yche wole ben her God and they shullen be my puple, and after that a man shall not teach his neyzebore ne his brother. For all, God sayeth, froth the leest to the mest shullen yknowe me, for yche wole forzeuen hem her synnes, and I nele no more thinken on her synnes.'

This is the Newe Testamente that Christ, both God and Man, yboren of the mayden Marye, he tauzte here in this worlde, to bringe man oute of synne and out of the deuels thraldome and seruice to heuen, that ys londe of blisse and heritage to all thoo that beleuen on hym, and kepen hys commaundementes, and for his teachinge he was done to the deth. But the thrydde daye arose azene from deth to lyfe, and fette Adam and Eve and many other folke out of hell, and afterwarde he came to his disciples and comforted hem. After he steyed vp to heuen, to hys Fader, and thoo he sente the Holy Gost amonges his disciples: and in tyme cominge he wole come and demen al mankynde after her werkes, and after the wordes he spake apon erth, some to blisse both in body and in sowle ever with outen ende, and some to payne with outen ende, both in body and in sowle.

This is oure beleue and all Christen mennes, and this beleue ys the fyrst poynte of the Newe Testamente that yche Christen man ys holde

stedfastly to beleue, and rather to suffer the deeth than forsaken this beleue; and so this beleue ys the bred of spirituall lyfe, in forsakinge synne, that Christe brought vs to lyfe.

But for as much as mannes lyuinge ne stondesth not al onlych by bred, he hath yzouen vs a drauzt of water of lyfe to drinke. And who that drinketh of that water, he ne shall neuer afterwarde ben a thurst. For this water ys the clere teachinge of the gospel, that encloseth seuen commaundementes.

The furst is this, Thou shalt loue thy God ouer all other thinges, and thy brother as thy self, both enemye and frende.

The seconde commaundemente ys of mekenes, in the which Christ chargeth vs to forsake lordeship upon our brethern and other worldly worshippes, and so he did hym self.

The thridde commaundemente ys in stondinge stedefastlych in truth and forsakinge all falsnes.

The forth commaundemente ys to suffre in this world disces and wronges withouten azenstondinges.

The fyth commaundemente ys mercy to forzeuen oure brethern here trespass, as often tyme as they gylteth, with out askinge of vengeaunce.

The syxth commaundemente ys poernesse in spirite, but not to ben a begger.

The seuenth commaundemente is chastyte, that ys a forsakyng of fleshych lykings dyspleasinge to God. These commaundementes enclosen the ten commaundementes of the old lawe, and somewhat more.

This water ys a blessed drinke for Christen mennes sowle. But more harme ys moch folke wolde drinke of this water, but they mow not come thereto: For God sayeth by Ezechiel the prophete, 'When ych zeue to you the most clene water to drinke, ye troubled that water with your fete, and that water, so defouled, yezeue my shepe to drinke. But the clene water ys yhidde fro the shepe, and but, zif God cleare this, it ys drede lest shepe deyen for thurst.' And Christ, that is the wisdom of the Father of Heuen, and welle of this wisdom, that come from heuen to erth to tech man this wisdom, thorow the which man shuld ouercome the slezythes of the deuell, that is principall enemy of mankinde, haue mercy and pite of his puple, and shewe, if it be his will; how this water ys troubled, and by whom, and sith clere this water that his shepe mown drinken here of, and kele the thurst of here sowles. Blessed mote oure Lorde ben, for he hath ytauzt vs in the gospel that, 'ar than he wolde come to the vniuersel dome that shuld come, manye in his name and seyen that they weren Christ: And they shulden done many wondres and begilen manye men. And many false prophetes shulden arysen and begylen moch folke' A Lorde, yblessed mote thou ben of euerich creature, which ben they that haue yseyd that they weren Christ, and haue begyled thus thy puple? Trulich Lorde, I trowe thilke that seyn that they be in thy stede and bynemen thy worship and maken the puple worshupen hem as God, and haue hyd thy lawes from the puple. Lorde, who durst sitte in thy stede and benemen the thy worshupe and thy sacrifice, and durst maken the puple worshupe hem as goddes? The Sauter telles that 'God ne wole not in the daye of domen demen men for bodilich sacrifices and holocaustes. But God sayeth,

Zelde to me sacrifice of herynge, and zelde to God thine avowes, and clepe me in day of tribulacion, and yche wole defende the, and thou shalt worshupe me.'

The heringe of God stondesth in iij. thinges: In louynge God ouer all other thinges. In dredinge God ouer all other thinges. In trustinge in God ouer all other thinges.

These thre poyntes Christ teacheth in the gossell. But I trowe men louen hym but a lytle. For who so loueth Christ, he wole kepe his wordes. But men holden hys wordes for heresy and folye, and kepeth mennes wordes. Also men dreden more men and mennes lawes and her cursinges, than Christ and his lawes and his cursinges. Also men hopen more in men and mennes helpes, than they do in Christ and in his helpe. And thus hathe he that sitteth in Gods stede bynomin God these thre herynges, and maketh men louen hym and his lawes, more than Christ and Christes lawes, and dreden hym also. And there, as the puple schulden zelde to God her vowes, he seyeth that he hath power to assoylen hem of her avowes, and so this sacrifice he nemeth away from God: And there, as the puple schulden crye to God in the days of tribulacion, he letteth hem of her crienge to God and bynemyth God that worshupe. This daye of tribulacion is whan man ys fallen thorow synne into the deuels seruise, and than we schulden crye to God after helpe, and axen forzeuenesse of oure synne, and make grete sorowe for oure synne, and ben in full will to do so no more ne non other synne, and than oure Lorde God wole forgeuen vs our synne, and maken oure soule clene, for his mercy ys endeles.

But, Lorde, here men haue bynomyn the muche worshupe: For men seyn that thou ne myzt nor clene assoylen vs of oure sinne. But if we knowlege oure synnes to prestes, and taken of hem a penawnce for oure synne, zif we mowen speke with hem.

A Lorde, thou forgaue some tyme Peter hys synnes and also Marye Magdaleyne, and other manye synfull men, withouten schryuinge to prestes, and takynge penaunce of prestes for her synnes. And, Lorde, thou art as mighty now as thou were that time, but zif any man haue bynome the thy might. And we lewed men beleuen, that there nys no man of so grete power; zif any man maketh hym selfe of so gret power, he heith hym selfe a bove God, and Saint Poul speaketh of one that sitteth in the temple of God, and hizen hym a bove God, and, zif any soch be, he is a false Christe.

But hereto, seyn prestes, that, when Christ made clene leprous men, he bade hem goo and show hem to prestes. And therefore they seyn that it ys a commaundement of Christ, that a man schuld shewen his synne to prestes. For as they seyn, lepre in the old law betokeneth synne in this new lawe. A Lorde God: Whether thyne apostles knew nat thy meninge as well as men done now? And zif they hadden yknowe that thou haddest commaunded men to schryuen hem to pristres, and they be taught not that commaundement to the puple, me thinketh they hadden ben to blame: But I trow they knewen wel that it was non of thy commaundementes, ne nedeful to heal of mannes soule. And as me thinketh the lawe of lepre ys nothinge to the purpose of schryuinge: For prestes in the old law hadden certain pointes

and tokenes to know whether a man were leprous or not, and, zif they were leprous, they hadden power to putten hem awaie from othe clene men, for to that they weren clene, and then they hadden power to reyse yuen hym amonge his brethern, and offeren for him a sacrifice to God. This nys nothyng to the purpos of schriuinge. For ther nys but one preste that is Christ, that maye knowe in certayn the lepre of the soule. Ne no prest maye make the soule clene of her synne, but Christ that is prest after Melchysedekes ordre; ne no prest here beneth may eywit for certayn whether a man be clene of his synne or clene assoyled, but zif God tell it hym by reuelacion. Ne God ordened not that his prestes schulde sette men a penaunce for her synne after the quantyte of the synne, but this ys mans ordinaunce, and it may welbe that there cometh good her of. But I wote well that God ys much vnworschuped there by. For men trust more in his absolucions, and in his zeres of grace, than in Christis absolucions, and there by ys the puple moch apayred. For now, the sorow, a man shulde make for hys synne, ys put away by this schrift, and a man ys more bolde to do synne for trust of this schrift, and of this bodylich penaunce.

A nother myschefe ys, that the puple ys ybrouzt in to this belefe, that one preste hath a gretter power to assoylen a man of hys synne and clenere then an other prest hath.

A nother myschefe ys this, that some prest may assoylen hem both of synne and peyne, and in this they taken hem a power that Christ graunted no man in erth, ne he ne vsed it nozt on erth him selfe.

A nother myschefe ys, that these prestes fellen forzeuenes of mennys synnes, and absolucions for money, and this ys an heresye accursed that ys ycleped Symonye; and all thilke prestes that axeth price for grauntinge of spirituall grace, beth by holy lawes depriued of her presthode, and thilke that assenteth to this heresye. And be they war, for Helyse the prophet toke no money of Naaman when he was made clen of his Lepre, but Giesi his seruant, and therefore the lepre of Naaman abode with hym, and with his eyres evermore after.

Here ys muche mater of sorowe, to se the puple thus far ylad away from God, and worshupen a fals God in erth, that by myzt and by strength hath ydone away the gret sacrifice of God out of his temple; of which myschefe and discomfort Danyell maketh mencyon, and Christ bereth ther of wittnesse in the Gospell: Who that redeth it, vnderstande it. Thus we have ytold apperty, how that he sayeth, he sitteth in Christes stede, bynemeth Christ his worship and his sacrifice of his puple, and maketh the puple worshupen hym as a God on erth.

Crye we to God, and knowlege we oure synnes euerich one to other, as Seynt Iames teacheth; and praye we hertiliche to everych one for other, and than we shullen hopen forzeuenes of our synnes. For God that ys endeles in mercy sayeth, that he ne will not a synfull mannes dethe, but that he be turned from his synne and lyuen.

And therefore, when he came doune to saue mankynd, he gave vs a law of loue and of mercye, and bade, zif a man do a trespas, amende him privilich, and, zif he leue not his synne, amende hym before witnesse; and, zif he ne amendeth not, men shulde tel to the churche; and, zif he ne amendeth not thanne, men schulde schone his cumpanye, as a pub-

licane, or a man that ys misbyleued; and this lawe was yfigured in the lawe of lepre; who that redeth it he maye se the soth.

But, Lorde God! he that sitteth in thy stede, hath vndo thy law of mercye, and of loue. Lorde, thou byddest louen enemies as oure selfe; as thou shewest in the gospell there, as the Samaritane hadde mercye on the Iew. And thou biddist vs also preyen for hem that cursen vs, and that defamen vs, and pursuen us to deth. And so, Lorde, thou didist, and thynne apostles also. But he, that clepeth hym self thi Viker on Erth, and Heed of thy Church, he hath ondone thy lawe of loue and of mercye. For, zif we speken of louynge oure enemyes, he techeth vs to fyt with oure enemyes that Christ hath forboden. He curseth and desireth vengeance to hem that so doth to hym: Zif any man pursueth hym, he curseth hym, that it ys a sorowe a Christen man to heren the cursinges that they maken, and blasphemyes in such cursinge. Of that thinge that I know I maye here true witesse.

But, zif we spoke of louynge of oure brethern, this ys vndone by hym that sayeth, he ys Gods Viker in Erth. For Christ, in the gospell, byddeth vs, that we shulden clepen vs no fadur vpon erth; but clepen God oure fadur, to maken us loue parfytlich to gether: And he clepeth hym self Fadur of Fadurs, and maketh many religions, and to everich a fadur. But, wheder ys loue and charite encressed by thes fadurs, and by her religions, or els ymade lesse? For a frier ne loueth not a monke, ne a secular man neyther, nor zet one frier another that is not of that order; and it is azen ward.

A Lorde, me thinketh that there ys littell perfeccion in these religions. For, Lorde, what charite haven such men of religion, that knowen how they mown azeyn, stande synne and fleeen awaye from her brethern, that ben more vnconnyng than they ben, and suferen hem to travelen in the worldé with outen her counsell as beestes?

Trulich, Lorde, me thinketh that there ys litell charite, and then ys there litell perfeccion. Lorde God, when thou were on erth, thou were amonge synfull men to drawen hem from synne, and thy disciples also. And, Lorde, I trowe, thou ne grauntest not o man more kunninge then an other all for hym selfe; and I wote well that lewed men that ben laborers ne travele not alonlych for hem selfe. Lorde, oure belcfe ys, that thou ne were not of the worlde, ne thy techinge neyther, ne thy seruantes that lyuenden after thy techinge. But all they forsoken the worlde, and so every Christen man must. But, Lorde, whether thou tauztest men forsake her brethern cumpanye and trauele of the worlde, to liuen in ese and in rest, and out of defoul and anger of the worlde, by her brethern traueyle, and so forsaken the worlde?

A Lorde, thou ne tauztest not a man, forsaken a poor astaate and traucyle, to be afterwarde a lorde of hys brethern, or ben a lordes felaw, and dwellinge with lordes, as doth men of these newe religions. Lorde, thou ne tauztest not men of thy religion thus to forsake the worlde, to lyuen in perfeccion by hem selfe in ease, and by other mennes traueyle.

But, Lorde, they seyen they ben ybounde to thy seruyse, and seruen the both nzt and daye in synginge her preyers both for her selfe, and for other men that done her good, both quycke and deede, and some hem gone a boutte to teche thy puple when they hauen leysure.

A Lorde, zif they ben thy seruantes, whose seruantes ben we, that can not preyen as they done? and, when thou were here on erth, for our nede. thou tauztest thy seruantes to preyen thy fadur prinylich and shortlych; and, zif there had yben a bettur maner of preynge, I trowe thou woldest haue tauzt it in helpe of thy puple. And, Lorde, thou reprouist ypocrites, that prayen in longe prayer, and, in open places, to ben yholden holy men. And thou seyst in the gospels, woo to you pharyseis, ypocriets. And, Lorde, thou ne chargedest not thy seruantes with soch maner seruise: but thou sayest in the gospels, that the pharyseis worshupen the with her lippes, and her herte ys fer frome the. For they chargen more mennes tradicions than thy commaundementes.

And, Lorde, we lewede men han a belefe, that thy goodnes ys endles, and zif we kepen thyne hestes than ben we thy trew seruantes, and thouz we preyen the but a litel, and schortlych thou wilt thinken on vs, and graunten vs that vs nedeth, for so thou byhized vs some tyme: and, Lorde, I trow, that praye a man neuer so many quaynte prayers, zif he ne kepe not thyne hestes, he ne ys not thy good seruant. But, zif he kepe thyne hestes, than he ys thy good seruant; and so me thinketh, Lorde, that preynge of longe prayers ne ys not the seruise that thou desirist; but kepinge of thyne hestes, and than a lewed man maye serue God, as well as a man of religion. And so, Lorde, oure hope ys, that thou wilt as sone yhere a plowmans prayer, and he kepe thyne hestes, as thou wilt do a mans of religion; thouz that the plowman maye not haue so much syluer for his preyer as men of religion: for they kunnen not so wel preysen her prayers as these other chapmen: but, Lorde, oure hope ys, that oure preyer be neuer the worse, thouz it be not so well sold as other mennes prayers.

Lorde, Ezechiel the prophete seyeth, That, whan he spake to the puple thy wordes, they turned thy wordes in to songes and in to tales. And so, Lorde, men don now; they syngyn myrilych thy wordes, and that syngynge they clepen thy seruise. But, Lorde, I trow, that the best syngers ne heryeth the not most: but he that fulfilleth thy wordes, he heryeth the ful well, thouz he wepe more than syng. And, I trow, that wepinge, for brekyng of thy commaundementes, be more plesinge seruise to the, than the synginge of thy wordes. And wolde God, that men wolde serue hym in sorrow for her synnes, and they schulden afterwarde feruen thee in myrth. For Christ seith, yblessed ben they that maken sorowe, for they schulen ben ycomforted: and, woo to hem that ben myrrye, and have her comfort in this world. And Christ seide, That the world schuld ioyen, and his seruants schulden be sory, but her sorowe shuld be turned in to ioie.

A Lorde, he, that clepeth hym selfe thy viker upon erth, hath yordayned an ordre of prestes to do thy seruise in church to fore thy lewed puple, in synginge matens, evensonge, and masse. And therefore, he chargeth lewed men, in payne of cursinge, to bringe to his prestes, thythings and offeringes to finden his prestes, and he clepeth that Gods part, and dew to prestes that seruen hym in church.

But, Lorde, in the olde lawe, the thythings of the lewed puple ne were not dewe to prestes, but to that other childer of levy that serueden

the in the temple, and the prestes hadden her part of sacrifices, and the fyrst bygeten beestes, and other thinges as the law telleth. And, Lorde, Seynt Poule, thy seruant, seyth, that the ordre of the presthode of Aaron cesede in Christes cominge, and the lawe of that presthode. For Christe was ende of sacrifices yoffered vp on the crosse to the Fader of Heuen, to brynge man out of synne, and bycome hym selfe a prest of Melchisedekes ordre; for he was both kynge and prest withe oute begynnynge and ende; and both the presthode of Aaron, and also the lawe of that presthode ben ychanged in the cominge of Christe. And Seynt Poule seith it ys reproued, for it brouzt no man to perfeccion: for bloode of gotes, ne of other beestes, ne mizt not done away synne, for to that Christ schadde his blode.

A Lorde Iesu, wether thou ordenest an ordre of prestes to offren in the auter thy flesch and thy blode to bringen men out of synne, and also out of payne? and wether thou geue hem alonelych a power to eate thy flesch and thy blode? and wether none other man maye eate thy flesch and thy blode with outen leue of prestes? Lorde, we beleuen, that thy flesche is verey meate, and thy blode verey drinke; and who eteth thy flesch, and drinketh thy blode, dwelleth in the, and thou in hym; and who that eteth this breed shall lyve without ende. But, Lorde, thyne disciples seyde, This is an harde worde; but thou answerest hem, and seydest: When ze seeth mannes sone steyn vp there he was rather, the Spirite ys that maketh you lyve; the wordes, that yche haue spoken to you, ben spirite and lyfe. Lorde, yblessed mote thou be, for in this worde thou techest vs, that he, that kepeth thy wordes, and doth after hem, eteth thy flesch, and drinketh thy blode, and hath an everlastinge lyfe in the. And, for we schulden haue mynde of this lyuinge, thou gauest vs the sacramente of thy flesch and thy blode, in forme of breed and wyne, at thy souper, to fore, that thou schuldest suffre thy deth; and toke breed in thine honde, and seydest, 'Take ye this, and ete it, for it is my body; and thou tokest wyne, and blessedest it, and seydest: This ys the blode of a newe and an everlastinge testamente, that shalbe scheld for many men in forzeuennesse of synnes; as oft as ze do this, do ze this in mynde of me.'

A Lorde, thou ne bedest not thine disciples maken this a sacryfice to bringe men out of paynes, zif a prest offered thy body in the auter; but thou bedest hem go and fullen all the folke in the name of the Fader, and the Sone, and the Holy Gost, in forzeuennesse of her synnes; and techeze hem to kepe those thinges that ych haue commaunded zou. And, Lorde, thine disciples ne ordeyned not prestes principallich to make thy body in sacramente, but for to tech the puple; and good husbunde men, that well gouern her householdes, both wiues, and childern, and her meynye, they ordened to be prestes to techen other men the law of Christ both in worde and in dede, and they lyvedeyn as trew christen men; every daye they eten christes body, and dronken his blode, to the sustenance of lyvyng of here soules; and other whyles they token the sacramente of his body in forme of breed and wine, in mynde of oure Lorde Iesu Christ.

But all this ys turned vpsou downe; for now, who so will lyven as thou tauztest, he schalben holden a fole; and, sif he speke thy tech-

ynge, he shalben holden an heretyke and a cursed. Lorde, y haue ne lenger wonder here of, for so they scyden to the, when thou were here some tyme; and therefore we moten taken in pacyence her wordes of blasfemie, as thou dedest thy selfe, or els we were to blame. And trulych, Lorde, I trowe, that, yf thou were now in the worlde, and tauttest, as thou dedest some tyme, thou shuldest ben done to deeth; for thy teachinge ys damned for heresye of wise men of the worlde; and then moten they nedes ben heretykes that techen thy lore, and all they also that trauelen to lyue there after.

And therefore, Lorde, zif it be thy will, helpe thyne vnkunynge and lewed seruantes, that wolen, by her power and her kunnyng, helpe to destroye synne. Leue, Lorde, syth thou madist woman in helpe of man, and yn a more frele degre, than man is, to be gouerned by mans reson. What perfeccion of charite is in these prestes, and in men of religion, that haue forsaken spoushode, that thou ordenest in paradys by twyx man and woman, for perfeccion to forsaken traueyle, aud lyuen in esc by other mennes traueyle? For they mowe not do bodilich worke for defoulinge of her hondes, with whome they touchen thy precieuse body in the auter.

Leue Lorde, zif good men forsaken the companye of woman, and nedes the moten haue the gouernayle of man, then moten they ben ycoupled with schrewes, and therefore thy spoushode, that thou madest in clenesse from synne, it ys now ychaunged in to lykynge of the flesch; and, Lorde, this ys a gret myschefe vnto thy puple. And zounge prestes and men of religion, for defaute of wives, maken many wymen horen, and drawen, thorow her yuel ensample, many other men to synne; and the esc, that they lyuen in, and their welfare, ys a gret cause of this myschefe: And, Lorde, me thinketh, that these ben quaynte orders of religion, and none of thy secte, that wolen taken horen, whilke God forfendes, and forsaken wyues, that God commaundes, and gyuen her selfe to ydelens, that ys the moder of all nouztines.

And, Lorde, Marie, thy blessed mother, and Iosep, touched ofte tymes thy body, and wroughten withe here hondes, and lyueden in as much clenesse of soule, as oure prestes done now, and touched thy body, and thou touchedest hem in her soules. And, Lorde, oure hope is, that thou goist not out of a pore mannes soule, that trauelleth for hys lyuelode with his hondes; for, Lorde, our belefe ys, that thyne house ys mannes soule, that thou madest after thyne owne lykenes.

But, Lorde God, men maketh now greet stonen houses full of glasene windowes, and clepeth thylke thyne houses and churches; and they setten in these houses Mawmetes of stockes and of stones, and to fore hem they knelen priuylich and apert, and maken her preyers; and all this, they seyen, ys thy worschup, and a gret heryenge to the. A Lorde, thou forbedest some tyme to make such Mawmetes, and who, that had yworschupped such, had be worthy to be deed.

Lorde, in the gospell thou saist, That true heryers of god ne heryth hym not in that hill beside Samarie, ne in Hierusalem nayther; but trew heryers of God heryth hym yn spirite and in trewthe; and, Lorde God, what heryenge ys it to bylden the a church of deed stones,

and robben thy quicke churches of her bodyliche lyuelode? Lorde God, what heryenge ys it is to cloth Mawmetes of stockes and of stoncs yn syluer, and in golde, and in other good coloures? And, Lorde, I se thyne ymage gone in colde and in heet, in clothes all to broken, with outen schone and hosen, an hungred and a thrust. Lorde, what heryenge ys yt to tende tapers and torches by fore blinde Mawmetes, that mowen not I seyen? And hyde the, that art oure Light and oure lanterne to warde Heuen, and put the vnder a bosshell, that, for darkenes, we ne maye nat sene oure weye toward blisse? Lorde, what heryenge ys it to knele to fore Mawmetes, that mowe not yheren, and worschupen hem with preyers, and maken thyne quicke ymages knele before hem, and asken of hem absolucions and blessinges, and worschupen hem as Goddes, and putten thy quicke ymages in Thraldome and in Traueyle ever more, as beestes, in colde, and in heet, and in feble fare, to fynden hem in lykyng of the world? Lorde, what heryenge ys it to fetch deed mennes bones out of the ground there as they schulden kyndelich roten, and schrynen hem in gold and in syluer? And suffren the quicke bones of thyne ymages roten in prison for defaute of clothinghe? And suffren also thy quicke ymages perish for defaute of sustenance, and rooten in the hoores house in abominable lecherye? Some become theves, and robbers, and manquellers, that myzten ben y holpen with the Gold and syluer, that hongeth aboute deed mennes bones, and other blynde Mawmetes of stockes and of stoncs.

Lorde, here ben great abhominacions, that thou schewdist to Ezechiel thy prophete, that prestes done in thy temple, and zit they clepen that thyne heryenge; but, leue Lorde, me thinketh, that they lounge the litle that thus defoulen thy quicke ymages, and worschupen blynde Mawmetes.

And, Lorde, an other gret myschefe thereynow in the worlde, an hunger that Amos thy prophete speketh of, that there sall comen an honger in the erth, not of breed, ne thrust of drinke, but of heringe of Goddes woorde: and thy scheepe wolden be refreshed, but their scheep ardes taken of thy scheepe herlyfloode, as Tythinges, &c. and lyuen him self thereby where hem lyketh.

Of soch schephardes thou speakest by Ezechiel thy prophete, and seist, woo to the schephardes of Israel that fiden hem selfe, for the flockes of schepe schulden ben yfed of her schephardes; but ze eten the mylke, and clothden you with her wolles, and they fatte scheepe ye slow, and my flokke ye ne fed not, the sycke scheepe ze ne heled not, thylke that weren to broken ze ne knyht not to geder, thylke that perished ze ne brouzt not againe; but ze ruled hem with sternschip and with power: and so the scheepe beth sprad a brode in deuouringe of all the beestes of the feelde. And Ieremie the prophete sayeth, woo to the schephardes that disparpleth abroad, and so terith the flokke of my lesew.

A Lorde, thou were a good schepharde, for thou putttest thy soule for thy scheepe: but, Lorde, thou teldest, that thilke, that comen not in by the dore, ben nize thefes and daye thefes; and these, as thou seist, cometh not but for to stele, to sleyne, and to distroye. And

Zacharie the prophete seith, that thou woldist reren up a schepharde vnkunynge, that ne wole not hele thy schepe that beth sycke, ne sech thilke that beth loste. Apon his arme ys a swerde, and vpon his rizt eye; his arme schall waxe drye, and his rizt eye shall lese his lizt. O Lorde, helpe, for thy shepe beth at gret myschefe in the schephardes defaute.

But, Lorde, there cometh hyred men, and they ne feden not thy schepe in thy plentuous lesew, but feden thy schepe with swevenes, and false miracles, and talys; but at thy trewth they ne comen not: for, Lorde, I trowe thou sendest hem never. For have they hyre of thy schepe? They ne chargeth but litle of the fedinge and the kepinge of thy schepe. Lorde, of these hyred men speketh Ieremie thy prophete, and thou seyst that worde by hym: I nesende hem not, and they ronne blyue: I ne speke unto hem, and they prophicieden. For zif they hadden stonden in my counsell, and they had made my wordes knowen to the puple, ych wolde have turned hem awaye from her yvell waye, and from her wicked thouztes. For, Lorde, thou seist that thy wordes be as fuyre, and as an hamer brekyng stones.

And, Lorde, thou saist, lo I to these prophetes metinge swevenes of lesinge, that haue ytold her swevens, and have begyled my puple in her lesinge and in her false miracles, when y nether sente ne bede hem; and these haue profieted no thinge to my puple: and, as Ieremie saith, from the leest to the mest, all they studien couetise; and from the prophete to the prest, all they done gyle.

A Lorde, here ys mych myschefe and matere of sorow, and yet ther ys more. For zif a lewed man wolde tech thy puple trewth of thy wordes, as he ys y holde by thy comaundemente of charite, he shall be forboden and y put in prison zif he do it. And so, Lorde, thilke, that haue the keye of conning, haue y lockt the trewth of thy techinge under many wardes, and y hid it from thy childern. But, Lorde, fith thy techinge ys y come from heuen aboue, oure hope ys that, with thy grace, it shall breken these wardys, and schowe hym to thy puple, to kele both the hunger and the thrust of the soule. And then schall no schepharde, ner no false hyridman, begyle thy puple no more. For by thy lawe I write, as thou yhiztest some tyme, that from the leest to the mest all they schullen knowen thy will, and we ten how they schullen plese the euer more incertayne.

And leue, Lorde, zif it be thy will, helpe at this Nede, for there ys none help but in the. Thus, Lorde, by hym that maketh hymselfe thy viker in erth ys thy comaundemente of loue to the and to oure brothren ybroken both to hym and to thy puple. But, Lorde, God, mercye and pacyence that beth tweyne of thy comaundementes beth destroyed, and thy puple hath forsake mercy. For, Lorde, Daudid in the souter saith, blessed beth they that do ne dome and riztfullnes in everich tyme.

O Lorde, thou hast ytautz vs as riztfulnesse of heuen, and hast ybeden vs forzeuen oure Brethern as oft as they trespasen azenst vs. And, Lorde, thyne olde Lawe of iustice was, that such harme as a man did his brother, such he schuld suffer by the law, as eye for an eye, a toth for a toth; but Christ made an ende of thy law, that one

brother schulde not desyre wrake of an other, but not that he wolde that synne schulde ben vnpunished, for there to hath he yordened kinges and dukes, and other lewed officers vnder hem, whilke, as sainte Paule saith, ne carien not the swerde in vayne, for they ben the ministres of God, and warkers to wrath, to hem that evill done. And thus hath Christ ymade an ende of this old lawe, that one brother maye nat suen an other hym selfe, for that to wrenken with out synne for brekyng of charite. But this charite, Lorde, hath thy viker y broke, and sais, that we synnen but zif we suen for oure rizt: and wele I wote, that thou tauztest vs some tyme to zeue our mantell also, euer that we schuldensuen for oure cote: and so, Lorde, beleuen we that we that we ben y bounden to do ne by thy lawe that ys all charite, and officers dutie is to defenden vs from thilke theuery, thouz we complaynen not; but, Lorde, thi law ys turned ypso downe.

A Lorde, what dome ys it, to slene a thefe that take a mannes cattell a wey from hym, and suffren a spousebreker to lyue, and a lechour that kylleth a womans soule? And yet thy law stoned the spousebrekers and Leichours, and lette the theres lyuen and haue other punishment.

A Lorde, what dome ys it, to slene a thefe for steling of a horse, and to let hym lyue vnpunished, and to mayntene hym that robbeth thy pore puple of here lyfelode, and the soule of his fode?

Lorde, it was never thy dome to sayen that a man ys an heretike and cursed for brekyng of mans lawe, and demyn hym for a good man that breketh thynne hestes.

Lorde, what dome ys it to cursen a lewed man, zif he smyte a prest, and not cursen a prest that smiteth a lewed man and leseth his charite?

Lorde, what dome ys it to cursen the lewed puple for Tithynges, and not curse the parson that robbeth the puple of tithynges, and ne techeth hem not Gods law, but fedeth hem with payntyng of stonewalles, and songes of Laten that the puple knowen not?

Lorde, what dome ys it to punysch the pore man for his trespas, and suffren the rich continuen in hys synne for a quantite of money?

Lorde, what dome ys it to slene an vnkunynge lewed man for hys synne, and suffren a prest, other a clerke, that doth the same synne, scapen a lyve? Lord, the synne of the prest, or of the clerke, ys a gretter trespas then it ys of a lewed unkunynge man, and gretter ensample of wickednesse to the comune puple.

Lorde, what maner puple be we that nother kepen thy domes and thy riztfulnesse of the old testamente, that was a law of drede, ne thy domes and thy riztfulnesse of thy new testamente that is a lawe of loue and of mercy: but han an other law and taken of both thy lawes that is lykyng to us, and the remenaunte of hethen mennes lawes? and, Lorde, this ys a gret myschefe.

O Lorde, thou sayst in thy lawe, ne deme ze not, and ze ne schulen not ben demed: for the same mesure that ye meten to other men, men shall meten to zou azen warde. And, Lorde, thou seist that by her werken we schulen knowen hem. And by that we knowen that thou ne commaunded vs to demen mennes thoughtes, ner her werkes, that ne weren not azenst thy lawe expressly. And zet, Lorde, he that seyeth

he ys thy vikar wil demen our thouztes, and asken vs what we thynken, nat of the Lorde ne of thy hestes, for they caren litle for hem, but of him and of his, whilke they setten aboue thyne, and maken vs accusen oure selfe, or els they willen accursen vs, for oure accusers mowen we not knowen. And, Lorde, thou seidest in thyne olde lawe, that vnder two witnesses at the lest, or threc, schulde stande every matter. And that the witnesses schulden ever be the first that schulden helpen to kyl hem.

And when the scribes and these pharises sometyne brouzten before the a woman that was y take in spousebrekyng, and axeden of the a dome, thou didest write on the erth, and than thou gaue this dome, 'He that ys with outen synne, throwe fyrst at her a stone;' and, Lorde, they wenten forth away from the and the woman, and thou forzeue the woman her trespas, and bede her goo forth and synne no more.

Swete Lord, yf the prestes token kepe to thy dome, they wolden ben agast to demen men as they done. O Lorde, zif one of them breke a com-maundement of thy lawe, he wole axen mercy of the, and not a peyne that ys dewe for the synne, for peyne of deth were to litel. O Lorde, how doren they demen any man to the deth for brekyng of her lawes, other assenten to such lawe? For brekyng of thy lawe they wolen setten men penaunce, or pardon hem, and helpe and mainteynen hem, as oft as they trespasen. But, Lorde, zif a man ones breke her lawes, or speke azenst hem, he maie done penaunce but ones, and aftur ben brunt. Trulich, Lorde, thou seist, but zif everich of vs forzeue other his trespas, thy Fadur ne wole not forzeuen vs oure synnes. And, Lorde, when thou henge on the crosse, thou preydest to thy Fadur to haue mercy on thyne enemyes.

And zet they seyn, Lorde, that they ne demen no man to the deth, for they seyn they ne mowen by her lawe demen any man to deth. A leue, Lorde, even so saiden her fornfadurs the pharises, that it ne was nat le-ful for hem to kyllen any man. And zet they bidden Pilate to done the to the deth, azenst his own conscience; for he wolde gladly haue y quitte the, but for that they threted hym with the Emperoure, and brouzten azenst the false witnessse also. And he was an hethen man.

A Lorde, how moch trewer dome was there in Pilate, that was an hethen iustice, than in oure kynges and iustices that wolen demen to the deth and bern yn the fyre hym that the prestes delyueren vn-to hem, with outen witnessse or prefe? For Pilate ne wolde not demen the, for that the pharises seyden, that, zif thou ne haddest not ben a misdoer, we ne wolde nat delyuer him unto the, for to they brouzten in her false witnessses azenst the. But, Lorde, as thou saidest some tyme that it schulde ben lizter at Domesdaye to Tyro, and to Sydon, and Go-morra, than to the cities where thou wrouzt wondres and miracles: so I drede it shalben more lizte to Pilate in the dome, then to our kynges and domesmen, that so demen without witnessse and prefe. For, Lorde, to demen thy folke for heretikes, ys to holden the an heretike; and to brennen hem ys to brennen the: for thou seidest to Paule, when he per-secuted thy puple, 'Saul, Saul, wherfore persecutest thou me:' and in the dome thou shalt seye, 'that ye haue done to the lest of myne ye hane done to me.'

Thus Lorde, ys thy mercy and iustice fordone by hym that seith he is thy Vicar in erth: for he nether kepeth it hym selfe, nor nille not suffer other to do it.

The thridde commaundement, that ys pacience and sufferaunce, ys also ybroken by thys Viker. Lorde, thou byddist sufferen both wronges and strokes withouten azeinstondinge, and so thou didist thy selfe to renen vs ensample to sufferen of oure brethern. For sufferinge norissbeth loue, and azeinstendeth debate: and all thy lawe ys loue, or else thinge that draweth to loue.

But, Lorde, men techen that men schulden pleten for her right, and fizten also therfore, and els they seyn men ben in peryle; and thou bede, in the old lawe, men fizt for her cuntrey. And thy selfe haddist two swerdes in thy cumpanye when thou schuldest go to thy passion, that, as these clerkes seyn, betokeneth a spirituall swerde and a temporall swerde, that thou zoue to thy Viker to rule with thy church, Lorde, this is a sliz spech: but, Lorde, we beleue that thou art Kynge of Blisse, and that ys thyne heretage and mankyndes cuntrey, and in this worlde we ne ben but straungers and pelgrimes. For thou, Lorde, ne art not of this worlde, ne thy lawe nether, ne thy trew seruantes that kepen thy lawe. And, Lorde, thou were Kynge of Juda by enheritage, zif thou woldest haue yhad it, but thou forsoke it, and pletedest not therfore, ne fouzte not therfore.

But, Lorde, for thy kynde herytage, and mankyndes cuntrey, that ys a londe of blisse, thou fouzttest miztelych. In bataile thou ouercome thy enemye, and so thou wonne thyne herytage. For thou that were a Lorde miztiest in bataile, and also Lorde of Vertues, art riztfullich Kynge of Blisse, as David seith in the Sauter. But, Lorde, thyne enemye smote the despitefullych, and had power of the, and henge the vp on the crosse as thou haddist ben a thefe, and bynomyn the all thy clothes, and stekede the to the harte with a spere.

O Lorde, this was an harde assaute of a batayle, and here thou ouercome, by pacyence miztylich, thyne enemyes, for thou ne woldest not done zenzst the will of thy Fadur. And thus, Lorde, thou tauzttest thy seruantes to fizte for here cuntrey. And, Lorde, this fiztinge was in figure ytauzte in the olde lawe. But, Lorde, men holden now the schadewe of the olde fiztinge, and leuen the lizte of thy fiztinge, that thou tauzttest openlych, both in word and dede.

Lorde, thou zoue vs a swerde to fizten azcinst oure enemyes for oure cuntrey; that was thyne holy techinge, and Christen mennes law. But, Lorde, thy swerde ys put in a shethe, and in prestes warde that haue forsake the fiztinge that thou tauzttest. Fer, as they sein it ys azeyns her order to ben men of armes in thy bataile, for it ys vnsemelich, as they seyn, that thy Viker in erth, other his prestes, schulden suffer of other men. And, therfore, zif any man smite hym, othez any of his clerkes, he ne taketh it not in pacience, but and he smiteth with hys swerde of cursinge, and afterwarde with his bodylich swerde, he doth hem to deth. O Lorde, me thinketh that this is a fiztinge azeynst kynde, and moch azeynst thy techinge.

O Lorde, whether thou axsedist after swerdes in tyme of thy passion to azeynstonde thyne enemyes? Nay, forsoth, thou Lorde. For Peter,

that smote for gret loue of thee, hadde no gret thonke of the for his smytinge. And, Lorde, thou were mizty ynow to haue azeynstonde thyne enemyes: for, thorowz thy lokinge, they fellen doune to grounde. Lorde, yblessed mote thou be. Here thou techest vs that we schulden suffren: for thou were mizty ynow to haue azeinstonde thine enemyes, and thou haddest wepen, and thy men weren harty to haue smitten.

O swete Lorde, how maye he for schame clepen hym selfe thy Viker and Heed of thy Church, that may not for schame suffere? Sith thou art a Lorde, and suffredist of thy sugetys to zeuen vs ensample, and so did thy trew seruantes.

O Lorde, whether thou zeue to Peter a spirituall swerde to curse, and a temporall swerde to sle mennes bodyes? Lorde, I tro we not: for then Peter, that loued the so moch, wolde haue smite with thy swerdes. But, Lorde, he tauzt vs to blessen hem that cursen vs, and suffren and not smiten. And, Lorde, he fedde thy puple as thou bede hym, and therefore he suffrede the deth as thou diddist.

O Lorde, why clepeth any man hym Peters Successour, that hath forsake pacience, and fedeth thy puple with cursinge and with smytinge? Lorde, thou seydest in thy gospell, when thy disciples knewen well that thou were Christ, 'That thou mostest go to Jerusalem, and sufferen of the scribes and pharysees, spittings, reprofes, and also the deth.' And Peter toke the a syde, and said 'God for beede that.' And, Lorde, thou seydist to Peter, 'Go by hinde me Sathanas, thou sclaudrest me in Israel: for thou ne sauorest not thilke thinges that ben of God, but thilke that ben of men.' Lorde, to mennes witte it ys vnreasonable, that thou, or thy Viker, zif thou madist anny on erth, schulden soffren of youre sugettes.

A Lorde, whether shou ordenist an ordre of fizters, to turn men to the beleue? Other ordenist, that kniztes schulden swere to fizte for thy wordes?

A Lorde, whether thou bede that zif a man turne to the feith, that he schulde zeue his goodes and catell to thy Viker, that hath gret lordships, and more than hym nedeth? Lorde, y wote well, that, in the beginninge of that church, men that werein converted threwen a doune her goodes before the aposteles fete. For all they weren in charite, and non of them saide, This ys myne; ne Peter made hym selfe no Lorde of these goodes.

But, Lorde, now he that clepeth hym selfe thy Viker upon Erth, and Successoure to Peter, hath ybroke thy commaundemente of charite; for he ys becomen a Lorde. And he hath broken also thy commaundemente of mercy, and of pacyence. Thus, Lorde, we ben fallen in to gret mischefe and thraldome, for our cheueteyn hath forsaken werre and armes, and hath treted to haue peace with oure enemyes.

A Lorde, zif it be thy will, drawe oute thy swerde out of his scheth, that thy seruantes may fizte there with azeynst her enemyes, and put cowardise oute of oure hartes; and comfort vs in bataile, ar than thou come with thy swerde in thy mouth, to take vengeance on thyne enemies. For, zif we ben acorded with oure enemies tyll the tyme come, it ys drede lest thou take vengeance both of hem, and of vs, to gader. A Lorde, there nys no helpe now yn thys gret myschefe but onlych in the.

Lorde, thou zeue vs a commaundemente of treweth, in byddinge saye, ze ze, nay nay, and swere for no thinge: Thou zeue vs also a maundemente of mekenes, and a nother of porenens. But, Lorde, he that clepeth hym selfe thy Viker on Erth, hath y broken these commaundementes, for he maketh a law to compell men to swere; and, by hys lawes, he techeth, that a man, to saue hys lyfe, maye forswere and lye. And so, Lorde, thorowz comfort of hym, and of his lawes, the puple ne dredeth nat to swere and to lye, ne oft tymes to forsweren hem. Lorde, here is litill treuth.

O Lorde, thou hast ybrouzte vs to a lyuinge of soule, that staundes in belcuinge in the, and kepinge thyne hestes; and, when we breken thy hestes, than we slen oure soule; and lesse harme it were to suffer bodilylich deth.

Lorde, Kynge Saule brake thyne hestes, and thou toke his kyngdome from his eyres ever more after hym, and gave it to Dauid thy seruante, that kept thyne hestes. And thou saigest, by Samuel thy prophet, to Saul Kynge, that it ys a maner heryenge of false Goddes to breke thyne hestes. For who that loueth the ouer all thinges, and dredeth the also, he nole for nothinge breke thyne hestes.

O Lorde, zif brekyng of thyne hestes be heryenge of false Goddes, I trowe, that he that maketh the puple breke thyne hestes, and commaundeth that his hestes ben kept of the puple, maketh hym selfe a false God on erth, as Nabugodonosor did some tyme that was Kynge of Babylon.

But, Lorde, we forsaken such false Goddes, and beleuen that there ne ben no more Goddes than thou. And thouz thou suffre vs awhile to ben in disease for knowleginge of the; we thonken the with oure harte, for it ys a token that thou louest vs to zeuen vs, in this worlde, some penaunce for oure trespas.

Lorde, in the olde lawe, thy trewe seruantes token the deth, for they wolde not cten swynes flesch that thou haddest forboden hem to ete. O Lorde, what treweth ys in vs to eten vncleane mete of the soule, that thou hast forboden? Lorde, thou saist, he that doth synne, ys seruante of synne; and then, he that lyeth in forsweringe hym selfe, ys seruante of lesinge, and then he ys a seruaunte to the deuill, that is a lyar and fadur of lesinges. And, Lorde, thou saist, No man maye serue two lordes at ones. O Lorde, then everich lyar, for the tyme that he lyeth, other forswereth hym selfe, forsaketh thy seruyce for drede of hys bodilich deth, and becometh the devils seruaunt.

O Lorde, what treweth ys in hym that clepeth hymself seruaunte of thy seruantes, and in hys doinge he maketh hym a lorde of thy seruantes? Lorde, thou were both lorde and master, and so thou saide thy self, but zet in thy warkes thou were as a seruaunte. Lorde, thys was a gret treweth and a gret mekenes: But, Lorde, thou bede thy seruantes that they ne schulden haue lordschip ouer her brethern. Lorde, thou saigest kynges of the hethen men ban lordschupe ouer her suggetes, and they that vsen her power ben ycleped well doers.

But, Lorde, thou saigest it schulde not be so amonges thy seruantes: But he that were most schulde be as a seruaunte. Thus, Lorde, thou tauztest thy disciples to ben meke. Lorde, in the old lawe thy ser-

uauntes durst have no lordschyppe of her brethern, but zif that thou bede hem. And zet thy schulden not do her brethern as they diden to Thralles that serueden hem. But they schulden do to her brethern that were her seruantes as to her awn brethern: For all they were Abrahams children. And at a certain tyme they schulden lettin her brethern passen from hem in fredom, but zif they wolden wilfullych abyden still in seruise.

O Lorde, thou zaue vs in thy cominge a lawe of parfite loue, and in token of loue thou clepedest thy selfe oure brother. And to maken vs perfecte in loue thou bede that we schulden clepe to us no fadur vp on erth, but thy Fadur of Heuen we schulden clepen oure Fadur. Allas Lorde! how violentlych our brethern and thy childern ben now yputte in bodilich thraldome, and in dispite as beestes ever more in greuous travaill to fynde proude men in case? But, Lorde, zif we taken thyse defoule and this desease in pacience and in mekenes and kepen thyne hestes, we hopen to ben fre. And, Lorde, zeue oure brethern grace to comen oute of thraldome of synne that they ben fallen in thorowz the desyringe and vsage of lordschupe vp on her brethern. And, Lorde, thyne prestes in the olde lawe hadden no lordschupis amonge her brethern, but houses and lesewes for her beestes: But, Lorde, our prestes now haue gret lordschupe and putten her brethern in gretter thraldome than lewed men that ben lordes. Thus ys mekenesse forsake.

Lorde, thou byddest in the gospell, that, when a man ys ybede to the feest, he shulde sitte in the lowest place, and then he maye be sette hyer with worshup, when the lorde of the feest beholdeth how his gestes sitteth. Lorde, it ys drede that they, that sitten now in the hiest place, schullen ben beden in tyme to cominge sitte byneth. And that wole be schame and vileyne for hem. And it ys thy sayenge, Thilke that hyeth hym selfe schall be plowed, and thilke that loweth hym selfe schullen ben an heyzed. O Lorde, thou byddest in thy gospell to ben ware of the ypocresye of Phareses, for it ys a pointe of pride contrary to mekenes. And, Lorde, thou saist that they loue furst sittenges at the sopeer, and also the principall chayres in churches, and gretinges in chepinge, and to ben ycleped masteres of men. And, Lorde, thou saist, Ne be ye nat cleped masters, for one ys youre master, and that ys Christ, and all ye ben brethern. And ne elepe ze to zow no fadur upon erth, for one ys youre fadur that ys in heuen. O Lorde, this ys a blessed lesson to teche men to ben meke.

But, Lorde, he that clepeth hym selfe thy Vikar on Erth, he clepeth hym selfe Fadur of Fadures azeyns thy forbedinge. And all these worshupes thou hast forboden. He appreueth hem, and maketh hem masteres to manye, that techen thy puple her owne techinge, and leuen thy techinge that ys medefull, and hyden it by quaynte gloses from thy lewed puple, and feden thy puple with sweuenes that they meten, and tales that doth litell profite but moch harme to the puple. But, Lorde, these glosers seggeth that they ne desyren nat the state of mastrie to ben worschuped thereby, but to profite the more to thy puple, when they prechen thy worde. For as they seggen the puple wolen leuen more the prechinge of a mayster that hath ytaken a state of scole, than the prechinge of a nother man that hath not ytake the state of maystrye.

Lorde, whether it be any nede the maystres beren witnesse to thy teachinge, that it is trewe and good? Or, Lorde, whether maye any maystre mowe by his estate of maystrye, that thou hast forboden, drawe any man from hys synne rather then an other man that is nat a maystre, ne wole be non, for it ys forboden hym in thy gospell? Lorde, thou sendest no maystres to prech the puple, and thou knowlegist in the gospell to thy Fadur, that he hath yhid hys wisdom from wise men and redye men, and schewed it to litle childern. And, Lorde, Maystres of the law hylden thy techinge folye, and seiden that thou wouldest destroye the puple with thy techinge. Trulych, Lorde, so these maystres seggeth now; for they haue y written many bokes azeyns thy techinge that is treweth, and so the prophesie of Hieremie ys fulfilled, when he sayeth: Trulych the false poyntiz of the maysters of the law hath ywrouzte lesinge. And now ys the tyme ycome that Saynte Poule speaketh of there he sayeth, Tyme schall come whan man schulle not susteine holsome techinge. But they schullen gadre to hope maystres with hutchinge caris, and from treweth they schullen turnen a waye her heringe, and turnen her to tales that mastres have y maked to schowen her maystrye and her wisdom.

And, Lorde, a man schall leue more a mannes werkes than hys wordes, and the dede scheweth well of these maysters, that they desyre more maystrye for her own worschupe than for profite of the puple. For, when they be maystres, they ne prechen not so oft as they did before. And, zif they prechen, comunlych it ys before rych men there as they mowen bere worschupe and also profite of her prechinge. But before pore men they prechen but seldem, when they ben maystres: And so by her werkes we may sene that they ben false glossers.

And, Lorde, me thinketh that whoso wole kepen thyne hestes hym nedeth no gloses: But thilke that clepen her selfe Christen men, and lyuen azeynst thy techinge and thyne hestes, nedelych they mote glose thyne hestes after her lyuinge, other else men schulden openlych y know her ypcrisie and falsheed.

But, Lorde, thou saist that there nys nothyng yhid that it schall not be schewed some tyme. And, Lorde, y blessed mote thou be. For some what thou schewest us now of our myscheues that we ben fallen in thorow the wisdom of maystres that haue by slezythes y lad vs a waye from the and thy techinge, that thou that were mayster of heuen tauzt vs for loue, when thou were here some tyme to hele of our soules withouten errour or heresy. But maystres of the worldes wisdom, and her founder, haue ydamned it for heresy and for erreure.

O Lord, me thinketh it ys a gret pride thus to reprove thy wisdom and thy techinge. And, Lorde, me thinketh that this Nabugodonosor kynge of Babylon, that thus hath reproved thy techinge and thine hestes, and commaundeth on all wise to kepen hys hestes, maken thy puple helyen hym as a God on erth, and maketh hem his thralles and his seruantes.

But, Lorde, we lewed men knowen no God but the, and we with thyne helpe and thy grace forsaken Nabugodonosor and hys lawes. For he, in his prowd estate, wole haue all men onder hym, and hende

be vnder no man. He ondoth thy lawes that thou ordenest to be kept, and maketh his awne Lawes as hym lyketh, and so he maketh hym kynge abouen all other kynges of the erth, and maketh men to worshipen hym as a God, and thy gret sacryfice he hath ydone awaye.

O Lorde, here ys thy commaundement of mekenes mischefflych to broken, and thy blessed commaundement of porenese ys also to broken and yhid from thy Puple. Lorde, Zacharie thy prophete sayth, that thou that schuldest ben oure kynge schuldest ben a pore man, and so thou were; for thou saidest thy selfe, foxes haue dennes, and briddes of heuen nestes, and mannes sone hath nat where to legge hys heed on. And thou saidest, yblessed ben pore men in spirite, for the kyngedome of heuen ys hern. And woe to rych men, for they han her comforte in this worlde. And thou bade thy disciples to ben ware of all couetyse, for thou saidest, in the abundance of a mannes hauynge ne ys nat his lyfode. And so thou techist that thilke that han more than her nedeth to her lyuinge lyuen in couetyse. Also thou saist that, but zif a man forsake all thinges that he oweth, he ne maye not ben thy disciple. Lorde, thou saist also that thy worde that ys ysowe in rych mennes hartes bringeth forth no fruite. For rychesse and the businesse of this worlde maketh it withouten fruite.

O Lorde, here ben many blessed techinges to tech men to ben pore and love porenese. But, Lorde, harme ys, pore men and porenese ben yhated, and rych men ben yloued and honoured. And, zif a man be a pore man, men holden hym a man with out grace, and, zif a man desyreth porenese, men holden hym a fole. And, zif a man be a rich man, men clepen hym a gracious man, and thilke that ben bysie in getinge of rychesse ben yholde wise men and redye: But, Lorde, these rych men sayen that that it ys both leful and medefull to hem to gadre rychesse to geder. For they ne gadreth it not for her selfe, but for other men that ben nedy, and, Lorde, her werkes schowen the treweth. For, zif a pore nedy man wolde borowen of her rychesse, he nole leue hym none of hys good, but zif he mowe be seker to haue it againe by a certeyn daye.

But, Lorde, thou bede that a man schulde lene and not hoping zeldinge azeyne of hym that he leneth to: and thy fadur of heuen wole quyte hym hys mede. And, zif a pore axe a rych man any good, the rych man wole zeue hym but a litell and zet it schalbe litell worth. And, Lorde, me thinketh that here ys litell loue and charite, both to God and oure brethern.

For, Lorde, thou techest in thy gossell that what men do to thy seruauntes they done to the. A Lorde, zif a pore man axe good for thy loue, men zeueth hym a litle of the worst. For these rych men ordeynen both breed and ale for goddes men of the worst that they haue. O Lorde, syth all they good that men haue cometh of the: how dare any man zeue the of the worste, and kepe to hym selfe the best? How mowe soch men saye that they gaderen rychesse for others nede as well as her selfe, syth her werkes ben contrary to her wordes? and that ys no gret treweth.

And be ze seker these goods that rych men han they ben gods goodes ytake to youre kepinge, to loke how ze wolen by setten to the worshupe of God. And, Lorde, thou saist in the gossell, that who so is trewe

in litell, he ys trewe in that thinge that is more. And who that ys false in a litle thinge, who wole taken hym to warde thinges of a gretter value? And therfore be ye ware that han Gods goodes to kepe. Spende ye thilke trulych to the worchupe of God, lest ze lesen the blisse of heuen for the vntrewe dispendinge of Gods goods in this worlde.

O Lorde, these rych men seggen that they done moch for thy loue. For many pore laborers ben yfounde by hem, that schulden fare febelich, ne were not they and her redinesse for soth; me thinketh that pore laborers zeueth to these rych men more then they zeuen hem azeyn warde. For the pore man mote gone to hys laboure in colde and in hete, and in wete and drye, and spende hys flesh and hys bloude in the rych mennes workesapon Gods ground to fynde the rych man in ese, and in lykynge, and in good fare of mete and of drinke, and of clothinge. Here ys a gret zifte of the pore man. For he zeueth his awn body. But what zeueth the rych man hym azeynwarde? certes febele mete, and febele drinke, and febele clothinge. What ever they seggen soch be her workes, and here ys litell love. And who soever loketh wel a boutte, all the worlde fareth thus as we seggen. And all men stodyeth on every syde, how they maye wexe rych. And everych man almast ys a schamed to ben holden a pore man.

And, Lorde, I trowe, for thou were a pore man, men taken litell regarde to the, and to thy techinge. But, Lorde, thou come to zeue vs a new testamente of loue, and therefore it was semelych that thou came in porenesse to proue who wolde loue the and kepen thyne hestes. For, zif thou haddist ycome in forme of a rych man and of a Lorde, men woulde, rather for thy drede then for thy loue, haue ykepte thyne hestes. And so, Lorde, now thou mizte well ysee which louen the as they schulde in kepyng thyne hestes. For who that loueth the in thy porenesse and in thy lowenesse, nedes he mote loue the in thy lordschupe and thy hizenesse.

But, Lorde, the worlde ys turned vpse downe, and men louen pore men but a litell, ne porenesse nother; but men ben aschamed of porenesse, and therfore, Lorde, I trowe, that thou art a pore kyng; and therfore I trowe, that he, that clepeth hym selfe thy viker on erth, hath forsake porenesse, as he hath ydo the remenaunte of thy law, and ys by come a rych man and a Lorde, and maketh hys tresoure upon the erth, that thou forbedest in the gospels; and, for his rizt and his rychesse, he wole plete, and fezte, and curse; and yet, Lorde, he wole segge, that he forsaketh all thinges, that he oweth, as thy trewe disciple mote done, after thy techinge in the gospels.

But, Lorde, thou ne tauztest not a man to forsaken hys goodes, and pleten for hem, and fetzen, and cursen; and, Lorde, he taketh on hym power to assoylen a man of all maner thinges, but zif it be of dette. Trewlych, Lorde, me thinketh, he knoweth litell of charite; for, who, that beth in charite, possesseth thy Goodes in comune, and nat in propre, at hys nezbours nede.

And than schall there none of hem seggen, thys ys myne, but, it is goodes, that God graunteth to vs to spenden to hys worschupe; and so, zif any of hem boroweth a porcion of thilke goodes, and dispendeth

hem to Gods worschupe, God ys apayed of this spendinge, and aloweth hym for hys trew doinge; and, zif God ys apayed of the dispendinge, that ys the principall Lorde of thilke goodes; how darre any of his seruantes axen there of acountes, other chalengen it for dette? certes, of one thinge I am in certen: that these that charge so moch dette of worldly catell, they knowen litell of Christes law of charite; for, zif ych am a bayly of Gods goodes in the worlde, and zif I se my brother in nede, ych am yholden by charite to parte with hym of these goodes to his nede; and, zif he spendeth hem well, to the worschupe of God, I mote be well apayed, as thouz ych my selfe had spendid hem to the worschupe of God: and, zif the principall Lorde ys wel lpayed of my brothers doinge, and the dispendinge of hys goodes, how maye I segge, for schame, that my brother ys dettoure to me of the goodes that I toke hym to spenden in gods worschupe at hys nede? and, zif my brother spendeth amys the goodes that I take hym, ich am dyscharged of my deliuerance of the goodes, zif I take hym in charite thilke goodes at his nede; and ych am yholden to ben sory of hys yvell dispendinge, ne I maye not axen the goodes, that I toke hym to his nede, in forme of dette; for, at hys nede, they weren hys, as well as myne. And thus ys my brother yholde to done to me, zif he seiz me in nede; and, zif we ben in charite, lytell schulde we chargen of dette, and ne we schulde not axen so dettes, as men that knowen not God; and than be we pore in forsakyng all thinges that we owen: for, zif we ben in charite, we wolen nother fyzte, nor curse, ne plete for oure goodes with oure brethern.

O Lorde, thus thou tauztest thy seruantes to lyuen, and so they lyueden, while they hadden good schepherdes, that fedden thy scheepe, and ne robbed hem not of her lyfelode, as Peter thy good schepherde and thy other apostles: but, Lorde, he that clepeth hymselfe thy viker vp on erth, and successoure to Peter, he robbeth thy puple of her bodylich lyfelode, for he ordeneth proude schepherdis to lyuen in ese by the tenth partye of pure mennes traueyll; and he zeueth hem leue to lyuen where hem lyketh; and, zif men ne wolen not wilfullych zeuen hem these thynges, they wolen hauen hem azcynst her will, by maystrye and by cursinge, to maken hem ry ch.

Lorde, how maye any man segge, that sych schepherdes, that louen more the wole, than the scheep, and feden not thy scheep in body, ne in soule, ne ben such rauens and theues? And, who maye segge, that the maintenoure of such schepherdes ne ys not a maintenoure of theues and robbers? how wole he assoyle schepherdes of her robbing, with out restitution of her goodes, that they robben thy scheep of azcynst her will? Lorde of all schepherdes, blessed mote thou be, for thou loudest more the scheep, than her wole; for thou fedest thy scheep both in body and in soule; and, for loue of thy scheep, thou toke thy deth to bring thy scheep out of wolues mouthes. And the most charge, that thou zoue to Peter, was, to fede thy scheep. And so he did trewelich, and toke the deeth for the and for thy scheep; for he come in to the folde of the scheep by the that were the dore: and so, I trowe, a fewe other did as he did, thouz they clepen hemselfe successours to Peter; for her workes schowen what they ben; for they

robben, and sleen, and distroyen. They robben thy scheep of the tenth parte of her traueyle, and feden herselfe in ese. They sleen thy scheep, for they pyenen hem for hunger of her soule to the deth. They distroyen thy scheep; for with mizte and with sternschipec they rulen thy scheep, that, for drede, they ben disparpeld a brode in mownteynes; and there the wilde beestes of the felde distroyeth hem, and deuoureth hem, for defaute of a good schepherde.

O Lorde, zif it be thy will, delyuer thy scheep oute of such schepherdes warde, that retcheth not of thy scheep, han they her wole to make hem selfe rich; for thy scheep ben in gret mischefe, and foule accumbred with her schepherdes.

But, for thy schepherdes wolden ben excused, they haue ygeten hem hyridmen to fede thy puple, and these comen in scheepes clothinge; but, dredeles, ther werkes schewen, that with in forth the ben but wolfes; for, han they her hyre, they ne retcheth but a litell how sorilich thy scheep ben kepte. For, as they feggen hem selfe, they ben but hyrid men, that han no charge of thy scheep: and, when they schulden feden thy scheep in the plentuous lesewe of thy techinge, they stonden betwene hem and her lesewe, so that thy scheep ne han but a sizte of thy lesewe, but eten they schallen not thereof: but they feden hem in a sorry sowre lesewe of lesinges and of talys, and so thy scheep fallen in to greuous sycknesse thorowz thys yuel lesewe. And, zif any scheep breke ouer in to thy lesewe to tasten the swetnes therof, anon these hyrid men dryue hym oute with houndes. And thus thy scheep, by these hyrid men, ben ykepte oute of her kyndlych lesewe, and ben yfed wyth sowre grasse and sorry baren lewes; and zet they feden hem but seldem, and, when they han sorilich fed hem, they taken gret hyre, and gone awaye from thy scheep, and letten hem a worth; and, for drede lest thy scheep wolden in her absence go to thy swete lesewe, they haue enclosed it all aboute so stronglych, and so hize, ther maye no scheep comen there with in: but, zif it be a walisch leper of the mownteynes, that maye, with his longe legges, lepen ouer the wallys. For, thyrid men ben full certen, that zif thy scheep hadden ones tasted the sweetnesse of thy lesewe, they ne wold no more ben yfed of these hyrid men in her soure lewes, and therfore these hyrid men kepen hem out of thy lesewe. For, hadden the scheep ones ytasted well of thy lesewe, they wolden, with oute a ledder, go thider to her mete, and than mote these hyrid men fechen hem a nother laboure to lyue by, than kepinge of scheepe. And they ben full and war ynowe therof, and therfore they feden thy scheep with soure mete, that nauzte ys, and hiden from thy schepe the swetnesse of thy lesewe. And so, thouz these hyrid men gone in scheeps clothinge, in her workes they ben wolues, that much harme done to thy scheep as we haue ytold.

O Lorde, they comen as schepe, for they seggen that they ben pore, and haue forsaken they worlde to lyuen parfetych as thou tauztest in the goppell. Lorde, this ys scheeps clothinge. But, Lorde, thou ne tauztest not a man to forsaken the trauelouse liuyng in pornesse in the worlde, to lyuen in ese with rychesse by other mennes traueyle,

and haue lordshupe on her brethern. For, Lorde, this ys more to forsaken the, and go to the worlde.

O Lorde, thou ne tauztest not a man to forsake the worlde, to lyuen in porenesse of begginge by other mennes traueyle, that ben as feble as they ben. Ne, Lorde, thou ne tauztest not a man to lyuen in porenesse of begginge, that were stronge ynouz to traueyle for hys lyfelode. Ne, Lorde, thou ne tauztest not a man to ben a begger, to beggen of men more then hym nedeth; to bylden gret castels, and maken gret festes to thilke that han no nede.

O Lorde, thou ne tauztest not men this porenes, for it ys oute of charite: but thy porenesse that thou tauztest norscheth charite. Lorde, syth Poule saith, 'That he that forsaketh the charge of thilke that ben homelich with hym, hath forsaken his faith, and ys worse than a misbeleued man:' how than mowe these men seggen that they beleuen in Christ, that han forsake her pore feble frendes, and let hem lyue in traueyle, and in disese, that traueyled full sore for hem, when they weren zounge and unmizty to helpen hem self? And they wolen lyue in ese by other mennes traueyle cuer more, in begginge with outen schame.

Lorde, thou ne tauztest not this mauer porenesse, for it ys oute of charite; and all thy lawe ys charite other thinge that norscheth charite: And these hyridmen these schepherdes sende aboute to kepe thy sheep, and to feden hem other whiles in sorry bareyne lesewes. Lorde, thou ne madest none such schepherdes ne keepers of thy sheep that weren zerners aboute cuntreys, and wolden ones oder twyes a zere fede sorrylich thy sheep, and for so litle traueyle taken a gret hyre, and sythen all the zere afterward do what hem lyketh, and let thy sheep perish for defaute of kepinge.

But thy schepherdes abyden still with her sheep, and feden hem in thy plentuous lesewe of thy techinge, and gone byfore thy sheep, and techen hem the waye in to that plentuous and swete lesewe, and kepen thy flocke from raueninge of the wilde beestes of the feelde.

O Lorde, delyuer thy sheep out of the warde of these schepherdes, and these hyrid men, that stonden more to kepe her ryches that they robben of thy sheep, than they stonden in kopeing of thy sheep.

O Lorde, when thou come to Ierusalem some tyme, thou droue oute of the temple sellers of beestes and of other chaffare, and saigest, 'myne house schulden ben cleped an house of preyers, but they maden a den of theues of it.' O Lorde, thou art the temple in whom we schulden preyen thy Fadur of Heuen; and Salomon's Temple, that was ybelled at Ierusalem, was fygure of this temple. But, Lorde, he that clepeth hym selfe thy viker upon erth, and saith that he occupieth thy place here on erth, ys by come a chapman in the temple, and hath his chapmen walkynge in dyuerse cuntreys, to sellen his chaffare, and to maken hym ryche. And he saith, thou gave hym so gret a power abouten all other men, that what ever he byndeth ether vnbyndeth in erth, thou bynest ether vnbyndest the same in heuen: and so of grete power he selleth other men forceuenesse of her synne; and for moch money he will assoyle a man so clene of hys synne, that he be-

hoteth men the blisse of heuen, withouten any peyne after that they be deed, that zeven hym much money.

Byschopriches and churches, and such other chaffares, he selleth also for money, and maketh hym self rych; and thus he begileth the puple.

O Lorde Iesu, here ys much vntruelth, and myschefe, and mater of sorow. Lorde, thou saidest some tyme, that thou woldest be with thy seruauntes in to the ende of the world: and thou saidest also, there as tweyne or thre ben ygadred to gedder in thy name, that thou art in the mydle of hem: and, Lorde, then it was no nede to the to maken a leitenante, sith thou wolte be evermore amonges thy seruauntes.

Lorde, thou axedest of thy disciples who they trowed that thou were. And Peter answered and saide, That 'thou art Christe, God's Sone.' And thou saidest to Peter, 'Thou art yblessed, Symon Bariona, for flesh and bloude ne schowed not this to the, but my Fadur that ys in Heuen.

And I say to the, that thou art Peter, and apon this stone ych wole byld my church, and the zates of hell ne schullen nat availen azens it. And to the ych wole geue the keyes of heuen, and what ever thou byndest vpon erth shall be bounde in heuen, and what ever thou vnbyndest on erth schal be vnbounden in heuen.' This power also was graunted vnto the other disciples as well as to Peter, as the gospel opunlych telleth. In this place men seggen, that thou graunted to Peter's successours the selue power that thou zaue to Peter. And therefore the byschop of Rome, that saith he ys Peter's successour, taketh thys power to him to bynden and vnbynden in erth what hym lyketh. But Lorde, ych haue much wondre how he maye for schame clepen hymselfe Peter's successour. For Peter knowledged that thou were Christ and God, and kepte the hestes of thy law; but these han forsaken the hestes of thy law, and hath y maked a law contrary to thyne hestes of thy lawe.

And so he maked hymselfe a fals Christ and a fals God in erth. And I trouwe thou zaue hym no power to vndo thy law.

And so, in takinge this power vp on him, he maketh hym a fals Christe and Antechrist. For who may be more azens Christ than he that in his wordes maketh hymselfe Christe's viker in erth, and in his werkes vndoth the ordinaunce of Christe, and maketh men byleuen that it ys nedefull to the heale of mennes soules to byleuen that he ys Christe's viker in erth, and what euer he byndeth in erth ys ybounden in heuen? And vnder this coloure he vndoth Christe's lawe, and maketh men on alwise to kepen his lawe, and his hestes. And thus men maye yseen that he ys azens Christ, and therefore he ys Antechrist, that maketh men worshipen hym as a God on erth, as that proude Kyng Nabugodonosor did, sumtyme that was Kyng of Babylone.

And therefore we lewed men, that knowen no God but the Iesu Christ, beleuen in the that art oure God, and our Kyng, and our Christ, and thy lawes: and forsaken Antechrist and Nabugodonosor, that ys a fals God, and a fals Christ and his lawes that be contrary to thy techinge. And, Lorde, strenzth thou vs azens oure enemies; for they ben aboute to maken vs forsake the and thy lawe, other ellis to putten vs to deth. O Lorde, onlych in the is our

trust to helpe vs in this myschefe, for thy gret goodnesse that ys with outen end.

Lorde, thou ne tauztest not thy disciples to assoylen men of her synne, and setten hem a penaunce for her synne, in fastinge ne in prayenge, ne othere almous dede; ne thy selfe, ne thy disciples vseden no such power here on erth. For, Lorde, thou forzeue men her synnes, and bede hem synne no more. And thy disciples fulleden men in thy name in forzeuenesse of her synnes. Nor they toke no such power apon hem as oure prestes dare now. And, Lorde, thou ne assoyledest no man both of his synne, and of his peyne that was dewe for his synne, ne thou grauntedst no man such power here on erth.

And, Lorde, me thinketh, that zif ther were a purgatorye, and eny erthlyche man had power to delyuere synfull men from the peynes of purgatorye, he schulde, and he were in charite, sauen everich man that were in waye of saluacion from thilke peynes, sith they make hem gretter than any bodilych peynes of this worlde. Also, zif the bischop of Rome had such a power, he hymselfe schulde never comen in purgatorye, ne in hell. And sith we se well, that he ne hath no power to kepen hymselfe, ne other men, nother out of these bodilich peynes of the worlde, and he maye go to hell for hys synne, as another man maye, I ne byleve nat that he hath so great a power to assoylen men of her synne, as he taketh vp on hym abouen all other men; and I trowe that in thys he hyeth hymselfe aboute God.

As touching the selling of byschopryches and personages, I trow it be a poynte of falschede. For azens God's ordinaunce he robbeth pore men of a porcion of their sustinaunce and selleth it, other zeueth it to fynde proude men in ydlencesse that done the lewed puple litell prophet and much harme as we tolde before. Thus ben thy commaundementes of treweeth, of mekenesse and of porenese, vndone by hym that clepeth hym selfe thy viker here vpon erth.

A Lorde, thou zaue vs a commaundemente of chastite, that ys a forsakyng of fleschliche lustes. For thou brouztest vs to a lyuynge of soul that ys ygouerned by thy worde. For, Lorde, thou ordeynedist woman inore frele than man to byn ygouerned by man's rule and his helpe to plesse the and kepe thyne hestes. Ne thou ne ordeynedist that a man schuld desyre the company of a woman, and maken her his wyfe, to lyuen with her in his lustys, as a swyne doth or a horse. And hys wife ne lyked hym nat to hys lustes, Lorde, thou ne zaue not a man leue to departen hym from his wife and taken hym a nother.

But, Lorde, the maryage ys a commune acorde between man and woman, to lyuen togeder to her lyues ende, and in thy scruyse cyther the bettur for others helpe; and thilke that ben thus ycome to geder ben ioined by the, and thilke that God ioyneth maye no man departe. But, Lorde, thou saist that zif a man se a woman to coueten her, than he doth with that woman letcherye in his harte. And so, Lorde, zif a man desyre his wife in couetyse of such lustes, and not to flye from whoredome, his weddinge ys letcherye, ne thou ne ioynest hem nat to geder. Thus was Raguls Douzter y wedded to seven husbandes that

the devell strangled. But Tobye toke her to lyue with her in clenness and bringinge vp of her childern to thy worschyp, and on hym the deuell ne had no power. For the weddinge was ymaked in God, for God, and thorouz God.

A Lorde, the puple ys ferre ygo from this maner of weddinge. For now men wedden her wives for sayrenesse, other for rychesse or some such other fleschlych lustes. And, Lorde, so it preuceth by hem for the most parte. For a manne shall not fynde two wedded in a londe, where the husbonde loues the wife, and the wife is buxom to the man, as they shulden after thy law of mariage. But other the man loues not his wife, or the wife is not buxom to her man. And thus, Lorde, ys the rule of prese that neuer faileth to preue whether it be done by the or no. And, Lorde, all this myschefe ys is comen amonge thy puple, for that they knowe not thy worde, but her schepherdes and hyrid men feden hem with her sweucndes and lesynges. And, Lorde, where they schulden gon before vs in the felde, they seggen that her order ys to holy for thy mariage. And, Lorde, he that calleth hymselfe thy viker vp on erth will not suffren prestes to taken hem wyues, for that it ys azcins his law: but, Lorde, he will dispensen with hem to kepen horen for a certen sum of mon. And, Lorde, all horedome ys forfended in thy law. And, Lorde, thou neuer forfendest prestes her wiues ner thy apostles nether. And well I wrote in our londe prestes hadden wiues vntil Anselmus dayes, in the yere of oure Lorde God a leuen hundert and twenty and nyne, as Huntindon writes. And, Lorde, this makes puple, for the most parte, leuen that letcherye ys no synne. Therefore, we lewed men preyen the that thou wolt sende vs schepherdes of thyne owne, that wolten feden thy flock in thy lesewe, and gon before hem selfe, and so writen thy lawe in oure hartes, that, from the leest to the mest all they mayen knowen thee. And, Lorde, geue oure kynge, and his lordes, harte to defenden thy trew schepherdes, and thy sheep from oute of the wolues mouthes, and grace to know the, that art the trew Christ, the Sonne of thy heuenly Fader, from the Antechrist, that ys the sonne of pride.

And, Lorde, geue vs, thy poore scheep, pacience and strenzth to suffer for thy lawe the cruelnes of the myscheuous wolues. And, Lorde, as thou hast promysed, shorten these days. Lorde, we axen this now, for more nede was there neuer.

LOVE-LETTERS

FROM

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH TO ANNE BOLEYN:

And Two Letters from

ANNE BOLEYN TO CARDINAL WOLSEY,

With her last to

HENRY THE EIGHTH.

AS these letters, with a few reflexions on them, may give those, that have not leisure to turn over large volumes, just notions of the grounds of King Henry the Eighth's divorce, and arm them against the calumnies of the Papists on that subject; I shall give you a faithful copy of them from the originals, now preserved in the Vatican Library, where they are usually shewn to all strangers, and a true translation of those that were written in French: introducing them with a short view of the most remarkable transactions which preceded, and gave occasion to them. To which end, it may first be observed*, that, in King Henry the Seventh's time, his eldest son, Prince Arthur, being † past fifteen years of age, was married to the Princess Catharine of Spain, who was elder than himself; that they lived together as man and wife for several months; and then, Prince Arthur dying ‡, it was resolved, for reasons of state, that Prince Henry should marry his brother's widow. This was opposed by Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, as absolutely unlawful; but advised by Fox, Bishop of Winchester, who thought all difficulties would be removed by a dispensation from Rome. Accordingly a bull was obtained || to that effect, and they were married, the Prince being yet under age. But Warham had so possessed the king with scruples against this marriage, that, the day § on which the Prince was of age, he, by his father's order, protested against it as null and void; and Henry the Seventh, with his dying breath, persisted in charging his son to break it off intirely. However, when Henry the Eighth came to the crown, it was resolved in council that he should renew his marriage; which was done †† publicly, and he had several children by the queen, who all died young, except the Lady Mary ††.

After this there appeared no farther disquiet in the king's mind, nor any sign of an intended divorce, till the year 1524; when Cardinal Wolsey, by his legantine mandate, published a bull of the Pope's against those that contracted marriage within the forbidden degrees. This

* Hist. Reform. Part I. † November 14, 1501. ‡ April 2, 1502. || December 26, 1503.
 § June 22, 1506. †† June 3, 1509. †† Afterwards Queen of England.

mandate is yet extant in the register of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. What followed makes this justly suspected to have been done on the king's account. To confirm which suspicion, there is a concurring circumstance in a letter from Simon Grineus to Bucer, dated September 10, 1531, where he says*, The king had declared to him, that he had abstained from Queen Catharine, for seven years, upon scruples of conscience.

However, tho' the king had scruples at that time, yet he concealed them carefully from the world, for some years; and the immediate occasion of their breaking out seems to have been given by the French ambassadors, who came † to England to treat of several matters, and particularly of a marriage between the Princess Mary and the French king, or the Duke of Orleans, his second son. This alternative was at last agreed‡, tho' it remained for some time in suspense||; because 'the president of the parliament of Paris doubted, whether the marriage between the king and her mother, being his brother's wife, were good or no.'§ The Bishop of Tarbe made the same objection, and renewed it to the king's ambassadors in France, as appears by King Henry's speech to the mayor and citizens of London, concerning his scruples, where he says, 'When our ambassadors were last in France, and motion was made, that the Duke of Orleans should marry our said daughter, one of the chief counsellors to the French king said, It were well done to know whether she be the king of England's lawful daughter, or not; for well known it is, that he begat her on his brother's wife, which is directly contrary to God's law, and his precept.' That this counsellor was the Bishop of Tarbe, is affirmed** by the Bishop of Bayonne, in the account he gives of this speech to the court of France, in a letter dated the 27th of November, 1528; yet this very Bishop of Tarbe was afterwards advanced to be a cardinal, and was so far from retracting his opinion, that, when he was cardinal of Grandemont, in a letter dated the 27 of March, 1530, he writes to the French court, 'That he had served the Lord Rochford (Anne Boleyn's Father) all he could, and that the Pope had three several times said to him in secret, that he wished the marriage had been already made in England, either by the legate's dispensation, or otherwise; provided it was not done by him, nor in diminution of his authority, under pretence of the laws of God.' This conduct shews, that it was not religion, but political views, that turned the court of Rome against the king's cause, which they at first plainly favoured. And

Now as to the arguments by which the king fortified himself in these scruples. These, as he himself owned ††, were, that he found by the law of Moses, 'If a man took his brother's wife, they should die childless;' this made him reflect on the death of his children, which he now looked on as a curse from God for that unlawful marriage. He found Thomas Aquinas (whom he chiefly valued of all the casuists) of opinion, that the laws of Leviticus, about the forbidden degrees of marriage, were moral and eternal, such as obliged all Christians; and that the Pope could only dispense with the laws of the church, but not with the laws of God: And, when the validity of the marriage came afterwards to be

* See Hist. Reform. Part I. † March 2, 1527. ‡ April 30, 1527. § Hall.
 § Herbert. †† Hist. Reform. Part III. ‡† Hist. Reform. Part I.

thoroughly canvassed, it appeared that the whole tradition of the church and the opinions of its doctors were against the marriage.

In the year 1527, before Cardinal Wolsey's journey to France, which he began on the 3d of July, to promote the King's marriage with the Duchess of Alençon, the King's scruples were become publick, as two writers * testify almost in the same words: 'this season,' says Hall, 'began a fame in London, that the King's confessor, the Bishop of Lincoln, called Dr. Langland, and divers other great clerks, had told the king, that the marriage between him and the Lady Catharine, late wife to his brother Prince Arthur, was not good, but damnable.'

And this suspicion, of the Cardinal's going to promote a second match in France, is confirmed † by a letter of his, dated Feversham, July the 5th, 1527, where he says, Archbishop Warham had warned him of the great jealousies which Queen Catharine had of his ‡ journey. And by another letter dated August the 1st, 1527, where he labours to satisfy the King, that the Pope's dispensation was in itself null and void. All these particulars will be the stronger proofs of the Cardinal's intention, when it shall be proved that the Cardinal could then have no thoughts of Anne Boleyn; whose father, the Lord Rochford, came over to England from France with the Duchess of Alençon's picture || to shew it to King Henry; and it was then, in all probability, that Anne Boleyn came over with him; for, tho' she had been in England in 1522, yet she did not stay long §, but returned into the service of Claude Queen of France, where she continued till that Queen died, which was in 1524, and then went into the Duchess of Alençon's service, which she left probably at this time. Soon after her coming into England, she was taken into Queen Catharine's court, where the Lord Peircy courted her, and was upon the point of marrying her **, had not Cardinal Wolsey, by the King's order, prevented it; and, as the same author assures us, it was not till after the Cardinal's return from France, which was on the last day of September 1527, that the King opened his affection for Anne Boleyn to him.

Why then do the Papists pretend to say, that the King would never have had thoughts of a divorce, or scruples against his first marriage, had not his unlawful passion for Mrs. Boleyn prompted him to them? Whereas it is plainly proved, that the King's scruples were infused in him from his infancy, on the justest grounds; that they were revived in him three years †† before they were made publick, and that they were commonly talked of, and a new match contrived for him to the Duchess of Alençon, before Anne Boleyn appeared at court. All which will still appear more clearly in the ensuing letters. But, before I make any remarks on these, I must first give a short account of the King's negotiations at Rome, without which some of them cannot be understood. In the end of 1527 ‡‡, the King solicited the Pope for a commission to judge the validity of his marriage with Queen Catharine ||, which after some time was obtained in a bull, dated the 13th of April, 1528 §§, empowering Cardinal Wolsey, with the Archbishop,

* Stow, Hall.

† Herbert.

Hist. Reform. Part I.

|| Hist. Reform. Part I.

‡ Camden.

** Cavendish.

†† Vis. 1524.

‡‡ Hist. Reform Part I.

Hist. Reform. Part III.

§§ Rymer, Tom. xiv.

or any other English bishop, to judge the marriage. But this was not made use of; perhaps because it was thought, that a stranger ought to be employed, that the proceeding might be more impartial. So a new commission* was desired, and obtained, bearing date the 6th of June, in which the Cardinals Wolsey and Campegio (an Italian) were appointed joint legates to judge the marriage.

And, to make this the surer, there was a pollicitation (or promise) procured on the 23d of July, 1528, that the Pope would never inhibit or revoke this commission to judge the marriage; and a decretal bull, which contained an absolute decision of the cause, which was only shewn to the King, and Cardinal Wolsey, by Campegio; but all these precautions which were admitted of, when the Pope was in a distressed condition, did not restrain his holiness from sending one Campana before the end of the year, to see the decretal bull secretly burnt; and from recalling the legate's commission, and avocating the cause to Rome the next year, when his affairs were more flourishing, and the Emperor (who was Queen Catharine's nephew) had granted all his demands.

Now as to the letters themselves. It may be presumed reasonably, that, if there had been any thing in them that had reflected on the King's honour, or on Anne Boleyn's, they would certainly have been published by the Papists at that very time; for they were in their hands soon after they were written, as appears from this passage in Lord Herbert's history.

"When Cardinal Campegio came to take ship, the searchers, upon pretence he carried either money or letters from England to Rome, ransacked all his coffers, bags, and papers, not without hope, certainly, to recover that decretal bull our King so much longed for. I find also (some relation) that divers love-letters betwixt our King and Mistress Boleyn, being conveyed out of the King's cabinet, were sought for, though in vain; they having been formerly sent to Rome."

To explain this account, it must be supposed, that they were taken, not out of the King's but out of Anne Boleyn's cabinet. This is the more probable, because, in fact, they are all letters from the King to her; whereas, if his cabinet had been rifled, her answers to him would have been more likely to be found there.

As to the time in which the King's letters to Anne Boleyn were written, in all probability, it was immediately after her dismissal from the court†, which was done to silence the clamours of the people on her account; but she was sent away in so abrupt a manner, that she determined to absent herself altogether; which made the King soon repent of his severity, and press her to come back. But this was not obtained for a long time, nor without great difficulty; as appears by some of the following letters. The time of her dismissal was not till May 1528, for there is a letter extant‡ from Fox to Gardiner, at Rome, dated London, May the 4th, 1528, where he writes, 'of his landing at Sandwich, May the 2d, —His coming that night to Greenwich, where the King lay, —His being commanded to go to Mistress Anne's chamber in the tilt-yard—And declaring to her their

* Herbert.

† Idem.

‡ Lately in the Earl of Oxford's Library, 39 B. 4.

expedition in the King's cause, and their hastening the coming of the legate — To her great rejoicing and comfort — Then came the King, to whom he delivered his letters, — And opened his negotiations — Then he went to the Cardinal,* &c.

Soon after the date of this letter, she was dismissed; for, in the first of the letters that follow, the King makes excuses for the necessity of their being asunder; and, in the second, complains of her unwillingness to return to court. In neither of these, is a word of the sweating sickness, which raged violently in June; and, of which he speaks in his third letter, as of a thing that had lasted some time, and of which he had formed many observations from experience. Between this letter, which seems to have been writ in July, and the sixth, which, mentioning the Legate's arrival at Paris, must have been written in the end of September, there are two letters, which, by the earnestness of the business, were plainly written within a few days of one another. Probably, soon after the latter* of these was sent by the King, where he expressed how much he was pleased with her answer to his earnest desire in the former,† in the heat of his gratitude, he paid a visit to his mistress; in which time they wrote a joint letter to Cardinal Wolsey, which is added in the Appendix, where the King expresses his wonder, that he has not yet heard of the Legate Campegio's arrival at Paris; which makes it probable this happened in September. The King stayed not long with her after this; for, when she had received the Cardinal's answer, she writes a second letter, without mentioning the King's being there; and again shews impatience to hear of the Legate's coming, of which the King gave her the first news soon after. But,

To return to the fourth letter, which, from all these particulars, may be supposed to have been written in August; it is the most important in all the collection, for it fixes the time when his affection to Anne Boleyn began. He complains in it, 'That he had been above a whole year struck with the dart of love, and not yet sure whether he shall fail, or find a place in her heart or affection.' Now, by the nature of his complaint, it is visible, that he pleads all the merit that a long attendance could give him: and, therefore, if, instead of a year, he could have called it a year and a half, or two years, he would certainly have done it, to make his argument the stronger. It may likewise be probably concluded from the same words, that he had not then known her much above half a year; for it would have been an ill compliment in him, to let her understand that he had seen her some time, before he was at all in love with her.

These remarks confirm the account already given, of her coming from France with her father; and, by that means, serve to establish the King's vindication from the scandal thrown on him by the Papists; that he had no scruples about his marriage, till he saw Anne Boleyn.

Though it may be here questioned, how the time of any particular letter can be known, since they have no date, and therefore may have been put out of their order. But those, that will read them with any attention, will find a chain of circumstances referred to, that plainly shew they were laid together by one that knew the order in which they were

* Letter the Fifth.

† Letter the Fourth.

written, very likely by Anne Boleyn herself; and whoever stole them, as he took them all together, so would be careful, no doubt, to keep them in the order he found them in, that the discoveries to be made from them might be the more compleat.

It will not be doubted by any that read these letters, that the King's affection to Anne Boleyn was altogether upon honourable terms. There appears no pretension to any favours, but when the Legates shall have paved the way. There is but one offence that can be taken at these letters, which is, that there are indecent expressions in them. But this is to be imputed to the simplicity and unpoliteness of that age, which allowed too great liberties of that sort; and it must be owned by his enemies, that there are but three or four of these sallies in all the collection, and that there are letters which make much more for the King's piety and virtue, than those irregularities can sully his character.

In the fifth letter he tells her, 'God can do it, if he pleases; to whom I pray once a day for that end, and hope, that, at length, my prayers will be heard.'

In the sixth, 'I trust shortly to enjoy, what I have so long longed for, to God's pleasure, and our both comforts.'

In the ninth, 'Praying God, that (and it be his pleasure) to send us shortly togydder.' Surely, these religious expressions would have been very improper, to make an unlawful passion succeed.

In the thirteenth, speaking of the ill character of one that was proposed to be made Abbess of Wilton, he writes, 'I would not, for all the gold in the world, clog your conscience nor mine, to make her ruler of a house, which is of so ungodly a demeanour; nor I trust you would not, that, neither for brother nor sister, I should so destain mine honour or conscience.' The whole letter is of an excellent strain, and would have been a very improper exhortation to one against whose virtue he had a design.

The last of the letters mentions the Legate's illness, as a reason why he had not yet entered upon his office; which shews, that the correspondence ended at least in May, 1529, when the process began.

There is but one thing after the letters, that it seems very material to add here in the King's defence, and that is, the approbation of his cause by the learned men of Europe.

During the tryal, Warham and Fisher, who were advocates for the Queen, declared, 'That they having been lately consulted by the King, &c. had answered, that the King's conscience was disturbed and shaken, not without the weightiest and strongest reasons.*'

After the Legates had trifled some months, and, at last, Campegio, under a pretence of the rules of the Court of Rome, had adjourned the Court for three months; during which time he obtained an avocation from the Pope; the King was advised, by Cranmer, not to depend longer on the decisions of the See of Rome, but to consult the several Universities of Europe, as well as his own, about the validity of his marriage.

One Crook was employed in this negotiation, and he obtained the opinion of almost all the Universities† whither he went, for the nullity of the

* Rymer. Tom. xiv. † See Hist. Reform. Part I.

marriage; yet he complains, in his letters, that he was in great straits from the small allowance he had. And, in an original bill of his accounts, it appears, that he never gave above a few crowns to any that writ on the King's side; whereas the Emperor gave a benefice of five hundred ducats to one, and of six hundred crowns to another, that writ for the Queen. Yet, though on the one side men were poorly paid for their trouble, and on the other richly rewarded, yet the most eminent men were universally for the King.

It may here be added, that Erasmus, whose name was in the greatest esteem at that time, though he could not be prevailed with to write for the King, for fear of the Pope and the Emperor, in whose dominions he lived; yet he went so far as give great encomiums of the worth and virtues of Sir Thomas Boleyn, then Earl of Wiltshire, in his book '*De Preparatione ad Mortem*,' which he dedicates to him; and this was all the approbation that his circumstances made it convenient for him to shew of the King's cause.

On this general consent of the learned in his favour, the King was told, he might proceed to a second marriage, the first being of itself null and void; and, accordingly, he married Anne Boleyn, the twenty-fifth of January, 1533*.

Letters written by King Henry the Eighth to Anne Boleyn.

† LETTER I. Translated from the French, as follows.

MY mistress and friend, I and my heart put ourselves in your hands, begging you to recommend us to your favour, and not to let absence lessen your affection to us. For it were great pity to increase our pain, which absence alone does sufficiently, and more than I could ever have thought; bringing to my mind a point of astronomy, which is, † That, the farther the Moors are from us, the farther too is the sun, and yet his heat is the more scorching; so it is with our love, we are at a distance from one another, and yet it keeps its fervency, at least on my

* Hist. Reform. Part III.

† LETTRE I.

MA maitress^e & amie, moy & mon cœur s'en remettent en vos mains, vous suppliant les avoir pour recommander à votre bonne grace, & que par absence votre affection ne leur soit diminué. Car par augmenter leur peine ce seroit grande pitié, car l'absence leur fait assez, & plus que jamais je n'eusse pensé, en nous faisant rememboir un point d'astronomie qui est tel. Tant plus loing que les Mores sont, tant plus éloigné est le soleil, & non obstant plus fervent, aussi fait il de notre amour, par absence nous sommes éloignés, & néanmoins il garde sa ferveur au moins de notre costé. Ayant on espoir la pareille du votre, vous asseurant que de ma part l'ennuy de l'absence déjà m'est trop grande. Et quand je pense à l'augmentation d'icy que par force faut que je souffre, il m'est presque intolérable, si n'estoit la ferme espoir que j'aye de votre indissoluble affection vers moy; & par le vous rememboir aucune fois cela, & voyant que personnellement je ne puis estre en votre presence, chose la plus approchant à cela qui m'est possible au présent je vous envoie, cest à dire ma picture, mise en brasselettes à toute la devise que déjà savez, me souhaitant en leur place quant il vous plairoit, c'est de la main de
Vot^re serviteur & amy,

H. R.

† This is a literal translation of this sentence, but the meaning does not appear.

side. I hope the like on your part, assuring you, that the uncasiness of absence is already too severe for me; and when I think of the continuance of that which I must of necessity suffer, it would seem intolerable to me, were it not for the firm hope I have of your unchangeable affection for me; and now, to put you sometimes in mind of it, and seeing I cannot be present in person with you, I send you the nearest thing to that possible, that is, my picture set in bracelets, with the whole device, which you know already, wishing myself in their place, when it shall please you. This from the hand of

Your servant and friend,

H. REX.

‡ LETTER II. Translated from the French, as follows.

TO MY MISTRESS,

BECAUSE the time seems to me very long since I have heard from you, or concerning your health; the great affection I have for you has obliged me to send this bearer to be better informed, both of your health and pleasure: particularly, because, since my last parting with you, I have been told, that you have intirely changed the opinion in which I left you, and that you would neither come to court with your mother, nor any other way; which report, if true, I cannot enough wonder at, being persuaded in my own mind, that I have never committed any offence against you; and it seems a very small return for the great love I bear you, to be kept at a distance from the person and presence of a woman in the world that I value the most; and, if you love me with as much affection as I hope you do, I am sure the distance of our two persons would be a little uneasy to you. Though this does not belong so much to the mistress as the servant. Consider well, my mistress, how greatly your absence grieves me; I hope it is not your will that I should be so; but, if I heard for certain that you yourself desired it, I could do no other than complain of my ill fortune, and by degrees abate my great folly; and so, for want of time, I make an end of my rude letter, desiring you to give credit to this bearer in all he will tell you from me. Written by the hand of your intire servant.

‡ LETTRE II.

A ma Maîtresse,

POUR ce qui me semble le temps estre bien long depuis avoir ouy de votre bonne santé, & de vous la grande affection que j'ay vers vous, m'a persuadé de vous envoyer ce porteur pour estre mieux assestonné de votre santé & volonté, & pour ce que depuis mon partement de avec vous, on m'a averty que l'opinion en quoy le vous laissez est de tout asseure changé, & que vous vouliez venir en cour ni avec madame votre mere ny autrement aussi. Lequel raport estant vray, je ne sauroy assez émerveiller vœux que depuis je m'assure de vous n'avoir jamais faite faulx, & si me semble bien petite retribution pour le grand amour que je vous porte de nie éloigner & la personne & le personnage de la femme du monde, que plus j'estime, & si, vous m'aymes de si bonne affection comme j'espere, je suis sur que la éloignement de notre deux personnes vous seroit un peu ennuieuse, toute fois qu'il n'appertient pas tant à la maîtresse comme au serviteur. Penses bien ma mestresse que l'absence de vous fort me grief, esperant qu'il n'est pas votre volonté, que ainsi ce soit, mais si je entendoy pur verité que volontierement vous la desiriez, je non puis mais faire si non plaindre ma mauvaise fortune en rebattant peu à peu ma grande folie, & ainsi faulte de temps fay fin de ma rude lettre, suppliant de donner foy à ce porteur à ce qu'il vous dira de ma part. Escrit de la main du tout votre serviteur.

• LETTER III. Translated from the French, as follows.

THE uneasiness my doubts about your health gave me, disturbed and frightened me extremely; and I should not have had any quiet without hearing a certain account. But now, since you have yet felt nothing, I hope it is with you as with us; for, when we were at Waltan, two ushers, two valets de chambre, and your brother, master-treasurer, fell ill, and are now quite well; and since we are returned to your house at Hondson, we have been perfectly well, God be praised, and have not, at present, one sick person in the family; and, I think, if you would retire from the Surrey side, as we did, you would escape all danger. There is another thing that may comfort you, which is, that in truth, in this distemper few or no women have been taken ill; and besides, no person of our court, and few elsewhere have died of it. For which reasons I beg you, my intirely beloved, not to frighten yourself, nor to be too uneasy at our absence. For, wherever I am, I am yours, and yet we must sometimes submit to our misfortunes; for, whoever will struggle against fate, is generally but so much the farther from gaining his end. Wherefore, comfort yourself, and take courage, and make this misfortune as easy to you as you can, and I hope shortly to make you sing for joy of your recall. No more at present for lack of time, but that I wish you in my arms, that I might a little dispel your unreasonable thoughts. Written by the hand of him who is, and always will be yours,

My, H. REX, Lovely.

† LETTER IV. Translated from the French, as follows.

BY turning over in my thoughts the contents of your last letters, I have put myself into a great agony, not knowing how to understand

• LETTRE III.

L'ENNUYE que j'avois du doute de votre santé me troubla et egarra beaucoup, & n'eusse esté gère quiete sans avoir sue la certainté, mais puisque n'ancors n'aves rien sentu, j'espere qu'il est comme de nous. Car nous estant a Waltan, deux vushyres, deux verles de chambre, votre frere mestre tresorere ont tombé malades, & sont d'asture de toute sains, & depuis nous nous sommes reboutés en votre mesons de Hondson, la ou nous nous sommes bien trouves, sans aucun malade pour steure, Dieu soit loué, & je pense que si vous vous voulez retirer du lieu Surrye, comme nous fimes, vous le passerez sans danger, & aussi une autre chose vous peut conforter, car a la verité comme il visit, peu ou nulle fame'ont esté malade & que encore plus est nul de nostre Cort & peu ailleurs en meurit, par quoy je vous supplie ma entiere aymée de non avoir point de peure, ni de nostre absence vous trop ennuyere. Car ou que je soye, votre suis, & non obstant il faut alcune fois a telles fortunes obeyer. Car qui contre fortune veut luter en tel endroit est bien souvent tant plus éloigné, par quoy recomfortes vous & soyez hardy, & vuides le mal tant que vous pourrez. Et j'espere bientot de vous faire chanter le renvoye non plus pour astere de faute du temps, si non que je vous souhaite entre mes bras, pour vous oster ung peu de vos deresonable penes. Escrite de la main de iceluy, qui est & toujours sera votre,

ma H. R. aimable.

† LETTRE IV.

EN debatant de par moy le conteneue de vos Lettres, me suis mis en grande agonie non sachant comment les entendre ou a mon desavantage comme en des aucunes autres je les entendre, vous suppliant de bien bon cœur me vouloir certifiere appressent votre intention entiere touchant l'amour entre nous deux. Car necessité me contraind de pourchasser cette rponce, ayant esté

them, whether to my disadvantage, as I understood some others, or not; I beseech you now, with the greatest earnestness, to let me know your whole intention, as to the love between us two. For I must of necessity obtain this answer of you, having been above a whole year struck with the dart of love, and not yet sure whether I shall fail, or find a place in your heart and affection. This uncertainty has hindered me of late from naming you my mistress, since you only love me with an ordinary affection; but if you please to do the duty of a true and loyal mistress, and to give up yourself, body and heart, to me, who will be, as I have been your most loyal servant (if your rigour does not forbid me), I promise you that not only the name shall be given you, but also that I will take you for my mistress, casting off all others that are in competition with you, out of my thoughts and affection, and serving you only. I beg you to give an intire answer to this my rude letter, that I may know on what and how far I may depend. But, if it does not please you to answer in writing, let me know some place, where I may have it by word of mouth, and I will go thither with all my heart. No more for fear of tiring you. Written by the hand of him, who would willingly remain yours,

H. REX.

• LETTER V. Translated from the French, as follows.

FOR a present so valuable that nothing could be more (considering the whole of it) I return you my most hearty thanks; not only on account of the costly diamond, and the ship in which the solitary damsel is tossed about, but chiefly for the fine interpretation, and too humble submission which your goodness hath made to me. For I think it would be very difficult for me to find an occasion to deserve it, if I was not assisted by your great humanity and favour, which I have

plus qu'un annee atteinte du dard d'amour, non estant assure de faliere ou trouver place en votre coeur & affection. Certain le quel dernier point m'en a gardé depuis peu temps en ce de vous point nommer ma Maitresse avec ce que si vous ne m'aymes d'autre sort, que d'amour commune; mais si'il vou plait de fair l'office d'une vraye loyalle Mestres & Amye, & de vous dotner Corps & Coeur a moy qui vens estre & a este votre tres-loyal serviteur (si par rigueur ne me defendes) je vous promes que non seulement le non vous sera deu, mais aussi vous precdray pour ma Mestresse en rebuttant tres tantes autres aupres de vous hors de pense & d'affection, & de vous seulement servir; Vous suppliant me faire entiere response a cette ma rude Lettre, a quoy & en quoy me puis fier, & si'l ne vous plait de me faire response par escrite assure moi quelque lieu la ou je la pourroy avoir de bouche, & je m'y trouveray de bien bon coeur. Non plus de peur de vous ennuier. Escrite de la main de celuy, qui volentiers de meureroit votre,

H. R.

• LETTRE V.

DE l'estrene si belle que rien plus (notant le tout) je vous remercy tres cordialement, non seulement pour le beau Diamant & navira en quoy la seulette Damoiselle est tourmenté, mais principalement pour la belle interpretation, & trop humble submission, par votre benignité en cette casse use, bien pensant, que meriter cela per occasion me seroit fort difficile, si me n'estoit eu ayde votre grande humanité & faveur pour laquelle j'ay cherché, cherche, & chercherois par toutes bontés à moy possibles d'y demeurer en quelle mon espoir a mis son immuable intention qui dit, *aut illis aut nulli*. Les demonstrations de votre affection sont telles, les belles mots de lettre si cordialement couchés qui m'obligent à tout jamais vrayement de vous honorer, aimer & servir, vous suppliant le vouloir continuer en ce mesme ferme & constant propos, vous assurant que de ma part je l'augmenteray plusot que la faire reciproque, si loyauté du cœur le peut avancer. Vous priant aussi que si aucunement je vous ay per cy devant offensé que vous me donnez la mesme absolution que vous demandes, vous assurant que

sought, do seek, and will always seek to preserve by all the services in my power; and this is my firm intention and hope, according to the motto, *aut illic aut nullibi* (either here, or no where). The demonstrations of your affection are such, the fine thoughts of your letter so cordially expressed, that they oblige me for ever to honour, love, and serve you sincerely, beseeching you to continue in the same firm and constant purpose; and assuring you, that, on my part, I will not only make you a suitable return, but out-do you in loyalty of heart, if it be possible. I desire you also, that, if at any time before this I have in any sort offended you, you would give me the same absolution which you ask, assuring you, that hereafter my heart shall be dedicated to you alone, I wish my body was so too; God can do it, if he pleases; to whom I pray once a day for that end, hoping that at length my prayers will be heard. I wish the time may be short, but I shall think it long, till we shall see one another. Written by the hand of the secretary, who in heart, body, and will, is

Your loyal

and most assured Servant,

H. no other (AB) seeks Rex.

LETTER VI. Original.

The reasonable request of your last letter, with the pleasure I also take to know them, causes me to send you now this newes. The legat, which we most desire, arrived at Paris on Sunday or Monday last past; so that I trust, by the next Monday, to hear of his arrival at Calais: and then, I trust, within a while after, to enjoy that which I have so long longed for, to God's pleasure, and our both comforts. No more to you, at this present, mine awne darling, for lake of time; but that I would you were in myne arms, or I in yours; for I think it long since I kyst you. Written after the killing of an hart, at XI of the clock: minding with God's grace to-morrow, mightily tymely to kill another, by the hand of him, which I trust shortly shall be yours.

HENRY R.

LETTER VII. Original.

DARLING, though I have skant leasure, yet, remembreing my promise, I thought it convenient to certifie you brevely, in what case our affaires stand. As touching a lodging for you, we have gotten wone by my Lord Cardinal's means; the like whercof could not have been found

d'oravant a vous seule mon cœur sera dedié, desirant fort que le corps aynai pouvoit, Dieu le peut faire si luy plait, a qui je supplie une fois le jour pour ce faire. Esperant que a la long ma priere sera ouïe, desyrant le temps bref, pensant le long jusques au reveue d'entre nous deux. Escrite de la main du Secretere qui en Cœur, Corps, & Volonte est

Voire loyal & plus assure serviteur,

H. autre (AB) ne cherche R.

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hereabouts for all causes, as this bearer shall more shew you. As touching our other affairs, I ensure you there can be no more done, or more diligence used, nor all manner of dangers better both foreseen and provided for, so that I trust it shall be hereafter to both our comforts, the specialities whereof were both to long to be writne, and hardly by messenger to be declared. Wherefor, till you repaire hydder, I keep something in store, trusting it shall not be long to. For I have caused my Lord your father to make his provisions with speed. And thus, for lake of tyme, darling, I make an end of my letter, writeing with the hand of him, which I would were yours,

H. R.

• LETTER VIII. Translated from the French, as follows.

THOUGH it does not belong to a gentleman to take his lady in the place of a servant, however, in following your desires, I willingly grant it, that so you may be more agreeably in the place that you yourself have chosen, than you have been in that which I gave you. I shall be heartily obliged to you, if you please to have some remembrance of me.

6 N. R. 1. de R. O. M. V. E. Z.

HENRY REX.

LETTER IX. Original.

THE cause of my writeing at this time (good sweetheart) is wonly to understand off your good health and prosperity, whereof to know I would be as glad as in manner myne awne, praying God, that, and it be his pleasure, to send us shortly togydder, for I promise you I long for it, howbeit, trust it shall not be long to; and seeing my darling is absent, I can no less do, than to send her some fleshe representing my name, which is harts fleshe for Henry, prognosticating, that hereafter, God willing, you must enjoy some of mine; which, if he pleased, I wolde were now. As touching your sisters matter, I have caused Walter Welche to write to my Lord mine mind therein, whereby I trust that Eve shall not have power to deceave Adam. For surely, whatsoever is said, it cannot so stand with his honour, but that he must needs take her his natural daughter now in her extreame necessity. No more to you at this tyme, mine own darling, but that with a wishe I would we were togydder one evening, with the hand of your,

H. R.

• LETTRE VIII.

NEANMOINS qu'il n'appartiene pas a ung gentilhomme pour prendre sa dame au lieu de servante toute fois en suivant vos desirs volontiers le vous outroyeray si per cela vous passiez trouver moins ingrante en la place per vous choisie, qui avez este en la place par moy donne en vous meriant trescordialement si vous plete encore avoir quelque souvenance de moy, 6. N. R. 1. De R. O. M. V. C. Z.

HENRY R.

• LETTER X. Translated from the French, as follows.

ALTHOUGH, my mistress, you have not been pleased to remember the promise which you made me when I was last with you, which was, that I should hear news of you, and have an answer to my last letter; yet I think it belongs to a true servant (since otherwise he can know nothing) to send to enquire of his mistress's health; and, for to acquit myself of the office of a true servant, I send you this letter, begging you to give me an account of the state you are in, which I pray God may continue as long in prosperity, as I wish my own; and, that you may the oftener remember me, I send you, by this bearer, a buck killed late last night by my hand, hoping, when you eat of it, you will think on the hunter; and thus, for want of more room, I will make an end of my letter. Written by the hand of your servant, who often wishes you in your brother's room.

H. REX.

† LETTER XI. Translated from the French, as follows.

THE approach of the time, which I have so long expected, rejoices me so much, that it seems almost ready come. However, the intire accomplishment cannot be till the two persons meet, which meeting is more desired by me than any thing in this world; for what joy can be greater upon earth, than to have the company of her who is my dearest friend? Knowing, likewise, that she does the same on her part, the thinking on which gives great pleasure. You may judge what an effect the presence of that person must have on me, whose absence has made a greater wound in my heart than either words or writing can express, and which nothing can cure but her return: I beg you, dear mistress, to tell your father, from me, that I desire him to hasten the appointment by two days, that he may be in court before the Old Term, or at farthest on the day prefixed; for otherwise I shall think, he will not do the lover's turn, as he said he would, nor answer my expectation. No more at present, for want of time; hoping shortly that by word of mouth I shall tell

• LETTRE X.

TOUTE fois ma mestres qu'il ne vous pleu de souvenir de la promesse que vous me fîtes quant je estoy dernièrement vers vous, c'est à dire de sçavoir ce vos bonnes nouvelles & de sçavoir response de ma dernière lettre, neanmoins il me semble qu'il appartienne au vray serviteur [voyant que autrement il ne peut rien sçavoir] d'envoyer sçavoir la salute de sa mestres & pur me acquitter de l'office de vray serviteur, je vous envoie cette lettre, vous suppliant de me avertir de votre prosperité, la quelle je prie a Dieu qu'il soit aussi long comme je voudroy la mienne; & pur vous faire en corps plus souvent souvenir de moy, je vous envoie par ce porteur ung boucke tué hier soir bien tarde de ma main: Esperant que quaud vous en mangerez il vous souviendra du chasseur & ainsi a faute d'espace je feray fin a ma lettre. Escrite de la main de votre serviteur qui bien souvent vous souhaitte au lieu de votre frere.

H. R.

† LETTRE XI.

APPROCHANT du temps qui m'a si longement duré me rejoye tante qu'il me semble presque déjà venu. Neanmoins l'entier accomplissement ne se perfera tant que les deux personnes se assemblent, laquelle assemble est plus desiré en mon endroit que nulle chose mondaine, car que re-

you the rest of my sufferings from your absence. Written by the hand of the secretary, who wishes himself at present privately with you, and who is, and always will be

Your loyal

and most assured Servant.

H. no other (AB) seeks Rex.

• LETTER XII. Translated from the French, as follows.

THERE came to me in the night the most afflicting news possible. For I have reason to grieve upon three accounts. First, because I heard of the sickness of my mistress, whom I esteem more than all the world, whose health I desire as much as my own, and the half of whose sickness I would willingly bear to have her cured. Secondly, because I fear I shall suffer yet longer that tedious absence which has hitherto given me all possible uncasiness, and, as far as I can judge, is like to give me more. I pray God he would deliver me from so troublesome a tormentor. The third reason is, because the physician, in whom I trust most, is absent at present, when he could do me the greatest pleasure. For I should hope by him, and his means, to obtain one of my principal joys in this world, that is, my mistress cured; however, in default of him, I send you the second, and the only one left, praying God that he may soon make you well, and then I shall love him more than ever. I beseech you to be governed by his advices with relation to your illness; by your doing which I hope shortly to see you again, which will be to me a greater cordial than all the precious stones in the world. Written by the secretary who is, and always will be,

Your loyal

and most assured Servant,

H. (AB) R.

joyement peut estre si grand en ce monde d'avoir la compagnie de celle qui est la plus chere amy, sachant aussi qu'elle fait la pareille de son costé, la pensée du quel me fait grand plaisir: Juges adonque, que fera le personnage l'absence du quel m'a fait plus grand mal au cœur que ni langue ni escriture peuvent exprimer, & que jamais autre chose excepté cela peut remedier, vous suppliait ma Mestresse de dire a Monsieur votre pere de ma part que je luy prie d'avancer de deux jours le temps assigné, qu'il peut estre en Court devant le vieille terme, ou au moins sur le jour presché, car autrement, je penseray qu'il ne feroit point le tour des amoureux qu'il disoit, ni accordant a mon expectation. Non plus d'asteure de faulte de temps. Esperant bientote que de bouche vous diray le reste des peines par moy en votre absence soutenues. Escrite de la main du secretaire qui se soubaite d'asteure privement apres de vous & qui est & qui a jamais sera

Votre loyal & plus assure Serveur

H. autre (AB) ne cherche R.

• LETTRE XII.

NOUVELLES me sont en nuit soudonement venues les plus deplaisantes qui me pourroient avenir. Car pour trois Causes touchant icelle faut il que je lamente: la premiere pour: entendre la Maladie de ma mestresse, laquelle je estime plus que tout le monde, la santé de quelle je desire autant comme la mienne, & vouldoy voloutiers porter la moitié du votre pour vous avoir guery. La seconde pour la crainte que j'ay d'estre encore plus longuement pressé de mon ennuyéux absens qui jusques icy m'a fait toute l'ennuyé a lui possible, & quand encore puis juger & deliberer de py faire, priant Dieu qu'il m'en desasse de si importante rebelle. La troisieme pour ce que le medecin en qui plus me fie est absens asteure quant il me pourroit plus grand plaisir. Car j'espereray par luy & ses moyens de obtenir une de mes principales joyes en ce

LETTER XIII. Original.

SINCE your last letters, myne awne darling, Water Welche, master Brown, John Care, Yrion of Brearton, John Cocke the pothecary, be fallen of the swett in this house, and thankyd be God all well recovered, so that as yet the plague is not fully ceased here; but I trust shortly it shall by the mercy of God; the rest of us yet be well, and I trust shall passe it, either not to have it, or at the least as easily as the rest have don. As touching the matter of Wylton, my Lord Cardinal hath had the nunys before him, and examined them, master Bell being present, which hath certified me that for a truth, that she hath confessed her self (which we would have had abbesse) to have had two children by two sundry priests; and, further, since hath been kept by a servant of the Lord Broke, that was, and that not long ago. Wherefor I would not for all the gold in the world clog your conscience nor mine to make her ruler of a house which is of so ungodly demanour; nor I trust you would not, that neither for brother nor sister I should so destain mine honour or conscience: and as touching the pryoresse, or dame Ellenors eldest sister, though there is not any evident case proved against them, and that the pryoresse is so old, that of many years she could not be as she was named; yet notwithstanding, to do you pleasure, I have don that neither of them shall have it, but that some other good and well disposed woman shall have it: whereby the house shall be the better reformed (whereof, I ensure you, it had much need) and God much the better served. As touching abode at Hever, do therein as best shall like you, for you know best what aire doth best with you; but I would it were come thereto (if it pleased God) that neither of us need care for that, for I ensure you I think it long. Suche is fallen sick of the swett, and therefore I send you this bearer, because I think you long to hear tydings from us, as we do in likewise from you. Writing with the hand,

De votre seul
(of yours only)

H. R.

LETTER XIV. Original.

DARLING, these shall be only to advertise you, that this bearer, and his fellow, be dispatched with as many things to compasse our matter, and to bring it to passe as our wits could imagine or devise; which brought to passe, as I trust, by their diligence, it shall be, shortly, you and I shall have our desired end, which should be more to my

monde; cest a dire, ma Mestresse guerrie. Neanmoins en faute de luy je vous envoie le seconde & le tout, priant Dieu que bientot il vous peut rendre saine, & adunques je l'aymeray plus que jamais, vous priant estre gouverné par ses avis touchant votre Maladie, en quoy faisant j'espere bientot vous veiroie qui me sera plus grand Cordiale que toutes les pierres pretieuses du monde. Ecrite du secretaire qui est, & a j'amaïs sera

Votre loyal & plus assuré Serviteur,

H. (AB) B.

198 LOVE-LETTERS FROM KING HENRY THE EIGHTH

hearts ease, and more quietnesse to my minde, than any other thing in this world, as with Gods grace shortly I trust shall be proved, but not so soon as I would it were: yet I will assure you there shall be no tyme lost, that may be wone, and further cannot be done, for *ultra posse non est esse*. Keep him not too long with you, but desire him for your sake to make the more speed, for, the sooner we shall have word from him, the sooner shall our matter come to pass; and thus, upon trust of your short repair to London, I make an end of my letter, mine awne sweetheart. Writne with the hand of him which desyreth as much to be yours, as you do to have him.

H. R.

LETTER XV. Original.

DARLING, I heartily recommend me to you, assertaining you, that that I am not a little perplexed with such things as your brother shall on my part declare unto you, to whom I pray you give full credence, for it were too long to write. In my last letters I writ to you that I trusted shortly to see you, which is better known at London than with any that is about me, whereof I not a little mervelle, but lake of descreet handling must needs be the cause thereof. No more to you at this tyme, but that I trust shortly, our meeting shall not depend upon other mens light handlings but upon your awne. Writne with the hand of him that longeth to be yours,

H. R.

LETTER XVI. Original.

MYNE awne sweetheart, this shall be to advertise you of the great elingness that I find here since your departing; for I assure you, methinketh the tyme longer since your departing now last then I was wont to do a whole fortnight. I think your kindness and my fervence of love causeth it; for otherwise I would not thought it possible, that for so little a while it should have grieved me. But now that I am comeing towards you, methinketh my pains been half released, and also I am right well comforted, insomuch that my book maketh substantially for my matter, in writing whereof I have spent above IIII hours this day, which caused me now to write the shorter letter to you at this tyme, because of same payne in my head, wishing myself (specially an evening) in my sweethearts arms whose pritty duckys I trust shortly to kysse. Writne with the hand of him that was, is, and shall be yours, by his will.

H. R.

LETTER XVII. Original.

TO informe you what joye it is to me to understand of your comfortableness with reasone, and of the suppressing of your inutile and

vain thoughts and fantasies with the bridle of reasone, I assure you all the good of this world could not counterpoise for my satisfaction the knowledge and certainty thereof; wherefore, good sweetheart, continue the same not only in this, but in all your doings hereafter, for thereby shall come both to you and me the greatest quietnesse that may be in this world. The cause why this bearer stayeth so long, is the business that I have had to dresse up geer for you, which I trust ere long to see you occupye, and then I trust to occupye yours, which shall be recompence enough to me for all my pains and labours. The unfayned sickness of this well-willing legate doth somewhat retard his accesse to your person; but I trust veryly, when God shall send him health, he will with diligence recompence his demurre, for I know well where he hath said (lamenting the saying, and brute (Noyse) that he shall be thought imperial) that it shall be well known in this matter, that he is not imperial. And this for lake of tyme farewell. Writne with the hand which faine would be yours, and so is the heart.

IL B.

APPENDIX.

*Two Letters from Ann Boleyn, to Cardinal Wolsey.**

LETTER I.

MY Lord, in my most humblest wise that my heart can think, I desire you to pardon me that I am so hold, to trouble you with my simple and rude writing, esteeming it to proceed from her, that is much desirous to know that your grace does well, as I perceive by this bearer that you do. The which I pray God long to continue, as I am most bound to pray; for I do know the great pains and troubles that you have taken for me, both day and night, is never like to be recompenced on my part, but alonely in loving you, next unto the king's grace, above all creatures living. And I do not doubt, but the daily proofs of my deeds shall manifestly declare and affirm my writing to be true, and I do trust you do think the same. My Lord, I do assure you, I do long to hear from you news of the legate; for I do hope, and they come from you, they shall be very good, and I am sure you desire it as much as I, and more, and it were possible, as I know it is not: And thus, remaining in a stedfast hope, I make an end of my letter, written with the hand of her that is most bound to be,

* Hist. Ref. Part. I. p. 55.

Postscript by King Henry.

THE Writer of this letter would not cease till she had caused me likewise to set to my hand; desiring you, though it be short, to take it in good part. I ensure you, there is neither of us, but that greatly desireth to see you, and much more joyous to hear that you have scaped this plague so well, trusting the fury thereof to be passed, specially with them that keepeth good diet, as I trust you do. The not hearing of the legate's arrival in France, causeth us somewhat to muse; notwithstanding, we trust by your diligence and vigilancy (with the assistance of Almighty God) shortly to be eased out of that trouble. No more to you at this time; but that I pray God send you as good health and prosperity, as the writer would.

By your
 loving Sovereign and friend,
 Henry K.
 Your humble Servant,
 ANNE BOLEYN.

 LETTER II.

MY Lord, in my most humble wise that my poor heart can think, I do thank your grace for your kind letter, and for your rich and goodly present, the which I shall never be able to deserve without your help, of the which I have hitherto had so great plenty, that, all the days of my life, I am most bound, of all creatures, next the King's grace, to love and serve your grace; of the which, I beseech you, never to doubt, that ever I shall vary from this thought, as long as any breath is in my body. And, as touching your grace's trouble with the sweat, I thank our Lord, that them that I desired and prayed for are scaped, and that is the King and you; not doubting, but that God has preserved you both for great causes known alonely of his high wisdom. And as for the coming of the legate, I desire that much; and, if it be God's pleasure, I pray him to send this matter shortly to a good end, and then I trust, my lord, to recompence part of your great pains. In the which, I must require you, in the mean time, to accept my good will in the stead of the power, the which must proceed partly from you, as our lord knoweth; to whom I beseech to send you long life, with continuance in honour. Written with the hand of her that is most bound to be

Your humble and
 obedient Servant,
 ANNE BOLEYN.

Queen Anne Boleyn's last Letter to King Henry.*

SIR.

YOUR grace's displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favour) by such an one whom you know to be mine antient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command.

But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And, to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn; with which name and place I could willingly have contented my self, if God and your grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find; for, the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other subject. You have chosen me, from a low estate, to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honour, good your grace let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter. Try me, good king; but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges: yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame; then shall you see, either mine innocency cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that, whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto: your grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein.

But, if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness; then I desire of God, that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and

* Records of Hist. Ref. Part I. Page 154.

cruel usage of me, at his general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment, I doubt not, (whatsoever the world may think of me) mine innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared.

My last and only request shall be, that my self may only bear the burthen of your grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight; if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request; and I will so leave to trouble your grace any further, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower this sixth of May.

Your most Loyal and ever
Faithful Wife,

ANNE BOLEYN.

Machiavel's Vindication of himself, &c. see p. 78, &c.

A

BREFE COMEDY, OR ENTERLUDE,

OF

IOHAN BAPTYSTES

PREACHYNGE IN THE WYLDERNESSE,

Openynge the craftye assaultes of the hypocrytes,* with the gloryouse
Baptyme of the Lord Jesus Christ.

COMPYLED BY IOHAN BALE, ANNO M.D.XXXVIII †.

*The worde of God came unto Iohan the sonne of Zachary in the wyldernesse.
And he resorted into all the coastes about Iordane, and preached the
baptysme of repentaunce for the remysseyon of synnes. Luke iii.*

John Bale, the compiler of the following Comedy or Interlude, was the son of Henry Bale, of Cove in Suffolk. Born in the year 1495; entered among the Carmelite Friars at Norwich, at twelve years old, and went from thence to be a

* Alluding to the Popish priests, friars, &c. who, like the Pharisees and Hypocrites of old, were determined, at all events, to prevent the dawning of the Gospel, at the beginning of the Reformation.

† The year in which Henry the Eighth declared his diagnet with the see of Rome,

schollar at Jesus College in Cambridge, still remaining, as he himself declares, in the most profound ignorance of all true learning, and greatest blindness of mind, without any tutor or patron, till the word of God began to appear in its proper lustre, and the churches were brought back to the pure fountains of all divinity; and then, by the means of the most noble the Lord Wentworth, he was induced to leave the monstrous corruptions of Popery, and to embrace the purity of the Gospel. Soon after his conversion, he married his wife Dorothy, who also was zealous for the true religion; but he had been utterly undone by Dr. Lee Archbishop of York, and Stokley Bishop of London, had not my Lord Cromwell screened him from their persecutions; after whose death he retired to the Low Countries; from whence he was recalled by Edward the Sixth, who made him Bishop of Ossory in Ireland, Feb. 2, 1552. But, before he had been consecrated six months, he was obliged to fly from thence to escape the persecutions of Queen Mary, who then ascended the English Throne; and, embarking at Dublin, he was taken by the Pirates and sold. But he obtained his ransom, and proceeded to Basil, where he employed himself in his studies till recalled by Queen Elizabeth, who gave him a Prebend of Canterbury; upon which he was rather contented to live, than to return any more to Ireland. He died in November, 1563. He published many Books both in Latin and in English, in Prose and Verse, amongst which this Comedy is one of the scarcest, and gives us a true Idea of the Stage in those times, when it appears the first reformers endeavoured to expose the errors of the Roman Church, and to propagate the Gospel, even in those places which had been remarkable for vice; for, I apprehend, this as well as some other Interludes, composed by him, were the productions of his younger days just after his conversion, as it more particularly appears in the conclusion of this Comedy; and it is farther valuable, as it is in no catalogue of plays that ever I saw, and gives us a specimen of the most refined part of our language in King Henry the Eighth's Reign. To conclude, he was a man of learning, a constant preacher and good antiquary, but a most bitter writer against the Church of Rome, inasmuch that he has drawn the whole herd of writers on that side the question upon himself in most bitter invectives, when ever they mention him; and his books are particularly prohibited in the Expurgatory Index, published in folio, at Madrid, Anno 1667.

INTERLOCUTORES.

Pater cœlestis, i. e. <i>The heavenly</i>	Jesus Christus, <i>Jesus Christ.</i>
<i>Father.</i>	Turba vulgaris, <i>The common</i>
Ioannes Baptista, <i>John Baptist.</i>	<i>People.</i>
Publicanus, <i>The Publican.</i>	Miles armatus, <i>The Soldier,</i>
Pharisæus, <i>The Pharisee,</i>	Sadducæus, <i>The Sadducee,</i>

BALEUS PROLOCUTOR.

PRÆFATIO.

THE kyngedome of Christ, wyll now * begynne to sprynge,
 Which is the preacheinge, of his newe testament†.
 Now shall Messias, which is our heaueonly kynge.
 Apere to the worlde, in manhode cuydent.
 Whose wholsom commynge, Iohan Baptist wyll preuent,

* Our King being ready to shake off the Popish superstition.
 † In opposition to the traditions of the church of Rome.

Preachynge repentaunce, hys hygh waye to prepare,
Whych now we entende, before yow to declare.

The lawe and Prophetes, draweth now fast to an ende,
Which were but shaddowes, and figures of hys comynge.
Now shall he approche, that all grace wyll extende,
Of cleane remysyon, our caucion will he brynge,
To pacyfye God, hys father cuerlastynge.
By sheadynge hys bloude, all thynges shall he renewe,
Makyng one people, of the Pagane and the Iewe.

For so moch as we, are geuen to noueltees*,
Of very nature. Lete vs our selues applye,
To accepte these newes, and heauenlye verytees †,
Which are for our synne, most souerayne remedyc,
And for our sowles helthe, so hyglyc necessarye.
That without knowledge, of them, we can not haue,
A true fayth in him, which dyed our sowles to saue.

Whan man had synned, the harde preceptes of the lawe,
Moses proclaimed, the prophetes gaue monycyons.
But non of them all, to the heauenly kyngedome drawe,
Tyll Iohan Baptist come, with clerar exposycyons.
The publycanes then, leaue their yll dysposycyons,
Vnto Christ to come, and hys most holy Gospell,
Where the frowarde sectes, contynuallye rebell.

Ye shall se Christ here, submyt hymself to baptysm,
Of Iohan hys seruauant, in most meke humble wyse.
In poorenesse of sprete, that we shuld folowe hym,
Whose lowlye doctryne, the hypocrytes despyse.
Folowe hym therfor, and shurne their deuylysh practyse.
Be gentyll in hart, and beare your good intent,
Towards hys Gospell, and godlye testament,

INCIPIT COMEDIA.

Ioannes Baptista.

AS a messenger, I come to geue yow warnynge,
That your lorde, your kynge, your sauer and redemer,
With helth, grace and peace, to yow ys hydre comynge.
Applye ye therfor, delaye the tyme no longer,
But prepare hys waye, makyng the rough pathes smother.
Stryke downe the mountaynes, fyll vp the valleyes agayne,
For all men shall se, their mercyfull sauer playne.

* Traditions.

† Preached by the reformers.

The seate of Daud, whych is the father heauenly,
 He cometh to possesse, as a ruler spirytuall.
 And in Iacobs howse, to reigne contynually,
 Whych is of hys church, the nombre unyuersall,
 Not only of Iewes, but faythfull beleuers all.
 That congregacyon, will he euermore defende,
 And of hys kyngedome, shall neuer be an ende.

Turba vulgaris.

At these newe tydynges, whom thys good man doth brynge,
 My hart within me, for ioye doth leape and sprynge.

Publicanus.

O myghty maker, what confort to vs is thys?
 Thyne own sonne to sende, to reforme that is amys.

Miles armatus.

Soch confort to me, as I can not expresse,
 Of tungen though I had, thre thousande and no lesse.

Ioannes Baptista.

Approche nyghar fryndes, and tell me what ye saye.

Turba vulgaris.

Ye tolde us, me thought, we shuld prepare a waye,
 For the Lordes commynge. Was not your saynge so?

Ioannes Baptista.

My preachynge was it, from it can I not go.
 For grounded it is, on Gods myghty worde trulye,
 Vttered longe afore, by the prophet Esaye.

Publicanus.

I praye ye tell vs, what ye meane by that waye?

Ioannes Baptista.

Your conuersacyon, which is in a sore decaye.

Laye apart your wrathe, your couetousnesse and pryde,
 Your lustes unlauffull, with your other synnes besyde.
 Knowledge your trespass, and cease from doynge yll,
 Flee mennys tradycions, and Gods hygh lawes fulfyll.
 Make ye strayght the pathes, lete euery man haue hys,
 In no wyse reuenge, whan men vse ye amys.

Seke God your father, in sprete and veryte,
 But not in shaddowes, as doth the Pharyse,
 Whych by outwarde workes, loketh to be justyfied,
 And neyther by faythe, nor by Gods worde wyll be tryed.
 Euery depe valleye, to moch more hygthe wyll growe,
 The mountaynes and hylles, shall be brought downe full lowe.

Miles armatus.

What meane ye by that? I praye ye hartely tell.

Ioannes Baptista.

Mekenesse wyll aryse, and pryde abate by the Gospell:

The symple fysher, shall now be notable,
 The spirytuall Pharyse, a wretche detestable.
 The wyse and lerned, the idyote wyll deface,
 Synners shall excede, the outward sayntes in grace.
 Abiectes of the worlde, in knowledge wyll excell,
 The consecrate Rabyes, by vertu of the Gospell.

The poore man by faythe, shall very clerly demc,
 The clause that wyll harde unto the lower seme.
 All that afore tyme, vntowarde ded remayne,
 The rule of Gods worde, wyll now make strayght and plaync,
 The couctouse iourer shall now be lyberall,
 The malycouse man wyll now to charyte fall.

The wraatheful hater shall now loue crnestlyc,
 To temperate measure men wyll change glotonye.
 Pryde shall so abate, that mekenesse wyll preuayle,
 Lechery shall lye down, and clenness set up sayle.
 Slouthfulnesse shall slyde, and dylygenec aryse,
 To folowe the truthe, in godly exercyse.

Prepare ye therefor, so fast as euer ye can,
 To thys lorde whych will, renue ye euery man,
 In case ye repent the folye that is past.

Omnes una.

Sory are we for it, and wyll be to our last.

Ioannes Baptista.

What are ye? tell me, ych persone seuerallye.

Turba vulgaris.

I do represent the commen people of Jewry.
 In sweate of my browes, my lyuyng I procure,
 By daylye labours, and mynde so to endure.

Publicanus.

A publicane I am, and moch do lyve by pollage,
 For my offyce is, to gather taxe and toilage.
 Moch am I hated, of the Pharyse and Scrybe,
 For axyng trybute, it iudgyng vnlauffull brybe.

Miles armatus,

A souldyour I am, or valeaunt man of warre,
 The lande to defende, and hys enemyes to conquare,
 Whan my wages are too lyttle for my expence,
 To get a botye, I spare no vyolence.

Ioannes Baptista.

For Gods loue repent, and turne ye to the lorde,
 That by him ye maye, to hys kyngedome be restorde.

Ad Deum conuertitur turba vulgaris, & peccata sic confitetur.

Turba vulgaris.

I knowe blessed lorde, by playne experiment,
Most nygh vnto helth, is he that sheweth hys sore.
Wherefor I confesse, in place here euydent,
The synnefull lyuynge, that I haue vsd afore.
A wretched synnar I haue bene euermore,
Vnthankfull to thee, to man vncharytable,
And in all my workes, both false and deceyuable.

Hunc tunc baptizat Ioannes flectentem genua.

Ioannes Baptista.

Then take my baptyme, whych is a preparacyon,
Vnto faythe in Christ, wherin rest your saluacyon.
To Christes Gospell your conuersacyon applye,
And lerne by thys sygne, with hym to lyue and dye.

Turba vulgaris.

Myne vsage (ye knowe) is outwarde and externe,
Some godly preceptes for that fayne wolde I lerne.

Ioannes Baptista.

I wyll not moue ye to offer calfe nor gote,
But to charyte, whych is of hyghar note.
With no sacryfye is God more hyghly pleased,
Than with that good hart, wherby the poore is eased,
For that he accepteth, as though hymselfe it had.

Turba vulgaris.

Thys helthsome counsell, maketh my hart ioyfull and glad,

Ioannes Baptista.

He that hath two coates, letc hym geue one to the nedye,
And he that hath vytayle, lykewyse releue the hungrye.
Helpe alwayes the poore, with herbour, foode and aparell,
With socour, solace, with doctryne and ghostlye counsell.
These thynges done in faythe maye mollyfye Gods yre.

Turba vulgaris.

Farwell to ye then, for I haue my desyre.

Eo exeunte, publicanus coram Deo peccatum agnoscit.

Publicanus.

Thy worde blessed lorde, by this good man declared,
Causeth my conscyence of synne to haue remorse.
And to remembre, how that I haue not spared
The poore to oppresse, by crueltie and force.
I consydre yet, how I oft haue bene horce,
Cryenge for custome, exactynge more than due,
To my neyber lorde I haue bene full vntrue.

Illum tunc baptista Ioannes incuruantem genua.

Ioannes Baptista.

Be baptysed then, in token of repentaunce,
And take to ye faythe, with a newe remembraunce.
Thynkynge by thys sygne, ye are from hensfourth bounde
Vyces to resyst, acceptynge Christ for your grounde.

Publicanus.

Geue me some precept, or rule, whereon to staye,
That I, in my sort, my lorde God maye obaye.

Ioannes Baptista.

I wyll not bynde ye, your substaunce to dyspence,
But I requyre yow, to abstayne from vyolence.
Though your offyce be to gather and to pull,
Yet be no tyrauntes, but rather mercyfull.
A good waye thys were, for your estate, I thynke.

Publicanus.

Perfourme it I shall, I wolde els I shuld synke.

Ioannes Baptista.

For your peyns ye haue appoynted by the emproure
Your stypende wages, no creature ye ought to deuoure;
For Gods loue therfor, do not man iniury
In taking tollage, aduauntage to haue therby.
Non otherwyse than, it is to yow prescrybed.

Publicanus.

By me from hens fourth, nought from the poore shall be brybed.

Eo decedente, Miles sua confitetur scelera.

Miles armatus.

Experyence doth shewe, where as are good monycyons,
Maye be auoyded all ieopardy and daunger.
At thys mannys counsell, all synnefull disposcyons
I wyll therfor change to a lyfe (I hope) moch better.
No man so wycked, nor so farre out of order,
As I wretche haue bene, in murther, rape and theste.
Swete lorde forgue me, and those wayes shall be leste.

Illum tunc baptizat Ioannes in genua procumbentem.

Ioannes Baptista.

Thys baptyme of myne, to yow doth represent
Remyssyon in Christ, in case your synnes ye repent.
In hys blessed deathe, it assureth yow of grace,
Sealyng your passport, vnto the hyghar place.

Miles armatus.

My maker I thanke, of hys most specyall gyfte,
For my vsage now, shewe me some ghostly dryte.

Ioannes Baptista.

Of warre ye haue lawes, vse them with ryght alwayes,
Do no spoyle nor rape, take no vnlauffull prayes.
The offyce ye haue, for the publyque vnyte,
Mynde to exercyse, to the landes tranquyllyte.
Ye maye thus please God, in doyng your feate, ryght well.

Miles armatus.

Father go forwarde, for I moch delyght your counsell.

Ioannes Baptista.

For the publike peace, Gods lawe doth yow permyt,
Stronge weapon to weare, but in no case to abuse it.
If ye mynde therfor, of God to auoyde the daunger,
For couetouse lucre, hurt neyther frynde nor stranger.
But with your wages, yche man be satysfyed.

Miles armatus.

Prayse be to the Lorde, I am moch edfyed.
Eo locum deserente, intrant Pharisæus ac Sadducæus. Interim Ioannes
Baptista alloquitur populum.

Ioannes Baptista.

Of Christ to tell yow, with the dyfference of our baptym,
 I washe in water; but remyssyon is of him.
 My baptyme is a sygne of outwarde mortyfyenge,
 A grace is hys baptyme of inwarde quyckenynge.
 The baptyme of me is the baptyme of repentaunce.
 Hys baptyme in faythe bryngeth full recoueraunce.

My doctryne is harde, and full of threttenynges,
 Hys wordes are demure, replete with wholsom blessynges.
 I feare the conscience, with terroure of the lawe,
 He by the gospell mannys sowle wyll gentlylly drawe.
 A knowledge of synne the baptyme of me do teache,
 Forgeuennesse by faythe wyll he here after preache.

I open the sore, he bryngeth the remedye,
 I sturre the conscience, he doth all pacyfy.
 As Esaye sayth, I am the cryars voyce,
 But he is the worde, and message of reioyce.
 The lanterne I am, he is the very lyght,
 I prepare the waye, but he maketh all thynges perfyght,
Pharisæus. Insicem alloquuntur.

As is said abroad, thys fellowe preacheth newe lernynge*,
 Lete vs dyssemble, to vnderstande hys meanynge.

Sadducæus.

Wele pleased I am, that we examyne hys doynge,
 Hys doctrine perauenture myght hyndre els our lyuynge,
 But in our workynge, we must be sumwhat craftye.

Pharisæus.

Tush, thou shalt se me, vndermynde hym very fynelye.
Et uertens se ad Ioannem, dolose illum alloquitur.
 God blesse ye fater, and prospere your busynesse.

Ioannes Baptista.

Ye are welcome both, so that ye mynde anye goodnesse.

Sadducæus.

No harme we intende, ye maye trust vs and ye wyll.

Ioannes Baptista.

Ye shewe to the worlde, as though ye coulde do no yll,
 But the Lorde doth knowe, what ye haue in your hartes,
 And secretelye how ye playe most wycked partes.
 Where as sectes remayne, the sprete of God cannot be,
 Whose kynde is to knytt, by a perfyght vnyte.

Pharisæus.

That taunte haue I oncs, bycause I am a Pharyse.

* This is the term given to the Reformers preaching the gospel, by the priests of the Church of Rome.

Sadduceus.

My parte is no lesse, for I am also a Sadduce.
We wyll thu knowe it, our relygyons are worshipfull.

Ioannes Baptista.

Not so worshipfull, but moch more false and deceytfull,
An outwarde pretence ye haue of holynesse,
Whych is before God a double wyckednesse.

Phariseus.

A verye wretche art thou, soch vertuouse men to despyse,
As the lawes of God, to hys people doth decyse.
We Pharysees are those, whych syt in Moses seate
As interpretours, the holy scriptures to treate.

Ioannes Baptista.

And them ye corrupt, with your pestylent tradycyons.
For your bellyes sake, have yow false exposycyons.

Sadduceus.

What sayst thou to me? whych in one poynt do not swerue
From Moses fyue bokes; but eury iote we obserue.
Thynkest not vs worthy the gloryouse name we beare,
Of ryghteouse Sadducees? Saye thy mynde without feare.

Ioannes Baptista.

I saye thys unto yow, your observacyons are carnall;
Outwarde workes ye haue, but in sprete nothyng at all;
Ye walke in the letter, lyke paynted hypocrytes;
Before God ye are no better than Sodomytes.

De Christi Baptismo.

Synners offendynge, of weakenesse, doubt, or ignoraunce,
Of pytie God pardoneth. But where he fyndeth resystence
Agaynst the playne truth, there wyll he ponysh most
For a wyckednesse that is agaynst the holy Ghost;
And that reigneth in yow, whych neuer hath forgeuenesse;
For enemyes ye are, to that ye knowe ryghteousnesse.

Phariseus.

Auaunt begger, auaunt. Becometh it the to prate
So vnmanerly agaynst our comely estate;
Whych is knowne to be, so notable and holye?
Thu shalt be loked on, I promyse the surelye.

Sadduceus.

Our worthy decrees, the knaue doth not regarde.
But practyseth newe lawes, soch as were neuer hearde.
By whose autoryte, doest thou teache thys newe lernynge?
Doubt not but shortly, thou wyll be brought to a rekenynge.

Ioannes Baptista.

Ye generacyon of vipers, ye murtherers of the prophetes,
Ye Lucifers proude, and vsurpers of hygh seates.
Neuer was serpent, more styngynge than ye be,
More full of poyson, nor inwarde cruelte.
All your stodye is, to persue the veryte,
Soch is your practyse, deceyte and temeryte.

You boast your selues moch, of ryghteousness and scyence,
 And yet non more vyle, nor fuller of neglygence.
 How can ye escape the vengeance that is commynge
 Upon the vnfaythfull? whych wyll admytt no warnynge.
 Neyther your good workes, nor merytes of your fathers,
 Your fastynges, longe prayers, with other holy behauers,

Shall yow afore God, be able to iustifye,
 Your affeccyons inwarde, vnless ye do mortifye.
 And therefor shewe fourth, the due frutes of repentaunce,
 Not in wordes only, but from the hartes habundaunce.
 Forsake your malyce, your pryde and hypocresye,
 And now exercyse the frutefull dedes of mercye.

Pharisæus.

It become not the, to shewe what we shall do,
 We knowynge the lawe, and the prophecyes also.
 Go teache thy olde shoes, lyke a busye pratyng fole,
 For we wyll non be, of thys newe fangede scole :
 We are men lerned, we knowe the aunyent lawes,
 Of our forefathers, thy newes are not worth ii. strawes.

Sadducæus.

The ofsprynge we are of the noble father Abraham,
 And have the blessynge, so many as of him cam.
 We can not perysh, though thu prate neuer so myche,
 For we are ryghteouse, wele lorned, famouse and ryche.

Ioannes Baptista.

Great folye is it, of Abraham so to boost,
 Where his fayth is not, the kyndred is sone lost.
 Ye are Abrahams chyl dren, lyke as was Ismael,
 Onlye in the fleshe, to whom no blessinge fell.
 It profyteth yow lyttle, of Abraham to beare name,
 If ye be wycked, but rather it is your shame,

And as touchynge Abraham, the Lorde is able to rayse,
 Of stoncs in the waye, such people as shall hym prayse.
 The Gentyles can he call, whom ye very sore despyse,
 To Abrahams true faythe, and graces for them deuyse.
 No hart is so harde, but he can it mollesye,
 No synner so yll, but he maye him iustifye.

Pharisæus.

Yea, he tolde the so, Thu art next of hys counsell,
 And knowest what he myndeth, to do in heaven and in hell,
 Now forsoth thu art, a Iolye Robyne Bell.

Sadducæus.

With a lytle helpe, of an heretyke he wyll smell.

Ioannes Baptista.

I se it very wele, agaynst Gods truthe ye are bent,
 And come not hyther, your wicked wayes to repent.
 For that prynces sake, that will clere vs of care,
 But your commynge is, to trappe me in a snare.

Sadducæus.

We knowe hym not we, nor wyll not knowe hym in dede,
But whan he shall come, if he do sowe soch sede,
As thu hast done here, he maye chaunce to have yll spede.

Ioannes Baptista.

Be ware if ye lyst, the axe is put to the rote,
With the Lorde to mocke, it wyll ye no longer bote;
Euery wythered tre, that wyll geue no good frute,
Shall up, whych are yow, of all grace destytute;
And shall be throwne fourth, into euerlastynge fyre,
Where no helpe can be, for no pryce nor desyre.

Pharisæus.

A lewde knaue art thu, yll doctryne dost thu teache,
We wyll so prouyde, thu shalt no longer preache.

Sadducæus.

If we do not se, for thys gere a dyreccon,
This fellawe is lyke, to make an insurreccyon.
For to hys newe lernynge, an infynyte companye
Of worldlye rascalles, come hyther suspicyouslye.

Pharisæus.

In dede they do so, and therefor lete vs walke,
Vpon thys matter more delyberatlye to talke.

Ioannes Baptista.

The nature of these is styll lyke as it hath be,
Blasphemers they are of God and hys veryte.
Here haue I preached, the baptyme of repentaunce;
After me he cometh, that is of moch more puyssaunce.
For all my austeryte of lyfe and godly purpose,
Worthy I am not, hys lachettes to vnlose.

He wyll yow baptyse, in the holy Ghost and fyre,
Makyng yow more pure than your hart can desyre.
Hys fanne is in hande, whych is Gods iudgment,
Vnto hym commytted by hys father omnyotent.
He wyll from hys floore, which is hys congregacyon,
Swepe awaye all fylth, and false dyssemblacyon.

Cleane wyll he seclude the dysguysed hypocrytes,
And restore agayne the perfyght Israelytes;
He wyll brynge the wheate into hys barne or grayner,
The chyl dren of faythe to the kyngedome of hys father.
Theaffe vnprofytable, whych are the vnfaithfull sort,
Into hell shall go, to their sorowfull dysconfort.

Iesus Christus.

I am Iesus Christ, the sonne of the lyuynge God,
The lyght of hys glorye, the ymage of hys substaunce;
Though he to thys daye hath plaged man with the rod,
Yet now, for my sake, he hath withdrawne all vengeaunce,
All rygour, all fearcenesse, with hys whole hartes displaunce;
Sendynge me hyther, of his benyuolence;
To suffer one deathe, for all the worldes offence.

The tyme prefixed of my celestyall father,
 Is now perfoarmed, I reinyng in thys nature,
 Borne of a woman, yea, of a vyrgyne rather:
 Subject to the lawe, for man which is vnpure,
 From deathe dampnable hys pardone to procure;
 That he maye receyue, the hygh inherytaunce
 Due to the chyldren, of hys choyce or allowaunce.

If ye will nedes knowe wherfor I am incarnate,
 It is to be head of your whole congregacyon,
 To make means for ye, to pacify the hate,
 To be the hygh prest, that shall worke your saluacyon,
 Your gyde, your comfort, your helth, your consolacyon;
 I come not to iudge, nor flee, but all to saue,
 Come therfor to me, all yow that lyfe wyll haue.

I am become flesh, for myne own promes sake,
 Without mannys sede borne, hys kynde to sanctifye,
 Of synners lynage, the synners quarell to take,
 Of patryarkes and kynges, as a father and gyde heavenlye,
 Poore, that ye shuld thynke, my kyngedom nothing worldlye
 In flesh, to the sprete, that the gospell shuld ye brynge,
 Beleuyng by me, to have the lyfe euerlastyng.

Ye worldlye people, lerne gentylnesse of me,
 Which though I am God, unto the father coequall,
 I toke thys nature, with all dyscommoditye,
 My selfe to humble, as a creature here mortall
 To rayse ye to God, from your most deadlye fall.
 Lete thys example be grafted first in your wytt,
 How I for baptyme, to Johan my selfe submytt.

Ioannes Baptista.

By the Holy Ghost, assured I am thys houre,
 That thys man is he, whych is of the hyghar poure,
 Whom I haue preached, The lambe of innocencye,
 Whose shoe to vnlose my selfe is far unworthye.
 From whens do ye come, I praye ye tell to me.

Iesus Christus.

From Nazareth thys houre, a cytie of Galyle,
 From my mother's howse, the heauenly Father from hence
 To obeye and serue, with most due reuerence.

Ioannes Baptista.

Your intent or mynde, fayne wolde I understande.

Iesus Christus.

To receyue with other, the baptyme of thy hande.

Hic protensis nunibus baptismo illum prohibet.

Ioannes Baptista.

Requyre not of me, I desyre the instauntlye,
 To presume so farre, for doubtlesse I am vnworthye.

I a carnall synner, ought to haue baptyme of the,
My Lorde and Sauer, And dost thou axe it of me?
Perdon me, swete Lorde, for I wyll not so presume.

Iesus Christus.

Without presumpcyon, that offyce shalt thou adsume.

Ioannes Baptista.

The baptyme of me, is but a shaddow or type,
Soch is thy baptyme, as awaye all synne doth wyepe.
I geue but water, the sprete Lorde thou dost bryngc,
Lowe is my baptyme, thyne is an heaueuly thyngc.
Now thou art present, it is mete my baptyme cease,
And thyne to florysh, all synners bondes to releace.

Me thy poore scruaunt replenish here with grace,
And requyre me me not, to baptyse the here in place.

Iesus Christus.

Johan, suffre me now, in thys to haue my wyll,
For vs it behoueth all righteousnesse to fulfill.
That is to saye, me, as wele as these my scruauntes,
The great graunde captayne, so wele as hys poore tenauntes.
I come not hither to breake the lawes of my fater,
As thy baptyme is one, but to comfirme them rather.
If by the lawe in yewth was circumcysed,
Why shuld I dysdayne thys tyme to be baptyسد?
The Pharysees abhorre, to be of the common sort,
But I maye not so, whych come for all mennys confort.
I must go with them, they are my bretherne all,
He is no good captayne that from hys armye fall.

Ioannes Baptista.

They are sinners Lorde, and from good lyuyinge wyde.

Iesus Christus.

The more nede is theirs, to haue me for their gyde.

I wyll go afore, that they maye folowe me,
Whych shall be baptyسد, and thynke me for to be
Their mate or brother, hauynge their lyuerye token,
Whych is thy baptyme, as thy selfe here hath spoken.
Take water therfor, and baptyse me thys houre,
That thy baptyme maye take strength of hyghar poure.

The people to marke, vnto my kyngedome heauenlye.

Ioannes Baptista.

Then blessed sauer, thy scruaunt here sanctyfye.

Iesus Christus.

The man whych haue sayth, lacketh no sanctyfycacyon
Necessary and mete, for hys helth and saluacyon.
Thyne offyce therfor, now execute thou on me.

Hic Ioannem subleuat Iesus, ac eius baptismo se submittit.

Ioannes Baptista.

I baptyse the (Lorde) by soch autoryte
As thy grace hath geuen to my poore symplenesse,
Onlye to obeye the hygh request of thy goodnesse.

In terram procumbens Iesus, tunc dicit, Deo gratias.

Iesus Christus.

Thys offyce father, which I in thys mortall nature,
Do take vpon me, at thy most hygh appoyntment,
For mannys saluacyon, here to appeyse thy hature,
So prospere forewarde, that it be to thy intent,
And to thy people, fyte and conuenient.
And that thu wytsaue, by thy most fatherly poure,
Thy sonne to commende, vnto the worlde thys houre.

Descendit tunc super Christum spiritus sanctus in columbae specie, & vox patris de calo audietur hoc modo :

Pater celestis.

Thys is myne owne sone, and only hartes delyght,
My treasure, my ioye, beloued most inteyrlye ;
Thys is he whych hath procured grace in my syght,
For man that hath done most wyfull trayterye ;
Alone is it he, that me doth pacyfye.
For hys only sake, with man am I now content,
To be for euer, at a full peace and agrement.

I charge ye, to hym, geue dyligent attendaunce,
Heare hys monycyons, regarde hys heauenly doctryne.
In mennys tradycyons, luke ye haue no affyaunce,
Nor in Moses lawe, but as he shall defyne,
Heare hym, beleue hym, drawe only after hys lyne.
For he alone knoweth my purpose towards yow,
And non els but he, heare hym therfor only now.

Tunc calum inspiciens Ioannes, incuruat genua.

Ioannes Baptista.

O tyme most ioyfull, daye most splendiferus ;
The clerenesse of heauen now appereth vnto vs.
The father is hearde, and the holy Ghost is seane,
The sonne incarnate, to purifye vs cleane ;
By thys we maye se, The gospell ones receyued,
Heauen openeth to vs, and God is hyghly pleased.

Lete vs synge therfor, togyther with one accorde,
Praysynge these same thre, as one God and good Lorde.

Et expansis ad calum manibus canit Ioannes.

Glorye be to the Trynyte,
The father, the sonne and sprete lyuyng,
Whych are one God in persones thre,
To whom be prayse without endynge.

BALEUS PROLOCUTOR.

Thys vysyble sygne, do here to yow declare,
 What thyng pleaseth God, and what offendeth hys goodnesse.
 The worlde hath proude hartes, hygh myndes, with soch lyke wares,
 God only regardeth the sprete of lowlynesse.
 Marke in thys Gospell, with the eyes of symplenesse.
 Adam, by hys pryde, ded Paradyse vp speare,
 Christ hath opened heauen, by hys great mekenesse heare.

Iohan was a preacher, Note wele what he ded teache,
 Not mennis tradycyons, nor hys owne holye lyfe;
 But to the people, Christ Iesus ded he preache,
 Wyllynge hys Gospell, amonge them to be ryfe,
 Hys knowledge heavenly, to be had of man and wyfe.
 But who receyued it? The sinfull commynalte,
 Publicanes and synners, but no paynted Pharyse.

The waye that Iohan taught, was not to weare harde clothynge,
 To saye longe prayers, nor to wandre in the desert,
 Or to cate wylde locusts. No; he neuer taught such thyng.
 Hys mynde was that faythe shuld purifye the hart;
 My ways (sayth the Lorde) with mennys ways haue no part.
 Mannys ways are all thynges, that are done without fayth,
 God's waye is hys worde, as the holy scripture sayth.

If ye do penaunce, do soch as Iohan doth counsell,
 Forsake your olde lyfe, and to the true fayth applye;
 Washe away all fylth, and folowe Christes Gospell.
 The iustyce of men, is but an hypocresye,
 A worke without fayth, an outwarde vayne glorie.
 An example here, ye had of the Pharyscs,
 Whom Iohan compared to vnfruteful wythered trees.

Geue care unto Christ, letc mennys vayne fantasies go,
 As the fater bad, by hys most hygh commaundement;
 Heare neyther Frances, Benedyct, nor Bruno,
 Albert, nor Domynyck, for they newe rulers inuent,
 Beleue neyther Pope, nor prest of hys consent.
 Folowe Christes Gospell, and therin fructifye,
 To the prayse of God, and hys sonne Iesus glorie.

Thus endeth thys brefe Comedy or Enterlude of Iohan Baptystes
 preachynge in the wyldernes, openynge the craftye assaultes of the
 hypocrytes, with the gloryouse Baptyme of Iesus Christ.

Composed by Johan Bale, Anno M.D.XXXVIII.

THE VERY

BEGGARS PETITION AGAINST POPERY;

Wherein they lamentably complain

TO

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH

OF THE CLERGY.

1. Of their abominable covetousness and oppression, in several particulars, from § 3, to § 13. 2. Of their insatiable lechery, being devils at women; and how they apply themselves, by all sleights they may, to have to do with every man's wife, daughter, and maid (as well ladies, as meaner persons, when they come in their way) from § 13, to § 17. 3. They brought in theft with them, and nourished it under them, § 17. 4. That they baffled all laws, that none could take hold of them, though they ravished men's wives and daughters (which that cursed crew would be at again, tho' not in that seeming holy method, but now in an open, odious, debauched way, like infernal incubusses, who now have naturalised succubusses for their turn, &c.) for the law was too weak to hold them; they making such as begin with them quickly to cease prosecuting them, § 18. 5. An example hereof, see in the Bishop of London, § 19. 6. Tho' the statute of *mortmain* was made to prevent giving them any more, yet still they got more than any duke, § 20 and 21. 7. Their yearly exactions came by cursed pretensions, of praying people's souls out of purgatory, &c. § 22. 8. This doctrine of purgatory was always opposed by godly, learned men, § 23 and 24. 9. Their hellish policy, in not suffering the New Testament to be translated in the mother-tongue, lest their hypocrisy and cheating should be discovered, § 25, 26. 10. The impudence of Dr. Allen, and Dr. Horsey, fined to the King, but afterwards therefore amply rewarded by the clergy, § 27. 11. The reason of this was, because the Chancellor was one of them, viz. a clergyman § 28. 12. That of giving lands, or money, to the church for the poor, or masses, § 30. 13. They petition to turn these blood-suckers out to labour and get them wives of their own, § 1, 32. These arguments, and the like, prevailed with this King to cast off the Pope's authority, and why any should be so foolishly wicked as to think to return us to it, I know not; most certainly they will find themselves deceived, with a vengeance, &c.

Presented to King Henry the Eighth, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, *anno dom.* 1538, eight years before his death, and now printed, *verbatim*, from a very old copy, only mending the auto-

graphy, for the ease of the reader, marking the several sections, and collecting the foregoing contents. Worth perusing by both Papist and Protestant, for the one to see how his forefathers and he have been, and are, gulled; and the other to see how he is like to be eternally abused, if he either through fear of death, or otherwise, embrace Popery, Folio, containing six pages, with a wooden cut in the title, representing King Henry the Eighth on his throne, and a Committee of Beggars presenting their petition.

To the KING our Sovereign Lord,

MOST lamentably complaineth, their woful misery unto your Highness, your poor daily bede-men*, the wretched, hideous monsters (on whom scarcely for horror any eye dare look) the foul, unhappy sort of lepers, and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and sick, that live only by alms; how that their number is daily so sore increased, that all the alms of the well disposed people of this your realm is not half enough to sustain them; but that, for very constraint, they die for hunger.

2. And this most pestilent mischief is come upon your said poor bede-men, by the reason that there is (in the times of your noble predecessors passed) craftily crept into this your realm another sort† (not of impotent but) of strong, puissant, and counterfeit-holy, and idle beggars, and vagabonds, which, since the time of their first entry, by all the craft and wiliness of Satan, are now increased under your sight, not only into a great number, but also into a kingdom.

3. These are not the herds (or sheep) but the ravenous wolves, going in herds-clothing, devouring the flock; the bishops, abbots, priors, deacons, archdeacons, suffragans, priests, monks, canons, friars, pardoners and somners: and who is able to number this idle, ravenous sort, which (setting all labour aside) have begged so importunately that they have gotten into their hands more than the third part of all your realm: the goodliest lordships, manors, lands, and territories are theirs. Besides this, they have the tenth part of all the corn, meadow, pasture, grass, wool, colts, calves, lambs, pigs, geese, and chickens. Over and besides the tenth part of every servant's wages, the tenth part of the wool, milk, honey, wax, cheese, and butter, Yea, and they look so narrowly upon their profits, that the poor wives must be accountable to them for every tenth egg, or else she getteth not her rights at Easter, shall be taken as an heretick; hereto have they their four offering-days.

4. What money pull they in by probates of testaments, privy tithes, and by men's offerings to their pilgrimages, and at their first masses. Every man and child that is buried must pay somewhat for masses and dirges ‡ to be sung for him, or else they will accuse the dead's friends

* This is an ancient word, signifying a poor alms-man, who pray daily for their benefactors derived from the Saxon word *bidden*, to pray.

† See them described in the second §.

‡ The dead office in the church of Rome, which begins with *dirige me, Domine*, &c.

and executors of heresy. What money get they by mortuaries*, by bearing of confessions (and yet they will keep thereof no counsel) by hallowing of churches, altars, super-altars†, chapels, and bells, by cursing of men, and absolving them again for money.

5. What multitude of money gather the pardoners‡ in a year? How much money get the somners (i. e. parators) by extortion in a year? By citing the people to the commissaries court, and afterwards releasing the appearance for money. Finally, the infinite number of beggars friars, what get they in a year?

6. Here, if it please your Grace to mark, ye shall see a thing far out of joint; there are within your realm of England fifty-two thousand parish-churches; and this standing, that there be but ten households in every parish, yet are there five hundred thousand, and twenty thousand households; and of every of these households hath every of the five orders of friars a penny a quarter for every order, that is, for all the five orders five pence a quarter for every house; that is, for all the five orders twenty pence a year for every house: *summa*, five-hundred thousand, and twenty-thousand quarters of angels; that is, two hundred and sixty thousand half angels; *summa*, one hundred and thirty thousand angels; *summa totalis*, forty-four thousand pounds, and three-hundred and thirty-three pounds, six shillings, and eight-pence sterling: whereof, not four hundred years passed, they had not one penny. Oh grievous and painful exactions! thus yearly to be paid, from the which the people of your noble predecessors, the kings of the ancient Britons||, ever stood free.

7. And this will they have, or else they will procure him that will not give it them to be taken as an heretick. What tyrant ever oppressed the people like this cruel and vengeable generation? What subjects shall be able to help their prince, that be after this fashion yearly polled? What good Christian people can be able to succour us poor lepers, blind, sore, and lame, that be thus yearly oppressed? Is it any marvel that your people so complain of poverty? Is it any marvel that the taxes, fifteenths, and subsidies, that your Grace, most tenderly of great compassion, hath taken among your people, to defend them from the threatened ruin of their common-wealth, have been so slothfully, yea painfully, levied? Seeing that almost the uttermost penny that might have been levied, hath been gathered before, verily by this ravenous, cruel, and insatiable generation.

8. The Danes, neither the Saxons, in the time of the ancient Britons, should never have been able to have brought their armies, from so far, hither unto your land to have conquered it, if they had at that time such a sort of idle gluttons to find at home. The noble King Arthur had never been able to have carried his army to the foot of the

* A mortuary was a gift left by a man, at his death, to his parish-church, for the recompence of his personal tythes, and offerings, not duly paid in his life-time.

† These are square stones, to be removed at the priest's pleasure, to say mass upon; by some called portable altars.

‡ Those employed by the Pope to grant indulgences.

|| Before the Conquest: for William the Conqueror, having engaged the Pope to countenance his unjust invasion upon this isle, in return, oppressed the subjects in this manner, to gratify the Pope.

mountains, to resist the coming down of Lucius the emperor, if such yearly exactions had been taken of his people. The Greeks had never been able to have so long continued at the siege of Troy, if they had had at home such an idle sort of cormorants to fine. The ancient Romans had never been able to put all the whole world under their obeisance, if their people had been thus oppressed.

9. The Turk, now in your time, should never be able to get so much ground of Christendom, if he had in his empire such a sort of locusts to devour his substance. Lay then these sums to the aforesaid third part of the possessions of the realm, that you may see whether it draw nigh unto the half of the whole substance of the realm, or not; so shall you find that it draweth far above.

10. Now let us then compare the number of this unkind, idle sort, unto the number of the lay-people, and we shall see whether it be indifferently shifted or not, that they should have half? Compare them to the number of men, so are they not the hundreth person. Compare them to men, women, and children, then are they not the four hundreth person in number. One part, therefore, in four hundred parts divided, were too much for them, except they did labour. What an unequal burden is it, that they have half with the multitudes, and are not the four hundreth person of their number? What tongue is able to tell, that ever there was any common-wealth so sore oppressed, since the world began?

11. And what do all these greedy sort of sturdy, idle, holy thieves with these yearly exactions that they take of the people? Truly nothing, but exempt themselves from the obedience and dignity from your grace unto them; nothing, but that your subjects should fall into disobedience and rebellion against your Grace, and be under them? As they did unto your noble predecessor, King John, which, because that he would have punished certain traitors that had conspired with the French King to have deposed him from his crown and dignity (amongst the which a clerk called Stephen, whom, afterwards, against the King's will, the Pope made Bishop of Canterbury, was one) interdicted * his land. For the which matter your most noble realm wrongfully (alas, for shame!) hath stood tributary, not to any kind, temporal prince, but unto a cruel, devilish blood-supper, drunken in the blood of the saints and martyrs of Christ ever since. Here were a holy sort of prelates, that thus cruelly could punish such a righteous King, all his realm, and succession, for doing right.

12. Here were a charitable sort of holy men, that could thus interdict an holy realm, and pluck away the obedience of the people from their natural Liege Lord and King, for his righteousness. Here were a blessed sort, not of meek herds, but of blood-suppers, that could set the French King upon such a righteous Prince, to cause him to lose his crown and dignity, to make effusion of the blood of his people, unless this good and blessed King, of great compassion, more fearing and lamenting the shedding of the blood of his people, than the

* Excommunicated.

loss of his crown and dignity, against all right and conscience, had submitted himself unto them. O case most horrible, that ever so noble a King's realm and succession should thus be made to stoop to such a sort of blood-suppers! Where was his sword, power, crown, and dignity become, whereby he might have done justice in this manner? Where was their obedience become, that should have been subject under his high power, in this matter? Yea, where was the obedience of all his subjects become, that, for maintenance of the common-wealth, should have holpen him manfully to have resisted these blood-suppers to the shedding of their blood? Was it not altogether, by their policy, translated from this good King to them?

13. Yea, and what do they more? Truly, nothing but apply themselves, by all the sleights they may, to have to do with every man's wife, every man's daughter, and every man's maid; that cuckoldry should reign over all among your subjects; that no man should know his own child; that their bastards might inherit the possessions of every man, to put the right begotten children clear beside their inheritance, in subversion of all estates and godly order. These be they, that by their abstaining from marriage do let the generation of the people, whereby all the realm, at length, if it should be continued, shall be made desert and uninhabitable. 'They mean, that for this sin of whoredom God's vengeance would fall on the land.'

14. These be they that have made an hundred thousand idle whores in your realm, which would have gotten their living honestly in the sweat of their faces, had not their superfluous riches elected them to unclean lust and idleness. These be they that corrupt the whole generation of mankind in your realm; that catch the pox of one woman, and bear it to another: yea, some one of them will boast among his fellows, that he hath meddled with an hundred women. These be they that, when they have once drawn men's wives to such incontinency, spend away their husband's goods, make the women run away from their husbands, yea, run away themselves both with wife and goods, bring both man, wife, and children, to idleness, theft, and beggary.

15. Yea, who is able to number the great and broad bottomless ocean sea-full of evils, that this mischievous and sinful generation may lawfully bring upon us unpunished? Where is your sword, power, crown, and dignity become, that should punish (by punishment of death, even as other men be punished) the felonies, rapes, murders, and treasons committed by this sinful generation? Where is their obedience become, that should be under your high power in this matter? Is it not altogether translated and exempted from your Grace unto them? Yes, truly. What an infinite number of people might have been increased, to have peopled the realm, if these sort of folk had been married like other men? What breach of matrimony is there brought in by them? Such, truly, as was never since the world began among the whole multitude of the heathen.

16. Who is she that will set her hands to work to get three pence a day, and may have at least twenty pence a day, to sleep an hour with a friar, a monk, or a priest? What is he that would labour for a

groat a day, and may have at least twelve pence a day to be a bawd to a priest, a monk, or a friar? What a sort are there of them that marry priests, sovereign ladies, but to cloak the priests incontinency, and that they may have a living of the priests themselves, for their labour? How many thousands doth such lubricity bring to beggary, theft, and idleness, which should have kept their good name, and have set themselves to work, had not been this excessive treasure of the spirituality? What honest man dare take any man or woman in his service, that hath been at such a school with a spiritual man?

17. Oh the grievous shipwreck of the commonwealth! which in ancient time, before the coming in of these ravenous wolves, was so prosperous, that then there were but few thieves; yea, theft was at that time so rare, that Cæsar was not compelled to make penalty of death upon felony, as your Grace may well perceive in his Institutes. There were also at that time but few poor people, and yet they did not beg, but there was given them enough unasked. For there were at that time none of these ravenous wolves to ask it from them, as it appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles. Is it any marvel, though there be now so many beggars, thieves, and idle people? No truly.

18. What remedy? Make laws against them? I am in doubt whether ye be able: Are they not stronger in your own parliament-house than yourself? What a number of bishops, abbots, and priors, are lords of your parliament? Are not all the learned men in your realm in fee with them, to speak in your parliament-house against your crown, dignity, and commonwealth of your realm, a few of your own learned council only excepted? What law can be made against them that may be available? Who is he (though he be grieved never so sore) for the murder of his ancestor, ravishment of his wife, of his daughter; robbery, trespass, maim, debt, or any other offence, dare lay it to their charge, by any way of action; and, if he do, then is he, by and by, by their wiliness, accused of heresy. Yea, they will so handle him, before he pass, that, except he will bear a faggot for their pleasure, he shall be excommunicated, and then be all his actions dashed! So captive are your laws unto them, that no man, that they list to excommunicate, may be admitted to sue any action in any of your courts. If any man in your sessions dare be so hardy to indict a priest of any such crime, he hath, before the year goeth out, such a yoke of heresy laid in his neck, that it makes him wish, that he had not done it.

19. Your Grace may see what a work there is in London, how the bishop rageth for indicting of certain curates, of extortion and incontinency, the last year, in the Warmol quest*. Had not Richard Hunne commenced an action of *premunire* against a priest, he had been yet alive, and no heretick at all, but an honest man.

20. Did not divers of your noble progenitors, seeing their crown and dignity run into ruin, and to be thus craftily translated into the hands of this mischievous generation, make divers statutes for the reformation thereof? Among which the statute of *mortmain* was one; to the intent, that, after that time, they should have no more given unto them. But

* Or Wardmote Inquest, erected 32 Henry VIII. 17.

what availed it? Have they not gotten into their hands more lands since than any duke in England, the statute notwithstanding? Yea, have they not, for all that, translated into their hands from your Grace half your kingdom thoroughly? The whole name, as reason is for the ancientie of your kingdom, which was before theirs, and out of the which theirs is grown, only abiding with your Grace, and of one kingdom made twain; the spiritual kingdom (as they call it) for they will be named first, and your temporal kingdom: And which of these two kingdoms, suppose ye, is like to overgrow the other, yea, to put the other out of memory? Truly, the kingdom of the blood-suppers, for to them is given daily out of your kingdom. And that, that is once given them, cometh never from them again: Such laws have they, that none of them may neither give, nor sell nothing.

21. What law can be made so strong against them, that they, either with money or else with other policy, will not break and set at nought? What kingdom can endure that ever giveth thus from him, and receiveth nothing again? O how all the substance of your realm, forthwith your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people, runneth headlong into the insatiable whirlpool of these greedy goulafres to be swallowed and devoured.

22. Neither have they any other colour to gather these yearly exactions into their hands, but that they say, they pray for us to God to deliver our souls out of the pains of purgatory, without whose prayer, they say, or at least, without the Pope's pardon, we could never be delivered thence; which, if it be true, then it is good reason we give them all these things, *all*, were it a hundred times as much.

23. But there be many men of great literature and judgment, for the love they have unto the truth, and unto the commonwealth, have not feared to put themselves into the greatest infamy that may be, in abjection of all the world, yea, in peril of death to declare their opinion in this matter: Which is, that there is no purgatory, but that it is a thing invented by the covetousness of the spirituality, only to translate all kingdoms from all other princes unto them, and there is not one word spoken of it in holy scripture. They say also, that, if there were a purgatory, and also if that the Pope, with his pardons for money, deliver one soul thus, he may deliver him as well without money; if he may deliver one, he may deliver a thousand; if he may deliver a thousand, he may deliver them all, and also destroy purgatory. And then he is a cruel tyrant without all charity, if he keep them there in prison and in pain till men will give him money.

24. Likewise say they of all the whole sort of the spirituality, that, if they will not pray for no man, but for them that give them money, they are tyrants, and lack charity, and suffer those souls to be punished and pained uncharitably, for lack of their prayers. These sort of folk they call hereticks, these they burn, these they rage against, put to open shame and make them bear faggots. But, whether they be hereticks or no, well I wot, that this purgatory, and the Pope's pardons, is all the cause of translation of your kingdom so fast into their hands; wherefore, it is manifest, it cannot be of Christ; for he gave more to the temporal kingdom; he himself paid tribute to Cæsar; he took nothing

from him, but taught that the high powers should be always obeyed; yea, himself (although he were most free Lord of all, and innocent) was obedient unto the high powers, unto death.

25. This is the great scab, why they will not let the New Testament go abroad in your mother tongue, lest men should espy, that their cloaked hypocrisy do translate thus fast your kingdom into their hands; that they are cruel, unclean, unmerciful, and hypocrites; that they seek not the honour of Christ, but their own; that remission of sins is not given by the Pope's pardon, but by Christ, for the sure faith and trust we have in him. Here may your Grace well perceive, that, except ye suffer their hypocrisy to be disclosed, all is like to run into their hands, and, as long as it is covered, so long shall it seem to every man to be a great impiety not to give them. For this I am sure, your Grace thinketh (as the truth is) I am as good a man as my father, why may I not give them as much as my father did? And of this mind I am sure are all the lords, knights, esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen in England: Yea, and until it be disclosed, all your people will think that your statute of *mortmain* was never made with a good conscience, seeing that it taketh away the liberty of your people, in that they may not as lawfully buy their souls out of purgatory, by giving to the spirituality, as their predecessors did in times past.

26. Wherefore, if you will eschew the ruin of your crown and dignity, let their hypocrisy be uttered, and that shall be more speedful in this matter, than all the laws that may be made, be they never so strong. For, to make a law for to punish any offender, except it were more for to give other men an ensample to beware to commit such like offence, what should it avail? Did not Dr. Allen, most presumptuously, now in your time, against all his allegiance, all that ever he could to pull from you the knowledge of such pleas, as belong unto your high courts, unto another court, in derogation of your crown and dignity.

27. Did not also Dr. Horsey and his complices most heinously, as all the world knoweth, murder, in prison, that honest merchant, Richard Hunne? For that he sued your writ of *præmunire* against a priest, that wrongfully held him in plea, in a spiritual court, for a matter whereof the knowledge belongeth unto your high courts: and what punishment was there done, that any man might take example of, to beware of like offence? Truly none, but that the one paid five hundred pounds (as it is said, to the building of your star-chamber) and, when that payment was once passed, the captains of his kingdom (because he fought so manfully against your crown and dignity) have heaped to him benefice upon benefice, so that he is rewarded ten times as much. The other, as it is said, paid six hundred pounds, for him and his complices, which, because that he had likewise fought so manfully against your crown and dignity, was immediately, as he had obtained your most gracious pardon, promoted by the captains of his kingdom, with benefice upon benefice to the value of four times as much. Who can take example of this punishment to beware of such like offence? Who is he of their kingdom that will not rather take courage to commit like offence, seeing the promotions that fell to these men, for their so offend-

ing? So weak and blunt is your sword, to strike at one of the offenders of this crooked and perverse generation.

28. And this is, by reason that the chief instrument of your law, yea, the chief of your council, and he which hath your sword in his hand, to whom also all other instruments are obedient, is always a spiritual man; which hath ever such an inordinate love unto his own kingdom, that he will maintain that, though all the temporal kingdoms and commonwealths of the world should utterly therefore be undone.

29. Here leave we out the greatest matter of all, lest we, declaring such an horrible carrion of evil, against the ministers of iniquity, should seem to declare the one only fault, or rather the ignorance of our best beloved minister of tightwiseness, which is to be hid, till he may be learned, by these small enormities that we have spoken of, to know it plainly himself. But what remedy to relieve us, your poor, sick, lame, and sore bedemen? To make many hospitals for the relief of the poor people; nay truly, the more the worse; for ever the fat of the whole foundation hangeth on the priests beards.

30. Divers of your noble predecessors, kings of this realm, have given lands to monasteries, to give a certain sum of money yearly to the people, whereof, for the ancient of the time, they give never one penny. They have likewise given to them to have certain masses said daily for them (the dead) whereof they never said one: if the abbot of Westminster should sing every day as many masses for his founders, as he is bound to do by his foundation, a thousand monks were too few.

31. Wherefore, if your grace will build a sure hospital, that never shall fail to relieve us, your bedemen, so take from them all those things: set their sturdy loobies abroad in the world to get them wives of their own, to get their living with their labour, in the sweat of their faces, according to the commandment of God, Gen. iii. to give other idle people, by their example, occasion to go to labour: tye these holy, idle thieves to the carts to be whipped naked about every market-town till they will fall to labour, that they may, by their importunate begging, not take away the alms that the good christian people would give unto us, sore, impotent, miserable people, your bedemen. Then shall as well the number of our foresaid monstrous sort, as bauds, whores, thieves, and idle people decrease: then shall these great yearly exactions cease: then shall not your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people be translated from you: then shall you have full obedience of your people: then shall the idle people be set to work.

32. Lastly, then shall matrimony be much better kept: then shall the generation of your people be increased: then shall your commons increase in riches: N. B. then shall the gospel be preached: then shall none beg our alms from us: then shall we have enough, and more than shall suffice us, which shall be the best hospital that ever was founded for us. Then shall we daily pray to God for your most noble estate long to endure.

Domine, saltum fac Regem.

OR,

God save the King.

VOL. I.

Q.

AN EPISTLE

OF THE

MOSTE MYGHTY AND REDOUTED PRINCE,
HENRY THE VIII.

*By the Grace of God, Kyng of England, and of Fraunce, Lorde of
Irelande, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Heed of the Church
of England, nexte vnder Christe,*

WRITTEN TO THE EMPEROURS MAIESTIE,

To all Christen Princes, and to all those that trewly and syncrely professe
Christes Religion.

In this epistle bothe the causes are playnely declared, why the Kynges
Hyghenes owght neyther to sende nor go to the counceill indicted at
Uincence, and also how perylouse a thinge it is for all suche, as
professe the trewe doctrine of Christ, to come thether.

Herevnto also is annexed the protestation made the last yere, by the
Kynges Hyghenes, his holle counsayle and clergie, as touchinge the
counceille indicted at Mantua, &c.

Rede bothe, O Christen reader, truth is comynge home, longe afore
beynge in captyuytye; steppe forth and meete her by the waye: yf
thou see her presente, embrace hir, and shewe thy selfe gladde of here
retourne. London, printed by John Berthelet 1538. Octavo, con-
taining nineteen pages.

As the following small Piece is one, if not the very first publick Declaration of
King Henry the Eighth, against the Pope, now extant, I apprehend, that
it will be doing great Service to the English History, to preserve it in this
Collection.

The occasion was the King's being cited by the Pope, in concert with the Emperour,
to appear before a general council, as he pretended to be held at Mantua, to
answer to such accusations there to be laid against him.

The King communicated this summons to the convocation, then sitting, and
demanded their advice; who answered in writing, that, before a general council
could be called, it was necessary to consider, who had authority to call it. 2dly,
whether the reasons for calling it were weighty. 3dly, who should assist as
judges. 4thly, what should be the order of proceeding. 5thly, what doctrine
were to be discussed. And lastly, that neither the Pope nor any other Prince,
without the consent of all the sovereigns in Christendom, had power to call a
general council. And,

Henry, well knowing that he must lose his cause before such a council, as proposed,
he had been unwise to submit to its decisions: therefore,

Pursuant to this declaration of his clergy, the King protested against this council, in which protestation he speaks very plainly and freely of the designs and conduct of the Pope; being informed of the council's being moved to Vicenza, he repeateth the same protestation to the Emperor in this letter following.

Henry the VIII. By the Grace of God, Kynge of Englande, and of Fraunce, &c. saluteth the Emperor, Christen Princes, and all true Christen Men, desyringe Peace and Concorde amonges them.

WHERE as not long sithens a boke came forth in oure and all oure counsayles names, whyche bothe conteyned many causes, why we refused the councylle, than by the bysshoppe of Romes vsurped power fyrste indycted aate Mantua, to be kepte the xxiii. daye of May, after proroged to Nouembre, noo place appoynted where it shulde be kepte. And where as the same boke doth sufficiently proue, that oure cause coulde take no hurt, neyther with any Thyng doone or decreed in suche a compaignie of addicte men to one secte, nor in any other counccille called by his vsurped power, we thynke it nothyng necessarye so ofte to make new protestations, as the Bysshop of Rome and his courtes, by subtyltye and crafte, doo inuente wayes to mocke the worlde by newe pretensed generall counccilles. Yet not withstandynge, bycause that some thynges haue nowe occurred, eyther vppon occasion gyuen vs, by chaunge of the place, or els through other consideracions, whyche, ~~nowe~~ beyng knowne to the Worlde, maye do moche good, we though ~~we~~ shulde do, but euen as that loue enforceth vs, which we owe vnto Christis fayth and relygion, to adde this epistell: and yet we proteste, that we neyther put forth that boke, neyther that we wolde this epistle to be set afore it, that thereby we shulde seme lesse to desyre a Generall Counccille, than any other prynce or potentate, but rather more desyrous of it, so it were free for all partes, and vniuersall.

And further we desyre all good princes, potentates, and people, to esteeme and thynke that noo prynce wolde more wyllingly be present at suche a counccille than we, suche a one, we meane, as we speake of in our protestatyon, made concernynge the counccille of Mantua. Trewely as our forefathers inuented nothyng more holier than generall councils, v~~sed~~ as they ought to be; so there is almost nothyng, that may do more hurt to the christian common welth, to the faith, to our religion, than generall councils, if they be abused, to luker, to gaynes, to the establisshement of errours. They be called generall, and euen by their name doo admonyshe vs, that all Christen men, which do discent in any opinion, maye in them openly, frankely, and without feare of punysshement or displeasure, say theyr mynde. For seynge suche thynges, as are decreed in generall councils, touche egally all men that gyue assent therevnto, it is mete that euery man maye boldly saye there that he thinketh. And verely we suppose, that it ought not to be called a generall councylle, where alonlye those men are harde, which are determined for euer, in all poyntes, to defend the Popys

part, and to arme theym selves to fyght in the byshoppe of Romes quarelle, though it were against God and his scriptures. It is no generall council, neyther it ought to be called generall, where the same men be onely aduocates and aduersaries, the same accused and iuges. No it is agaynste the lawe of nature, eyther that we shuld condescende to so vnreasonable a lawe against our selves, cyther that we shuld suffre our selves to be lefte withoute all defence, and, beyng oppressed with greattest iniuries, to haue no refuge to succour our selves at. The Byshop of Rome*, and his, be our great enemyes, as we and all the worlde may well perceyue by his doynges. He desyreth nothinge more than oure hurte, and the destruction of oure realme: do not we then violate the iudgement of nature, yf we gyue hym power and auctoritie to be our iudge? his pretended honour fyrste gotten by superstition, afterencreased by vyolence, and other wayes, as euylle as that: his power sette uppe by pretense of relygyon, in dede, both agaynste relygyon, and also contrary to the worde of God: his Primacye, borne by the ignorancye of the worlde, nourysshed by the ambition of bysshops of Rome, defended by places of scripture, falsely vnderstande. These iii. thynges we saye, which are fallen with vs, and are lyke to fall in other realmes shortly, shall they not be establyshed again, yf he maye decyde our cause as hym lysteth? yf he maye at his pleasure oppresse a cause moste ryghtuouse, and set vp his, moste agayne truth? certaynely, he is verye blynde, that seeth not, what ende we maye loke for of our controuersie, if suche our enemye may gyue the sentence.

We desyre, yf it were in any wyse possible, a counccyll, where some hope maye be, that those thynges shall be restored, which, nowe beinge deprauate, are lyke, if they be not amended, to be the vtter ruine of Christen relygyon. And as we do desyre suche a counccyll, and thinke it mete, that all men, in all their prayers, shoulde craue and desyre it of God; euen so we thinke it pertayneth vnto oure office, to prouyde bothe that these popyshe subtylties hurt none of our subiectes, and also to admonyssh other Christen Princis, that the Byshoppe of Rome maye not by their consent abuse the auctoritie of kynges, eyther to the extynguyshing of the true preaching of scripture, that now begynneth to spryng, to grow, and spred abroad, eyther to the troubling of princes liberties, to the dimynishyng of kynges auctorities, and to the great blemyshe of theyr princely maiestie. We dout nothing but a reder, not parciall, wyll soone approue suche thynges, as we write in the treatyse folowyng, not soo moche for oure excuse, as that the worlde maye perceyue both the sondry deceytes, craftes, and subtylties of the Papistes, and also, how moch we desyre, that controuersyes in relygyon maye ones be taken awaye. All that we sayde there of Mantua, maye here well be spoken of Vincible. They do almoste agree in all poyntes. Neyther it is lyke, that there wolle be any more at this counccille at Vincible, than were the last yere atte Mantua. Trewelye he is worthy to be deceyued, that, beyng twyse mocked, wolle not beware the thyrde tyme. Yf any this last

* Published a bull of excommunication against him; and tried to excite all princes of Christendom, against Henry, and offered his kingdom to the King of Scotland, &c.

yare made forth towarde Mantua, and, beyng halfe on their waye,
 thanne perceyued, that they hadde taken vpon them that iourney in
 vayne, we do not thinke them so foolyshe, that they wolle hereafter
 ryde farre oute of towne to be mocked. The tyme also, and the state
 of thynges is suche, that matters of relygion maye rather nowe be
 broughte farther in trouble, as other thynges are, than be commodi-
 ously intreated of and decyded. For where as, in maner, the hole
 worlde is after suche sorte troublid with warres, so incombred with
 the great preparations that the Turke maketh, canne there be any
 manne so agaynste the setlyng of relygyon, that he wolle thinke this
 tyme mete for a generall counsell? Undoubtedlye it is mete that such
 controuersies, as we haue with the byshoppe of Rome, be taken as
 they are; that is moch greater, than that they maye eyther be discussed
 in this soo troublesome a tyme, or elles be committed vnto proctours,
 without our greate icoperdie, all be it the tyme were neuer so quiete.
 What other princes wyll do, we can not tell; but we will neyther leaue
 our realme at this tyme, neyther we wyll truste any proctour with
 oure cause, wherein the holle staye and welth of our realme standeth,
 but rather we wyll be atte the handlyng therof our selfe. For excepte
 both an other iudge be agreed vpon for those matters, and also a place
 more commodious be prouyded, for the debating of our causes, all be
 it al other thynges were as we wolde haue them, yet maye we lawfully
 refuse to come or sende any to his pretended councylle. We wolle in
 noo case make hym our arbyter, whyche, not many yeres paste, oure
 cause not harde, gaue sentence agaynste vs. We wolle that suche doctrine,
 as we, solowynge the scripture, do professe, rytely to be examynyed, dis-
 cussyd, and to be brought to scripture, as to the onely touche stone of true
 lernynge. We wyll not suffre them to be abolyshed, ere euer they
 be discussyd, ne to be oppressed, before they be known: moche
 lesse we wyll suffre theym to be troden downe beinge so clerely trewe.
 No, as there is no iote in iote in scripture, but we wolle defende it,
 thoughe it were with icoperdie of our lyfe, and peryll of this our
 realme: so is there no thyng, that doeth oppresse this doctrine, or
 obscure it, but we wolle be at continuall warre therewith. As we
 haue abrogated all olde Popishe tradicions in this oure realme, which
 eyther dyd helpe his tyranny or increase his pryde: soo, yf the grace of
 God forsake vs not, we wyll wel forsee, that no newe naughtye tradi-
 cions be made with our consente, to bynde vs or our realme. Yf men
 wyll not be willyngly blynde, they shall easily see euen by a due
 and euident profe in reson, though grace dothe not yet by the worde
 of Christ enter into theym, howe small thauctorytie of the bysshop of
 Rome is, by the lawfull denyall of the Duke of Mantua for the
 place. For yf the bysshoppe of Rome dydde earnestly intende to kepe a
 counceyll at Mantua, and hath power, by the lawe of God, to calle
 prynces to what place hym lyketh; why hath he not also auctoritie to
 chose what place hym lysteth? The Bysshop chose Mantua, the Duke
 kepte hym oute of it. Yf Paule, the bysshoppe of Romes auctoritye,
 be so great, as he pretendeth, why coulede not he compel Fredericus,
 Duke of Mantua, that the counceille myghte be kepte there?

The Duke wolde not suffre it. No, he forbade hym his towne.

Howe chaunceth it, that here excommunicacyons flye not abroad; Why dothe he not punyssh this duke?

Why is his power, that was wonte to be more than fulle, here emptye? wonte to be more than all, here nothyng? Dothe he not calle men in vayne to a counccille, yf they, that comme at his callinge, be excluded the place, to the whyche he calleth theym? Maye not kynge iustelye refuse to come at his call, whan the Duke of Mantua maye denye hym the place, that he choseth? Yf other prynces order hym as the Duke of Mantua hath doone, what place shall be lefte hym, where he maye kepe his generall counccill? Again, if prynces haue gyuen hym this auctoritie, to calle a counccille; is hit not necessarye, that they gyue hym also all those thynges, withoute the whyche he canne not exercise that his power? Shall he call men, and wolle ye let hym fynde no place to call them unto? Truely he is not wonte to appoynte one of his owne cyties, a place to keepe the counccill in. No, the good manne is so faythfull and frendely towarde other, that seldome he desyreth prynces to be his gestis. And admytte he shulde calle vs to one of his cyties, shulde we safely walke within the walles of suche our ennemyes towne? Were it mete for vs there to dyscuss controuersyes of relygion, or to kepe vs out of our ennemyes trappes? Mete to studye for the defence of suche doctrine as we professe, or rather howe we myghte in suche a thronge of perylles be in sauegarde of our lyfe? Well, in this one acte the bysshope of Rome hath declared, that he hath none auctoryte vpon places in other mennes domynyons, and therfore, yf he promyse a counccille in anye of those, he promyseth a counccille in anye of those, he promyseth that that is in an other man to perfourme, and so may he deceyue vs agayne. Nowe, if he calle vs to one of his owne townes, we be a frayde to be at suche an hostes table. We saye, better to ryse a hungred, then to goo thense with oure bellies fulle. But they saye, the place is founde, we neede noo more seke where the counccill shall be kepte. As who saythe, that, that chaunced at Mantua, maye not also chaunce at Uyncence. And as thoughe it were very lyke, that the Uenecians, menne of suche wysedome, shoulde not bothe forsee and feare also that, that the wyse Duke of Mantua semed to feare. Certes, whanne we thynke vpon the state, that the Uenecians be in nowe, hit seemeth noo verye lykely thyng that they wolle cyther leaue Uincence, theyr cytye, to so many nations, without some gicate garrison of souldyers, or elles that they, beyng elles where so sore charged all redy, wyll nowe norrysse an armye there. And, if they wolde, dothe not Paulus hym selfe graunt, that it shulde be an euill presydent, and an euill example, to haue an armed counccille: how so euer it shal be, we most hartely desyre you, that ye wolle vouchsafe to rede those thynges that we wrote this last yere touchyng the Mantuan counccille. For we nothyng doubte, but you, of youre equitye, wyll stande on our syde agaynst theyr subtyltye and fraudes, and iudge, excepte we be deceyued, that we, in this busynesse, neyther gaue soo moche to oure affectyons, neyther withoute greatte and mooste iuste causes, refused theyr counccylles, theyr censures, and decrees. Whyther these oure wrytynges please all menne, or noo, we thynke, we ought not to passe

moche. Noo, yf that, that indyfferently is wrytten of vs, maye please indyfferente reders, our desyre is accomplysshed. Then false and mystakyng of thynges, by men parcyall, shall moue vs nothyng, or elles very lytel. Yf we haue sayd aughte agaynste the deceytes of the bysshop of Rome, that maye seme spoken to sharply, we praye you, impute it to the hatredde we bare vnto vyces, and not to any euylle wyll that we bare hym. Noo, that he, and all his, maye perceyue, that we are rather at stryfe with his vyces, than with hym and his: oure prayer is, bothe that it maye please God at the laste to open theyr eyes, to make softe theyr harde hartes, and that they ones maye with vs, theyr owne glorye set aparte, study to set forthe the euerlastyng glorie of the euerlastyng God.

Thus, myghtye Emperoure, fare ye mooste hartely well, and ye Christen priaces, the pylors and stay of Christendome, fare ye hartely well: Also all ye, what people so euer ye are, whiche doo desyre, that the gospel and glory of Christ maye florysshe, fare ye hartely well.

Gyuen at London oute of oure palace at Westmynster,
the cyghte of Apryll, the nyne and twentye yere of
our reygne.

A LAMENTABLE AND PITEOUS

TREATISE*,

*Verye necessarye for euerie Christen Manne to reade, wherein is containyd,
not onely the high Entreprise and Valeuuntnes of*

THEMPEOUR CHARLES THE V. AND HIS ARMY,

(In his Voyage made to the Towne of Argier in Affrique, agaynst the Turckes,
the Enemyes of the Christen Fayth, Thinhabitoures of the same)

BUT ALSO THE

MYSERABLE CHAUNCES OF WYNDE AND WETHER,

WITH DYVERSE OTHER ADVERSITES,

Hable to moue euen a stonye Hearte to bewayle the same, and to pray to God for
his Ayde and Succoure.

Which was wrytten and sent vnto the Lorde of Langest. Truly and dylygently
translated out of Latyn into Frenche, and out of Frenche into English. 1542.
Ricardus Grafton excudebat, cum Priuilegio ad imprimendam solum. Octavo,
containing twenty-seven Pages.

To the ryght hygh and myghtye Lorde, Syr Wyllyam of Bellay, Vyceroy of
Pymont, and Knyght of the Ordre of the Mooste Christen Kyng. Syr
Nycolas Uyllagon, Gretyng.

I haue geuen you to wytte (ryght honorable Lorde) by my laste letters, that, in
makyng hast towarde you, I was retarded and constrainyd to tarye at Rome,
because of the renewyng and greife of the woundes, that I was hurt of; the

This is the 71st number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

which, by the dyfficulte and length of the way, recreated and waxed worse da yly. For the truthe is, that the daylye procedyng of my sorenesse hath holly taken from me hope to depart from hens, and from my departyng hath hyndred me much more then I wold. Howbeit, beyng continually incyted by great desyre to see you agayne, and seying the let of my departyng out of this towne, as yet varedy, I haue aduysed me to put in wryting the ordre and estate of my voyage, and send it to you, because that, in suche wyse, ye should the sooner knowe it; which I myselfe wold sooner haue done, yf my dyscase would haue suffred it. And, by the same meanes, the delay of my commyng towarde you to be excused. Your good frende Fraunceys Guyche, a worthy man and lyberall, by greate amyte hath receyued me into his house, and kyndly entreated me. And hath doone so muche by his great dylygence, that, by the helpe of medycyns, I hope ryght soone to come into the way of amendement, wherby I am greatly beholdeu to hym. It hath been he, that, when I would haue enforced me to haue gone on my waye, hath lettred me tyll I were somewhat more at ease, and stronger to endure the traualle of the waye, and the disposycion of wynter; which yf he had not done, I was in daunger to haue fallen in another greuous malady, for with the payne and smert of my woundes, all my body was swollen, so that almoste I was fallen into an hydropey. Howbeit, as nowe I purpose, as sone as my dyscase is paste, to put me in waye with all dylygence to see you ryght soone. At Thuryu.

And fare ye well,

AS, in the sommer paste, my pryuate, necessary, and domestiquall busynes moued me to retourne into Fraunce, I was aduertised by my frendes of Temperours iorney into Italy, and of the purposed passage of his army into Affrique: Who, knowyng the counsell and purpose of Temperour, dyd moue and persuade me to thire good and honeste entrepriase. Then I, vnderstandyng well my fayth and duetye accordyng to my profession, knewe that I was bound, with all my powre, to employe my selfe to fight against thenemys of the faith; and lykewyse fearyng greatly, that my body, longe accustomed with the peynes of warre, shuld by the meanes of muche ease become to tendre for lacke of vse and exercise, if I shuld haue taryed longe lyngeryng with my frendes; wherfore, I purposed with my selfe, to deferre and set asyde my former busynes tyll another tyme, rather then to leaue suche a present and oportune occasion of honour in so necessary a matter. Nowe then, the mynd and purpose of Temperour (as I perceaued by my frendes letters) was thus, as foloweth.

Temperour beyng in Allmeigney, to thentent to appease and set a staye in the controuersys and dyscencyons, whiche are amonge the Allmeignes in matters of religion, dyd there fynde Ferdinand his brother, and the sonne of the same Ihon, which last of all obtayned the realme of Hungarye, and had knowledge that they wer inflamed with great and pernycious dyscordes, and in mynde to fyght together violentlye for the right of the suide realme. The whiche sonne of Ihon, for the feare that he had of the powre of Ferdinand, called and sought ayde of the Turckes; whiche when Ferdinand sawe commyng, in preuentyng theim, with all his powre, beseiged the towne of Buda, enforcyng him selfe moost dylygently to haue taken the saide towne before the Turckes cam. The which, when Temperour knew, and consyderyng howe necessary it was to stoppe the Turckes from entryng within our lymytes and boundes, dyd dyspatche a porcion of his armye to go and ayde his brother, to

thentent that the soner and the easyer he myght attayne to thend of his entrepryse, and to take the saide towne of Buda; notwithstanding he beeynge allwayes troubled with the feare of their purposed commynge, aswell of the strength of the place, as also of the dylygence of the enemyes which resisted and withstode him, was constrained to tarye the commynge of the saide Turckes. And therfore Themperour, leauynge his former entrepryse of the controuersyes of the faith, thought yt muche better to set a staye and ordre in this aforesaide warre. And for that he knewe wel, that it was a vercy daungerous and ieopardous thinge, so sone and vnaduyedly to goo against the might and force of the Turckes beinge so freshly arryued, inlesse they had been, in some parte, weryed by longe soournynge and taryenge after theyr commynge: Wherefore he was mynded to set forwarde his hoost into another place, more farther back from the partes of Christendome, and therfore, leauynge with his brother Ferdinand, for his ayde and helpe, the hoost before sent, supposyng them ynough, because the tyme was not conuenient for warre, scinge that wyntre was at hande; and the saide Ferdinand receauyng the whole charge and gudyng of the said hoost to the parties aforesaide, Themperour, with great traauyle and dylygence retorned to Italye, at which place beinge arryued, he caused with al spede newe menne of warre to be taken vp, and in a lytle tyme had readye a perfite hoost of men; and lykewyse ther was made aswell at Gene, as also at Naples, diuerse shippes and galyes imediatlye, to conducte and brynge the saide armye into Affrique. For it was now more necessarye for hym to assaile Affrique, then enye other contrey of Turcky, for feare that, if he had made his armye into Turcky, he had leaft his enemyes in Affrique without warre, whiche shuld haue turned to the great feare of the Spanyardes, whom he purposely kept, to be ayded by them, bothe of money and menne, at his inuadyng of Turcky.

In the meane cason, that all thynges were makynge readye, and that the gallyes were furnyssed with vytayles and artillarye, reccauyng the menne of warre, Themperour had communicacion with the B. of Rome, in the towne of Luke, to thentent to aduertise him of his entrepryse, counsell and purpose of the saide warre. The B. of Rome, because Affrique bathe fewe good hauens to lande in, aduysed him not to take the sea, neither to abyde thereon, and toke muche pain to persuaade Themperour from hys purpose. Howbeyt, that the reason of the sayde bisshop was alwayes very good, yet notwithstandyng, for other greater considerations, Themperour dyd remain in his fyrst purpose; for he knewe how great a nombre of people wer oppressed in Hongrie, and how nedeful it was, that the warre in that place shuld not be long continued; and therfore chaunged his purpose, to arryue in another place, to thentent, that our enemyes shuld be compelled to kepe warre, wythin their owne cowntre; he sawe well that it was a woork that requyred greate dylygence, and so much the rather, because he had concealed wyth him selfe, that the Turckyshe warre requyred a greater prouision. In such sorte, that, before the sommer next folowyng, he coulde not prepare so great an army; wherefore in the meane tyme, he thought it more conuenient to make warre in Affrique, to thentent to deliuer the Spaniardes from the feare of the Affricans, and that afterwarde he myghte the more

easily preserue the sayd Spaniardes for his Turckyshe warres: For the Spaniardes are accustomed, when Themperour doth aske eny moneye of them, to excuse them selucs by the neyghboured of the saide Affricanes their enemyes. So that, by this meanes, and suche lyke reasons, the B. of Rome was perswaded, and allowed the wyl and mynde of Themperour, and, praysynge his wisdom, did departe.

All these thinges then beyng readye, as is aforesayde, Themperour commaunded that the gallyes, whiche were laden with vytayles and instrumentes of warre, shulde departe from Naples and Gene, and go to the ysles of Balcares, the whiche nowe is called the Ysle of Maiorque and Minorque, and that there they shulde tary; and he him selfe within short tyme after departed from the hauen of Ueneri, beyng accompaigned with xxxvi. great shippes, takynge his course to the Ysle of Corphou; and after he had sayled a lytle while, without any trouble, there dyd sodaynlye aryse a meruelous greates tempeste, whiche deuyded the whole nauye, in suche wise, that with great pain and strength of owers, the barque, that Themperour was in, with vii. other shippes onely, myght skace recouer the land of the sayd Ysle of Corphou; so that all the other were dryued by the great violence and vehemency of the tempeste vnto dyuerse places ferre asonder, in suche wise, that they arryued not with the other vii. shippes, before two dayes were expired, durynge whiche tyme Themperour was constreigned to remayne at the foresayde hauen to abide the sayde shippes. And, after the arryuyng of the sayde shippes, he passed with all his nauye vntyl he came to a towne of Boniface, the which towne is so situate vpon a rocke, that iii. quarters therof no man maye come nygh, hauynge but onely one place to entre at, which is thorough the caue and holowe parte of the foote of a mountayne standynge in the stead of a dytche, for the same towne, so that the sayde towne is not praysed for eny other thyng, but for the hauen beyng so verie nere vnto it; in the whiche towne, after Themperour had a lytle tyme rested him selfe, and seying the wether well dysposed, he departed from thence, with all his armye, and without any trouble he arryued in the Ysle of Sardague nere to the see of Affrique, and in the same place he refreshed hym selfe in the towne of Lahorgers; in whiche place, the same daye that they arryued, there chaunced a woondrefull, straunge, and meruelous thyng, for, in the nyght folowyng, ther was a kowe that cald a calfe with two heades, the which was brought to Themperour to behold. Two days after, Themperour parted from that place, and, for the space of two dayes folowyng, had a meruelous good wynde, and approached nere the Balcare of Minorque, into the whiche, thynkyng to entre, they were dryuen backe with a woondrefull, sodayne, and sore tempest, so sharply, that skace, with verie greates pain, was it possible for them euer to haue recouered the hauen; which neuerthelesse came to passe, and that throughe force and strengthe of oers in spight of bothe wynde and wether; and the tempest was so great, that for the space of vii. dayes continuallye, dooyng our vttermoost, we had not ben hable to haue made iiiii. legges. So that for the continuance of the great storme and wynde we were dryuen to abyde at ancre, without the hauen, the reste of the nyghte, and the morowe after; seinge the porte of Mahon to be harde by vs, we arriued into the

same, not without greate and exceedyng peine and labour. This haven (of al that I haue seen) is the fayrest and best, were it not that it is very harde entreynge into the same, whiche commeth of the nature of the place; for al the border of this ysle is compassed about, with veraye high mountaignes and hilles; and the place, by which they enter into the same porte, is so streyght and narrowe, that it is vereye ieopardious and daungerous to auenture to entre into the same, without a smal and softe wynde; but to the rest, it is veray propre and handsome to herbour and kepe safe a great nombre of shyppes, aswell for the length, whiche is ii. legges, as also for the corners, wholes, and turnyng places, whiche let that no tempeste of the see maye once vexe, greue, or trouble enye ship that is therein. And harde by are manye mountaignes, couered with forestes and great woodes, whiche is a necessarye thinge, and profitable for theim, that shall aryue there. And, at the ende of the saide haven, is situate and buylded a veraye fayre towne, vppon the toppe of the mountaignes; the whiche, if yt were buylded and furnysshed with mehne, as it is stronge by nature of the place, it shulde be more hard for the barbarouse to wynde and take, then to assayle it, as he hathe done.

Nowe then Themperour rested in this place the space of two dayes, so longe as the storme and rage of the tempest of the sea continued, the whiche as sone as it was alayed, we departed thence, and we bordred vpon Maiorque; and, when Themperour was come, he founde ther arryued Ferrande Gonzaga, viceroy of Naples, and an hundred and fyftie shyppes of the Italyans, and with them beyng accompanied with seuen galleyes stronge and well trymmed: which, with them that Themperour brought, made the nombre of fyfthe galleyes, ouer and aboute all the nombre of the forsayde shyppes; and yet Themperour looked for fyftene great shyppes to be sent hym out of Spayne, with a great nombre of other shyppes, all laden, which then were arryued vpon the border of Affrique, and shortly after was shewed vnto Themperour; who, hearyng the sayde newes, commaunded euery man to go aborde, and to hoysse up the sayles, and to take theyr course vnto Affrique; and so we lefte behynde us the ysle of Maiorque, the whiche to descrybe vnto you, the nature and kynde therof is farre otherwyse then of Minorque; for the see costes of the same be flat and lowe, without any fruytfull mountaignes, or haboundyng with any good thyng; but the myddle therof is hyllie and stony grounde, vnfruytfull and haren, and that, because it lyeth more nere to the south, then doth Spayne, by reason wherof the wyntre is more temperate, without any sharpe colde, beyng plentyfull of all suche fruyte, as customably doth growe in Affrique. The inhabitants therof dooe vse the lawes, customes, and language of the Traconytes, greatly resemblinge them in all thynges. They vse, in the makynge of theyr mortar to buylde with all, to put softe earth, grauel, small stones, and sande, which is the substance and princypall thyng, wherwith the walles of theyr chefe towne is buylded.

Nowe to retourne to Themperour; when all the galleyes and shyppes were departed from the foresayde ysle of Maiorque in good ordre, he toke hys waye vnto Affrique, towarde the towne of Argire, and

dyd arraye nere vnto the same, within ii. dayes after his departyng from the foresayde yse of Maiorque; and there founde his forelayde gallyes, whiche were harboured fyue legges longe frome the sayde towne of Argiere, that bordereth harde vpon the see coste; who, spying vs a farre of, made towardes vs; but ymmediatly they were commaunded by Themperour to retourne agayne to the same place, where they lay before, to stoppe or let, that no succoure shulde come vnto the towne from that parte. Themperour then, approchyng somewhat nere vnto it, commaunded that, with all diligence, twelue shyppes, trausersyng before the towne, shulde go on the other parte, to spye and see yf they coulde fynde a more commodious place to harbour his sayde gallyes in, where they myght lye in lesse daunger of tempestes and stormes of wynde and wether. Which was quickly done; and, perceauing that he had a more sure abyding and commodious place, Themperour, with the strength of his nauye, passed before the sayde towne, and went to the place aforesayde, where they cast ancre, wayting in the same place for the shyppes that were laden with vytayles and other baggages of warre; and, from the sayde place, one myght easely see all the proporcyon and sytuacion of the sayde towne, and a great parte of the country nygh vnto it. The daye folowyng (perceauyng the see to aryse and swell a lytle and lytle) we wayed oure ancre, and remoued, chosyng another place, where the wynde myght doo vs lesse harme and dammage, the whiche place is called Matasus. And, this thyng done, behold, there came forth two shyppes of the Turcke to spye, the whiche incircumspectly fell into oure handes; and, quykly perceauing theyr folyshness and ignorance, caste about theyr sayles, and recouered the depth in such wise, that it was not posseyble to take one of them; for the one was sonke in the see by oure people, and the other, with swyfte sayling, and strength of ores, saued her selfe: neuerthelasse, it was known by them whiche were taken, that they were espyes sent to knowe the state and prouision of our army. The rest of the daye was spent in assemblyng together to the sayde place all the gallyes, in the meane tyme, and whyle the see dyd asswage. Whyle this was doynge, Themperour commaunded the Lorde Ferrande Gonzaga and James Bossus, menne of great wytte, and practized in warres, that with a lytel fysher bote they shulde ronne alonge the wynde, espying or sarchyng out a mete and conuenient place where to land his armye. And these, obeyinge the commaundement of Themperour, dyd theyr diligence, and, when they returned, shewed the place chosen by them for this purpose. The daye foloyng, the see was woondreous still and calme. Afterwarde, Themperour, drawyng more nere to the towne, landed all his army without anye maner of resistance of the enemyes; and the ordre and aray of the same armye was as foloweth; the nombre of the footmen were xxii. M. wherof vii. M. were Spanyardes, whiche came aswell from Naples, as also from Sicile. Ther was also vi. M. Allmeignes, vi. M. Italians, and iii. M. of diuerse other nacyns, whiche, of theyr owne good willes, foloyinge Themperour, sought theyr honours and aduentures, beside the housholde seruauntes of Themperour, and beside iii. C. of diuerse other nacyns, which were

sent from Malta by the Knyghtes of the Rhodes, the whiche also were of diuerse countryes. The nombre of the horsemen were xi. C. that came oute of Spayne, of the whiche, iiii. C. ordinarily weyted upon Themperour. Then, assone as our menne were landed (for this daye there wer but fewe menne of armes that came alande) courageously they assembled theim selues together, euery manne accordynge to his owne nacion, purposing euery man with him selfe wisely to set vpon, and assaile our enemies, whiche by diuerse course and skyrmyshes sought to hurt vs; but, assone as they approched and came nere to vs, they were dryuen backe by our people, with the artillarye and harquebussches, that they wer compelled to ronne dispersed and oute of araye, in suche sorte and maner, that we had none hurte by them. Our enemyes then, beinge driuen backe, wer constreigned to kepe theim selves in the mountaignes.

Our armye then began to draw nere the towne; the Spanyardes had the forward, or vanguard, vnder the gouernaunce of the Lorde Ferrand Gonzaga. Themperour set forward in the battayll, accompanied with his Allmaignes; in the arriergarde or hinder warde was the Italyans and the Rhodyans, beyng vnder the gouernaunce of the Lorde Camillus Columna. And in this ordre we wente forward the same day, almoste halfe a legge, where we passed awaye the night with lytle slepe. For the Numydyans, whiche were creapte vp into the mountaignes, came downe often tymes, and noyed vs euyl with bowe shott, moost chefully that parte which was nearest to Themperour's tentes; against whom there were by Themperour sent iiii. compaignyes of Spanyardes, to refreine and stoppe them, or at the leaste to staye theyr fearcenes and boldnes: but our enemye, knowynge the places and conueighaunces of the countrees, at the commynge and sight of the foresaide menne, they gate them backe into the woodes and mountaignes, places moost sure and safe, leftyng our people from commyng up; whiche they coulede not always do any long tyme, for our people, with great courage and hardynes, went up and made them flye; but at the last, perceauyng the nombre of our enemyes to encrease dayly more and more, and they beyng wery with so often skyrmysshynge, or fightyng with theyr enemyes, were constreigned to come backe agayne to the armye; whiche they dyd not without great losse, seing they contynued in battayle, from the firste settinge of the watche, tyll the dawninge of the daye, and speciallye for because they were euell prouyded of gonne powder. Then it is to be vnderstande, that the waye of the halfe legge, whiche we went, is a flat and euen ground, and that ther is none other let therin, but certen wild bussches and shrubbes; and such is the place, tyll ye come to the foote of dyverse lytle hylles, or mottes, whiche contynue from the sayde playne to the towne of Argiers, and are in length almoste halfe a legge. And vnder the same playne the see floweth, begynnynge at the rocke, from whence we firste came to searche a more sure place (as is aforesayde) and it is of length, from the sayde towne to the rocke, about v. or vi. legges, measured with a strayte lyne: howbeit, they, that shallorney it, shall fynde nere x. legges; because the mountaignes continue, and come from the sayde rocke to the foresayde lytle hylles, whiche

in maner do compasse the towne, so that ther is none other playne, sauynge the valyes of the sayde mountaignes, betwene them; for the sayde lytle hylles are set in such sort, that they shewe as though they were an hauen: for lyke wise as, wher the see beateth vpon the lande, it maketh it eyther streyte, or compasse lyke a bowe; so, in lyke maner, the mountaignes beyng farther in the lande, or nearer to the hauen, that is to saye, semeth to be nye, wher they lye flat, and, when they be croke, or compassed hauenlyke, shewe much larger then the playne. In this place then (lyke as ye haue hearde) the iii. enseignes or banners beyng returned, Themperour caused the armye to approche neere the towne; whiche to bring to passe, it was conuenient to wyne and obtayne the vpper partes of the sayde lytle mottes, or hylles, that ioyned vnto the playne, and enclose the sayde towne, receauynge all that came from the mountaignes, which we haue declared to come from the former rocke: the which mountaignes also were necessarye to be had, to let our enemyes from stoppage oure entreprise, for by them oure aduersaries ceased not to prouoke and assaile vs; and so sore troubled vs, that our people coule not get up easelye; for they, possessing the top of the hylles, might lyghtly withdrawe them selves, when we woulde do oure endeouours to pursue them. And it was farther thought, that, yf it were possible to obteyne the heigh of the sayde mountaignes, it shoulde be then muche more easye to stoppe and let, that they shoulde haue no succour of vitayles, whych myght haue come to them of the towne by lande; and therefore it was deuysed, that they shoulde driue awaye, oute of the sayde mountaignes, the Numidoys, that so muche had molested vs; and in the very selfe same place he set his vauntgarde, or forward. And, for so muche as it was very harde to brynge to passe, because of the heigh and vprightnes of the mountaignes, that not withstandinge, by the wisdom and good gouernment of the Lorde Fernande Gonzaga, the Spanyardes had the honour of the getting vp. The mountaignes then beyng occupied with the vauntgarde, the campe, or battayle, remained amonge the lytle hylles, of the whyche is spoken before, and a lytle farther, by the hauen of the see, was set the riergarde; and, the army beyng thus ordred, the towne of Argiers semed to be shut in a triangle; for of the one side it had the see, and on the other two partes laye oure army, in suche wise, that they were enclosed from ayde and succour of anye parte, forasmuch as the townes and countrees there aboute, beyng oure enemyes, myght haue come and done us displeasure. Neuerthelesse, we, beyng holpen by the commodite and heigh of the sayde mountaignes, wher we wer, feared very lytle their comminge; considering also, that, in the same campe or felde, were many dyches, or caucs, and wholes, of the nature of the place, which also serued vs wel in steede of dyches and trenches: so that then, all our enemyes beyng dryuen into the sayde towne, and all thynges beyng in good ordre and staye, beholde, in the eueninge tyde, ther came a sodeyne and piteous calamyte or miserye. vneuitable or vneschuable; for there fell so greate and vehemente baboundaunce of rayne, commynge downe with suche vyolence and force, and continuing so lenge, that it was not possible any longer to endure it

without present death; and the same tempest ceased not, from the fyrst houre of the nyght, tyll the nexte daye after: and yet, that was far greuous and painful to the poore souldyers, there came suche a wynde, that blew so colde and sharpe, and with suche vyolence, that neuer was there sene a more piteous nyght; for the poore souldyers, commyng out of their shyppes, not takynge eny stuffe with them, had not a cloth to couer them selves, neither cappe, cloke, nor tentes to lye in. By the whiche intollerable tempest there were so many beaten and febled, that both strength and courage feyled them together, by the reason of the greate peine and grieve that they had endured. Duryng the whiche tyme, the see roase more then euer it had beene sene before, and in suche a rage, that many of our shyppes, losyng theyr ancrs and theyr gables, were broken and beaten in peces against the see bankes; the other, beyng fylled with water, were drowned and sonke into the depc, where was greate losse and damage, aswel of apparel, artillery, and other prouision, as also of the rytayles, wherwyth they were laden. And this euell chaunce, happenyng in the nyght, was piteously augmented by the fortune of the daye folowyng; for a freshe the rayne and wynde cam agayn with suche vehemency and vyolence, that it was impossible for eny manne lyuyng to stande on his fete; the whiche thinge knowynge oure enemyes, they perceaued well it was no tyme to let vs be in rest; so that a greate nombre of theim, commyng very secretly out of their towne, came vnto oure watche, and destroyed them, and afterward drewe toward vs, tyll they came to oure trenches or bullwarkes, settinge ypon vs with bowe shotte. Notwithstandyng that we wer then wondrefully astonnyed, yet with all dilygence we stode to oure defence, and, spedely armyng vs, we assayled them in suche wise, that, at our first settinge on, they drewe backe, for none other purpose, then to haue drawn vs to theyr displeasoure into some streyght or destruction, in fallynge amonge theyr embushmentes, by pursuyng theim incircumspectly. We were, in this metynge, more in nombre then oure enemyes, but they had the vantage of vs, aswel for the commodyte of the place beyng aboue vs, as also of the diuersite of weapons and artillery, whiche they vsed; for they, keypyng the higher parte of the mountaigne, so troubled vs with the shotte of theyr crossbowes, longe bowes, and greate stones, and other kindes of artillery, that by no meanes we coule get vp to them; for, by the reason of the contynuaunce of the rayne, and greatenes therof, we had altogether laide aside the we and occupieng of oure harquebushes, so that it was impossible to finde enye meane howe to resiste them, beyng farre of; and therefore we drewe nere vnto them, euen tyl we came to their hobleardes, and fought hande to hande and manne with manne: but to bring this thinge to passe was veraye painfull to vs, aswell for the greate strengthe of oure enemyes, as also for the situacion of the place, beyng so difficile and harde to clyme vp vnto, and the greate nombre of bowe shotte, that on vs they discharged, when we enforced our selues thervnto.

This maner of warre was veraye straunge to our people which had not bene accustomed with the maners and courses that oure enemyes

vsed with vs, which neuer woold ioyne together, ner icoparde all their strength to the auenture of one battayle; but, beinge dispersed and scattered, they prouoked vs with their shotte, to thentent to drawe vs out of araye, and to haue broken our ordre. And, if it happened us to pursue them, they wer aiwayes in a redynes to flye, to thentent to drawe vs ferther of, and to seperate vs one from another, and then, perceauyng vs a litle nombre, they shulde retorne with greater compaignye vpon vs, and easely defeate vs beyng their pursuers, and the lesser nombre; and the same day the horsse-men (whiche turned to our great hurte) caused to come forth with them oute of the towne a sorte of footemenne of lyke nombre, which being so well trymmed and broken in the feactes of their warre, that they could promptly and readely applye them selves to al poyntes and feactes therof, and ranne, when nede was, as swyftlye as the horses them selves. Oure people (as is aforesaide) beinge deceaued with this straunge manner of warre, pursued our enemyes (which so strayed abroad) euen till they came almost at the walles of the towne of Argier, into the whiche our enemyes hasted to entre, and incontynentlye they of the towne with all spede shot of their artillary, with all other their ordinaunce vpon the pursuers; wherevpon folowed a greate murther and destruction of our people, in such maner, that many of the Italyans (not exercized in warre) tooke their flyght, and by that meanes there was none lefte to kepe the felde, but the Knyghtes of the Rhodes, with a certen nombre of Italyans, beinge honest menne, whiche regardinge their honour dyd not flye. We then, consydering all thinges, did aduise with our selves, that our enemyes, seying the flight of our people, woold not fayle to issue forth to pursue vs, lyke as it came to passe; and we tooke counsell to withdrawe vs betwene ii. lytle hilles in suche a secrete place, where a fewe might easely withstande a great nombre. Now then, as I haue writen vnto you, all the place rounde aboute the towne was full of lytle hilles, the which are the cause, that the waye is altogether in a manner noysome, croked ouertwhart, and in many places narrowe, according as the hilles stand, some nere, and some ferther of, one from another,

We thus purposyng, and incontynently after our remouyng, behold, our enemyes cam forth of the towne, in great nombre, earnestly intending to haue pursued vs sharply; but assone as they perceaued vs, they began to put in use their accustomed trade, to thentent to drawe vs out of strength, who seing that we wold not come forth, dyd send ther people afore up the mountaignes, to thentent that being aboue vs, they might with stones, and other theyr artillary, dryue vs oute; the which caused that manye of our people, not being prepared against such sorte of warre, left their place and fled from their strength and holde, not withstanding we enforced vs allwayes to dooe nothinge, that myght redounde to our reproche, and to take as lytle harme as we could; which thinge seing, our enemyes, and hauinge great spyght that so small a compaignie shulde withstand so great a nombre of people, they agreed to drawe nerer, and settinge fiercely forward came vpon vs, with a bonde of horssemenne, against whose commynge, our armoures stood us in good stede. Nowe then, we scinge that all

hope of our lyues dyd lye in wysdome, and boldnes of courage, we purposed rather honestly to dye in battayle, than in flyenge to be myserably destroyed by them; and this to dooe we wer greatlye incited and sturred withe the hope that we had in the nere commynage and readye succour, which we looked to haue quickly of thempour. And, being thus purposed and confirmed, we withstode our enemyes by great force of speares. So that when yt chaunced enye of theim to come among vs and to medle with vs; we shortened their passage and slewe theim among vs, which was not hard to dooe, forasmuch as they are not muche accustomed to weare herneyasse. And perceauynge this, they drawynge backe, beganne agayne the use of their shotte as they had done before, wher withall they dyd vs much harme, because we were very nygh one to another, and that so greatly, that we were dryuen to brake our ordre, and to saye the trouth, we were sore troubled; at which tyme, beholde, thempour came polytikly with a compeignye of Allmaignes, whiche when our enemyes perceaued, they left of noyng and greuyng vs, and gaue vs a lytle leasour and space to breathe our selves. When thempour had set his armye in the largest places that he could fynde amonge the lytle hilles (of the which, often tymes we haue made mencyon) and our enemyes coule not well perceauce what was the nombre, because of the hilles which were betwene them; wherfore, to knowe this, they approched more nearer, but seinge that it auayled nothing, fearynge that if they shuld haue stayd to long viewyng of vs, the thempours men, beyng nere, woold haue medled with them; and therefore, they drewe backe, and straye way entred the tounne, blowynge the retraicte, and so saued them selves in the tounne in good ceason, lashinge oute, and shotynge of, in all the haste, theyr greate gonnes and harquebushes; then was thempour himselfe in great daunger, for in the meane while that he was with the vaunt garde, geuyng courage unto them, that were in the foremost brunt. The great Gonnes caryed away v. or vi. of them to whome he spake, and tooke counceyl of; howbeit, he him selfe neuer chaunged colour, nether shewed eny token of feare in goyng forth with his purpose, as though nothing had chanced. These thinges thus dooen, and our enemyes gone backe and we deliuered, thempour, with a small losse of his Allmeignes, brought back the armye to the campe. As concernyng the Knyghtes of the Rhodes which were in all, skase the nombre of an hundred, there was viii. of theim that remayned slaine with the Gonnes, and xxx. that skaped being sore wounded. As for the Italians, whiche remayned among vs, I knowe not for a truthe, howe great the nombre was, nether of theim that wer slaine, ner yet of those that wer hurt and wounded, for because that I my selfe was sore wounded, and for that the great grefe and peine of my woundes caused in me a great maladye and disease, that yt was not possible for me to go vnto one that coule tell me the nombre. In this meane while that we were thus tormented wyth the wynde, rayne, and enemyes, our shippes of warre, rydyng alongest the coste, were woondrefully turmoyled; and such was the rage and crueltye of the storme, that there was nether ancre ner gable, the whiche coule holde theim from breakynge and dashynge against the earthe, or from beatynge one against another, so

that the water entreynge, sanke them in the depe. And our enemyes much more augmentynge this fortune (whiche seinge aswell our losses as also our other miseries, bothe of our people and shippes in great nombre) went downe to our arryuaage, to thentent to kyll them, whom the tempest had spared; the which thing seinge, themperour dispatched. ii. M. Spanyardes that brought backe our enemyes, and delyuered the maryners from that perill and danger, whiche was to our smal aduantage; for the maryners, seing the great daunger of the see, and thassuraunce of the lande, regarded none other thyng but the sauynge of theym selves, and therfor conueighed them selves, oute of the daunger of the water, whiche was the cause that the oftener our shippes dyd beate against the bankes, and so were drowned in great nombre. Suche was this tempest, that xxx. shippes wer lost, which chaunce was so greuous when it was tolde the army, that in maner they wer vtterly put in despayre; for at their comminge forth of the shippes, to thentent they wolde be the more lyght and hable to iourneye, they pestred not them selves with enye necessarye prouisyon, neyther tooke they with them vytayles, but for ii. dayes onely, the which wer gone and spent ii. jorneyes before; therfore, considering a great part of the shippes perished, they feared that the rest shuld peryshe in lyke maner, so that, when nede shuld come, there shuld remayne none to cary them awaye, in such sort that they looked for nothings more sure then presente death. And seinge that we lacked artillery, and that, on theother side, it boted not, either to seke or hope for vytayles, so that they vtterlye dyspayred of the wyninge of the towne, and this confusyon and despayre endured all that daye and nyght foloyng.

Thre days after, the see somewhat assuaged, but yet not so, that it was possible to haue entreprised the goynge for enye vytayles; and themperour, in this necessite, coulde none otherwyse prouyde for his armye, but commaunded that the horses whyche he had caused to be brought with hym in the barques, to be kylld for the sustentacion of the poore souldyers, the which by the space of iii. dayes dyd eate none other meat; for the tempest, in brusynge and noynge of the shippes, had loste and drowned a great quantyte of meale, corn, and bysket, and other vytayles, as peason, beanes, wyne, oyle, and poudered fleshe, with thewhiche they were wel laden at their comynge forth. And so, by this meanes, there was loste many horses, and a great nombre of artillerye, aswell of that which serued for the safegarde and defence of shippes, as also of that whiche we tooke out for the besegyng and assautynge of the towne, the greatest parte wherof our enemyes might haue fysshed for; and the some of the grayne that we loste was so muche, that skacely ther remayned ynough to serue vs in our jorneye homeward, although we made great hast.

The Emperour then, consyderyng all his fortunes and losses, determyned to differre this assaute tyll the next sommer foloyng; or soner, yf he could bryng hys armye; and, therefore, commaunded that euery man should get him to the see-syde; which thyng was much more easier to be done, then was their landynge. And then was sent there a pyteous and lamentable syght; for the poore souldyers, beyng so feynt, as is aforesayde, wette, and washed with water, from topp

to too, beyng feble, by suffeinyng so longe the great famyne; fynding the way, by which they shuld go, so slabby and slyppery, that many of them, lackyng strength, fell downe pyteously starke ded, or very nigh ded, without hauyng helpe or succour of eny man in the worlde; for the earth, by the reason of the former rayne, was so wette and slyppery, that it was not possible to fynde any place once to rest in; so that, yf any wold haue rested, or stande styll, he was constraigned to staye him selfe vpon his staffe. Neuertheles God alwayes ayded vs, for in thende (except it were a veray small nombre) we with good courage acheued, wisely this our retraicte, in such sorte, that, for to come vnto the place where we shuld go aboorde, we passed lustely thorowe thre dytches of ronnyng water, wherein we went vp to the harde gyrdelles; and this retraicte, or fleying backe, endured the space of three dayes.

Nowe then, assone as we were all arryued harde by the shyppe, the emperour commaunded, that, while the Allmeignes and Italyans wente aborde, the Spanyardes (in whome he had a better opinion) shuld tary alande, for the resystence of the enemies, yf any chaunced to folowe them, and to do asmuch as they myght, that euery man were set aborde: hewbeit, the former tempest had broken and destroyed so many of the lytle botes, by which our people shuld haue bene caryed, one after another, vnto the greateshippes, that it was not possible to boorde in so lytle time as ii. dayes; nether might the Spanyardes come awaye before all was done; and, the third day, then a great nombre of the Spanyardes beyng caryed and borded, the winde beganne to blowe, and the see to swell, in such wise, that they had much adoe to bryng the rest aborde, but yet, at the last, it was dooen. The maryners foreseeing, or perceauyng the tempest, beganne to departe, and they that fyrst were laden, and gone, were moste happy, for the tempest, so encreasyng, would not suffre the other to come of the coste, but of force kept them in, to the great daunger of breakyng theyr shippes agaynste the rockes; so that a Rhodyan, hauyng his gables and ankers broken, was in great daunger to be dryuen in peces agaynste the stones of the bankes; but, by the great labour of the slaues, at the last they gate more into the see, and then the masters counceled, rather to put them selves to the chaunce of the wether, then to remaine there in daunger; the other three, foloyng the purpose of this, dyd, in lyke maner, put them selves to the fortune of the wether, and, by this meane, at the last arryued al foure at the toune of Buge; which thyng was not done without great labour and perill, for the one of them, losyng his rudder, escaped peryshyng very narrowlye.

The Emperour, lookyng for the assuagyng of the tempest, dyd remaine, this mean tyme, harde by the shore, thynkyng that, if the rage dyd still contynue, that he woulde, with strength of men, tolle forth his shippes, with lytle botes, into the depth of the see; but forasmuche as he had proued often tymes, and myght not bryng it to passe, and also seyng the tempest contynue, he commaunded to set forward with the shippes, and to folowe the Rhodyans, leauyng behynde him, for the succoure of them that remainyd, foure great

gallyes; that afterwarde, as we were informed, wer, by the rygoure and force of the tempest, brosed and beaten agaynst the rockes of the see-bankes, and a great nombre of oure people caste vpon the same bankes, which, beyng destytute of all hope and comforte, commended them selves to God, purposyng to go towarde the towne of Argiers, to ask mercy of our enemyes, and to put them selves vndre raunsome; but the Numidoys, oure enemyes, without any pitie or compassion, slewe them, and destroyed them, before they came nere the towne. Such was thende of the Affricane warre, that what, for the troublesomenes of the tymes, and the great labour which we had endured, we were desyrous of reste; notwithstandinge we obteyned not, for the place would not suffre it; forasmuche as the hauen of Buges had before it no maner of defence to kepe of the wynde and wether commyng from Europe, the which caused that we could not longe remayne there; for the see, beyng vexed and troubled with wynde, brake and brosed our shypes, in such sorte that we were in no lesse perill then when we escaped at Argiers. Afterwarde, by good chaunce, ther was arryued a ship, laden with corne and other vytayles; the whiche, sone after she was come into the hauen, by the sore tempests and furye of the winde, euen before our eyes, was drowned and sonke; by the which tempeste, although we susteyned no hurte, yet I thought it mete to be spoken of, that ye may knowe what feare we were in. And, after that the see had thus tormented vs a great parte of the daye, at the laste came a myserable and cruel nyght, that vexed us in such sorte, that we vtterly despayred; but, the day foloyng, the great rage and furye beinge a lytle assuaged and appeased, it began to be somewhat calme. And yer ferther, I had forgotten to tell you, that, duryng this greate tempest, by a wonderfull vyolence of the winde, the captaynes shyppe of the gallyes was caryed, whiche, in commyng to the hauen, had cast ouer boorde both mastes and sayles; whiche tempest vsed no lesse rygorousnes with the shippes of the Rhodyans; for, by a wondrefull violence, it toke vp a bote oute of the shippes, lyftyng it so high, that it had lyke, in the commyng downe, to haue fallen into one of the gallyes; so that it was none other lyke, but the saide tempest wolde haue executed his furye euen vpon all the rest of the shippes, as that dyd vpon them that skaped from Argier.

And, after this great tempest, the see beyng some what appeased; on the which, because we durst not sayle, we were in daunger to haue perished for hungre; for, although Buges was ours, yet we had much adoe to get enye succour of them; for the Mores (agaynst whome our people, dwellyng in the saide towne, haue alwayes warre) doe occupye, and holde all the countre and regions therabout; so that we coulde haue no maner of succoure ner aide of them, for lacke of corne and greyne, whiche alwayes was brought to them out of Spayne. And for because that, a longe tyme before, ther cam no shippe out of Spayne that had brought them enye grayne; and also, for that we arryued there, being many in nombre, therefore we coulde not be much ayded by them.

And, after that theemperour had consydered all these parylles and daungers, both he and all his people gaue them selues to prayer vnto

God, and receaved the holyc sacrament, to pacesye the yre and wrath of Almighty God; and, after the chaungyng of the mone, the rage and fury of the wynde ceased, and the see waxed calme. In the whiche tyme of feare, and that the good occasion and conuenient tyme of our departure shoulde not be loste, the captayne of the knightes of the Rhodes, hauyng communicacyon with themperour, obteyned to haue a certayne companye with him, with whome Fernand Gonzaga goyng, I my selfe also departed from the sayde place, and we arryued at the towne of Tunes: but themperour, by the counsell of Andridore, captayne of hys nauye, dyd remayne tyll the tempest was more allayed. And, partyng from Tunes, we came to Dextran, which is in Sicyle; and anone after, we had made certayne oblacions and offerynges to the Blessed Vyrgyne, we went to Pauoram; in the whiche place I bethought my selfe of certen business of myne owne, which I had put of tyll my retourne from Affrique; and yet, for all that, I made towarde Rome as fast as I coude, where I was constreyned to tarye, for that my sores and woundes so sore vexed and tormented me; and to the content that, in the meane tyme, I wolde not be found ydle, I was wylyng to compile and gather this little treatyse of the iorneye made into Affrique; in the whiche, I make no mencion of the noble actes of the valyant capteynes, for that wolde conteygne to long a matre.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

A BREFE CHRONYCLE,

Concerning the

EXAMINACION AND DEATH

Of the blessed Martir of Christ,

SIR IOHAN OLDCASTELL, THE LORD COBHAM,

Collected together by

JOHAN BALE.*

In the latter time shall many be cksosen, proued and purgyfied by fyre, yet shall the vngodly lyue wickedly styll, and haue no vnderstanding. Dan. xii. 10.

Imprinted at London, by Anthony Scoloker, and Wyllyam Seres, dwelling wythout Aldersgate.

Cum Gratia & Priuilegio ad Imprimendum solum.

This is printed from the first edition in octavo, containing seven sheets, in a black old English letter. In the title-page is a curious frontispiece cut in wood, representing Sir John Oldcastle, in a warlike posture, with his armour,

* See p. 202. Vol. I.

helmet, and shield, in his left hand, on which is engraven a crucifix, with a Virgin Mary on one side, and Sir John on the other; and with a drawn sword flamed at the point, in his right hand; the whole being circumscribed with this inscription :

✠ Sir. Iohan. Oldcastle. the. worthy. ✠
 Lord. Cobham. and. mooste. valyaunt.
 Warryoure. of. IESU. Chryste. ✠
 Suffred. Death. at. London. Anno. 1418.

If we would trace the grounds of this persecution and process against Sir John Oldcastle, and other holy martyrs hereafter mentioned, it will be necessary to look back to the reign of Edward the Third, when, a great contest happening at Oxford between the monks and seculars, Dr. John Wickliff attacked the exorbitant jurisdiction of the Pope and bishops, and was supported by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Henry Lord Percy. This, of consequence, drew upon him the invectives of the clergy; but, though he was summoned and appeared to the Archbishop of Canterbury's citation before a council held on purpose at London, he so defended himself, and was so well protected by the Duke of Lancaster, then in the chief management of the government, that he was acquitted; yet the Pope, being informed of what had past, demands satisfaction of him; but all that followed, upon this occasion, was his second citation before a council at Lambeth, where he was prohibited to preach against the Church of Rome, which he no ways regarded: for, Edward being dead, and the realm much troubled, during the minority of Richard the Second, Wickliff spread his opinions openly, and gained many disciples. So that he was again summoned to appear before William Courtnay, Archbishop of Canterbury, eight other bishops, and several doctors at London, in May 1382; where they laid many heretical and erroneous doctrines to his charge, condemned them, and obtained a power from King Richard to seize upon and imprison such as taught or wrote the said doctrines with most warmth. I do not believe that Wickliff was so overawed with this acquisition of the Ecclesiasticks, as to recant his just opposition of the abominations of the church of Rome, as the Popish writers pretend; but this I am certain of, that he died soon after, upon his living at Lutterworth, on the thirty first of December, 1384, leaving many writings in defence of his doctrines, and many disciples to teach and defend them, even with their blood.

Wickliff's death at first gave the Ecclesiasticks some hopes of suppressing his heresy, as they called it. But, when Thomas Arundel succeeded Courtnay in the see of Canterbury, he found his works so much admired and defended, that, in a council held at London in 1396, he condemned eighteen more propositions collected from the said works, and became the greatest persecutor of all those that maintained his doctrines, amongst whom was this noble champion in Christ, Sir John Oldcastle.

The Archbishop being extremely nicensed against the Lollards, which was now become a general name for the followers of Wickliff, or any others that opposed the exorbitancies of the Pope and prelates, priests or monks, had obtained of the late King an order to send commissioners to Oxford, to take informations concerning the doctrine of the Wickliffites; thereby to discover the chief abettors of that heresy, and by what means it was spread so generally over the kingdom, and especially in the dioceses of London, Hereford, and Rochester. These commissioners returned while the convocation sat, during the time of Parliament, and the Archbishop laid their informations before it; where, after several debates, it was resolved necessary to inflict exemplary punishment on the principal favourers of the Lollard heresy, before it could be rooted out. Then it was concluded, that Sir John Oldcastle, Baron of Cobham, was their chief favourer and protector; and therefore he ought and should be first attacked, and a process formed against him for heresy, as here you will find, in terror to the whole sect.

THE PREFACE.

In the prophane histories* of old oratours and poetes, both Grekes and Latines, are they moche commended and thought worthy of æternall memory, whyche have cyther dyed for theyr naturall countrey, or daungered theyr liues for a commenwelthe. As we reade of Codrus, that was King of Athens, of Quintus Curcius, the Romane, of Ancurus, the Phrigiane, Vlysses, Hermas, Theseus, Menesius, Scipio Aphricanus, Mucius Sceuola, Ualerius Cocles, the two bretheren of Carcago, which were both called Philenus, and the thre noble Decianes, with other diuerse. In the sacred scriptures† of the Byble, hath Moyses, Iosue, Gedeon, Iepthe, Debora, Iudith, Daud, Helias, Iosias, Zorobabel, Mathathias, Eleasarus, and the Machabees theyr just prayres for theyr mighty zeale and manyfold enterpryses concerning the children of Israell. Among the Papistes‡ also, which are a moost prodigious kinde of men, are they moost hyghly auanced by lyeng signes, false miracles, erroniousse writtings, shrines, relykes, lyghtes, tabernacles, aulters, sensinges||, songes and holydays, which haue bene slayne, for the lyberties, priuileges, auctoritee, honour, ryches and proude maintenance of theyr § holy whorish church**.

¶ As were Antidius, Bonifacius, Benno, Thomas Becket, Iohan the Cardinall, Petrus de Castronouo, Peter of Millaine, Paganus, Stanislaus of Cracouia, Steuen Colyer of Tholose, Bonauenture of Padua, Iulianus the Cardinall of S. Angell. And in our tyme Iohan Fisher, Thomas More, Fryre Forest, Reynoldus, and the Charterhouse monkes, whiche suffred here in Ingland, with an infinite nombre more. What is than to be thought of those †† godly and valyaunt warryours, which haue not spared to bestow their moost dear liues for the veritee of Iesu Christ, against the malygnaunt mustre of that execrable Antichryst of Rome, the deuels‡‡ own vicar? Of whose gratyous nombre, a very speciaall membre and vessel of God's election, was that vertuous knight, Sir Iohan Oldcastell, the good Lord Cobham, as wil plentuously appeare in this processe following.

¶ He, that hath iudgement in the spyrite, shall easely perceyue by this treatise, what beastly blockheades these bloody bellygods were in theyr vnsauery interrogations; and again what influence of grace this man of God had from aboue concerning his answers, specyally in that moost blind and ignoraunt tyme, wherein all was but darkness, the soñne appearing sacke-clothe, as St. Iohn||| bath in the Apocalyps: moost surely fulfilled Christs promes in him, which he made to his Apostles, 'Cast not in your minde aforehande (saith he§§) what answere ye shall make, when these spiritual tyrants shall examine you in theyr sinagoges, and so deliuer you vp vnto kinges

* Plutarch, *Proport.* Cicero. Catullus, Horatius, Lucanus. † Exod. xiv. Eccles. iv. 5. Indicum xi. Reg. xvij. 2. Mich. vi. ‡ Sigebertus Bemblacensis. ¶ The offering of incense to the host and reliques and images, &c. as it is used in the church of Rome. § Petrus Equilius. ** Wicleuius, Vincentius, Leander, Voletarianus. Eneas. Ioan. E. c. †† Heb. xi. Act. v. Apoc. Iohan. viii. ||| Iohan. iii. Apoc. vi. §§ Luke xxi. Math. x. Mark xiii. Luke xii.

and debitees. For I will geue you such vtterance and wisdom in that houre, as all your enemies shall neuer be able to resist.* This onely sentence of Christ is ynough to proue him^e his true disciple, and them, in their folyshe questions, the manifest members of Sathan. I remembre that, xiiij. yeares ago, the tru seruaunt of God, Wyllyam Tindale, put into the prent a certain brefe examination of the sayd Lord Cobham. The which examinacion was written in the tyme of the sayd Lordes trouble, by a certein frinde of his, and so reserued in copyes vnto this our age. But sens that tyme I have found it in theyr owne wryttings (which were than his vitre ennemyes) in a moche more ample fourme than there. Specialye in the great processe, which Thomas Arundell, the Archbisshop of Caunterbury, made than against him, written by his owne notaryes and clerkes, tokened also with his owne signe and seale, and so directed vnto Rychard Clyfford, than Bisshop of London, with a generall commaundement to haue it then published by him, and by the other bisshops, the whole realme ouer.

Furthermore, I have seane it in a cople of the wrytting†, whiche the said Rychard Clyfforde sent vnto Robert Mascall, a Carmelyte Fryer, and Bisshop of Herforde, vnder his signe and seale, and in a cople of his, also directed to the Archdeacons of Herforde and Shrewesbury. The yere, moneth, and daye of theyr date, with the beginnynges of theyr wryttinges, shall hereafter follow in the boke, as occasion shall require it. Besides all this, Thomas Walden, being in those daies the Kinges confessor, and present at his examinacion, condemnacion, and excreacion ‡, registered it amonge other processes more in his boke, called Fasciculus Zizaniorum Wicleuij. He maketh mention of it also in his first Epistle to Pope Martyne the Fifth, and in his solempne sermon de Funere Regis. Onely such reasons haue I added thereunto, as the afore named Thomas Walden|| proponed to him in the tyme of the examinacion, as he mentioneth in his first and second bokes aduersus Wicleuistas, with the maner of his godly departing out of his frayle lyfe, which I found in other wryttings and chronycles. His youth was full of wanton wyldenes, before he knewe the scryptures, as he reporteth in his answer, and for the more part vnknown vnto me; therefore I writ it not here. His father, the Lord Regnold of Cobham, Ioseph Froysart nombreth alwaies amongst the moost worthy warriours of England.

In all aduenterous actes of worldely manhode was he cuer bold, strong, fortunate, doughty, noble, and valeaunt. But neuer so worthy a conquerour as in this his present conflyt with the cruell and furyous frantick kingdome of Antichryst. Farre is this Christen Knight more prayse-worthy, for that he had so noble a stomake in defence of Chrystes veritee agaynst those Romish supersticions, than for any temporall nobilities eyther of bloode, byrth, lands, or marciall feates. For many thousandes hath had in that great corrage, which in the other haue bene most faynt-harted cowards, and very desperate

* Sir John Oldecastle. † Thomas Walden in Fasciculo Zizaniorum Wicleuij. ‡ al. Excrecyon.

|| Walden. Cont. Wicleuistas, in prologo doct. vii. lib. ii. cap. lxvi.

dastards, whereas he perseuered most faithfully constaunt to the ende. Many Popish parasites, and men-pleasing flatterers, haue written large commendacions and encomies of those ; but, of such noblemen as this was, very few, or in a maner none at all. Whan I sometime rede the workes of som men lerned, I meruayle not a lytle to see them so aboundaunt in vayne flatterying prayses for matters of no value, yea, for thinges to be dispraysed rather than praysed, of menne that were godly wyse.

Polydorus Virgilius,* a collectour somtyme in England of the Popes Peter-pens, and afterwarde archdeacon of Welles, hath in this point deformed his writtinges greatly, pointinge our Inglysh chronycles moost shamefully with his Romish lyes, and other Italysh beggery. Battels hath he described there at large wyth no small discommendings of some princes, whiche were godlye ; but the priue packing of prelates and craftie consciencet of the spiritualtee hath he in euery place almoost full properly passed ouer. He was to familiar with the bishopps and toke to moch of their counsell, whan he compiled the xxvi. bokes of his Inglysh hystory. And not greatly is the land beholden vnto him in that worke, for any large prayse of erudicyon that he hath geuen it theret. A singular beautee is it to the Chrysten relygion, whan theyr auncient monumentes are garnished among others with men of freshe lyterature, which therin hath small remembrance or none. Unlesse it be Gildas, Bedas, Alcuinus, Ioannes Scotus, Aldelmus, Neuburgus, and one or two more, none are in that whole worke mencioned concerning that, as though England had alwaies bene most barren of men lerned. This do I not wryte in dispraise of his lerning (which I know to be very excellent) but for the abuse therof, being a most syngular gyft of God.

I wold wyshe som learned Inglysh man (as there are now most excellent fresh wyttes) to set forth the Inglysh Chronycles in their right shape, as certein other landes hath done afore them, al affections set a-part. I can not think a more necessarye thing to be laboured to the honour of God, bewty of the realme, erudicion of the people, and commoditie of other landes, next the sacred scryptures of the Byble, than that work wold be. For, trulye, in those they haue there yet, is vyce more auansed than vertu, and Romish blasphemment, in the lamentable history here following, and such other, which hath bene long hyd in the darke. Marke diligently the sentence of the said Polidorus, concerning this good Lord Cobham, and thetvpou consider his good workemanship in other maters. In the counsell of Constance (saith he§) was the heresye of Iohan Wicleue coundempned, and two at the same tyme burned in that cyte which were the chefe heades of that secte. All this is true, though the feate handelinge thereof be altogether Italysh.

But whereas he saith after, that, whan this was ones knowen to their companyons in England, they conspired in their madnesse against the whole clergy, and finally against the kinge also, for that he was than

* Polydorus Anglice Historie, Lib. iv. † al. Conveyaunce.
but Italyanes. ‡ Polydorus Anglice Historie, Lib. xxii.

§ No men are lerned with him,

a fauter of Christen religion, hauing to their great captaynes Sir Iohan Oldcastell and Sir Roger Acton, he maketh a most shamfull lye: For how coulede Sir Roger, with his companye, conspire vpon that occasyon, being dead more * than iiij. yeres afore? And Sir Iohan Oldcastell remaining all that season in Wales? Iohan Hus suffered death † at Constaunce, the year of our Lord, a. M. cccc. xv. in July. Hierom of Prage, in the yere of our Lord, a. M. cccc. & xvj. in May, whiche were the two heades he specketh of. Sir Roger Acton was brent with his companye in the yere of our Lord, a. M. cccc. xij. in January, as witnesseth Walden, Fabian, and Iohan Maior, in their chronycles and writings. Nowe reken these numbers and yeres, and marke the proper conueyance of this Romish gentelman ‡, the Popes collectour, to clought vp that crooked kingdom of theys. He can by such legerdemaine both please his frindes in England, and also at Rome.

Also that he followeth with lye vpon lye, as that they came than to London, to destroy the king; that he in his own person met wyth them there in armys, that they cowardly fledde, that som were taken there; and brent out of hand, and that the Lord Cobham and Sir Roger Acton were cast into the Tower of London upon that occasyon. Semeth it not a mater somewhat lyke to the purpose (thinke ye) that men should be there burned for making such an insurrection or tumult? I trowe he hath cobled here somewhat workemanly. And whereas he saith in the end, that the king thervpon made an acte, that they from thensforth shuld be taken as traitours against his owne persone, whiche were proued to follow that secte, he maketh an abominable ly§. For that acte was made only at the bisshops complainte and false sute in the fyrst yere of his reigne, and by force of that acte those innocent men than suffred. More than iiij. hundred of such manifest lyes coude I gather out of his chronycles, moch more than might more eyes and iudgements do.

Now lett vs expend what the true cause shuld be of this godly mannes condemnation and death, all dreames of Papistes set a-part. The truth of it is, that, after he had ones throughlye tasted the Chrysten doctrine of Iohan Wicleue and of his disciples, and perceived their liuinges agreeable to the same, he abhorred all the superstitious sorceries (ceremonies I shuld say) of the proud Romish church. From thensforth he brought all thinges to the touchestone of God's word. He tryed all maters by the Scriptures, and so proued their spyrites, whether they were of God or nay.|| He maintained such preachers in the dioceses of Caunterbury, London, Rochester, and Herforde, as the bisshoppes were sore offended with. He exhorted theyr pryestes to a better waye by the gospell, and, when that wolde not helpe, he gave them sharpe rebukes. He admonished ** the kinges, as Richard the Second, Henry the Fourth, and Henry the Fifth, of the clergyes manifolde abuses, and put into the parliament-

* More than two years before the death of John Hus and Jerome of Prague. I apprehend the iiij. has been a fault of the press; because the exact time is described a few lines below.

† Acta Consilii Constantiensis.

‡ Polidore Virgil.

§ Waldenus in Sermone de Funere Regis.

|| Iohan. iii. 1 Thesa. v. Math. vii. 1 Iohan. iv.

** Walden. in Fasciculo Zizaniorum Wicleuili.

house certein boke, concerning their iust reformation, both in the yere of our Lord, a. M. ccc. xcv. and in the yere a. M. cccc. x. Of the first-boke, this is the beginning*: *Prima conclusio. Quando Ecclesia Anglia, &c.* which I have here left oute, least thys treatyse shuld be to great. The other boke was made by one Johan Purueye, a master of art of Oxforde. Beside the xvij. conclusions that Master Johan Wicleue had put in long afore that.

In the yere of our Lord a. M. ccc. xci. this noble Lord Cobham † with certein other more, mocioned the king at Westminster, at the time of his parliament, that it were very ~~conuenient~~ to Ingland, if the Romish bishoppes ~~auctoritee~~ extended no further than the Occeane Sea, or the hauen of Calys, consydering the charges and vnquietnes of sutes there, and that mens causes coulde not be throughlye knowne so farre of. Wherevpon the king made this acte by consent of his lordes, that no man from thensforth should sue to the Pope in any mater, nor publysh any excommunication of his, vnder payne of losing their goodes, with perpetuall imprisonnement‡. Thys and the aforesaid boke had cost him with Sir John Cheney and other more his lyfe, in the sixt yere after, at the crafty accusation of certein prelates (though it hath in the chronycles|| an other colour) had not God than moost graciously preserued him. An other cause of his death, yet, besides all that hath been sayd afore, was this: He caused § all the workes of John Wicleue to be written at the instaunce of Iohan Huss, and to be sent into Boheme, Fraunce, Spayne, Portingale, and other landes. Whereof Subinco Lepus, the archbishop of Prage, caused ** more than two hundreth volumes ~~saye~~ written openly to be brent afterwarde, as witnesseth Aeneas Siluius, de Origine Bohemorum.

These causes knowne, with other more that I coulde reherse, consider whether the world, that is alwaies so wicked, was worthye to †† holde soche a noble Chrysten warryour as this was, or naye? Consyder also the iust punyshment of the Lorde for wycked lawes that were than made, with the exceding mischeues that the spiriualte †† than vsed. And way the miserable estate that the realme was in some after, for contempt of his eternall word. And thervpon lawd his rightuousnes, and beware of lyke contempt and plage in these dayes. In the florishyng tyme, euen in the beginnyng of the xxxvii. yere of his age|||, which was about foure yeres after the death of thys Lord Cobham. His sonne Henry the Sixt succeeded in hys rome, and had the gouernaunce of this whole realme, being but a babe of eight moneth §§ old, and odde dayes. What a dolour was this vnto men of rype discretyon naturally louing their countrey, and regarding the common-welth therof? Yea what a plage of God was it, after the scriptures***, to haue a yong child to their kyng? And that it shuld the more manifestly appeare to com that waye, or, of the stroke of God, he was a chilydyshe thing all the dayes of his lyfe,

* Fabianus.

† Walden. Polidorus in *Histor Anglorum*, Lib. ix.‡ Trevisa in *Addicionibus Cestrensis*, Polidorus.

§ Walden. cont. Wicleui. Lib. ii. cap. 70.

|| Fabianus, Polidorus.

||| Hebr. xl. *Essay* x. Nahum iii.

** Acta Consilii Constantiensis Hermannus, Shedel.

Regis,

†† Al. Mouethe..

‡‡ Viz. the clergy.

||| Walden in *Sermo de Funere**** *Essay*. iii.

'I shall geue you,' sayth the Lorde* in his hyghe dyspleasure, 'Chylderen to be your princes, and yonge infauntes without wysdome shal haue the gouernaunce of you.' What wretched calamities the realme suffred afterward for the space of more than fourscore yeres, and thre, tyl the dayes of King Henry the Seuenth, it is vnspeakable. Sens the preaching of Iohan Wicleue, hath the Lorde suffred the pompeuse Popysh prelates to shew themselues forth in theyr owne ryghte coulours, that they myght now in the lyght of hys gospel appeare, as they are in dede; euen spightful murtherers, ydolaters and sodomites. Afore hys tyme, they lurked vnder the glyttering shyne of hypocresye, and coulde not be seane in their mastries. The fryers with their charmyng sophistrye threwe such a darke myst ouer the vniuersall worlde, that supersticyon coulde not be knowen for supersticyon, nor ydolatorye for ydolatrie.

Unspeakeable sylthynes of all fleshy occupieng was than called pryestas chastitee, as it is yet, and will be tyl it come to the hyghest, that God may take ful vengeance. Then was whoordom † worshiped in prelates of the churche, and sacred wedlocke rekened such a detestable vyce as was worthy in a pryest † moost cruell death. As was seane for example in Sir Wyllyam Wyghts, whiche was brent || for the same at Norwych, in the yere of our Lorde 1428.

Thus was whight iudged blacke, and lyght darkenesse, so yll was mens syghte in those dayes. By soch meanes (sayth the prophet §) 'they drewe wickednes vnto them, as it were with a corde, and all kindes of synne, as yt were with a cart rope.' If Englund, at that tyme, had not bene vnthankfull for the syngular benefygnt that God than sent them by those good menne, the dayes of Antichryst and his beastly brood had bene shortened there longe agoo, as it is euen now, and here after lyke to be more largely. A moost orient** freshe myrrour of Chrysten manhode appeareth thys worthy Lord Cobham in our age, the veritee now open, which was, in her absens, a lampe of contempt before worldlye wyse men. In him, maye noble men beholde here plainlye a moost noble stomake and pretious faith, in the middes of great Antichrystes morde mustre: His corrage was of suche value that it gaue hym the victory ouer them by the clere iudgement of the scripturest†, what though the worldes iudgement be farre otherwise. And as for the cruel death, which he most contumeliously sturred, it is now vnto him a most plentuous winning ‡, for in the iust quarell was it of his Lord Jesus Christ.

Myght those bloody blusterers haue had their full swaye now of late, they wolde haue made more Oldcastells, Actons, Brownes, and Beuerlays; yea, they wolde haue made there a greater hauocke vpon Christes congregation, than euer did Paul in his raging furie ¶. They ment more than they vttered, whan they approached so nigh (as did cruell Haman) to the presence of noble Assuerus §§. But, blessed be the eternall Father, whiche hath geuen suche godlye wysdome vnto our moost worthy kyng, that he, perceyuing their sleighthes, so abated

* Id. ib.

† Ap. c. xviii.

§ Walden in utroque Opera.

|| Phil. I. Apol. I.

‡ The Church of Rome forbids its priests to marry.

§ Easy.

|| Act. viii.

** Rising or early.

†† I Johan v. I Cor. xv.

|| Master v.

their tyrannouse ferceenes. Praye noble men, pray, yea with the true clergie and comunes, that, lyke as he hath now with Duke Iosue the ouerhande of wycked Hierico *, by his onely gift, and is through that becomen an whole perfyght kyng † within his own realme farre aboue all his predecessours, so that he may in conclusion ouerthrow her clerely. For as yet the dredefull damsell ‡ (tirannye) that was Cayphas dorekeeper, dwelleth in the houses || of bisshoppes, and dayly compelleth poore Petre to deny his master. As many eyes, as euer had vygylaunt Argus, had he nede to haue, that is compassed with soch a sort, as are the broode of the wilye serpent. Consyder what heauenly things ye haue receyued of the scripatures vndre hys permyssyon, and yet pray ones again for his gratiouse continuance to the more increace of knowledge. Amen.

¶ *Babylon, thy marchauntes were princes of the earth. And with thyme Inchauntementes were all nations deceyued. Apocal. xviii.*

The great Processe of Thomas Arundell, the Archbisshop of Caunterbury, and of the Papisticall Clergye with him, agaynst the most noble Knight, Sir Iohan Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham, in the Yere of our Lord, a. M. cccc. and xiii. wherein is conteyned hys Examinacion, Imprisonement, and Excommunication.

The Processe before his Examination.

AFTER that the true seruaunt of Iesus Chryst, Iohan Wicleue §, a man of very excellent lyfe, and learning, had, for the space of more than xxvi. years, moost valeauntly battelled with the great antichryst of Europa, or pope of Rome, and his dyuersly dysgyssed ¶ host of anointed hypocrites, to restore the church again to the pure estate that Chryst left her in at hys ascensyon, he departed hens most christenly into the handes of God, the yere of our Lord 1387, and was buried in his own parish-church of Lutterworth, in Lincolnsheire **. No small nombre of godly disciples left that good man behynd hym to defende the lowlynnesse of the gospell agaynst the exceeding pryde, ambition, symony, auarice, ipocrysye, whoredom, sacrylege, tyrannye, ydolatrrouse worshipinges, and other fylthy frutes of those stif-necked pharysees. Agaynst whome Thomas Arundell, than Archbisshop of Caunterbury, so ferce as euer was Pharao, Antiochus, Herodes, or Cayphas, collected, in Pauls church at London, an vniversall sinode ††

* Iosue vi. † Having thrown off the supremacy and impositions of the Pope and See of Rome, and declared himself Supreme Head over all persons as well ecclesiastical, as civil, in his dominions. ‡ Matth. xxvii. John xvii. || Walden in Sermon.

¶ Ex Operibus & Scriptis Thome Waldeni. § Priests and friars, who dressed themselves in various sorts of habits.

** It should be Leicestershire.

†† Thomas Arundell in magno processu.

of all the papisticall clergie of England, in the yere of our Lord a M.cccc. & xliii. as he had done diuerse other afore, to withstand their moost godly enterpryse. And thys was the fyrst yere of King Henry the Fifth, whome they had than made fit for theyr hande.

As these hygh prelates, with theyr pharysees and scribes, were thus gathered in thys pestilent counsell against the Lord*, and his worde, fyrst there resorted vnto them the xii. inquisitours of heresyces (whome they had apointed at Oxford the yere afore, to serche out heretikes, with all Wickcleues bokes) and they brought two hundreth and lxvi. faithfull conclusyons whome they had collected as heresyces of the seyd bokes. The names of the seyd inquisitours were these†: Iohan Witnam, a master in the New College, Iohan Langedon, monke of Chry-church in Caunterbury, William Ufforde, regent of the Carmelytes, Thomas Plaxton, regent of the Dominikes, Robert Gylbert, Rycharde Earthysdale, Iohan Lucke, Rycharde Snedisham, Richarde Flemming, Thomas Rottborne, Robert Rondbery, and Rycharde Grasdale. In the meane season caused they theyr hyred seruantes to blowe it forth abroad throughout all the whole realme, that they were there congregated for an wholesome vnitee and reformation of the churche of England, to stoppe so the mouthes of the comen people. Such is always the comen practise of these subtile sorcerers, whyls they are in doing mischief, to blere the eyes of the vnlearned multytude, with one false craft or other.

After a certain communication, they concluded among themselves, that it was not possible for them to make whole chrystes cote without seme (meaning thereby their patched popysh synagoge) onlesse certeyn great men were brought out of the way, which semed to be the chefe maintainers of the seyd dysciples of Wicleue. Among whome the most noble knight Sir Iohan Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham, was complained of by the generall proctours, yea rather betrayars, of Chryst in his faithfull membres, to be the chefe principall. Him they accused first, for a mighty maintener of suspected preachers in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Herforde, contrary to the mindes of their ordynaries. Not only they affirmed him to haue sent thither the seid preachers, but also to haue assisted them there, by force of armes: notwithstanding their sinodall constitution made afore to the contrarye. Last of all, they accused him, that he was farre otherwise in beleue of the sacrament of the altre, of penance, of pilgrymage, of ymage worshipping, and of the ecclesiastycall power, than the holy churche of Rome had taught many yeres afore.

In the ende, it was concluded amonge them, that, wythoute anye farther delaye, processe shulde oute agaynst hym, as agaynst a moost pernycyous heretike.

Som of that Felloushyp, whyche were of more craftye experyence than the other, wold in no case haue that mater so rashlye handeled, but thought thys Waye moche better: consydering the said Lord Cobham was a man of great byrthe, and in fauer at that tyme with the Kyng; theyr counsell was to know first the Kynges mynde, to saue all

* Iohan iii. Psalme i. Psalme li.

† Walden. in Fasciculo Zizaniorum Wicleui.

thynges right up. This counsell was well accepted, and thervpon the Archbisshop, Thomas Arundell, wyth his other bisshoppes, and a great part of the clergie, went strayght wayes vnto the Kyng, as than remayninge at Kenyngton, and there layed forth moost greuous complainytes against the seid Lord Cobham, to his great infamy and blemysh, beinge a man moost godly.

The Kyng gentilly harde those bloud-thursty rauenours, and, farre otherwise than became* his princelye dignitie, he instantly desyred them, that, in respect of his noble stock and knighthoode, they shuld yet favourably deal with him; and that they wold, if it were possible, without all rigour, or extreme handeling, reduce him againe to the churches vnitee. He promised them also, that in case they were not contented, to take some delyberacion, his selfe wold seryously common the mater with him.

And after the kyng sent for the seyd Lord Cobham; and, as he was come, he called him secretly, admonishing him, betwixt him and him, to submit himselfe to hys mother the holy church, and, as an obedient child, to acknowledge himselfe culpable. Vnto whome the christen knight made this answer: you moost worthy prince, saith he, am I always prompt and wylling to obeye, for so moche as I knowe you a Christen Kyng, and the appointed minister of God †, bearing the sworde to the punishment of all yll doers, and for the sauegarde of them that be vertuous. Unto you, next my æternal God, owe I my whole obedience, and submit me therevnto, as I haue done euer, all that I haue eyther of fortune or nature, redy at all times to fulfill whatsoeuer ye shall in that ‡ Lorde commaund me: but as touching the Pope, and his spiritualty, truly I owe them neither sute nor seruice; for so moch as I knowe him by the scriptures||, to be the great antichryste, the sonne of perdecyon, the open adversary of God, and the abhominacyon standing in the holy place. When the Kyng had hearde this, with sochelyke sentences more, he wolde talke no longer with him, but lefte hym so vtterly.

And, as the archbisshop resorted agnain vnto him for an answer, he gaue him his full auctoritee § to cyte him, examine him, and punyssh him, according to the develish detrees, whiche they call the lawes of holyc church. Than the seyd archbisshop, by the counsell of hys other bisshoppes and clergie, appointed to call before him Sir Iohan Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham, and to cause him personally to appeare to answer to suche suspect articles as they shuld lay against him. So sent he forth his chefe sommener, with a very sharp citacion vnto the castell of Cowling ¶, where as he at that tyme dwelt for his solace. And as the seyd sommener was thether comen, he durste in no case entre the gates of so noble a man, without his lycens, and therefore he returned home agayne, hys message not done. Than called the archbysshop one Iohan Butler vnto him, which was then the dorekeeper of the Kynges priue chamber, and with him he covenanted, through

* Because he should not have stooped so low, as to yield to their arbitrary proceedings, but, by his supreme power, secured his good servant from their tyrannical usurpations.

† Rom. xiii. 1 Pet. ii.

‡ Viz. Life and fortune.

§ These. ii. Mat. xxiii.

¶ Ex vetusto Exemplari Londinensium.

¶ Al. Towlynge.

promises and rewardes, to haue this mater craftely brought to passe vnder the Kynges Name. Wherupon the seyd Iohan Butler toke the Archbysshops sommener with hym, and went vnto the sayd Lord Cobham, shewing him, that it was the Kynges pleasure that he shuld obeye that citacyon, and so cyted him fraudulently. Than said he vnto them in fewe wordes, That in no case wold he consent to those most deuelysh practises of the pryestes. As they had informed the Archbisshop of that answere, and that it was mete for no man priustly to cyte him after that, without parell of lyfe: he decreed by and by to haue him cyted by publike processe, or open commaundment. And in all the hast possible, vpon the Wednysday before the natiuite of oure ladye, in September, he commaunded letters citatory to be set vpon the great gates of the cathedral church of Rochester (which was but iii. English myles from thens) charging him to appeare personally before him at Ledys in the xi. daye of the same moneth and yere, all excuses to the contrary set apart. Those letters were taken downe anon after, by such as bare fauer vnto the Lord Cobham, and so conveyed asyde. After that caused the Archbisshoppe newe letters to be set vpon the natiuitee daye of our ladye, whiche also were rent downe, and vtterly consumed.

Than for so moche as he did not appeare at the daye appoynted at Ledys, (where as he sate in consistory, as cruell as euer was Cayphas, with his court of hipocrites about him) he iudged him, denounced him, and condemned him of most depe contumacy. After that whan he had bene falsely informed by his hired spyes, and other glosing glau-crers*, that the sayd Lord Cobham had lawghed him to scorne, disdayned all hys doings, mainteined his old opinions, contemned the churches power, the dignite of a bisshop, and the ordre of the pryst-hode (for all these was he than accused) in hys mody madnes without iust profe, dyd he openly excommunicate him; yet was he not with all this ferce tyranny qualified, but commaunded him to be cited afresh, to appeare afore him the Saturday before† the feast of St. Matthew the apostle, with these cruell threatninges added thereunto: that, if he did not obey at the daye, he wold more extremely handle him. And, to make himselfe more strong towards the performance thereof, he compelled the laypower by most terrible menacinges of curses and interdictions, to assyst him against that sedicious apostate, schismatike, that heretike, that troubler of the publycke peace, that enemye of the realme, and great aduersarye of all holy church; for all these hateful names dyd he giue him.

This most constaunt seruaunt of the Lord, and worthy Knight, Sir Iohn Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham, beholding the vnpacable fury of antichryst, thus kindled against him, perceiuing himself also composd on euery side with deadly daungers, he toke paper and penne in hand, and so wrote a Christen confession, or rekenyng of his faith (whiche followeth hereafter) and both signed and sealed it with his owne hande. Wherin he also answereth to the iiii. chefest articles that the archbisshop layed against him. That doone, he tooke the copye with him, and

* Tale-bearers.
falls on the 21st.

† After the feast of St. Matthew it being the 23d, whereas St. Matthew

went therewith to the Kyng, trustinge to fynd mercy and fauer at his hande. None other was that confession of his, than the common beleue, or somme of the churches faith, called the Apostles Crede, of all christen men than used. As thus :

The Christen Beleue of the Lord Cobham.

I BELEUE in God the Father Almighty, maker of Heauen and Earth. And in Iesu Chryst his only sonne our Lord, whiche was conueyued by the Holy Gost, borne of the Virgyn Mary, suffred vnder Ponce Pilate, crucified, dead and buried; went down to Helle, the third daye rose againe from death, ascended vp to heauen, sitteth on the right hande of God the Father Almightye, and from thens shall come agayne to iudge the quicke and the dead. I beleue in the Holy Gost, the vniuersall holy church, the communion of saintes, the forgouenes of sinnes, the vprising of the flesh, and everlasting life. Amen.

And for a more large declaration (saith he) of this my faith in the catholik church, I stedfastly beleue that there is but one God Almighty, in and of whose godhead are these iij. parsonnes the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Gost, and that those iij. parsonnes are the same selfe God Almightye*. I beleue also that the seconde parsonne of this most blessed trinite†, in most conuenient tyme appointed thereunto afore, toke flesh and bloud of the most blessed Virgyn Mary, for the sauegard and redempcion of the vniuersall kynd of man, which was afore lost in Adams offence. Moreouer I beleue that the same Iesus Chryst our Lord, thus being both God and man, is the onely head of the whole Christen church, and that all those that hath bene or shal be saued, be membres of this most holy church. And this holy church I think to be divided in to iij. sortes or companyes.

Whereof the first sort be now in heauen, and they are the saintes from hens departed. These, as they were here conuersaunt, confirmed‡ always their lyues to the most holye lawes and pure examples of Chryste, renouncyng sathan, the worlde, and the flesh wyth all their concupiscences and euels. The second sort are in purgatory (if any such be|| by the scripctures) abydyng the mercy of God and a full deliyerance of payne. The thyrde sorte are here vpon the earth and be called, The Church Mylytaunt; for daye and nyght they contend agaynst the crafty assaults of the deuyl, the flattering prosperities of this worlde, and the rebellyouse fylthines of the flesh.

This latter congregation by the iuste ordinance of God is also seuered into iij. diuerse estates, that is to say, into pryesthode, knight-hode, and the comens§. Amonge whome the wyll of God is, that the one should ayde the other, but not destroye the other. The pryestes, fyrst of all, secluded from all worldlynesse, shuld conforme their lyues vterly to the examples of Chryst and his apostles. Euermore shulde they be occupied in preaching and teaching the scripctures purely, and in geuing wholsom counsels of good liuing to the other two

* I Iohan v.

† Gal. iv. Iohan i. Luc. ii.

‡ Al. Conformed.

§ Contrary wrote he, ad Parlamentum. Ex Waldens.

§ Al. Commons.

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degrees of men. More modest also, more louing gentyll and lowlye in spirite shuld they be than any other sortes of people.

In knighthode are all they whyche beare sworde by lawe of office. These shuld defende Gods lawes, and see that the Gospell were purely taught, conforming their lyues to the same, and secludyng all false preachers: yea, these ought rather to hasard their lyues than to suffer such wycked decrees as eyther blemisheth the eternal testament of God, or yet letteth the fre passage therof, wherby heresies and scismes might spring in the church. For of none other aryse they, as I suppose, than of erronious constitutions, craftely fyrst creping in vnder ypo-crites lyes forauantage. They ought also to preserue Gods people from oppressors, tirauntes, and theues, and to see the clergie supported so long as they teache purely, pray rightly, and minister the sacramentes frely. And, if they see them do otherwise, they are bound, by lawe of office, to compell them to chaunge theyr doings, and to see all things performed according to Gods prescript ordinaunce.

The latter fellowship of this church are the common people, whose dewtye is to beare their good mindes and true obedience to the aforesaid ministers of God, theyr kinges, cyuile gouernours, and pryestes. The right office of these, is iustly to occupy euery man in his facultee, be it merchaundise, handycraft, or the tilthe of the ground. And so one of them to be as an helper to another, followyng all wayes in theyr sortes the iust commaundementes of theyr Lord God.

Ouer and besydes all thys, I moost faythfully beleue that the sacramentes of Chrystes church are necessary to all Chrysten belieuers, thys alwayes sene to, that they be truly ministred according to Chrystes fyrst institution and ordinaunce. And for so moch as I am malyciously and moost falsely accused of a misbeleue in the sacrament of the autler, to the hurtful slaundre of many: I signifye here vnto al men, that thys is my fayth concerning that. I beleue in that sacrament to be contayned very Christes body and bloude vnder the similytudes of breade and wyne, yea, the same body that was conceyued of the holy Gost, borne of Mary, the Virgyn, done on the crosse, dyed, that was buried, arose the thyrde day from the death, and is now glorified in heauen. I also beleue the vniuersall lawe of God to be moost true and perfight, and they which do not followe it in theyr fayth and workes, at one tyme or other, can neuer be saued. Whereas he that seeketh it in faith, accepteth it, leareth it, delighted therein, and performeth it in loue, shall tast for it the felicitie of euerlasting innocencye.

Finally, This is my faith also, that God wyll axe* no more of a Christen beleuer in this lyfe, but only to obey the preceptes of that moost blessed lawe. If any prelates of the church require more, or els any other kynd of obedience, than thys ro be vsed, he contemneth Chryst, exalting himselfe aboue God, and so becometh an open anti-chryst. Al these premisses I beleue particularlye, and generally all that God hath left in hys holy scryptures, that I shuld beleue. Instantly desiring you me† lyege Lord and moost worthy kyng, that thys confession of mine may be iustly examined by the most godly, wise, and lerned men of your realme. And, if it be found in all pointes

* Exact or require.

† Al. my.

agreeing to the veritee *, than let it be so allowed, and I therupon holden for none other than a true Christiane. If it be proued otherwise, than let it be, vtterly condemned; prouided alwaies, that I be taught a better beleue by the word of God, and I shall most reuerently, at all tymes, obey therunto.

Thys brefe confessyon of hys sayth the Lord Cobham wrote (as is mencyoned afore) and so took it with him to the courte, offerynge yt wyth all mekenesse unto the Kyng to rede it over. The Kyng wold in no case receive it, but commaunded yt to be delyvered vnto them that should be his iudges. Than desyred he in the Kynges presens that an hondred knights and esquiers might be suffered to come in vpon hys purgacyon, whiche, he knewe, wold clere him of all heresyas. Morouer, he offred hymselfe after the lawe of armes, to fight for lyfe or death with any man lyuing, christen or heythen, in the quarrel of his faith, the king and the Lordes of his counsell excepted. Finally, with all gentillesse he protested before all that were present, that he wold refuse no manner of correction that shuld after the lawes of God be ministred vnto him, but that he wold at all tymes with all mekenes obey it. Notwithstanding all thys, the Kyng suffered him to be summoned personally in his own pruy chambre. Than sayed the Lord Cobham to the Kyng, that he had appealed from the archbisshop to the Pope of Rome, and therefore he ought, he sayd, in no case to be his iudge. And, having hys appeale there at hande redye written, he shewed yt wyth all reuerence to the Kyng. Wherwith the Kyng was than moche more displeased than afore, and said angerly vnto him, that he shuld not pursue his appeale; but rather he shuld tarry in hold, tyll such tyme as it were of the Pope allowed. And than, wold he or nyld he, the archbisshop should be his iudge. Thus was there nothing allowed, that the good Lord Cobham had lawfully afore required. But for so moch as he wold not be sworn in all things to submit hymselfe to the church, and so to take what penaunce the archbisshoppe wold enioyne him, he was arested againe at the Kinges commaundement, and so led forth to the Towre of Lonnon, to kepe his daye (so was it than spoken) that the Archbisshop had appoynted hym afore in the Kynges chambre.

Then caused he the aforesayd confessyon of his faith to be copied agayne and the answer also (whiche he had made to the iij. articles proponed agaynst hym) to be wrytten in maner of an indenture, in two shetes of paper; that, whan he should come to his answer, he might give the one cople vnto the Archbisshop, and reserve the other to hymselfe. As the daye of examinacion was comen, whiche was the xxiiij. day of Septembre, the Saturday after the feast of St. Mathewe, Thomas Arundell, the Archbisshop, sytting in Cayphas rounge, in the Chapterhouse of Pauls, wyth Rychard Clyfforde, Bisshop of London, and Henry Bolinbroke, Bisshop of Winchester, Sir Robert Morley, Knight, and Iefetenaunt of the Towre, brought personally before him the seyd Lord Cobham, and there left hym for the time, vnto whom the Archbisshop said these wordes;

The first Examinacion of the Lord Cobham.

SIR Iohan, in the last general conuocation of the clergie of thys our prouynce, ye were detected of certein heresyas, and by sufficient witnesses founde culpable. Whervpon ye were by forme of spirituall lawe cyted, and wolde in no case appeare. In conclusion, vpon your rebellyous contumacie, ye were both priuately and openlye excommunicated. Notwythstanding, we neuer yet shewed ourselfe unreadye to haue geuen you youre absolucion (nor yet do not to thys houre) wolde ye haue mekelye axed it.

Unto this the Lord Cobham shewed as tho' he had geuen none care, hauing his mynde otherwise occupied, and so desyred none absolucion. But he sayd, he wolde gladly before him and his brethern make rehersall of that fayth, which he helde and entended always to stande to, yf it wolde please them to lycens him therevnto. And than he toke out of hys bosome a certein writting endented, concerning the articles wherof he was accused, and so openly redde it before them, geuing it vnto the Archbisshop, as he had made therof an ende.

Whereof this is the Copey.

* I IOHAN Oldcastell, Knight and Lord Cobham, wyll all Chrysten men to vnderstand, that Thomas Arundell, Archbisshop of Caunterbury, hath not onely laid it to my charge malytiously, but also very vntuly by hys lettre and seale, written against me in most slaundersouse wyse that I should otherwyse fele† and teach of the sacramentes of the church (assigning specyally the sacramente of the aulter, the sacrament of penaunce, the worshipping of ymages, and the going of pilgrymage unto them) far otherwyse than either beleueth or teacheth the vniversall holye church, I take Almyghtye God vnto wytnesse, that it hath bene and now is, and euermore wyth the helpe of God, yt shall be my full intent and wyll to beleue faythfully and wholly all the sacraments that euer God ordeined to be mynystred in the holy church. And morouer for to declare me in these iiij. poynts, afore rehersed:

I beleue that, in the most worshipful sacrament of the aulter, is Christs very bodie in forme of bread, the same body that was borne of the blessed Virgin Mary, done on the crosse, dead, and buried, and that the thyrd day arose from death to lyfe, the whiche body is now glorified wyth the father in heauen. And as for the sacrament of penaunce, I beleue that it is nedefull to all them that shall be saued, to forsake theyr sinne and to do penaunce for it wyth true contricion to God, confessyon of theyr fautes, and dewe satisfayon in Chryste, like as Gods lawes limiteth and teacheth, els can they have no saluation. This penaunce I desyre all men to do. And as for ymages, I vnderstand that they perteyn nothing to our Chrysten beleue, but were permitted, long sins the faith was geuen vs of Christ, by sufferance

* Ex utroq; Exemplari.

† Think or understand.

of the church, for to be as kalenders vnto layemen to represent or bring to mind the passion of our Lorde Iesus Chryst, with the martirdom and good liuing of the sainctes.

I think also that whatsoever he whiche doth that worship to dead ymages, that is duely belonginge vnto God, or that putteth his faith, hope, or confidence in the helpe of them, as he shuld do only in his eternall lyuing God, or that hath affection in one more than in another; he perpetrateth, in so doing, the abhominable sin of idolatry. Moreover, in this am I fully perswaded, that euery man dwellynge on thys ærth is a pilgrym, eyther towards blesse or els towards payne*.

And that he which knoweth not, nor wyll not know, nor yet kepe the holy commaundementes of God in hys lyuing here (all be it that he goeth on pylgrymage into all quarters of the worlde) yf he departeth so, he shal surely be dampned. Agayne, he that knoweth the holy commaundements of God, and so perfourmeth them to the ende of his lyfe to his power, shal without fayle be saued in Chryst †, though he neuer in his lyfe go on pylgrimagē, as men vse now a daies to Caunterbury, Walsingham, Compostell, and Rome, or to anye other places.

This answer to his artycles thus ended and redde, he delyuered yt to the Bisshops as is sayde afore. Than counseled the Archbisshop wyth the other two bisshoppes and with dyuerse of the doctours, what was to be done in thys matter, commaunding him for the tyme to stand aside. In conclusion by theyr assent and informacion, he sayd thus vnto him:

Come hider, Sir Iohan; in thys your writtinge are many good thinges conteyned, and ryght catholyck also, we deny yt not. but ye must consyder that thys daye was appoynted you to answeere to other poynts concerning those articles, whereof as yet no mencion is made in thys your byll; and therefore ye must yet declare vs your minde more plainly. As thus, whether that ye holde, affirme, and beleue, that in the sacrament of the aulter, after the consecracion rightly done by a pryst, remaineth materyall bread or not? Moreouer, whether ye do hold, affirme, and beleue that as concerning the sacrament of penance (wheras a competent nombre of pryests are) every Chrysten manne is necessarily bound to be confessed of hys synnes to a pryst ordayned by the churche or not?

After certein other communication, thys was the aṅswere of the good Lord Cobham: that none otherwise would he declare his minde, nor yet answeere vnto hys artycles, than was expresselye in his writtinge there conteyned.

Than sayd the archbisshop again vnto him: Sir Iohan, beware what ye do; for, if ye answeere not clerely to those thinges that are here objected against you, specially at the tyme appoynted you only for that purpose, the lawe of holy church is, that, compelled ones by a iudge, we may openly proclayme ye an heretike.

Vnto whome he gaue this answer: Do as ye shall thinke it best, for I am at a poynt.

* Genes. xxiij. Ps. li.
without Purgatory.

† Note, here is no mention of Purgatory; we are saved in Christ

Whatsoever he or the other bisshoppes did axe him after that, he bad them resort to his byll, for therby wold he stande to the verye death. Other answere wolde he not geue that day, wherewith the bisshoppes and prclats were in a maner amased and wonderfullye desquyeted. At the last, the archbisshop counseled again with his other bishoppes and doctours. And in the end therof declared vnto him, what the holy church of Rome, following the sayinges of St. Austyn, St. Hierom, St. Ambrose, and of other holy doctours, had determined in the sayd matter, no maner of fncencion ones made of Chryst; which determinacion (sayth he) ought all Chrysten nenne both to beleue and to followe.

Than said the Lord Cobham vnto him, that he wold gladlye bothe beleue and obserue what soeuer the holy church of Christes institucion had determined, or yet what soeuer God had willed him eyther to beleue, or to do. But that the Pope of Rome, with his cardinals, archbysshoppes, bysshoppes, and other prelates of that church, had lauffull power to determyne suche matters as stode not wyth his worde throughly, that wolde he not (he sayd) at that tyme affyrme. Wyth thys, the archbysshoppe bad hym to take good aduysement tyll the Monday nexte followinge (whiche was the xxv. daye of Septembre) and than iustly to answere, specyallye vnto thys poynte, Whether there remayned materyall breade in the sacrament of the aulter, after the wordes of consecracion, or not? He promysed hym also to sende vnto him, in wryttinge, those maters clerely determined, that he myght than be the more perfyghte in hys answere-making. And all this was not els but to blynde the multitude with somewhat. The nexte day following, according to hys promes, the archbisshoppe sent vnto hym, into the Towre, thys folysch and blasphemouse wrytting, made by hym, and by hys vnlearned clergy.

The Determinacion of the Archbysshoppe and Clergye.*

THE faith and determinacion of the holy church, touching the blesfull sacrament of the aulter, is this: That, after the sacramentall wordes be oncs spoken by a pryst, in his masse, the materyall bread, that was before bread, is turned into Chrystes very body; and the materyall wyne, that was before wyne, is turned into Chrystes very bloud: And so there remayneth in the sacrament of the aulter, from thens forth no materyall breade, nor materyall wyne, whiche were there, before the sacramentall wordes were spoken. How beleue ye this article?

Holy Church hath determined, that euery Chrysten man, lyuing here bodyly vpon earth, ought to be shriuen † to a pryst, ordeyned by the church, if he may come to him. How fele ye thys article?

Christ ordeyned Sainct Peter the apostle to be his vicar here in earth, whose see is the holy church of Rome; and he graunted, that the same power, which he gaue vnto Peter, shuld succede to al Peters successors, whiche we call now Popes of Rome. By whose speciall power, in churches particular, be ordeyned prelates, as archbisshops, bisshops,

* Ex magno processu Thomæ Arundeli.

† Confessed.

parsons, curates, and other degrees more; vnto whome Christen menne ought to obeye, after the lawes of the church of Rome. Thys is the determinacion of Holy Church: How fele ye this artycle?

Holy Church hath determined, that it is meritoryous to a Christen man to go on pilgrymage to holy places, and there specially to worship holy relyques, and ymages of saintes, apostles, martirs, confessours, and all other saintes besydes approued by the church of Rome. Howe fele ye thys artycle?

And, as the good Lord Cobham had red ouer thys moost wretched wryttynge, he marueled greatly of their madde ignoraunce. But that he consydered agayne, that God had geuen them ouer, for theyr vnbeleues sake, into moost depe errours, and blindnesse of soule. Agayne, he perseyued herby, that theyr vttermoost malyce was purposed against him, how soeuer he shulde answer; and therfore he put his lyfe into the handes of God, desyring his onely Spirit to assist him in his next answer. Whan the sayd xxv. daye of Septembre was come (which was also the Monday afore Myghelmasse) in the sayd yere of our Lord M. cccc. and xij. Thomas Arundell, the Archbischop of Caunterbury, commaunded his judycyall seate to be remoued* from that Chapterhouse of Pauls to the Dominike Fryers, wythin Ludgate, at London. And, as he was there set with Rychard, the Bisshop of London, Henry, the Bisshop of Wirchester, and Benet, the Bisshop of Bangor, he called in vnto him his counsell and his officers, with diuerse other doctours and fryers; of whom these are the names here followynge:

Master Henry Ware, the officyall of Caunterbury.

Philip Morgan, doctour of both lawes! Howell Kiffin, doctour of the canon lawe; Iohan Kempe, doctour of the canon lawe; Willyam Carleton, doctour of the canon lawe; Iohan Witnam, of the New College, in Oxford; Iohan Whighthead, a doctour, of Oxforde: Also Robert Wombewell, vicar of Saint Laurence in the Iewry†; Thomas Palmer, the warden of the Mynors, Robert Chamberlaine, prior of the Dominickes; Rychard Dodington, prior of the Augustines; Thomas Walden, prior of the Carmelites; all doctours of diuinitie. Iohan Steuens also, and Iames Cole, both notaries, appointed there purposly to write all that shuld be eyther sayd or done. All these, with a great sort more of pryestes, monks, chanons, fryers, parish clarks, belringers, and pardoners, disdained him with innumerable mockes and scornes, rekening him to be an horrible heretik, and a man accursed afore God.

Anon, the archbysshope called for a masse-boke, and caused all those prelates and doctours to sweare there vpon, that euerye man shulde faythfullye doo hys offyce and dewtye that daye; and that, neyther for fauer nor feare, loue nor hate, of the one partye nor the other, any thing shuld ther be witnessed, spoken, or done, but according to the trueth, as they wold answer before God, and all the world, at the daye of dome. Than were the two forseyd notaries sworne also to wryte and to witnes the wordes and processe, that there shuld be vttered on both partyes, and to saye their minds (if they otherwise knewe it) before they

* Ex utroque Exemplari.

† London.

shuld regester it. And all thys dissimulacion was but to colour their mischeues before the ignoraunte multytude.

Consydre herin (gentyll reader) what this wicked generacion is, and how farre wyde from the iust feare of God; for, as they were than, so are they yet to this daye.

After that, came forth before them Sir Robert Morley, knight, and ksfetenaunt of the Towre, and he brought with him the good Lord Cobham, there leauing him among them, as a lambe among wolues, to this examination and answer.

*The latter examinacion * of the Lord Cobham.*

THAN sayd the archbysshope vnto hym: Lord Cobham, ye be aduersed (I am sure) of the wordes and processe which we had vnto you, vpon Saturday last past, in the Chapterhouse of Paules; which processe were now to long to be rehersed agayne. I sayd vnto you than, that ye were accursed † for your contumacy and disobedience to holy church, thinking that ye shulde, with mkenes, haue desired your absolution.

Than spake the Lord Cobham, with a moost cherefull contenance, and sayd: God sayth, by his holy prophet ‡, *'Maledicam benedictionibus vestris'* (which is as moch to say, as,) I shall curse, wheras you blesse.

The archbisshop made than, as though he had continued forthe hys tale, and not heard hym, saying: Sir, at that tyme I gentilly proferd to haue assoyled || you, if ye wold haue asked it; and yet I do the same, if ye wyll humbly desyre it in due forme and maner, as holy church hath ordeined.

Than sayd the Lord Cobham: Naye, forsoth, wyll I not; for I neuer yet trespassed against you, and therefore I wyll not do it: And, with that, he kneeled down on the pauement, holding vp hys handes towardes heauen, and sayd: I shryue me here vnto the, my Eternall, Lyyunge God, that, in my frayle youth, I offended the (Lord) most greuously in pryde, wrath, and glottony, in couetousnes and lechery. Many men haue I hurt in mine angre, and done manye other horryble synnes; good Lord, I aske the mercy. And therewith, wepingly, he stode vp againe, and sayd, with a mighty voyce: Lo, good people, lo; for the breaking of Gods lawe, and his great commaundementes, they § neuer yet cursed me; but, for theyr owne lawes and tradicions, most cruelly do they handle both me and other men; and therefore both they and theyr lawes, by the promes of God **, shall vtterly be destroyed.

At this, the archbisshop and hys companye were not a litle blemysched. Notwithstanding, he toke stomake vnto hym agayn, after certein wordes had in excuse of theyr tyrannye, and examined the Lord Cobham of his Christen beleue.

Wherunto the Lord Cobham made thys godly answer: I beleue (sayth he) fullye and faythfullye the vnyuersall lawes of God. I beleue, that all is true which is conteyned in the holy sacred scripatures of the Byble. Finally, I beleue all, that my Lord God wolde I shulde beleue.

* Ex vetusto Exemplari Londinensi.

† Pardon'd, or absolv'd.

‡ Excommunicated.

§ Hier. li. Apoc. xviii.

¶ Malac. ii.

The Popish ecclesiasticks

Than demaunded the archbisshop an answere of the byll, which he and the clergy had sent him into the Tower the daye afore, in maner of a determinacyon of the church concerning the iiii. articles wherof he was accused, specially for the sacrament of the aulter, how he beleued therin?

Wherevnto the Lord Cobham sayd, that with that byll he had nothing to do. But this was his beleue (he sayd) concerning the sacrament: That his Lord and Sauer Iesus Chryst, sitting at his last supper, with his moost dere disciples, the night before he shuld suffer, toke bread in his hand, and, geving thanks to his eternall Father, blessed it, brake it, and so gaue it vnto them, saying: Take it vnto ye, and eate thereof all; this is my body which shall be betraied for you; do this hereafter in my remembrance. This do I thoroughly beleue (saith he) for this faith am I taught of the gospell in Mathew, in Marke, and in Luke, and also in the First Epistle of St. Paull to the Corinthians*.

Than asked the archbisshoppe, If he beleued that it were bread after the consecracion or sacramental wordes spoken ouer it.

The Lord Cobham sayd: I beleue that in the sacrament of the aulter is Chrystes very body, in fourme of breade, the same that was born of the Virgyn Mary, done on the crosse, dead and buried, and that the thyrday arose from death to lyfe, whych nowe is glorified in heauen.

Than sayd one of the doctors of the lawe, After the sacramental wordes be vttered, there remaineth no breade, but the onely body of Chryst.

The Lord Cobham sayd than to one Master Johan Whighthead, You sayd ones vnto me in the castell of Coulynge †, that the sacred host was not Chrystes body; but I held than against you, and proved that therin was his body, though the seculars ‡ and fryers|| could not therin agree, but helde yche one against other in that opinyon. These were my wordes than, yf ye remembre it.

Than shouted a sort of them together and cryed with a great noyse: We say all it is Gods body.

And dyuerse of them asked hym in great angre, Whether it were materiall bread after the consecracion, or not?

Than loked the Lord Cobham ærnestly vpon the archbisshop, and sayde: I beleue surely that it is Chrystes body in fourme of breade. Sir, beleve not you thus?

And the archbisshoppe sayd: Yes mary do I.

Than asked him the doctours: Whether it were onely Chrystes body after the consecracion of a pryest, and no bread or not?

And he sayd vnto them: It is both Chrystes body and bread. I shall prove it as thus; for lyke as Chryst, dwelling here vpon the earth, had in him both Godhead and Manhead; and had the inuisible Godhead couered vnder that Manhead, which was only uisible and seane in him: So, in the sacrament of the aulter, is Chrystes very body and very bread also, as I beleue the breade is the thyng, that we see with our eyes; the body of Christ (which is his flesh and his bloud) is there vnder hydde and not seane but in faith.

* Math. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. 1 Cor. xi.

the parish priests.

† Al. Towlynge.

‡ Secular, or

|| Regulars, or priests that live in monasteries, following the orders or rules of Dominick, Benedict, &c.

Than smyled they yche one vpon other, that the people shulde iudge hym taken in a greate heresy. And wyth a great bragge diuerse of them sayde: It is a foule heresy.

Than asked the Archbisshop, What breade it was? And the doctours also inquired of him, Whether it were materiall or not?

The Lord Cobham sayd unto them: The scryptures maketh no mention of this worde materiall, and therefore my fayth hath nothing to do therewith; but thys I say and beleue it, that it is Chrystes bodye and bread; for Chryst sayde in the syxt of Johans Gospell: *Ego sum panis viuus, qui de celo descendi*, i. e. I, whiche came down from heauen, am the liuing and not the dead bread. Therfore, I say now agayn, like as I said afore, As our Lord Iesus Chryst is very God and very man, so, in the most blessed sacrament of the aulter, is Chrystes very body and breade.

Than seyde they all with one voyce: It is an heresy.

One of the Bishoppes stode vp by and by, and sayd: What, it is an heresy manifest, to say that it is breade after the sacramentall worde be ones spoken, but Chrystes body onely.

The Lord Cobham sayd: St. Paule, the apostle, was (I am sure) as wyse as you be now, and more godlye lerned; and he called yt breade, wrytting to the Corinthians: The breade that we breake, sayth he, is it not the partaking of the body of Christ? Lo, he calleth it breade and not Chrystes body, but a meane whereby we receyue Chrystes body.

Than sayd they agayne: Paule must be otherwise vnderstanded; for it is surely an heresy to say that it is breade after the consecracion, but onely Chrystes body.

The Lord Cobham asked, Howe they coulde make good that sentence of theyrs?

They answered him thus: For it is against the determinacion of the holy church.

Than sayde the Archbisshop vnto hym: Sir Johan, we sent you a wrytting concerning the faith of thys blessed sacrament clerely determined by the church of Rome, our mother, and by the holy doctours.

Than sayd he again vnto him: I knowe none holier than is Chryst and hys apostles; and as for that determinacion, I wote, it is none of theyrs, for it standeth not with the scryptures, but manifestly against them. If it be the churches, as ye say it is, it hath bene hers onely sins she receiued the greate poyson of worldly possessions, and not afore.

Than asked they hym, to stoppe his mouth therewith, If he beleued not in the determinacion of the church?

And he said vnto them: No, forsooth, for it is no God. In all our crede is IN but thryse mencioned, concerning Beleue; IN God the Father, IN God the sonne, IN God the Holy Gost. The byrthe, the deathe, the buriall, the resurrection, and ascensyon of Christ hath none IN for beleue, but IN hym. Neyther yet hath the church, the sacramentes, the forgeuenes of synne, the latter resurrection, nor yet the life euerlasting any other IN, than IN the Holy Gost.

Than sayd one of the lawiers: Tush, that was but a worde of office. But what is your beleue concerning holy church?

The Lord Cobham answered : My beleue is (as I sayde afore) that all the scryptures of the sacred byble are true. All that is grounded upon them I beleue thoroughly ; for, I know, it is Gods pleasure that I shuld so do. But in youre lordly lawes and ydell determinacions haue I no beleue ; for ye be no part of Chrystes holy church, as your open dedes doth shew. But ye are very antichrystes, obstinately set agaynst his holy lawe and wyll. The lawes, that ye haue made, are nothing to his glorye, but onely for your wayne glory and abhominable couetousnes.

This, they said, was an exceeding heresy (and that in a great fume) not to beleue the determinacion of holy church.

Than the Archbisshop asked him : what he thought holy church ?

He sayd unto hym : My beleue is, that holy church is the nombre of them, whiche shall be saued, of whom Chryst is the head. Of this church one part is in heauen with Chryst, another in purgatory (you say) and the third is here in ærth. This latter part standeth in three degrees, in knighthode, pryesthode, and the comunalte, as I sayde afore plainly, in the confessyon of my beleue.

Than saide the Archbisshop vnto him : can ye tell me, who is of this church ?

The Lord Cobham answered : yea, truly can I.

Than said * Doctor Walden, the pryor of the carmelytes : It is a doubte unto you who is therof ; for Christ sayth in Math. *Nolite iudicare*, i. e. Presume to iudge no man. If ye here be forbidden the iudgment of your neighbour or brother, moche more the iudgment of your superiour.

The Lord Cobham made him thys answere, Chryst sayth also in the selfe same chapter of † Math. that, lyke as the yll tree is knownen by hys yll frute, so is a false prophet, by his workes, appeare they neuer so gloriously ; but that ye left behind ye. And in ‡ Iohan he hath this text : *Operibus credite* ? i. e. Beleue you the outward doings ? And in another place of Iohan : *Iustum iudicium iudicate*, i. e. What we knowe the thing to be true, we may so iudge it, and not offense ; for David ¶ sayth also : *Recte iudicate filii hominum*, i. e. Iudge rightly alwayes ye children of men. And as for your superioritee, were ye of Chryst, ye shuld be meke ministers, and no proude superiours.

Than sayd Doctour Walden vnto hym : Ye make here no difference of iudgments ; ye put no diversitee between the yll iudgements, which Chryst hath forbidden, and the good iudgements, which he hath commaunded vs to haue ; rash iudgement and right iudgement, all is one with you ; so is iudgement presumed and iudgement of office, so swift iudges alwayes are the lerned scolers of Wicluiue.

Unto whome the Lord Cobham thus answered : It is wel sophistried of you, forsooth ; preposterouse are your iudgements euer more ; for as the prophet Esay sayth §, Ye iudge yll good, and good yll ; and therefore the same prophet ** concludeth, that your wayes are noe Gods wayes, nor Gods ways your wayes. And as for that vertuose man Wicleue, whose iudgments ye so hyghely disdayne : I shall saye here for my part both before God and man. That, before I knewe

* Walden contr. Wicluiustas, Lib. iii. cap. 67.

‡ Iohan v. ib. vii. Deut. i.

¶ Psalm lvi.

§ Esay v.

† Math. vii.

** Esay lv.

that dispised doctrine of his, I neuer absteined from synne *. But, syn I lerned therin to fear my Lorde God, it hath otherwise, I trust, bene with me; so moch grace could I neuer finde in all your glorious instructions.

Than sayde Doctor Walden agayn yet unto hym: It were not well wyth me, so many vertuous men lyuing and so many lerned men teaching the scriptures, being also so open, and the examples of fathers so plentuous, if I than had no Grace to amende my lyfe till I hearde the deuell preache. St. Hierom saith, that he, whyche seketh suche suspected masters, shall not fynde the mydday light, but the mydday Deuell†.

The Lord Cobham said: Your fathers, the olde pharisees, ascribed ‡ Chrystes miracles to Belzebub, and his doctrine to the deuell; and you, as their naturall children, have still the selfe same iudgement, concernyng his faithfull followers. They, that rebuke your vicious lyuinge, must needs be heretykes; and that must your doctours proue, whan ye haue no scriptures to do it.

Than said he to them all: To iudge you as ye be, we nede no further go, than your own propre actes: Where do ye find in all Gods lawes, that ye shuld thus syt in iudgement of any christen men, or yet sentens anye other man vnto death, as ye do here dayly? No ground haue ye in all the scriptures so lordely to take it vpon ye, but in Annas and in Cayphas, which sate thus vpon Chryst, and vpon his apostles after his ascensyon. Of them onely haue ye taken it to iudge Chrystes members, as ye do, and neyther of Peter nor Iohan.

Than sayde some of the lawyers: Yes, forsoth, sir, for Chryst iudged Iudas.

The Lord Cobham sayd: No, Chryst iudged him not, but he iudged himselfe, and therupon went forth, and so did hang himselfe. But, indede, Chryst sayd, "Wo unto him," for that couetous act of his, as he doth yet styll vnto many of you; for, sens the venime was shed into the church, ye neuer followed Chryst; neither yet haue ye stand in the perfection of Gods lawe||.

Than asked him the Archbishoppe, what he ment by that venime?

The Lord Cobham sayd: Your possessyons and lordshippes. For than cryed an aungell in the ayre (as your owne chronycles mencioneth §) "Wo, wo, wo, this day is venmie shedde in the church of God." Before that tyme all the Bishshops of Rome were martirs in a maner; and sens that time we rede of very few. But, indede, sens that same time one ** hath put down another, one hath poysoned another, one hath cursed another, and one hath slayne another, and done much more mischiefe besides, as all the chronycles telleth. And let all men consydre well thys, that Christ was meke and mercifull; the Pope is proud and a tiraunt. Christ was pore and forgaue; the Pope is riche and a most cruell manslayer, as his dayly actes doth proue him. Rome is the very nest of antichryst; and out of that nest cometh all his disciples: Of whom prelates, priestes, and monkes are

* Walden in Prefacions Doctrina 7.

† Luke xi. Iohan x.

‡ Ransalph Cestrensis in Polychro. Lib. iv. cap. 26.

+ Hieron in Brouleri in Minori.

§ Geraldus Cambrensis, Dist. i. cap. 17.

** Pope.

the body, and these pylde † fryers are the tayle, whiche couereth his moost fylthy part.

Than sayd the Pryor of the Fryre Augustines, Alac, sir, why do ye say so? That is uncharitably spoken.

And the Lord Cobham said: Not onely is it my saying, but also the Prophet Esayes, longe afore my tyme. The Prophet, sayth he †, which preacheth lyes, is the tayle behinde. As you fryers and monkes be lyke the Pharisees, divided in your outward apparell and vsages, so make ye diuision among the people; and thus you, with such other, are the very natural members of antichryst.

Than sayd he vnto them all: Chryst sayth in his gospell ||: 'Wo to you scribes and pharisees, ypocrites; for ye close vp the kingdom of heauen, before men, neither entre ye in yourselves, nor yet suffre any other that would entre into it.' But ye stop vp the ways thereunto with your owne tradicions, and therefore are ye the houshold of antichryst; will not permit Gods verytee to haue passage, nor yet to be taught of his true ministers, fearinge to haue your wickednes reprobued? But, by such vayne flatterers as vpholde you in your mischeues, ye suffre the common people moost miserably to be seduced.

Than sayd the Archbisshop. By oure lady, Sir, there shall no soche preach within my diocese (and God wyll) not yet in my iurisdiction (yf I may knowe yt) as either maketh diuision or yet dissension amonge the poor commons.

The Lord Cobham sayd: Both Chryst and his apostles were accused § of sedicion making, yet were they most peceable men. Both Daniell ** and Chryst prophecyed, that such a †† troublous tyme shulde come, as hath not bene yet sens the worldes beginning. And this prophecye is partly fulfilled in your daies and doinges. For many haue ye slaine alreedy, and more wyll ye sle here after, if God fulfil not his promes. Chryst saith also, if those dayes of yours were not shortened, scarcely shuld any flesh be sauued. Therefore loke for it iustly, for God wyll shorten your dayes. Moreouer, though pryestes and deacons, for preaching of Gods word, and for ministring the sacramentes, with prouision for the pore, be grounded in Gods lawe, yet haue these other sectes no maner of ground therof, so farre as I haue red.

Than a doctour of lawe, called master Iohan Kempe, plucked out of his bosome a cople of that byll, whiche they had afore sent him into the Tower, by the Archbisshops counsell, thinking therby to make shorter worke with him. For they were so amased with his answeres (not al vnlike to them which dysputed wyth Steuen ‡) that they knewe not well howe to occupye the tyme, there wyttes and sophistry (as God wolde) so fayled them, that daye,

My Lord Cobham (sayth this doctour) we mnst brefely know your mynde concerning these four poyntes here following. The fyrst of them is thys. And than he redde vpon the byll. The fayth and the determination of holy church, touching the blessed sacrament of the aultar, is this; that, after the sacramentall wordes be ones spoken by a pryest in hys masse, the materill breade, that was before breade, is

† Shaven. ‡ Easy is.
** Daniell xij.

§ Math. xxiii.
†† Math. xxiv.

‡ Luke xxiii. Joan. xvi.
‡‡ Actes vi.

turned into Chrystes very bodye. And the materiall wyne, that was before wyne, is turned into Chrystes very bloude. And so there remaineth in the sacrament of the aulter from thens forth no materiall bread, nor materiall wyne, which were there before the sacramentall wordes were spoken: Sir, beleue ye not this?

The Lord Cobham sayd: This is not my beleue. But my fayth is (as I sayd to you afore) that, in the worshypfull sacrament of the aulter, is very Chrystes body, in fourne of breade.

Than said the Archbisshop, Sir Johan, ye must say otherwise.

The Lord Cobham sayd: Naye that I shall not, if God be vpon my syde (as I trust he is) but that there is Chrystes body in fourme of breade, as that comen * beleue is,

Than redde the doctor agayne,

The second poynt is this: holy church hath determind that every chrysten man, lyuing here bodely vpon earth, ought to be shryuen to a pryst ordined by the church, if he may come to him: Sir, what say ye to this?

The Lord Cobham answered and sayd: A diseased or sore wounded man had nede to haue a sure wyse chyrurgion and a true, knowing both the ground and the daunger of the same. Moost necessary were it, therefore, to be fyrst shriuen vnto God, whiche only knoweth our diseases and can helpe vs. I deny not † in this the going to a pryst, if he be a man of good lyfe and lerninge; for the lawes of God are to be required of the pryst, which is godly lerned. But, if he be an ydiote or a man of viciouse lyuing that is my curate ‡, I ought rather to flee from him, than to seke vnto him. For sonner might I catche yll of him, that is nought, than any goodnesse towards my soules helth.

Than redde the doctour agayne.

The third point is this: Chryste ordined Sainct Peter the apostle, to be his vicar here in ærth, whose see is the church of Rome. And he graunted that the same power, which he gaue vnto Peter, shulde succede to all Peters successours, which we call now Popes of Rome. By whose speciall powr in churches partycular be ordined prelates, as archbisshops, parsons, curates, and other degrees more. Unto whom chrysten men ought to obeye after the lawes of the church of Rome. This is the determinacion of Holy church. Sir, beleue ye not this?

To this he answered and sayd: He, that followeth Peter moost nighest in pure lyuing, is next vnto him in succession: But your lordely ordre esteemeth not greatly the lowly behaueur of pore Peter, whatsoever ye prate of him. Neither care ye greatlye for the humble maners of them that succeded him tyll the tyme of Siluestre ¶, which for the more part were martirs, as I tolde ye afore. Ye can lett all their good conditions go by you, and not hurt your selues with them at all. All the worlde knoweth thys well inough by you, and yet ye can make boast of Peter,

With that, one of the other doctours axed him; Than what do ye say of the Pope?

* Al. common.

† Wald 2.

‡ Parish Minister or Priest.

¶ Siluester I, for, as Platina confesseth. Siluester II sold himself to the Devil, for his help to gain the Popedom.

The Lord Cobham answered. As I said before: He and you together maketh whole the great antichryst. Of whom he is the great heade, you bysshops, priestes, prelates, and monkes are the body, and the begging fryers are the tayle, for they couner the filthinesse of you both, with their subtile sophistrie. Neuer will I in conscience obey any of you all, tyll I see you with Peter follow Chryst in conuersation.

Than redde the doctour agayne.

The fourth poynt is this. Holy church hath determined that it is meritorious to a chrysten manne to go on pilgrymage to holy places. And there specially to worship holy reliques and ymages of saintes, apostles, martirs, confessours, and all other saintes besydes approued by the church of Rome. Sir, what say ye to this?

Whervnto he answered: I owe them no seruice by any commaundment of God, and therefore I minde not to seke them for your couetousnes. It were best ye swept them fayre from cobwebs and duste, and so layed them vp for catching of scathe; or els to bury them fayre in the ground, as ye do other aged people whiche are Gods ymages. It is a wonderfull thyng, that saintes, now being dead, shuld become so couetous and nedye, and thervpon so bytterly begge, which, al their lyfe-time, hated all couetousnesse and begginge. But this I saye vnto you, and I wold all the world shuld marke it; That with your shrines and idolles, your fayned absolutions and pardons, ye drawe vnto you the substaunce, welthe, and chiefe pleasures of all chrysten realmes.

Why, Sir, (said one of the clerkes) wyll ye not worship good ymages?

What worship shuld I geue vnto them? sayd the Lord Cobham.

Than sayde Fryer Palmer vnto him: Sir, ye wyll worship the crosse of Chryst, that he dyed vpon?

Where is it, sayd the Lord Cobham?

The Fryer sayd: I put the the case, Sir, that it were here euen now before you?

The Lord Cobham answered: This is a great wyse manne, to put me an earnest question of a thyng, and yet he his selfe knoweth not where the thyng itselfe is. Yer ones again aske I you, what worship I shuld do vnto it?

A clerke said vnto him: Such worship as Paull speaketh* of, and that is this, God forbidde that I shuld ioye but onely in the crosse of Iesu-christ.

Than sayd the Lord Cobham: And spreade his armes abroad, This is a very crosse, yea, and so moche better than your crosse of woode, in that it was created of God. Yet, will not I seke to haue it worshipped.

Than said the Bisshop of London, Sir, ye wote wel that he died on a materiall crosse?

The Lord Cobham sayd: Yea, and I wote also, that our saluacion came not in by that materiall crosse, but alone by him which dyed thervpon. And well I wote that holy Saint Paull reioysed in none other crosse, but in Chrystes passion and death onely, and in his own sufferings of like persecution with him, for the selfe same veritee, that he had suffred for afore.

* Gal. vi.

An other clerke yet asked him : Wyll ye than do none honour to the holy crosse ?

He answered him : Yes, if he were myne, I wolde lay him vp honestlye, and see vnto him, that he shuld take no more scathes abroad, nor be robbed of his goodes as he is now a-dayes.

Than sayd the Archbisshop vnto him, Sir Johan, ye haue spoken here many wonderfull wordes to the slaundrous rebuk of the whole spiritualtee, geuing a great yll example vnto the common sort, here, to haue vs in the more disdayne. Moche time haue we spent here, abought you, and al in vaine, so farre as I can see. Well, we must be now at this short poynt with you, for the day passeth away, ye muste cyther submit yourselfe to the ordinaunce of holy church, or els throwe your selfe (no remedy) into moost depe daunger. See to it, in tyme, for anon it will be els to late,

The Lord Cobham said : I know not to what purpose I shulde otherwise submitte me. Moch more haue you offended me, than euer I offended you, in thus troubling me before thys multitude.

Than sayd the Archbisshop agayne vnto him : We ones again require you to remembre your selfe wel, and to haue none other opinion in these maters, than the vniuersall fayth and beleue of the holy church of Rome is. And so lyke an obedient child to returne again to the vni of your mother. See to it, I say, in tyme, for yet ye may have remedy, where as anon it will be to late.

The Lord Cobham sayd expressly before them all : I will none otherwise beleue in these poyntes, than I have tolde ye here afore. Do with me what ye will.

Finally, than the Archbisshop sayd : Wel than I see none other, but we must nedes do the lawe ; we must procede forth to the sentence definitive, and both iudge ye and condempne ye for an heretike.

And wyth that the Archbisshope stode up, and redde there a byll of his condempnacion, all the clergie and laytee awaylyng* their bonnettes. And this was therof the tenour.

The definitive Sentence of his Condemnacion. †

IN Dei nomine, Amen. Nos Thomas permissione diuina Cantuariensis ecclesie Archiepiscopus, Metropolitanus, totius Anglie primas, & Apostolica sedis legatus, and so forth, in barbarous Latin, which we haue here translated into English for a more playne vnderstanding to the reader :

In the name of God. So be it, We Thomas by the sufferance of God, Archbisshop of Caunterbury, Metropolitan and Primate of all Ingland, and Legate from the Apostolyke Seate of Rome, wylleth this to be knowen vnto all men. In a certein cause of heresy, and vpon diuerse articles, wherevpon Sir Iohan Oldcastle, Knight and Lord Cobham, after a diligent inquisition made for the same, was detected, accused, and presented before vs in our last conuocation of all our province of Caunterbury, holden in the cathedrall church of Paules at London. At the lafull denouncement and request of our vniuersall clergie in the said conuocation, we proceeded against him, accordinge to the lawe (God to

* Pulling off. † Ex magno processu Thome Arundeli.

witness) with all the fauer possible; and, following Chrystes example in all that we might, which wylleth not the death of a synner, but rather that he be conuerted and lyve,* we toke vpon vs to correct him, and sought all other ways possible to bring him agayne to the churches vnytee, declaring vnto him what the holyc and vniuersall church of Rome hath sayd, holden, determined, and taught in that behalfe. And though we found him, in the catholike faith, farre wyde and so stiff-necked, that he wold not confesse his erreure, nor pouрге himself, nor yet repent him therof. We, yet pyteing him of fatherly compassion, and intierlye desyringe the helthe of his sowl, appoynted him a competent tyme of delyberacion, to see if he wold repent, and seke to be reformed. And sens we haue found him worse and worse, considering therfore, that he is incorrygible, we are driuen to the very extremittee of the lawe, and, with great heuyns of harte, we nowe procede to the publication of the sentence diffinityue against him.

Than brought he forth an other byll conteyning the sayd sentence, and that he redde also in his baugert *Latyne*.†

Christi nomine inuocato, ipsumq. solum pre oculis habentes. Quia per acta inactitati, and so forth; whiche I have also translated into Englysh that men may vnderstand it:

Chryst we take vnto witness, that nothing els we seke in this our whole enterpryse, but his onely glory. For as much as we have found by dyuerse actes done, brought forth, and exhibited, by sundry euidences, synges, and tokens, and also by many moost manifest proues, the seid Sir Johan Oldcastell, knight and Lord Cobham, not only an euident heretyke in his owne parsonne, but also a mighty mainteyner of other heretikes against the fayth and relygion of the holy and universall church of Rome, namely about the two sacramentes of the aulter, and of penance, besides the Popes power and pylgrymages. And that he, as the chylde of iniquitee and darkenes, hath so hardened his hart, that he will in no case attend vnto the voice of his pastour. Neyther will he be alured by strayght admonishments, nor yet be brought in by fauourable wordes. The worthenes of the cause first wayde on the one side, and his vnworthynes agayn considered on the other side, his fautes also aggravated, or made double through his damnable obstinacy. We being loth that he which is nought should be worse, and so with his contagiousnes infect the multitude. By the sage counsell and assent of the very discret fathers our honorable brethren, and lordes bisshops, here present, Rychard of London, Henry of Wynchester, and Benet of Bangor, and of other great lerned and wyse men here, both doctours of diuinitee, and of the lawes canon and ciuyle, seculars and religious, with dyuerse other expert men assisting vs, we sentencyally and diffinitiuely, by thys present writing, iudge, declare, and condemne the seid Sir Iohan Oldcastell, Knight and Lord Cobham, for a most pernicious and detestable heretike, conuicted vpon the same, and refusing vterly to obey the church againe, commyttynge hym here from henceforth as a condemned heretike to the secular iurisdiction, power, and iudgement, to do him therevpon to death. Furthermore we excommu-

* *Esac. xlviii. th. xxiii.*
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† *Barbarous.*

‡ *Ex magne processu Thome Arundell.*

nicate and denounce accursed not only this heretike, here present, but so many els besydes as shall hereafter in fauer of his errour eyther receive him, or defend him, counsell him, or help him, or any other way maintain him, as very fauters, receiuers, defenders, eouncelers, ayders, and maynteyners of condemned heretikes.

And, that these premysses maye be the better known to all saythfull chrysten men, we commit yt here vnto your charges, and geve you strayghte conmaundement therupon by thys wrytting also, that ye cause this condemnation and diffinityue sentence of excommunycacyon, concerning both thys heretyke, and hys sawters, to be published throughout all dyoceses, in cytyes, townes, and vyllages, by your curates and parysh priests, such time as they shall haue most recourse of people. And see that it be done after this sort: As the people are thus gathered deuoutlye together, lett the curate euery where go into the pulpet, and there open, declare, and expounde thys processe in the mother tonge, in an audyble and intelligyble voice, that yt maye well be perseiued of all men, and that, upon the fear of this declaracion also, the people maye fall from their yll opinions conceiued now of late by sediciouse preachers.

Moreouer we will that after we haue deliuered vnto yche one of you bisshoppes (which are here present) a cople herof, that ye cause the same to be written out again, into dyuers copies, and so to be sent vnto the other bisshops and prelates of our whole province, that they may also see the contentes thereof solempnely published within their dioceses and cures. Finally, we wyll that both you and they signifye again vnto vs seriously and distinctly by your wryttinges, as the mater is without fayned colour in euery point perfourmed, the daye wherypon ye receyued thys processe, the tyme whan it was of you executed, and after what sort it was done in euerye condicion, according to the tenour herof, that we may knowe it to be iustly the same.

A cople of thys writynge sent Thomas Arundell, the Archbisshop of Caunterbury*, afterwarde from Maydeston the tenth daye of October, within the same year of our Lord, M. cccc. and xiiij. vnto Rychard Clifford, the Bisshop of London, which thus beginneth, *Thomas permissione diuina, &c.*

The sayde Rychard Clyfforde sent an other cople thereof, inclosed within hys own letters, vnto Robert Mascall, a Carmelyte fryer, which was than Bisshop of Herforde in Walis,† written from Hadham the xxij. day of Octobre, in the same yere, and the beginning thereof is this: *Reuerende in Christo pater, &c.*

The said Robert Mascall directed another cople therof from London the xxvij. day of Novembre in the same yere, inclosed in his own commission also, vnto his archdeacons and deanes in Herforde and Shrewsbury. And this is therof the beginning, *Venerabilibus & discretis viris, &c. et.*

In like maner did the other bisshops within their dioceses.

After that the archbisshop had thus red the byll of his condemnation, with most extremittee, before the whole multitude: the Lord

Cobham sayd with a moost cherefull countenance :^{*} Though ye judge my body which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certein and sure, that ye can do no harme to my soul,[†] no more than could Sathan vpon the soule of Job.[‡] He, that created that, wyll of his infinite mercy and promes, saue it, I have therin no maner of doubt. And, as concerning these artycles before rehersed, I wyll stande to them, euen to the very death, by the grace of my eternall God.

And therwith he turned him vnto the people, casting hys handes abroade, and saying with a very loude voice, Good chrysten people, for God's love, be wel ware of these men ; for they will els begyle you, and leade you blindelynge into hell with themselucs. For Chyrst sayth plainly|| vnto you, ' If one blind leadeth another, they are lyke both to fall into the dytche.'

After thys, he fell downe there vpon his knees, and thus, before them all, prayed for his ennemies, holding vp both his handes and his eyes towards heauen, and saying, Lord God eternall, I besече the, for thy great mercies sake, to forgeue my persuers, if it be thy blessed wyll. And than he was delyuered to Sir Robert Morleye, and so ledde forth agayne to the Tower of London. And thus there was an ende of that dayes worke.

Whyle the Lord Cobham was thus in the Tower, he sent out priuily§ vnto his fryendes. And they, at his desyre, wrote this lytle byll here following, causing it to be set vp in diuerse quarters of London, that the people shulde not beleue the slaundres and lyes that his ennemies, the bisshopes seruants, and pryestes, had made on him abroade. And this was the letter :

FORASMUCH as Sir Iohan Oldcastell, knight and Lord Cobham, is vntuly conuicted and imprysoned, falsely reported and slaundred among the comen people by his aduersaryes, that he shuld otherwise both fele and speake of the sacramentes of the church, and specially of the blessed sacrament of the aulter, than was written in the confessyon of his beleue, which was indented and taken to the clergy, and so set vp in diuerse open places in the citee of London. Knownen be it here to all the world, that he neuer sens uaryed in any poynt therfrom ; but this is playnely his beleu, that all the sacramentes of the church be proffyttable and expedient also to all them that shall be saued, taking them after the intent that Chyrst and his true church hath ordayned. Furthermore, he beleueth, that, in the blessed sacrament of the aulter, is verely and truly Chrystes body, in fourme of breade.

After thys, the Bisshops and pryestes were in moch obloquie, both of the nobilitie and comens, partely for that they had so cruelly handled the good Lord Cobham, and partely agayne, bycause hys opinion (as they thought at that tyme) was perfyght concerning the sacrament. As they feared thys to growe to further inconuenience towards them both wayes, they drew their heades together, and, at the last, consented to vse another practise somewhat contrary to that they had done afore.

^{*} Ex. etrog. Exemplari. [†] Math. x. [‡] Job i. [§] Math. xv. ^{||} Ex vetusto Exemplari Londinensi.

They caused it by and by to be blowne abroad by their feed seruants, fryendes, and babeling Sir Iohnes,* that the sayde Lord Cobham was becomen a good man, and had lawlye submitted himselfe in all things vnto holy church, vtterly chaunging his opinion concerning the sacrament. And, therevpon, they contrefayted† an abiuracion, in his name, that the people shuld take no hold of that opinion, by any thing they had hearde of him before, and to stande so in the more awe of them, considering him so great a manne, and by them subdued.

This is the abiuracion (say they) of Sir Iohan Oldcastell, knight, somtime the Lord Cobham.

An Abiuracion counterfayted‡ of the Bishshoppes.

IN Dei nomine, Amen. I, Iohan Oldcastell, denounced, detected, and conuicted of, and vpon, diuerse artycles, sauering both heresy and error, before the reuerend Father in Chryst, and my good Lord, Thomas, by the permission of God, Lord Archbisshop of Caunterbury, and my lauful and rightful iudge in that behalfe, expressly graunt and confesse: That, as concerning the estate and power of the moost holy Father, the Pope of Rome, of his archbisshoppes, his bisshoppes, and his other prelates, the degrees of the church, and the holy sacramentes of the same, specyally of the sacramentes of the aulter, and of penaunce, and other obseruaunces, besides, of our mother holy church, as pilgrimages and pardons; I affyrme (I say) before the said reuerend Father Archbisshop, and els wher, that I, being yll seduced by diuerse sediciouse preachers, haue greuously erred, and heretically persisted, blasphemously answered, and obstinatlye rebelled. And, therefore, I am by the sayd reuerend Father, before the reuerend Fathers in Chryst also, the bisshoppes of London, Winchestre, and Bangor, lawfullye condemned for an heretyke.

Neuerthelesse yet, I now remembering myselfe, and coueting, by this meane, to auoide that temporall payne, whiche I am worthy to suffer as an heretike, at the assignacion of my most excellent chrysten Prince and liege Lord, Kyng Henry the Fift, now, by the grace of God, moost worthy Kyng both of Englande and of Fraunce, minding also to preferre the wholsom determynacyon, sentence, and doctryne of the holy and vniversall church of Rome, before the vnwholsom opinions of myselfe, my teachers, and my followers: I frely, willyngly, deliberately, and throughly confess, graunt, and affyrme the most holye Fathers in Chryst, Saint Peter the Apostle, and his successours, Bisshoppes of Rome, speciallye now at thys time, my moost blessed Lorde Pope Iohan, by the permysson of God, the xxij. Pope of that name, which now holdeth Peter's seate (and yche of them in their succession) in full strength and power to be Chryste's vycar in ærth, and the heade of the church milytaunt. And that, by the strength of hys office (what, though he be a great syner, and afore known of God to be damned) he hath full auctoritee and power to rule and gouern, bind and lose, saue and destroy, accurse and assoyle, all other chrysten men.

* Sir Iohnes was a general name for the priests in those days. † al. Counterfeyted. ‡ Wadded in Fasciculo Zizaniorum Wicelii.

And, agreably styl vnto thys, I confesse, grannt, and affyrme, all other archbisshoppes, bysshoppes, and prelates, in their provinces, dyoceses, and parrishes (appointed by the said Pope of Rome, to assyst him in his doinges or business) by his decrees, canons, or vertue of his offyce, to haue had in tymes past, to haue nowe at this tyme, and that they ought to haue in tyme to come, auctoritee and power to rule and to gouerne, bind and lose, accurse and assoyle the subiectes or peoples of theyr aforesaid prouinces, dioceses, and parrishes; and that theyr said subiectes or peoples ought of right, in all thynges, to obey them. Furthermore, I confesse, graunt, and affyrme, that the sayde spyrytuall fathers, as our moost holy father the Pope, archbisshops, bisshops, and prelates haue had, haue now, and ought to haue hereafter, auctoritee and power for the estate, ordre, and gouernnaunce of their subiectes or peoples, to make lawes, decrees, statutes, and constitucions, yea, and to publysh, commaunde, and compell theyr said subiectes, and peoples, to the obseruation of them.

Morouer, I confesse, graunt, and affyrme, that all these forsaid lawes, decrees, statutes, and constitucions, made, publyshed, and commaunded, accordynge to the fourme of spirituall lawe, all chrysten people, and euery man in himselfe, is straightly bound to obserue, and mekelye to obeye, accordynge to the diuersitee of the forsayde powers. As the lawes, statutes, canons, and constitucions of our moost holy father the Pope, incorporated in his decrees, decretals, clementynes, codes, chartes, rescryptes, sextyles, and extrauagantes, the world all ouer. And, as the prouinciall statutes of archbisshoppes in their prouinces, the synodall actes of bisshoppes in theyr dioceses, and the commendable rules and customes of prelates in their colleges, and curates in their parrishes, all chrysten people are both bound to obserue, and also moost mekely to obeye. Ouer and besides all this, I, Iohan Oldcastell, utterly forsakinge and renouncynge all the aforesaid errors and heresyces, and all other errors and heresyces lyke unto them, lay my hande here vpon this boke, or holy euangelye of God, and sweare, that I shall neuermore, from hensforth, hold these forsaid heresyces, nor yet any other lyke vnto them wetingly. Neyther shall I geue counsell, ayde, helpe, nor fauer, at any time, to them that shall holde, teache, affyrme, or mainteine the same, as God shall helpe me, and these holy euangelyces.

And, that I shall from hensforth faithfully obeye, and inuiolably obserue all the holy lawes, statutes, canons, and constitucions, of all the Popes of Rome, archbisshops, bisshops, and prelates, as are contayned and determined in theyr holye decrees, decretals, clementynes, codes, chartes, rescryptes, sextyles, summes papall, extrauagantes, statutes prouinciallyl, actes synodal, and other ordinary rules and customes constituted by them, or that shall chaunce hereafter dyrectly to be determined or made. To these, and all such other, wyll I, myselfe, with all power possible applye. Besydes all this, the penance which it shall please my said reuerend father, the Lord Archbisshop of Caunterbury, hereafter, to enioyne me for my synnes, I will mekely obeye, and faithfully fulfyll. Finally, al my seducers, and false teachers, and all other besydes, whom I shall hereafter knowe, suspected of heresyce or errors, I shall effectuallye present, or cause to be presented, vnto my sayd

reuerend father, Lord Archbisshop, or to them which hath his auctoritee, so sone as I can conueniently do it, and see that they be corrected, to my vttermoost power. Amen.

*The cruell Complaint of the Clergye and tyrannouse Actes
theretpon made.*

NEUER came this abiuration to the handes of the Lord Cobham, neyther was it compyled of them for that purpose, but only therwyth to bleare the eyes of the vnlearned multitude. And whan they perceyued that polycye would not helpe, but made more and more agaynst them, than sought they out another false practyse. They went unto the Kyng * with a most greuous complaint, like as they did afore in his fathers tyme, that, in euery quarter of the realme, by reason of Wicleues opinions, and the said Lord Cobham, were wonderfull contentions, rumours, tumultes, vproars, confederations, dissencions, diuisions, differences, discordes, harmes, slaunders, scismes, sectes, sedicions, perturbacions, parrels, unlaufull assemblyes, variaunces, strifes, fyghtinges, rebellious rufelinges, and dayly insurrections. The Church (they sayd) was hated: the diocesanes were not obeyed: the ordinaries were not regarded: the spirituall offycers, as suffraganes, archdeacons, chauncelers, doctours, commissaries, offcials, deanes, lawyers, scribes, and sommeners were euery where despysed: the lawes and liberties of holy church were troden undre fote: the Chrysten fuyth was ruynously decayed: Gods seruice was laught to scorne: the spirituall iurisdiction, auctoritee, honour, power, polycye, lawes, rytes, ceremonies, curses, keyes, censures, and canonicall sanctions of the Church, were had in an uttre contempt.

So that all, in a maner, was come to nought.

And the cause of this was, that the Heretikes and Lolars † of Wicleues opinion were suffered to preach abroad, so boldly to gether conuenticles unto them, to kepe scoles in mens houses, to make bokes, compyle treatises, and wryte ballets; to teach privately in angles and corners, as in wodes, feldes, medowes, pastours, groues, and in caues of the ground. This wolde be (they sayd) a destruction to the commonwelth, a subvercion to the land, and an uttre decay of the Kynges estate royall, if remedy were not sought in tyme. And this was their polycye to couple the Kynges auctoritee, wyth that they had done in theyr former counsell of craft, and so to make it thereby the stronger. For they perceiued themselves very farre to weake els, to followe against their ennemys, that they had so largely enterprised. Upon this complaint, the Kynge immediately called a parliament at Leichestre. It might not in those daies be holden at Westminstre, for the great fauer that the Lord Cobham had both in London, and about the Citee, yet were they deceived. That, they doubted moost, lighted there soonest upon them.

A byll was put in there agayne ‡, by the Commons, against their

* Ex Statuto Parlamenti Regis, Hen. V.

† Abettors, defenders, and publishers.

‡ Robertus Fabianus in Chronicis.

continuall wasting of the temporalities, lyke as it had been twice afore by procurement of the seid Lord Cobham * both in the daies of Kyng Rychard the second, Anno 1395, and also of Kyng Henry the III. Anno domini 1410, whereupon was growne all this malice afore specified, but this was than workemanly defecated by another proper practyse of theyrs.

They put the Kyng in remembraunce to claim his right in Fraunce, and graunted him therunto a dime, with other great subsidy of mony. Thus were Chrystes people betrayed every way, and their liues bought and sold by these most cruell thieves. For in the sayd parliament the Kyng made this most blasphemouse and cruell acte, to be as a lawe for euer†: That whatsoever they were, that shuld read the scriptures in the mother tongue (which was then called Wicleus lerning) they shuld forfet land, catel, body, lyfe, and godes from theyr heys for ever, and so be condempned for heretykes to God, ennemies to the Crowne, and most errand trayters to the land‡.

Besides this, it was inacted, that neuer a sanctuary, nor privileged ground, within the realme shuld holde them, though they were styll permitted both to theues and murtherers. And if in case they wold not gyue ouer, or were after their pardon relapsed, they shuld suffer death in two maner of kindes; that is, they shuld first be hanged for treason agaynst the Kyng, and than be burned for heresy agaynst God: and yet neither of both committed.

The beginning of that act is this:

Pro eo quod magni rumores, &c. Anon after, was it proclaymed throughout the realme, and than had the Bisshoppes, pryests, monkes, and fryers a worlde somewhat to theyr minds. For than were many taken in diuerse quarters, and suffred moost cruell death§. And many fled out of the lande into Germany, Bohem, Fraunce, Spain, Portingale, and into the weld of Scotland, Wales, and Yreland, working there many maruels agaynst their false kyngdome to long to wryte. In the Christmas followinge was Sir Roger Acton, Knight, Master Iohan Browne, Esquire, Sir Iohan Beucrlay, a lerned preacher, and dyuerse othef more attached for quareling with certeine prycsts, and so imprisoned||. For all men at that tyme could not paciently suffer theyr blasphemouse bragges.

The complaint was made vnto the Kyng of them, that they had made a great assemble in Sainct Gyles-Felde at Londen, purposing the destruction of the land, and the subuercyon of the common-welth. As the kyng was thus informed, he erected a banner (saith Walden¶) with a crosse thereupon, as the Pope doth commonly by his legates, whan he pretendeth to warre agaynst the Turke, and with great nombre of men entred the same felde, where as he found no such company. Yet was the complaint iudged true, bycause the Bisshoppes had spoken

* Walden in Fasciculo, Fabianus in Chronicis.
ii. cap. 40. & in Synodo Polidorus.

† It was nevertheless enacted in this Parliament, that a general pardon should for the present be granted to all Lollards, excepting Sir John Oldcastel, and some others therein mentioned. Claus. 2. Hen. V. m. 24.

‡ Walden ad Martinum papam, lib. i. cap. 50. De Sacramentalibus, cap. 53.

§ Walden, Fabianus, to. Maior, Polidorus.

¶ Walden ad Martinum & in Prologo de Sacramentis.

it, at the information of their pryestea. All this hath Thomas Walden in diuerse of his workes, which was at the same tyme a Whight or Carmelyte fryer, and the kinges confessour; and partly it is touched both by Robert Fabian, and by Polidorus Virgilius, in theyr English Chronycles, but not in all poyntes rightly, as is to be seene in the preface afore. In the meane season, Sir Iohan Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham, escaped out of the Tower of London in the night*, and so fledde into Wales, where as he continued more than iiii. years after†.

Some wryters haue thought this escape to come by the sayd Sir Roger Acton, and other gentylmen, in displeasure of the pryestes, and that to be the chiefe occasion of their deathes, whiche might well be; but Walden doth not so vtter it, whiche reigned the selfe same tyme. In January next following‡, was the afore-named Sir Roger Acton, master Iohan Browne, Sir Iohan Beuerley, and thirty-six more (of whom the more part were gentylmen of byrthe) conuicted of heresy by the bisshops, and condemned of treason by the temporalitie, and according to the acte were fyrst hanged, and than brent in the sayd Saint Gyles-Felde. In the same yeare||, also was one Iohan Claydon, a skyuner, and one Rycharde Turmin, a baker, both hanged and brent in Smythfelde, by that vertuons act, besydes that was done in al other quarters of England; whiche was no small nombre, if it were nowe thoroughly knownen.

The latter Imprisoning and Death of the Lord Cobham.

IN the yere of our Lorde a. M. cccc. and xv §, dyed Thomas Arundell, which had bene Archbishop of Caunterbury more than xxxii. yeres, to the great destruction of Chrysten beleue. Yet dyed not his prodigious tyrannye with hym, but succeeded with his office in Henry Chicheley, and in a great sort more of the spyghtfull spiritualtee. For their malyce was not yet satled agaynst the good Lord Cobham. But they confedered with the Lord Powys (whiche was at that tyme a great gouernour in Wales) feding him with lordely gifts and promises to accomplysh theyr desyre. He at the last, thus monied with Iudas¶, and outwardly pretending him great amitie and fauer, moost cowardlye and wretchedlye toke him, and in conclusion so sent him up to London; where as he remayned a month or two inprysoned again in the Tower. And after long processe they condemned him agayne of heresy and treason, by force of the afore named acte; he rendering thanks vnto God that he had so appointed him to suffre for his names sake.

And, vpon the daye appointed, he was brought out of the Tower; with hys armes bound behynd him, hauing a very chereful countenance. Than was he layd vpon an hardle, as though he had been a moost haynouse traitoure to the Crowne, and so drawne forth into Saint

* About 28 October 1413, and on 10 January following a commission was issued out to the Lord Mayor of London, for apprehending him, &c. And, at the same time, he was indicted for Treason, and in Hilary term he was out-lawed for Treason.

† Fabianus, Polidorus, in Chronica. § Iohan Maior, Lib. vi. cap. 9. Historie Scotorum. ¶ Robertus Fabianus, in Chronica.

‡ According to the Cantebury Register, it should be 1412. And according to Walsingham, p. 306, and Goodwin's Hen. V. p. 35, he died 20. Feb. 1414.

§ Math. xxi.

Giles-Felde, where as they had set vp a newe paire of galowes. As he was comen to the place of execution, and was taken from the hardle, he fell down deuoughtly vpon his knees, desyringe Almightye God to forgeue hys enemies. Than stode he vp, and beheld the multitude, exhorting them, in moost godly maner, to followe the lawes of God, written in the scriptures, and in any wyse to beware of such teachers, as they see contrary to Chryst in their conuersacion and lyuing, wyth many other speciall counceils. Than was he hanged vp there by the middle in chaynes of yron, and so consumed alyne in the fyre, praying the name of God so long as his lyfe lasted. In the ende, he commend-ed his soule into the handes of God, and so departed hens most chrystently, his body resolu-ed into ashes.

And this was done in the yere of our Lord a. M. cccc. and xviij. which was the sixt yere of the reygne of Kyng Henry the Fift, the people there present shewyng great dolour. How the pryestes that tyme fared, blasphemed, and cursed, requiring the people not to praye for hym, but to iudge hym dampned in hell, for that he departed not in the obedience of their pope, it were to long to wryte. This terrible kinde of death, with galowes, chaynes, and fyre, appeareth not very precieuse in the eyes of men, that be carnall, no more than did the death of Chryst, whan he was hanged vp among theues*. The rightouse semeth to dye sayth the wise man † 'in the syght of them whiche are vnwise, and their ende is taken for very destruction. Vngodly foles thinketh theyr lyues very madnes, and theyr passage hens without al honour. But though they suffre pain before men sayth he ‡ 'yet is theyr expectacion full of immortalitee, They are accounted for the Chyldren of God, and haue theyr iust portion among the saintes. As golde in the furnace doth God trye his electe, and as a most pleasaunte brent offering receiueh he them to rest||.

The more harde the passage be, the more gloryouse shall they appeare in the latter resurreccion. Not that the afflictions of this lyfe are worthy of such a glory, but that it is Gods heauenly pleasure so to reward them §. Neuer are the iudgements and wayes of men lyke vnto the iudgements and wayes of God, but contrary euermore, vnles they be taught of him ¶. In the later tyme, sayth the Lorde vnto Daniell, 'shall many be chosen, proued, and purified by fyre; yet shall the vngodly lyue, wickedly styll, and haue no vnderstanding, that is, of faith.' By an angell from heauen was Iohan ** earnestly commaunded to wryte, that 'blessed are the dead, which hens departeth in the Lord. Right dere, sayth Dauid ††, 'in the syght of God is the death of his true seruantes.' Thus resteth this valeaunt Chrysten knight, Sir Iohan Oldcastell, vnder the aulter of God, which is Iesus Chryst, among that godly company, which, in the kyngedome of pacience, suffred great tribulacion, with the death of their bodies, for his faithfull worde and testimony; abiding there with them the fullfylling of theyr whole nombre, and the

* Iohan xix.

† Heb. xi. Rom. viij.

‡ Psalm cxi.

§ Wisd. iii.

¶ Romys lv. Hier. xxxij. Dan. xij.

‡ Chap. v.

§ Chap. iij.

¶ Apoc. xij.

full restauracion of his electes^{*}. The whiche he graunt in effect, at this tyme appointed, whiche is one God eternall. Amen.

The Conclusion.

BESYDES the causes rehersed afore in the preface, concerning the dreadful death of thys moost Chrysten knight, Sir Iohan Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham, this is also rekened for one: In the ende of the fyrst boke, which he put vp into the Parliament-house, agaynst the abusions of the clergie, in the yere of our Lord, a. M. ccc. xcv. which was also the xvij. yere of King Richard the Second, were these vi. verses written, as a brefe conclusion sommery of the vniuersall contents therof.

*Plangunt Anglorum Gentes Crimen Sodomorum.
Paulus fert, horum sunt Idola causa malorum.
Surgunt ingrati, Giezite Symone nati,
Nomine Prelati, hoc defensare parati.
Qui Reges estis, populis quicunque preestis,
Qualiter his Gestis Gladios prohibere potestis?*

Though the verses be grosse and vnperflight, according to the time than, wherin all fresh lyterature was clerelye extinguished, yet is the sentence of them lyvely, and of a fresh faithfull spyrite, euen in the zeale of Helias and Phinees, for rebuke of synne: and thus are they in the Englishe:

Bewayle maye Inglande tife synne of Sodomites:
For Idolles and they are grounde of all theyr wo.
Of Symon Magus a secte of ypocrites,
Surnamed Prelates, are vp wyth them to go:
And, to vpholde them in all that they may do.
You that be rulers, pecularly selected,
How can ye suffre such mischeues to go vncorrected?

Whan this boke wolde not helpe towards any reformation, but was laught to scorne of the Bisshoppes, than were these verses copied out by dyuerse menne, and set upon their wyndows, gates, and dores, which were than knowen for obstinate ypocrites and fleshly lyuers; which made the Prelates madde. And thys is the great insurrectyon, that Walden complaineth of vnto pope Marten the Fyft; and after him, Polydorus, the Popes Collectour, with other papistes more, wherein neuer a one manne was hurt. I wolde maruell moche more of the doublenes of Thomas Walden, beyng than the Kynges confessour, if I did not know the vnshamefast nature of that lyeng generation. In his fyrst epistel † vnto Pope Martine, and in the fyrst preface of hys fourth boke *contra Wicleuistas*, he sayth, that Sir Iohan Olcastell, with

^{*} Apoc. vi. i. vij. xx.
Wicleuistas.

† Ad Martinum Papam. Et in prefatione iv. Lib. contra

a greate nombre of heretikes, conspyred against Kyng Henry the Fyft, in the fyrst yere of his reigne; and that he offered him, for euery monke, chanon, fryer, and popish pryestes head, within his realme, a gold noble. And, cleane contrary vnto thys, he testifieth, in his boke, called, *Fasciculus Zizaniorum Wicleuij*, that he was, the selfe same tyme, yere, moneth, weke, and daye, a prisoner within the Tower of London. How well these two writtinges agre, I report me.

But thus comenly are innocent men lyed vpon among these blasphemouse bellygods. But he, that is essentially true of himself, hath promised*, at one tyme or other, to clere his true seruaunt, not by lyes and fables, but by his own pure worde: "No secret," saith he†, "is so close, but ones shall be opened: neyther is any thyng so hidde, that shall not at the last be knowne clerely." Thus hath Sir Iohan Oldcastell a triump haunt victory ouer his enemies by the veritee, which he defended, all contrary to the blinde worldes expectation; and they haue a fowle ouerthrowe, being proued manyfest murtherers, blind beastes, ypocrites, and lyers, by the same. Such a swete Lord is God alwayes to those that be his true seruauntes, blessed be his holy name therfore. Conferre the causes of this godlye mans deathe with the poyntes that Thomas Becket dyed for, and other popish martirs besides, and ye shall synd them farre different and vnlyke. Thomas Becket was slayne‡ at Caunterbury, in his prelates apparell, in the heade churche, before the hygh aultcr, amonge religiouse monkes and pryestes and in the holy tyme of Chrystmas, by his owne seking; and all this is gloriouse vnto worldly iudgmentes. Sir Iohan Oldcastell was brent in chaynes||, at London, in Saint Giles-Felde, vnder the galowes, amonge the laye people, and vpon the prophane working daye, at the Bysshoppes procurement. And all this is vnglorious, yea and very despiscable vnto those worldelye eyes. What though Iesus Chryst his master, afore hym, were handeled after a lyke sorte? For he § was crucified at Hierusalem, without the citee, and without the holy synagoge, accursed out of churche, amonge the prophane multitude, in the midst of theues, in the place where as theues and murtherers were commonly hanged, and not vpon the feastful day, but afore it, by the Bisshoppes procurement also. Now let vs consider the causes of both theyr deathes, and try them both by the manifest scryptures of the Gospel, whiche of them shuld seme moost to the glory of God, and whiche moost to the glory of men. Thomas Becket dyed vpon his own seking onely¶, for mainteyning the wanton lybertyes and superfluouse possessyons of the Romysh Churche here wythin England, which are both forbidden of Chryst, and also condemned by the same scryptures. "He, that forsaketh not all that he hath," sayth he, "can not be my disciple**."

And, whan a contencion befelle amonge the apostles for the superynitee, he sayde†† also vnto them, 'The kynges of the worlde haue the worldes dominion wyth all pompe and riches belonging to the same; but you shall not be so.'

* Iohan viij..

† Matth. x. Luke xij.

‡ Stephanus Langton in Vita Thome lib.

cap. 20.

§ Walden, 10. Maior, Fabianus.

¶ Heb. xij. Iohan. ix. Matth. xxvij.

|| Iohan. xix. Actes iij.

|| Heribertus Hoscam in Vita Thome.

** Luke xiv.

†† Chap. xxiii. & Peter v.

Sir Iohan Oldcastell dyed at the importune sute of the clergy, for calling upon a Chrysten reformation in that Romishe church of theys, and for manfully standing by the faithfull testimonies of Iesus, as all the aforesayd processe declareth. And this is both allowed in the gossell, and also required of every Chrysten beleuer. 'He that confesseth me, and my worde before men,' sayth Chryst* 'him will I confesse for myne before my eternall Father. And he that shall denie me and my veritee before men, him will I also deny for mine before my euerlasting Father whiche is in heauen.'

Thomas Becket, in the tyme of his death, commended himselfe † to the patrones of his church, whiche were two gilded ymages of Saint Saucr and Saint Mary, and the cause of his church unto Saint Denis, and had no more but his pryestes crown cut of (whiche is the Popes leuery mark) euen by the very shauing, as his story mencyoneth.

Syr Iohan Oldcastell, in the tyme of his death, commended his sowle, with Dauid, Chryst, and Steuen, into the handes of God the eternall Father, and hys cause to the rightful iudgement of his sonne Iesus Chryst, with desyre of mercifull forgeuenes concerning his ennemies, as became a faithfull Chrystian, and had his whole body consumed in the fyre. Now, pluck from youre eyes the corrupted spectacles of carnall or Popysch iudgements, and do vpon them the cleare light ye haue by the Spyrite of Chryst: And that faithfully done, tell me whiche of these two semeth rather to be the martir of Chryst, and whiche the Popes martir? 'The wayes of God' sayth Esay ‡ 'are not the wayes of men. But so farre as the heauens are aboue the vile earth, so farre do hys judgments excede theys.' 'That whiche semeth high and gloriouse vnto men' sayth Chryst § 'is verye abhominacion afore God.' By this may ye see that the precyouse spowse, or immaculate churche of Chryst, is not a gorgeously painted, gentyll woman, nor gloryous glittering mayden, but al hidden and unknowne to the worldly infidels, whiche disdaineth to seek her in the scriptura.

Nothing is precious unto them that shyneth not unto the eye. A moost fyt membre for Chrystes mistycall body, is he that suffereth with the beade therof. As this good Sir Iohan Oldcastell did, when he was, with Chryst, examined of the proude bissbops, scorned of the priestes, disdayned of the worlde, yll reported, mocked, hated, reuiled, accursed, and so commytted vnto the laye iudgement, to be condemned by them vnto moost shameful and cruell death. Yea, so extremely malicious was the spyghtfull spiritualtee agaynst him, that they wolde not suffre his body to be buried in their great cytee or holy church (which is spirituallly called *Sodome* and *Egyptus*) to make the prophecy of Sainct Iohans Apocalps ¶ truly to be verified vpon him, and to proue him Chrystes membre altogether. They both resolved his body into ashes, and also made the ryuer to carye them away, lyke as they did also with the bones of Iohan Wicleue ¶, least any thing therof shuld remayne, because they wold also shewe themselues lyke in tyranny to Iulianus Apostata, that so vsed the body of holy Iohan Baptist afore them. I shuld make a comparyson betwixt thys blessed martir of Chryst, Sir Iohan Oldcas-

* Math. x. Mark viii. Luke ix. ib. xii.

Stefanus Langton, lib. iii. cap. 18.

¶ De Sacramentalibus, cap. lxxxvi. § 13. Fasciculus Zizaniorum.

† Benedic. de Burgo Petri, Ioannes Capgrave.

‡ Esay lv.

§ Luke xvi.

¶ Apoc. xi.

tell, and Peter of Myllane, with other of the Popes martirs, which dyed for the Popes power, pardons, pilgrimages, ear-confession, and other Popish matters more establisshed in the generall counsell of Lateran, but it wolde axe too moch tyme.

And as concerning the kinde of his contemptuous death or martirdome: More vyle was not his hanging vnder the galowes in an yron chayne, than was the hanging of his Lord Iesus Chryst vpon the crosse in the tyme of his death. Nor than was the hanging of Peter, Andrew, and Philip, his holy apostles: Bisshop Simeon, Doroteus, Gorgonius, Alexander, Epipodius, Claudius, Asterius, Menon, Nemesius, Nestor, Agricola, Iulia, Zoe, the wife of Nicostratus, with many other holy martirs more. More odyouse was not his burning in the fyre, than was the cruell burning of Barnabas the Apostell, Polycarpus, the good Bisshop of Smirna, Amancius, Agaton, Tiburcius, Petulius, Simphronius, Sosthenes, Uictor, Dioscorus, Eulogius, Fructuosus, Castus, Aemilius, Fidencius, Hero, Hyreneus, Aphra, Hylaria, Apolonia, Anastasia, and many hondreths more. When this strong witnesse of the Lord was among the fat bulles of Basan*, and moost cruelly assaulted of them, he was thoroughly assainted in his conscience for that conflyct of fayth, to taste his eternal goodness in the lasting lande of the lyuing.

Yea, soche tyme as he was reprobued of his ennemies, and forsaken of his fryendes, in maner of a broken vessel †, he toke a strong stomacke vnto him, as dyd the mightee Machabees ‡, and thought thus in his minde, That, though those ungratiouse tyrauntes shuld put him vnto death, yet wolde the æternall Kyng (which is both 'resurrection and lyfe §) raise him up agayn in the resurrection of life euerlasting, among them that hath dyed for his pure lawes. Already hath he raysed his fame, which lay long dead, by the lyuing Spyrite of his gospell, for that he was a minister therof. Which is a moost euident token that he will hereafter, with his other mysticall membres, rayse him vp in perfight glory. When the gospell laye dead, glorious Thomas Becket was a saint, and Iohan Oldcastell a forgotten heretike. But, nowe that the lyght therof shyneth, we are lyke to see it farre otherwise. For proud Becket hath already hidden his face §, and poor Oldcastell beginneth nowe to appeare very notable. Not all vnrightly did Saint Augustin speak it, and other olde doctours besides, that many were worshipped here in earth for saintes, whose wretched soules are greuously cruciate in hell.

Such tyme as our moost worthy soucurain, Kyng Henry the viii. now lyuing, after the moost goodly example of Kyng Iosyas ¶, visited the temples of his realme, he perseyued the sinneful shryne of this Becket, to be vnto his people a moost perniciouse euell, and therefore, in the worde of the Lord, he vtterly, among other, destroyed it. If he had vpon that, and such other abhominable shrynes, brent those idolatrouse pryestes, which were, and are yet, theyr chefe maintainers, he had fulfilled the godly history throughout. But that which was not than perfourmed, in hope of their amendment, may, by chaunce, lyght vpon them hereafter, whan no gentell warning will seme to be regarded.

* Psal. xxii. Amos iv.

† Psal. xxx.

‡ 2 Mach. vii.

§ Iohan xi. 1b. Apo. xx.

¶ The pilgrimage to his shrine being forbidden, and his bones. by the king's order, barot.

¶ 2 Kings xxiii. 2 Chron. xxxiv.

I dout not at all, but his most noble discretion perceyueth much more in that wycked generacyon of the Popes norryshynge up, which alwayes hath maynteyned, and yet do, soche manyfest errours, than he euer in his lyfe yet uttered. The eternall Father rewarde his Grace for that clere lyght of helthe, which we poore creaturs have receyued at his onlye hande undre God, though yt be not all without the grevouse punyshment of our bodyes. By the processe whiche we have afore here uttered of Sir Iohan Oldcastell, ye maye evydentlye sec, that great is the treasure which the Lorde hath layed up for the behove of them that hath trusted in him*, wherewith now he maketh dumme the lyeing lyppes of them that dysdaynouslye reported the ryghtouse, to the honour and prayse of his most gloryouse name. *Amen.*

Thus endeth the brefe chronycle concernynge the examynacyon and death of the blessed martir of Chryst, Sir Iohan Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham, not canonysed of the Pope, but in the precyouse bloude of his Lorde Iesus Chryst. Collected by Iohan Bale, and imprinted, *Anno Dom. 1544. and vi. Die Augusti.*

THE
LAMENTATION, OR COMPLAINT
OF
A SINNER*,

MADE BY THE MOST VERTUOUS AND RIGHT GRATIOUS LADIE,

QUEEN CATHERINE,

Bewailing the Ignorance of her blind Life, led in Superstition;

Verie profitable to the Amendment of our Lives.

Quarto, containing Forty-seven Pages.

William Cicill hauing taken much profit, by the reading of this treatise following, wisheth vnto euerie Christian, by the reading thereof, like profit, with increase from God.

MOST gentle and Christian reader, if matters should be rather confirmed by their reporters, than the reports warranted by the matters, I might iustlie bewaile our time, wherein euill deeds be well worded, and good deeds euill cleaped. But sincere truth is, that things be not good for their praises, but be praised for their goodnesse. I doo not mooue

* Psa. xxx. Eccl. 1. Wisd. v.
in the Haileian Library.

† This is the 140th number in the catalogue of pamphlets

thee to like this christian treatise, bicause I haue mind to praise it ; but I exhort thee to mind it, and, for the goodnesse, thou shalt allow it, for whose liking I labour not to obtaine, onelic, mouued by mine example, their iudgement I regard, chieflie confirmed by the matter. Truelie, our time is so disposed to grant good names, to euill fruits, and excellent terme sto meane works, that neither can good deeds enioie their due names, being defrauded by the euill ; neither excellent works can possesse their woorthie termes, being forestalled by the meane ; insomuch that men seeke, rather, how much they can, than how much they ought to saie ; inclining more to their pleasure, than to their iudgement, and to shew themselves rather eloquent, than the matter good ; so that neither the goodnesse of the cause can mouue them to saie more, neither the euilnesse lesse. For, if the excellencie of this Christian contemplation, either for the goodnesse herein to maruell appearing, either for the profit, hercupon, to the reader ensuing, should be, with due commendation, followed : I, of necessitie, should either trauell, to find out new words, the old being anticipated by euill matters, or wish, that the common speech of praising were spared, vntill conuenient matters were found to spend it ; such is the plentie of praising, and scarcenesse of deseruing.

Wherefore, lacking the maner in words, and not the matter in deed of high commendation, I am compelled to keepe in my iudgement with silence, trusting whom my report could not haue mouued to like this present treatise, the worthinesse of the matter shall compell to giue it honour.

Anie earthlie man would soon be stirred, to see some misterie of magike, or practise of alchumie, or, perchance, some enchantment of elements ; but thou, which art christened, hast here a wonderfull misterie of the mercie of God, a heauenlie practise of regeneration, a spiritual enchantment of the grace of God. If ioie and triumph be shewed, when a kings child is born into the world, what ioie is sufficient, when God's child is regenerated from heauen ? The one is flesh, which is borne of flesh ; the other is spirit, which is borne of spirit. The one, also, shall wither like the grasse of the earth, in short time ; the other shall liue in heauen, beyond all time. If the finding of one lost sheepe be more ioifull, than the hauing of ninetie and nine ; What ioie is it, to consider the returne of a straie child of Almighty God, whose retrurne teacheth the ninetie and nine to come to their fold ? Euen such cause of ioie is this, that the angels, in heauen, take comfort herein. Be thou, therefore, ioifull, when a noble child is newlie borne ; shew thy selfe glad, when the lost sheepe hath wonne the whole flock ; be thou not sad, where angels reioise,

Here maist thou see one, if the kind may mouue thee, a woman ; if degree may prouoke thee, a woman of high estate ; by birth made noble, by marriage most noble, by wisdom godlie, by a mightie king, an excellent queene ; by a famous Henrie, a renowned Catherine, a wife to him that was a king to realmes ; refusing the world, wherein she was lost, to obtaine heauen, wherein she may be saued ; abhorring sinne, which made hir bound to receiue grace, wherby she may be free ; despising flesh, the cause of corruption, to put on the spirit, the cause of

sanctification : forsaking ignorance, wherein she was blind, to come to knowledge, whereby she may see ; remoouing superstition, wherewith she was smothered, to imbrace true religion, wherewith she may reuiue.

The fruit of this treatise, good reader, is thine amendment ; this onlie had, the writer is satisfied. This good ladie thought no shame to detest hir sinne, to obtaine remission ; no vilenes, to become nothing, to be a member of him, which is all things in all ; no follie to forget the wisdom of the world, to learne the simplicitie of the gospell at the last ; no displeasantesse, to submit hir selfe to the schoole of the cross, the learning of the crucifix, the booke of our redemption, the verie absolute librarie of God's mercie and wisdom. This waie, thought she, hir honour increased, and hir state pirmanent, to make hir earthlie honour heauenlie, and neglect the transitorie for the euerlasting.

Of this I would thee warned, that the profit may ensue. These great mysteries and graces be not well perceiued, except they be surilie studied ; neither be they perfectlie practised, except they be diligentlie practised ; neither profitablie practised, without amendment. See and learne, hereby, what she hath doone, then maist thou practise, and amend that thou canst do ; so shalt thou practise with ease, hauing a guide, and amend with profit, hauing a zeale. It is easier to see these, than to learne : begin at the easiest, to come to the harder ; see thou hir confession, that thou maiest learne hir repentance ; practise hir perseuerance, that thou maiest haue like amendment ; despise thy selfe, in eschewing vice, that thou maiest please God, in asking grace ; let not shame hinder the confession, which hindered not the offense. Be thou sure, 'if we knowledge our sins, God is faithfull to forgie vs, and to cleanse vs from all vnrighteousnes.' Obeie the prophets saieing : 'Declare thy waies to the Lord.'

Thus far thou maist learne to knowe thy selfe : next this, be thou as diligent to releuee thy selfe in God's mercie, as thou hast beene to reueale thy selfe in thine owne repentance. For God hath concluded all things vnder sinne, because he would haue mercie vpon all ; who hath also borne our sinnes in his bodie vpon the tree, that we should be deliuered from sinne, and should liue vnto righteousness, by whose stripes we be healed. Here is our anchor ; here is our shepheard ; here we be made whole ; here is our life, our redemption, our saluation, and our blisse ; let vs, therefore, now feed, by this gracious queenes example, and be not ashamed to become in confession publicanes, since this noble ladie will be no pharisee.

And, to all ladies of estate, I wish as earnest mind, to followe our queene in vertue, as in honour, that they might once appare to prefer God before the world, and be honourable in religion, which now be honourable in vanities ; so shall they, as in some vertuous ladies, of right high estate, it is, with great comfort seen, taste of this freedome of remission of the euerlasting blisse, which exceedeth all thoughts and vnderstandings, and is prepared for the holie in spirit. For the which, let vs, with our intercession in holines and purenes of life, offer our selues, to the heauenlie father, an vndefiled host : To whom be eternal praise and glorie, throughout the earth, without end. Amen.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

Of an humble Confession of Sinnes, to the Glorie of God.

WHEN I consider, in the bethinking of mine evil and wretched former life, mine obstinate, stonie, and vntractable heart, to haue so much exceeded in euilnesse, that it hath not onelic neglected, yea contemned, and despised Gods holic precepts and commandements; but, also, imbraced, receiued, and esteemed, vaine, foolish, and feined trifles, I am partlie, by the hate I owe to sinne, who hath reigned in me, and partlie, by the loue I owe to all Christians, whom I am content to edifie; euen, with the example of mine owne shame, forced, and constrained, with my hart and words, to confesse and declare to the world, how ingrate, negligent, vnkind, and stubborne, I have been to God my Creator, and how beneficiall, mercifull, and gentle, he hath been alwaies to me his creature, being such a miserable and wretched sinner.

Trulie, I haue taken no little small thing vpon me. First, to set foorth my whole stubbornesse, and contempt in words; the which is incomprehensible in thought, as it is in the twelfth Psalm, 'Who vnderstandeth his faults?' Next this, to declare the excellent beneficence, mercie, and goodnesse of God, which is infinite, and vnmeasurable. Neither can all the words of angels and men make relation thereof, as apperteineth to his most high goodnesse. Who is he, that is not forced to confesse the same, if he consider what he hath receiued of God, and doth dailie receiue? Yea, if men would not acknowledge and confesse the same, the stones would crie it out. Trulie, I am constrained and forced to speake, and write thereof, to mine own confusion and shame, but to the glory and praise of God. For he, as a louing father, of most abundant and high goodnesse, hath heaped vpon me innumerable benefits; and I, contrarie, haue heaped manifold sinnes, despising that which was good, holic, pleasant, and acceptable in his sight, and choosing that which was delicious, pleasant, and acceptable, in my sight.

And no maruell it was, that I so did, for I would not learne to knowe the Lord, and his waies, but loued darknesse better than light, yea, darknesse seemed to me light. I embraced ignorance, as perfect knowledge, and knowledge seemed to me superfluous and vaine. I regarded little Gods word, but gaue my selfe to vanities, and shadowes of the world. I forsooke him, in whom is all truth, and followed the vaine, foolish imaginations of my hart. I would haue couered my sinnes with the pretence of holinesse; I called superstition godlie meaning, and true holinesse errour. The Lord did speake manie pleasant and sweet words vnto me, and I would not heare; he called me diuerslie, but through frowardnesse, I would not answere.

Mine euils and miseries be so manie, and so great, that they can accuse me euen to my face. Oh, how miserable and wretchedlie am I confounded, when, for the multitude and greatnesse of my sinnes, I am compelled to accuse my selfe! Was it not a maruellous unkindnesse, when God did speake to me, and also call to me, that I would not answere him? What man, so called, would not haue heard? Or what man,

hearing, would not haue answered? If an earthlie Prince had spoken, either called, I suppose there be none, but would willinglie haue done both. Now, therefore, what a wretch and caitife am I, that, when the prince of princes, the king of kings, did speake manie pleasant and gentle words vnto me, and also called me so manie and sundrie times, that they can not be numbred; and yet, notwithstanding these great signes and tokens of loue, I would not come vnto him, but bid my selfe out of his sight, seeking manie crooked and biwaies, wherein I walked so long, that I had clean lost his sight: And no maruell, or wonder, for I had a blind guide, called Ignorance, who dimmed so mine eies, that I could neuer perfectlie get anie sight of the faire, goodlie, streight, and right waies of his doctrine; but continuallie trauelled, vncomfortable, in foule, wicked, crooked, and perverse waies; yea, and bicause they were so much haunted of manie, I could not thinke, but that I walked in the perfect and right waie, hauing more regard to the number of the walkers, than to the order of the walking; beleeuing also, most assuredly, with companie, to haue walked to heauen, whereas, I am most sure, they would haue brought me down to hell.

I forsooke the spirituall honouring of the true liuing God, and worshipped visible idols, and images made of mens hands, beleeuing, by them, to haue gotten heauen; yea, to saie the truth, I made a great idole of my selfe, for I loued my selfe better than God. And, certainlie, looke how manie things are loued, or preferred, in our harts, before God, so manie are taken and esteemed for idols, and false Gods. Alas! how haue I violated this holie, pure, and most high precept and commandment of the loue of God? Which precept bindeth me to loue him with my whole hart, mind, force, strength, and vnderstanding: And I, like vnto an euill, wicked, and disobedient child, haue giuen my will, power, and senses, to the contrarie, making, almost, of euerie earthlie and carnall thing, a God.

Furthermore, the blood of Christ was not reputed, by me, sufficient for to wash me from the filth of my sinnes; neither such waies, as he had appointed by his word; but I sought for such ruffraffe, as the Bishop of Rome hath planted, in his tyrannie and kingdome, trusting, with great confidence, by the vertue and holinesse of them, to receiue full remission of my sinnes. And so I did, as much as was in me, obfuscate and darken the great benefit of Christes passion, than the which, no thought can conceiue anie thing of more value. There can not be done so great an iniurie and displeasure to Almighty God, our father, as to tread vnder foot Christ, his onlie begotten and welbeloued sonne. All other sinnes in the world, gathered together in one, be not so heinous, and detestable, in the sight of God. And no wonder, for, in Christ crucified, God doth shewe himselfe most noble and glorious, euen an Almighty God, and most louing father, in his onlie deare and chosen blessed sonne.

And, therefore, I count my selfe one of the most wicked and miserable sinners in the world, bicause I haue beene so much contrarie to Christ my sauour. Saint Paule desired to knowe nothing, but Christ crucified; after he had beene rapt into the third heauen, where he heard such secrets, as were not conuenient and meete to vtter to men,

but counted all his works and doings as nothing, to win Christ. And I, most presumptuously thinking nothing of Christ crucified, went about to set forth mine owne righteousness, saieing, with the proud Pharise: 'Good Lord, I thanke thee, I am not like other men: I am none adulterer, nor fornicator, and so forth;' with such like words of vaine glorie, extolling my selfe, and despising others, working as an hired servant for wages, or else for reward, and not, as a louing child, onlie for verie loue, without respect of wages or reward, as I ought to haue done. Neither did I consider, how beneficiall a father I had, who did shew me his charitie and mercie of his owne meere grace and goodnesse, that, when I was most his enemie, he sent his onlie begotten and welbeloued sonne, into this world of wretchednesse and miserie, to suffer most cruell and sharpe death for my redemption. But my hart was so stonie and hard, that this great benefit was neuer trulie and liuely printed in my hart, although, with my words, it was oft rehearsed, thinking my selfe to be sufficientlie instructed in the same, and being, in deede, in blinde ignorance; and yet I stode so well in mine owne iudgement and opinion, that I thought it vaine to seeke the increase of my knowledge therein.

Paule calleth Christ the Wisdome of God; and, euen the same Christ, was, to me foolishnesse. My pride and blindness deceiued me, and the hardnesse of my hart withstode the growng of truth within it. Such were the fruits of my carnall and humane reasons, to haue rotten ignorance in price for ripe and seasonable knowledge; such, also, is the malice and wickednesse that possesseth the harts of men; such is the wisdom and pleasing of the flesh. I professed Christ in my baptisme, when I began to liue, but I swarued from him after baptisme, in continuance of my liuing, euen as the heathen, which neuer had begun.

Christ was innocent, and void of all sinne, and I wallowed in filthie sinne, and was free from no sinne. Christ was obedient vnto his Father, euen to the death of the crosse; and I disobedient, and most stubborn, euen to the confusion of truth. Christ was meeke and humble in hart, and I most proud and vaine-glorious. Christ despised the world, with all the vanities thereof, and I make it my god, because of the vanities. Christ came to serue his brethreu, and I coueted to rule ouer them. Christ despised worldlie honour, and I much delighted to attaine the same. Christ loued the base and simple things of the world, and I esteemed the most faire and pleasant things. Christ loued pouerty, and I wealth. Christ was gentle and mercifull to the poore, and I hard-hearted and vngentle. Christ praied for his enemies, and I hated mine. Christ reioiced in the conuersion of sinners, and I was not greeued to see their reuersion to sinne. By this declaration, all creatures may perceiue how far I was from Christ, and without Christ; yea, how contrarie to Christ, although I bare the name of a Christian: Insomuch that, if anie man had said, I had beene without Christ, I would haue stiffelie denied and withstode the same; and yet, in deede, I neither knew Christ, nor wherefore he came.

As concerning the effect and purpose of his coming, I had a certaine, vaine, and blind knowledge, both cold and dead, which may be had

with all sinne; as doth plainlie appeare by this my confession and open declaration.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

A Lamentation of a Sinner, with hartie Repentance in Faith, to obtaine Absolution and Remission, through the Merits of Christ.

WHAT cause now haue I to lament, sigh, and weepe, for my life and time so euill spent? With how much humilitie, and lowlinesse, ought I to come, and knowledge my sinnes to God, giving him thanks, that it hath pleased him, of his abundant goodnesse, to giue me time of repentance. For I knowe my sinnes, in the consideration of them, to be so greuous, and, in the number, so exceeding, that I haue deserued, uerie often, eternall damnation. And for the deferring of God's wrath, so manifoldlic due, I must vncessantlie giue thanks to the mercie of God; beseeching also, that the same delaie of punishment cause not his plague to be the sorer, since mine owne conscience condemneth my former doings. But his mercie exceedeth all iniquitie. And if I should not thus hope, alas, what should I seeke for refuge and comfort? No mortall man is of power to help me; and, for the multitude of my sinnes, I dare not lift vp mine eies to heauen, where the seate of iudgement is, I haue so much offended my God. What, shall I fall in desperation? Naie, I will call vpon Christ, the light of the world, the fountaine of life, the reliefe of all carefull consciences, the peacemaker betweene God and man, and the onlie health and comfort of all true repentant sinners.

He can, by his almightie power, saue me, and deliuer me out of this miserable state, and hath will, by his mercie, to saue euery the whole sin of the world. I haue no hope nor confidence in anie creature, neither in heauen nor earth, but in Christ, my whole and onlie Sauour. He came into the world to saue sinners, and to heale them that are sicke; for he said, 'The whole haue no neede of the physician.' Behold, Lord, how I come to thee, a sinner sicke, and grievously wounded; I aske not bread, but the crums that fall from the childrens table. Cast me not out of thy sight, although I haue deserued to be cast into hell fire.

If I should looke vpon my sinne, and not vpon thy mercie, I should despair; for, in my selfe, I find nothing to saue me, but a dunghill of wickednesse to condemne me. If I should hope, by mine owne strength and power, to come out of this maze of iniquitie and wickednesse, wherein I haue walked so long, I should be decciued. For I am so ignorant, blind, weake, and feeble, that I can not bring my selfe out of this intangled and wayward maze; but, the more I seeke meanes and waies, to winde my selfe out, the more I am wrapped and tangled therein.

So that I perceiue my struing therein to be hinderance, my trauell, to be labour spent, in going backe. It is the hand of the Lord that

can, and will, bring me out of the endlesse maze of death. For, without I be preuented, by the grace of the Lord, I can not aske forgiveness, nor be repentant, or sorie for them. There is no man can auow, that Christ is the onlie Sauour of the world, but by the Holie Ghost; yea, as St. Paule saith, no man can saie, The Lord Iesus, but by the Holie Ghost. The Spirit helpeth our infirmities, and maketh continuall intercession for vs, with such sorrowfull gronings as can not be expressed.

Therefore, I will first require, and praie the Lord, to giue me his Holie Spirit, to teach me to auow, that Christ is the Sauour of the World, and to vtter these words, The Lord Iesus; and, finallie, to helpe mine infirmities, and to intercede, or intreate for me. For I am most certaine and sure, that no creature, in heauen nor earth, is of power, or can, by anie meane, helpe me; but God, who is omnipotent, almightie, beneficiall, and mercifull, welwilling, and louing, to all those that call, and put their whole confidence and trust in him. And, therefore, I will seeke none other meanes, nor aduocate, but Christes Holie Spirit, who is, onlie, the aduocate, and mediatour, betwene God and man, to helpe and relceue mee.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

What true Faith worketh in the Soule of a Sinner.

BUT now, What maketh me so bold and hardie, to presume to come to the Lord with such audacities and boldnesse, being so great a sinner? Trulie nothing, but his owne word. For he saith, 'Come to me, all ye that labour, and are burdened, and I shall refresh you.' What gentle, mercifull, and comfortable words are these to all sinners? Were he not a frantike, madde, beastlie, and foolish man, that would runne for aide, helpe, or refuge, to anie other creature? What a most gracious, comfortable, and gentle saieng was this, with such pleasant and sweete words, to allure his verie enemies to come vnto him? Is there anie worldlie prince, or magistrate, that would shew such clemencie, and mercie, to their disobedient and rebellious subiects, hauing offended them? I suppose they would not, with such words, allure them, except it were to call them, whom they cannot take, and punish them, being taken. But euen as Christ is Prince of Princes, and Lord of Lords, so his charitie and mercie exceedeth and surmounteth all others. Christ saith, 'If carnall fathers do giue good gifts to their children, when they aske them, how much more shall your heauenlie Father, being, in substance, all holie, and, most highlie, good, giue good gifts to all them that aske him?'

It is no small nor little gift that I now require, neither thinke I my selfe worthie to receiue such a noble gift, being so ingrate, vnkind, and wicked a child. But, when I behold the benignitie, liberalitie, mercie, and goodness of the Lord, I am encouraged, boldened, and stirred, to aske such a noble gift. The Lord is so bountifull and liberall, that he

will not haue vs satisfied and contented with one gift, neither to aske simple and small gifts; and, therefore, he promiseth, and bindeth himselfe by his word, to giue good and beneficiall gifts, to all them that aske him with true faith, without which, nothing can be done acceptable, or pleasing, to God; for faith is the foundation and ground of all other gifts, vertues, and graces; and, therefore, I will praise and saie, 'Lord, increase my faith.'

For this is the life euerlasting, Lord, that I must belecue thee to be the true God, and whom that thou didst send Jesus Christ. By this faith I am assured, and, by this assurance, I feelee the remission of my sins. This is it that maketh me bold; this is it that comforteth me; this is it that quencheth all despaire.

I knowe, O my Lord, thine eyes looke vpon my faith. St. Paule saith, 'We be iustified by faith in Christ, and not by the deeds of the lawe; for, if righteousness come by the lawe, then Christ died in vaine.' St. Paule meaneth not here, a dead, humane, and historical faith, gotten by humane industrie; but a supernaturall and liuelie faith, which worketh by charitie, as he himselfe plainlie expresseth. This dignitie of faith is no derogation to good works; for, out of this faith spring all good works, yet we may not impute to the worthinesse of faith or works our iustification before God, but ascribe, and giue the worthinesse of it, wholie to the merits of Christs passion, and refer and attribute the knowledge and perceiuing thereof, onlie to faith; whose verie, true, and onlie propertie it is, to take, apprehend, and hold fast the promises of Gods mercie, the which maketh vs righteous; and to cause me continually to hope for the same mercie, and, in loue, to work all maner of waies allowed in the scripture, that I may be thankfull for the same.

Thus I feelee my selfe to come, as it were, in a new garment before God; and now, by his mercie, to be taken iust and righteous, which, of late, without his mercie, was sinfull and wicked; and, by faith, to obtaine his mercie, the which the vnfaithfull can not enioie. And, although St. John extolleth charitie, in his epistle, saieing, 'That God is charitie, and he that dwelleth in charitie, dwelleth in God.' Truelie, charitie maketh men liue like angels, and, of the most furious, vnbrideled, and carnall men, maketh meeke lambes.

Yea, with how feruent a spirit ought I to call, erie, and praise to the Lord, to make his great charitie to burne and flame my hart, being stonie, and euill affected, that it neuer would conceiue, nor regard, the great inestimable charitie and loue of God, in sending his onlie begotten, and deere beloued sonne, into this vale of miserie, to suffer the most cruell and sharpe death of the cross, for my redemption: Yea, I neuer had this vnspeakable and most high charitie, and abundant loue of God, printed, and fixed in my hart duellie, till it pleased God, of his meere grace, mercie, and pittie, to open mine eyes, making me to see, and behold, with the eye of liuelie faith, Christ crucified, to be mine onlie Sauour and Redeemer. For then I began (and not before) to perceiue and see mine owne ignorance and blindness; the cause thereof was, that I would not learne to knowe Christ my Sauour and Redeemer.

But when God, of his meere goodnesse, had thus opened mine eyes, and made me see and behold Christ, the wisdom of God, the light of

the world, with a supernaturall sight of faith, all pleasures, vanities, honor, riches, wealth, and aids of the world, began to waxe bitter vnto me: Then I knew it was no illusion of the diuell, nor false, ne humane doctrine I had receiued. When such successe came thereof, that I had in detestation and horreur that, which I erst so much loued and esteemed; being, of God, forbidden, that we should loue the world, or the vaine pleasures and shadowes in the same: Then began I to perceiue, that Christ was my onlie Sauour and Redeemer; and the same doctrine to be all diuine, holie, heauenlie, and infused, by grace, into the harts of the faithfull, which neuer can be attained by humane doctrine, wit, nor reason, although they should trauell and labour for the same to the end of the world. Then began I to dwell in God by charitie, knowing, by the louing charitie of God, in the remission of my sinnes, that God is charitie, as St. John saith. So that of my faith (whereby I came to knowe God, and, whereby, it pleased God, euen because I trusted in him, to iustifie me) sprang this excellent charitie in my hart.

I thinke no lesse, but manie will wonder, and maruell at this my saieng, that I neuer knewe Christ for my Sauour and Redeemer vntill this time. For many haue this opinion, saieng: 'Who knoweth not there is a Christ? 'Who, being a Christian, doth not confesse him his Sauour?' And thus, beleeuing their dead, humane, historicall faith and knowledge (which they haue learned in their scholasticall bookes) to be the true infused faith and knowledge of Christ, which may be had, as I said before, with all sinne: They vse to saie, by their owne experience of themselues, that their faith doth not iustifie them. And, true it is, except they haue this faith, the which I haue declared here before, they shall neuer be iustified.

And yet it is not false, that, by faith onlie, I am sure to be iustified. Euen this is the cause, that so manie impugne this office and dutie of true faith, because so manie lacke the true faith. And, euen as the faithfull are forced to allow this true faith, so the vnfaithfull can, in no wise probable, intreate thereof; the one feeling in himselfe that he saith, the other hauing not in him for to saie.

I haue, certainlie, no curious learning to defend this matter withall, but a simple zeale, and earnest loue, to the truth inspired of God, who promiseth, to powre his Spirit upon all flesh; which I haue, by the grace of God (whom I most humbly honour) felt in my selfe to be true.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

Of the great Loue of God towards Mankind, and of the inward Beholding of Christ crucified.

LET vs, therefore, now, I praie you, by faith, behold and consider the great charitie and goodnesse of God, in sending his sonne, to suffer death for our redemption, when we were his mortall enemies; and, after what sort and maner he sent him.

First. It is to be considered, yea to be vndoubtedlie, and, with a perfect faith, beleued, that God sent him to vs freele; for he did giue him, and sold him not; a more noble and rich gift he could not haue giuen. He sent not a seruant, or a friend, but his onlie sonne, so deerele beloued; not in delights, riches, and honours, but in crosses, pouerties, and slanders; not as a Lord, but as a seruant, yea, and in most uille and painefull passions, to wash us; not with water, but with his owne pretious blood; not from mire, but from the puddle and filth of our iniquities. He hath giuen him, not to make vs poore, but to enrich vs with his diuine vertues, merits, and graces; yea, and in him, he hath giuen vs all good things, and, finallie, himselfe, and with such great charitie, as can not be expressed.

Was it not a most high and abundant charitie of God, to send Christ to shed his blood, to loose honour, life, and all, for his enemies? Yea, in the time, when he had done him most iniurie, he first shewed his charitie to vs, with such flames of loue, that greater could not be shewed. God, in Christ, hath opened unto vs (although we be weake and blind of our selues) that we may behold, in this miserable estate, the great wisdom, goodnesse, and truth, with all the other godlie perfections, which be in Christ. Therefore, inwardlie to behold Christ crucified vpon the Crosse, is the best and goodliest meditation that can be.

We may see also, in Christ crucified, the beautie of the soule, better than in all the bookes of the world: for who, that with a liuelie faith, seeth and feeleth, in spirit, that Christ, the Sonne of God, is dead, for the satisfieng and purifieng of the soule, shall see, that his soule is appointed for the uerie tabernacle and mansion of the inestimable and incomprehensible maiestic and honour of God. We see also, in Christ crucified, how vaine and foolish the world is, and how that Christ, being most wise, despised the same. We see, also, how blind it is, because the same knoweth not Christ, but persecuteth him. We see also, how vnkind the world is, by the killing of Christ, in the time he did shew it most fauour. How hard and obstinate was it, that would not be mollified with so manie tears, such sweate, and so much bloudsheed of the Sonne of God, suffering with so great and high charitie?

Therefore, he is now verie blind, that seeth not how vaine, foolish, false, ingrate, cruell, hard, wicked, and cuill the world is. We may also, in Christ crucified, weigh our sinnes, as in a diuine ballance, how greuous, and how weightie they be, seeing they haue crucified Christ; for they would neuer haue beene counterpaied, but with the great and pretious weight of the blood of the Sonne of God. And, therefore, God, of his high goodnesse, determined, that his blessed Sonne should rather suffer bloudsheed, than our sinnes should haue condemned vs. We shall neuer knowe our owne miserie and wretchednesse, but with the light of Christ crucified; then we shall see our owne crueltie, when we feele his mercie; our owne vnrighteousnesse and iniquitie, when we see his righteousness and holinesse. Therefore, to learne to knowe trulie our owne sinnes is to studie in the booke of the crucifixe, by continuall conuersation in faith; and to haue perfect

and plentifull charitie is to learne, first by faith, the charitie that is in God towards vs.

We may see also, in Christ upon the Crosse, how great the paines of hell, and howe blessed the ioies of heauen be; and what a sharpe and painfull thing it shall be to them, that, of that sweet, happie, and glorious ioie, Christ, shall be depriued. Then this crucifixe is the booke, wherein God hath included all things, and hath most compendiousle written, therein, all truth, profitable and necessarie for our saluation. Therefore, let vs endeouour, our selues, to studie this booke, that we, being lightened with the spirit of God, may giue him thanks for so great a benefit.

THE FIFT CHAPTER.

Of the glorious Victories of Christ ouer all Enemies.

IF we looke further in this booke, we shall see Christs great victorie vpon the crosse, which was so noble and mightie, that there neuer was so noble a mightie, that there neuer was, neither shall be such. If the victorie and glorie of worldlie princes were great, because they did ouercome great hostes of men, how much was Christs greater, which vanquished, not onelie the prince of this world, but all the enemies of God; triumphing ouer persecution, iniuries, villanies, slanders, yea death, the world, sinne, and the diuell, and brought to confusion all carnall prudence?

The princes of the world neuer did fight, without the strength of the world: Christ contrarielie went to warre, euen against all the strength of the world. He fought, as Dauid did with Golias, vnarmed of all humane wisdom and policie, and without all worldlie power and strength. Neuertheless, he was fullie replenished, and armed with the whole armour of the spirit; and, in this one battell, he ouercame, for euer, all his enemies. There was neuer so glorious a spoile, neither a more rich and noble, than Christ was vpon the crosse, which deliuered all his elect from such a sharpe and miserable captiuitie. He had, in his battell, manie stripes, yea, and lost his life, but his victorie was so much the greater. Therefore, when I looke vpon the Sonne of God, with a supernaturall faith and light, so vnarmed, naked, giuen vp, and alone, with humilitie, patience, liberalitie, modestie, gentlenesse, and with all other his diuine vertues, beating downe to the ground all Gods enemies, and making the soule of man so faire and beautifull: I am forced to saie, that his victorie and triumph was maruellous; and, therefore, Christ well deserued to haue this noble title, Iesus of Nazareth, King of the Iewes.

But, if we will particularlie vnfold and see his great victories, let vs first behold, how he ouercame sinne with his innocencie, and confounded pride with his humilitie; quenched all worldlie loue with his

charitie, appeased the wrath of his father with his meekenesse, and turned hatred into loue, with his so manie benefits and godlie zeale.

Christ hath not onlie ouercome sinne, but, rather, he hath killed the same; in asmuch as he hath satisfied for it himselfe, with the most holie sacrifice and oblation of his pretious bodie, in suffering most bitter and cruell death. Also, after another sort, that is, he giueth all those that loue him, so much spirit, grace, vertue, and strength, that they may resist, impugne, and ouercome sinne, and not consent, neither suffer it to reigne in them. He hath also vanquished sinne, because he hath taken awaie the force of the same; that is, he hath cancelled the lawe, which was, in euill men, the occasion of sinne. Therefore, sinne hath no power against them, that are, with the Holie Ghost, vnited to Christ; in them there is nothinge worthie of damnation. And although the dregs of Adam do remaine, that is, our concupiscences, which, in deede, be sinnes; neuerthelssse, they be not imputed for sinnes, if we be trulie planted in Christ. It is true, that Christ might haue taken awaie all our immoderate affections, but he hath left them for the great glorie of his Father, and for his owne greater triumph. As for example: When a prince fighteth with his enemies, which, sometime, had the souereigntie ouer his people, and, subduing them, may kill them if he will, yet he preserueth and saueth them; and, whereas they were lords ouer his people, he maketh them after to serue, whome they before had ruled. Now, in such a case, the prince doth shewe himselfe a greater conquerour, in that he hath made them, which were rulers, to obeye; and the subiects to be Lords ouer them, to whome they serued, than if he had vtterlie destroied them vpon the conquest. For now he leaueth continuall victorie to them, whome he redeemed, whereas, otherwise, the occasion of victorie was taken awaie, where none were left to be the subiects. Euen so, in like case, Christ hath left in vs these concupiscences, to the intent they should serue vs, to the exercise of our vertues, where first they did reigne ouer vs, to the exercise of our sinne. And it may be plainlie seene, that whereas, first, they were such impediments to vs, that we could not mooue our selues towards God; now, by Christ, we haue so much strength, that, notwithstanding the force of them, we may assuredlie walke to heauen. And although the children of God, sometime, do fall, by frailtie, into some sinne; yea, that falling maketh them to humble themselves, and to reknowledge the goodnesse of God, and to come to him for refuge and helpe.

Likewise Christ, by his death, hath overcome the prince of diuells, with all his hoast, and hath destroied them all. For, as Paule saith, it is verified, that Christ should breake the serpents head, prophesied by God. And although the diuell tempt vs, yet if, by faith, we be planted in Christ, we shall not perish, but rather, by his temptation, take great force and might. So it is euident, that the triumph, victorie, and glorie of Christ is the greater, hauing, in such sort, subdued the diuell; that, whereas he was prince and lord of the world, holding all creatures in captiuitie, now Christ vseth him as an instrument to punish the wicked, and to exercise and make strong the elect of God in Christian warfare.

Christ, likewise, hath overcome death in a more glorious manner, if it be possible, because he hath not taken it awaie, but leauing vniuersallie all subject to the same. He hath giuen so much vertue and spirit, that, whereas afore we passed thereto with great feare, now we be bold through the spirit, for the sure hope of the resurrection, that we receiue it with ioie. It is now no more bitter, but sweete; no more feared, but desired; it is no death, but life.

And, also, it hath pleased God, that the infirmities and aduersities do remain to the sight of the world; but the children of God are, by Christ, made so strong, righteous, whole, and sound, that the troubles of the world be comforts of the spirit, the passions of the flesh are medicines of the soul; for all maner of things worke to their commoditie and profite; for they, in spirit, feele, that God, their Father, doth gouerne them, and disposeth all things for their benefit; therefore they feele themselves sure. In persecution, they are quiet and peacefull; in trouble, they are without weerincesse, feares, anxieties, suspicions, miseries; and, finallie, all the good and euill of the world worketh to their commoditie.

Moreouer, they see that the triumph of Christ hath beene so great, that not onelie he hath subdued and vanquished all our enemies, and the power of them, but he hath ouerthrowne and vanquished them, after such a sort, that all things serue to our helth. He might and could haue taken them all awaie, but where then should haue beene our victorie, palme, and crowne? For we dailie haue fights in the flesh, and, by the succour of grace, haue continuall victories ouer sinne; whereby we haue cause to glorifie God, that, by his Sonne, hath weakened our enemy, the diuell, and, by his spirit, giueth vs strength to vanquish his offspring.

So doo we knowledge, dailie, the great triumph of our Sauour, and reioice in our own fights; the which we can no wise impute to anie wisdom of this world, seeing sinne to increase by it; and, where worldlie wisdom most gouerneth, there most sinne ruleth; for, as the world is enemy to God, so also the wisdom thereof is aduerse to God, and, therefore, Christ hath declared, and discovered the same for foolishness. And, although he could haue taken awaie all worldlie wisdom, yet he hath left it for his greater glorie, and triumph of his chosen vessels. For before, whereas it was our ruler against God, now, by Christ, we are serued of it for God, as of a slaue in worldlie things; albeit, in supernaturall things, the same is not to be vnderstood. And further, if, at anie time, men would impugne, and gainsaie vs, with the wisdom of the world, yet we haue, by Christ, so much supernaturall light of the truth, that we make a mock of all those that repugne the truth.

Christ also, vpon the crosse, hath triumphed ouer the world. First, because he hath discovered the same to be naught; that whereas it was couered with the vaille of hypocrisie, and the vesture of morall vertues: Christ hath shewed, that, in Gods sight, the righteousness of the world is wickednesse, and he hath yeelded witnes, that the works of men, not regenerated by him in faith, are euill; and so Christ hath iudged and condemned the world for naught. Furthermore, he hath giuen to all

his so much light and spirit, that they knowe it, and dispraise the same; yea and tread it vnder their feet, with all vaine honours, dignities, and pleasures; not taking the faire promises, neither the offers which it doth present; naie, they rather make a scorne of them. And, as for the threatnings and force of the world, they nothing feare.

Now, therefore, we may see how great the victorie and triumph of Christ is, who hath deliuered all those, the father gaue him, from the power of the diuell, cancelling, vpon the Crosse, the writing of our debts. For he hath deliuered vs from the condemnation of sinne, from the bondage of the lawe, from the feare of death, from the danger of the world, and from all euills in this life, and in the other to come. And he hath enriched vs, made vs noble, and most highlie happie, after such a glorious and triumphant waie, as can not with tongue be expressed; and, therefore, we are forced to saie, his triumph is maruellous.

It is also scene and knowne, that Christ is the true Messias; for he hath deliuered man from all euills, and, by him, man hath all goodnesse, so that he is the true Messias. Therefore, all other helpers be but vaine, and counterfeited sauours; seeing that, by this, our Messias, Christ, wholie and onlie we be deliuered from all euils, and, by him, we haue all goodnesse. And that this is true, it is euident and cleare, because the verie true Christian is a Christian by Christ. And the true Christian feeleth inwardlie, by Christ, so much goodnesse of God, that euen troublous life and death be sweet vnto him, and miseries happie. The true Christian, by Christ, is disburdened from the seruitude of the lawe, hauing the lawe of grace, grauen by the spirit, inhabiting his hart, and from sinne that reigned in him, from the power of the infernall spirits, from damnation, and from euerie euill; and is made, a Sonne of God, a Brother of Christ, heire of heauen, and Lord of the world; so that, in Christ and by Christ, he possesseth all good things.

But let vs knowe, that Christ yet fighteth in spirit, in his elect vessels, and shall fight euen to the daie of iudgment; at whiche daie shall that great enemy, death, be wholie destroyed, and shall be no more. Then shall the Children of God reioice on him, saie, O death, where is thy victorie and sting? there shall be then no more trouble nor sinne; naie, rather, none euill, but heauen for the good, and hell for the wicked. Then shall, wholic, be discovered, the victorie and triumph of Christ, who, after Paule, shall present vnto his Father the Kingdome, together with his chosen saued by him.

It was no little fauour towards his children, that Christ was chosen of God to saue vs, his elect, so highlie, by the waie of the crosse. Paule calleth it a grace, and a most singular grace. We may well thinke, that he, hauing beene, to the world, so valiant a captaine of God, was full of light, grace, vertue, and spirit; therefore, he might iustlie saie, *Consummatus est*. Wee seeing then, that the triumph and victorie of our captaine, Christ, is so marvellous, glorious, and noble, to the which war we be appointed; let vs force our selues to folowe him, with bearing our crosse, that we may haue felowship with him in his kingdome.

THE SIXT CHAPTER.

*That we ought to submit our selues to the Schoole of the Crosse, and stil
looke and learne in the booke of the Crucifix.*

TRULIE, it may be most iustlie verified, that to behold Christ crucified, in spirit, is the best meditation that can be. I certeinlie neuer knew mine owne miseries, and wretchednes, so well by booke, admonition, or learning, as I haue done, by looking into the spirituall booke of the crucifix. I lament much, I haue passed so manie yeeres, not regarding that diuine booke; but I iudged, and thought my selfe to be well instructed in the same; whereas now I am of this opinion, that if God would suffer me to liue here a thousand yeeres, and I should studie continuallie in the same diuine booke, I should not be filled with the contemplation thereof. Neither hold I my selfe contented, but alwaies haue a great desire, to learne and studie more therein. I neuer knew mine owne wickednes, neither lamented for my sinnes trulie, vntil the time God inspired me with his grace, that I looked in this booke; then I began to see perfectlie, that mine owne power and strength could not help me, and that I was in the Lords hand, euen as the claie is in the potters hand; then I began to crie, and saie:

‘ Alas! Lord, that euer I haue so wickedlie offended thee, being to me, from the beginning, so gracious, and so good a father, and, most speciallie, now hast declared and shewed thy goodness vnto me, when, in the time, I haue done thee most iniurie, to call me, and also to make me knowe, and take thee for my Sauior and Redeemer.’

Such be the wonderfull works of God, to call sinners to repentance, and to make them to take Christ, his welbeloued Sonne, for their Sauior; this is the gift of God, and of all Christians to be required and desired. For, except this great benefit of Christ crucified be felt and fixed surelie in mans hart, there can be no good worke done, acceptable before God; for, in Christ, is all fulnesse of the godhead, and, in him, are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge: euen he is the water of life, whereof whosoever shall drink, he shall neuer more thirst, but it shall be in him a well of water, springing vp into cuerlasting life. St. Paule saith, there is no damnation to them that are in Christ, which walke not after the flesh, but after the spirit. Moreover he saith, If, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God, by the death of his Son, much more, seeing we are reconciled, we shall be preserued by his death. It is no little or small benefit we haue receiued by Christ, if we consider what he hath done for vs, as I haue perfectlie declared heretofore. Wherefore I praie the Lord, that this great benefit of Christ crucified may be stedfastlie fixed and printed in all Christians harts, that they may be true louers of God, and worke as children for Loue, and not as seruants, compelled with threatenings, or prouoked with hire.

The sincere and pure louers of God doo embrace Christ, with such feruencie of spirit, that they reioice in hope, be bold in danger, suffer in aduersitie, continue in praier, blesse their persecutors. Further, they be not wise in their owne opinion, neither high-minded in their prosperitie, neither abashed in their aduersitie, but humble and gentle alwaies to all men: For they knowe, by their faith, they are members all of one bodie, and that they haue possessed all one God, one faith, one bapisme, one ioie, and one saluation. If these pure and sincere louers of God were thicke sowne, there should not be so much contention and strife growing on the fields of our religion, as there is. Well, I shall praie to the Lord, to take all contention and strife awaie, and that the sowers of sedition may haue mind to cease their labour, or to sowe it among the stones, and to haue grace to sowe gracious vertues, where they may both take roote, and bring forth fruit, with sending also a godlie vnite and concord amongst all Christians, that we may serue the Lord in true holinesse of life.

THE SEUENT CHAPTER.

A Christian bewailing of the miserable ignorance and blindness of men.

THE example of good liuing is required of all Christians, but speciallie in the ecclesiasticall pastors and shepherds. For they be called, in scripture, workmen with God, disbursers of Gods secrets, the light of the world, the salt of the earth; at whose hands all other should take comfort in working, knowledge of Gods will, and sight to become children of light, and taste of seasonable wisdom. They haue, or should haue, the holie spirit, abundantlie to pronounce and set forth the word of God, in veritie and truth. If ignorance and blindness reigne amongst vs, they should, with the truth of God's word, instruct and set vs in the truth, and direct vs in the waie of the Lord.

But thanks be giuen vnto the Lord, that hath now set vs such a godlie and learned King, in these latter daies, to reigne ouer vs; that, with the vertue and force of Gods word, hath taken awaie the vailles and mists of errours, and brought vs to the knowledge of the truth, by the light of Gods word; which was so long hid, and kept vnder, that the people were nigh famished, and hungred, for lacke of spirituall food. Such was the charitie of the spirituall curats and shepherds. But our Moses, and most godlie wise gouernour and king, hath deliuered vs out of the captiuitie and bondage of Pharaο. I meane by this Moses, King Henrie the Eight, my most soueraigne fauourable lord and husband; one, if Moses had figured anie more than Christ, through the excellent grace of God, meeete to be an other expressed veritie of Moses conquest ouer Pharaο. And I meane by this Pharaο, the Bishop of Rome, who hath bene, and is a greater persecutor of all true Christians, than euer was Pharaο of the children of Israel; for he is a persecutor of the gospel and grace, a setter forth of all superstition and counterfeit holinesse, bringing manie soules to hell with his alchymie and counterfeit

monie, deceiuing the poore soules, vnder the pretence of holinesse ; but so much the greater shall be his damnation, because he deceiueth and robbeth vnder Christs mantell. The Lord keep and defend all men from his iuglings and sleits, but speciallie the poore, simple, and vnlearned soules. And this lesson I would all men had of him, that, when they begin to mislike his dooing, then onlie begin they to like God, and certeinlie not before.

As for the spirituall pastors and shepherds, I thinke they will cleaue and sticke to the word of God, euen to the death ; to vanquish all Gods enemies, if neede shall require ; all respects of honour, dignitie, riches, welth, and their priuate commodities, laid apart ; following also the examples of Christ, and his chosen apostles, in preaching and teaching sincere and wholesome doctrine, and such things as make for peace, with godly lessons, wherewith they may edifie others ; that euerie man may walke after his vocation, in holinesse of life, in vnite and concord, which vnite is to be desired of all true Christians.

It is much to be lamented, the schismes, varieties, contentions, and disputations, that haue beene, and are in the world, about Christian religion, and no agreement nor concord of the same among the learned men. Trulie, the diuell hath beene the sower of the seede of sedition, and shall be the maintainer of it, euen till Gods will be fulfilled. There is no war so cruell and cuill as this ; for the war, with sword, killeth but the bodies, and this slaieth manie soules ; for the poore vnlearned persons remaine confused, and almost euerie one beleueeth and worketh after his owne waie ; and yet there is but one truth of Gods word, by the which we shall be saued. Happie be they that receiue it, and most unhappie are they which neglect and persecute the same : For it shall be more easie for Sodom and Gomor, at the daie of iudgement, than for them. And not without iust cause, if we consider the beneuolence, goodness, and mercie of God, who hath declared his charitie towards vs, greater, and more inestimable, than euer he did to the Hebrues. For they liued vnder shadowes and figures, and were bound to the lawe. And Christ, we being his greatest enemies, hath deliuered vs from the bondage of the lawe, and hath fulfilled all that was figured in their lawe, and also in their propheties ; sheading his owne pretious blood, to make vs the children of his father, and his brethren, and hath made vs free, setting vs in a godlie libertie : I meane not licence to sinne, as manie be glad to interpret the same, when as Christian libertie is godlie intreated of.

Trulie, it is no good spirit that moueth men to find fault at euerie thing, and, when things may be well taken, to peruert them into an euill sense and meaning. There be, in the world, manie speakers of holines and good works, but verie rare and seldome is declared, which be the good and holie works. The works of the spirit be neuer almost spoken of, and, therefore, verie few knowe what they be. I am able to iustifie the ignorance of the people to be great, not in this matter alone, but in manie other, the which were most necessarie for Christians to knowe. Because I haue had iust prooffe of the same, it maketh me thus much to saie, with no little sorowe and greefe in my hart, for such a miserable ignorance and blindness amongst the people.

I doubt not, but we can saie all, Lord, Lord ; but I feare, God may saie vnto vs, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their hearts be far from me. God desireth nothing but the hart, and saith, He will be worshipped in spirit and truth. Christ condemned all hypocrisie and feigned holines, and taught sincere, pure, and true godlinesse ; but we, worse than frantike, or blinde, will not followe Christs doctrine, but trust to mens doctrines, iudgements, and saiengs, which dimmeth our eies, and so the blind leadeth the blind, and both fall into the ditch. Trulie, in my simple and vnlearned iudgement, no mans doctrine is to be esteemed, or preferred, like vnto Christs and the apostles ; nor to be taught, as a perfect and true doctrine, but euen as it doth accord and agree with the doctrine of the gospell.

But yet, those that be called spirituall pastours, although they be most carnall, as it doth verie euidentlie and plainelie appeare by their fruites, are so blinded with the loue of themselues, and the world, that they extoll mens inuentions and doctrines, before the doctrine of the gospell. And when they be not able to mainteine their own inuentions and doctrines, with anie iot of the scripture, then they most cruellie persecute them that be contrarie to the same. Be such the louers of Christ? Naie, naie, they be the louers of the wicked Mammon, neither regarding God, nor his honour. For filthie lucre hath made them almost mad, but frantike they be doubtlesse. Is not this miserable state of spirituall men in the world much to be lamented of all good Christians? But yet I cannot allowe, neither praise all kind of lamentation, but such as may stand with Christian charitie.

THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

Of the Fruites and Rules of true Christianitie for Men to followe.

CHARITIE suffereth long, and is gentle, enuieth not, vpbraideth no man, casteth, frowardlie, no faults in mens teeth, but referreth all things to God ; being angrie without sinne, reforming others without slanders, carrieng euer a store-house of mild words to pearce the stonie-hearted men. I would all Christians, that, like as they haue professed Christ, would so endeouour themselues to folowe him in godlie liuing. For we haue not put on Christ, to liue anie more to our selues, in the vanities, delightes, and pleasures of the world, and the flesh ; suffering the concupiscence and carnalitie of the flesh to haue his full swinge, for we must walke after the spirit, and not after the flesh ; for the spirit is spirituall, and coueteth spirituall things, and the flesh carnall, and desireth carnall things. The men, regenerate by Christ, despise the world, and all the vanities and pleasures thereof ; they be no louers of themselues, for they feele how euill and infirme they be, not being able to do anie good thing without the helpe of God, from whom they knowledge all goodnesse to proceede.

They flatter not themselues, with thinking euerie thing, which shineth to the world, to be good and holie ; for they knowe all externe and out-

ward works, be they neuer so glorious and faire to the world, may be done of the euill as well as of the good: And, therefore, they haue, in verie little estimation, the outward shew of holinesse, because they be all spirituall, casting vp their eies vpon heauenlie things; neither looking, nor regarding the earthlie things, for they be to them vile and abiect. They haue also the simplicitie of the doue, and the policie of the serpent; for, by simplicitie, they haue a desire to do good to all men, and to hurt no man, no, though they haue occasion giuen; and, by policie, they giue not, nor minister anie iust cause to anie man, whereby their doctrine might be reprobued. They be not, also, as a reede shaken with euerie winde; but, when they be blasted with the tempests and stormes of the world, then remaine they most firme, stable, and quiet, feeling in spirit, that God, as their best father, doth send, and suffer all things for their benefit and commoditie. Christ is to them a rule, a line, an example of Christian life; they be neuer offended at anie thing, although occasion be ministred vnto them: For, like as Christ, when Peter would haue withdrawne him from death, answered, and said, 'Go backe from me, Sathan, for thou offendest me;' that is, As much as lieth in thee, thou giuest me occasion, with thy words, to make me withdrawe my selfe from death, although I yeelded not thereto; for this, thy procurement, can not extinguish the burning desire I haue to shed my blood for my chosen. Euen so the perfect men are neuer offended at anie thing; for, although the world were full of sinne, they would not withdrawe themselues from doing of good, nor waxe cold in the loue of the Lord. And much lesse they would be moued to do euill, yea rather, they be so much the more moued to do good.

The regenerated by Christ are neuer offended at the works of God, because they knowe, by faith, that God doth all things well; and that he can not erre, neither for want of power, nor by ignorance, nor malice; for they knowe him to be almightie, and that he seeth all things, and is most abundantlie good. They see, and feelee in spirit, that, of that will most highlie perfect, can not but proceede most perfecte works. Likewise, they be not offended at the works of men; for, if they be good, they are moued, by them, to take occasion to folowe them, and to reknowledge the goodnes of God, with giuing of thanks, and praising his name dailie the more. But if they be indifferent, and such as may be done with good and euill intents, they iudge the best part, thinking they may be done to a good purpose, and so they be edified. But, if they be so euill, that they can not be taken in good part, by anie meanes, yet they be not offended, although occasion be giuen; naie, rather, they be edified, in asmuch as they take occasion to be better, though the contrarie be ministred to them.

Then begin they to thinke, and saie thus: 'If God had not preserued me with his grace, I should haue committed this sinne, and worsse. O how much am I bound to confesse and knowledge the goodnesse of God!' They go also thinking and saieing further: 'He that hath sinned, may be one of Gods elect; peradventure the Lord hath suffered him to fall, to the intent he may the better knowe himselfe. I knowe he is one of them that Christ hath shed his blood for, and one of my Christian brethren; trulie, I will admonish and rebuke him, and, in case I find him

desperate, I will comfort him, and shewe him the great goodnesse and mercie of God in Christ; and, with godlie consolations, I will see if I can lift him vp.' And thus ye may see how the men, regenerated by Christ, of euerie thing, win and receiue fruit.

THE NINT CHAPTER.

Of the Fruits of Infidelitie, and Offence of Weaklings.

AND contrariwise, the yonglings, and vnperfect, are offended at small trifles, taking euerie thing in euill part, grudging and murmuring against their neighbour; and so much the more, as they shew themselves feruent in their so doing, they are iudged of the blind world, and of themselves, great zeale-bearers to God. If this were the greatest euill of these yonglings, it were not the most euill; but I feare they be so blind and ignorant, that they are offended, also, at good things, and iudge nothing good, but such as they embrace and esteeme to be good, with murmuring against all such as folowe not their waies. If there be anie of this sort, the Lord giue them the light of his truth, that they may increase and growe in godlie strength. I suppose, if such yonglings and vnperfect had seen Christ, and his disciples, cate meate with vnwashed hands, or not to haue fasted with the pharisees, they would haue bene offended, seeing him a breaker of mens traditions. Their affections dispose their eies to see through other men, and they see nothing in themselves; where charitie, although it be most full of eies, to see the faults of others, whome it coneteth to amend, thinketh none euill, but discreetlie, and rightlie, interpreteth all things, by the which more iustlie and trulie euerie thing is taken.

Now, these superstitious weaklings, if they had been conversant with Christ, and scene him leade his life sometime with women, sometime with Samaritans, with publicanes, sinners, and with the pharisees, they would haue murmured at him. Also, if they had scene Marie powre vpon Christ the pretious ointment, they would haue said, with Iudas, 'This ointment might haue bene sold, and giuen to the poore.' If they also had scene Christ, with whips, drue out of the temple those that bought and sold, they would, foorthwith, haue iudged Christ to haue bene troubled and moued with anger, and not by zeale of charitie. How would they haue bene offended, if they had scene him go to the Iewes feast, heale a sicke man vpon the sabbath daie, practise with the woman of Samaria, yea, and shew vnto hir of his most diuine doctrine and lif? They would haue taken occasion to haue hated and persecuted him, as the scribes and pharisees did; and euen so should Christ, the Sauour of the World, haue bene to them an offence and ruine.

There be an other kind of litle ones vnperfecte, which are offended after this sort and manner. As when they see one that is reputed and esteemed holie, to commit sinne, foorthwith they learne to do that, and worse, and waxe cold in dooing of good, and confirme themselves in euill; and then they excuse their wicked life, publishing the same with

the slander of their neighbour. If anie man reprocue them, they saie : Such a man did this, and woorse. So it is euident, that such persons would denie Christ, if they sawe other men doo the same. If they went to Rome, and sawe the enormities of the prelates, which is said to reigne there amongst them, I doubt not, if they sawe one of them sinne, which wer reputed and taken for holie, their faith should be lost, but not the faith of Christ, which they neuer possessed ; but they should loose that humane opinion which they had of the goodnesse of the prelates : For, if they had the faith of Christ, the Holie Ghost should be a witnes vnto them ; the which should be mightie in them, that, in case all the world would denie Christ, yet they would remaine firme and stable in the true faith.

The pharisees also tooke occasion of the euill of others, to waxe hautie and proud, taking themselues to be men of greater perfection than anie other, bicause of their vertue; euen as the pharisee did when he sawe the publicans submission. And so they be offended with euerie little thing, iudging euill, murmuring against their neighbour; and, for the same, they are, of manie, reputed, and taken for the more holie and good, whereas, in deed, they be the more wicked. The most wicked persons are offended, euen at themselues; for, at their little stabilitie in goodnesse, and of their delectable and euill life, they take occasion to despaire, where they ought the more to commit themselues to God, asking mercie for their offences; and, foorthwith, to giue thanks, that it hath pleased him, of his goodnesse, to suffer them so long a time.

But what needeth it anie more to saie, the euill men are offended euen at the workes of God? They see God suffer sinners, therefore, thinke they, sinne displeaseth him not. And, bicause they see not the good rewarded with riches, oftentimes they imagine that God loueth them not: It seemeth to them God is parciall, bicause he hath elected some, and some reprooued. And, therefore, they saie, that the elected be sure of saluation; taking, by that, occasion to do euill inough, saieing, What-soeuer God hath determined, shall be performed. If also they see the good men oppressed, and the euill men exalted, they iudge God vniust, taking occasion to liue euille, saieing, Inasmuch as God sauoureth the naughtie men, let vs doo euill inough, to the intent he doo vs good. If then the wicked be offended, euen at God, it is no woonder if they be offended at those that followe and walke in his paths and waies.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

Of carnall Gospellers, by whose euill Liuing, Gods Truth is shamefullie slandered.

I WILL now speake with great dolor and heauinesse in my hart, of a sort of people which be in the world, that be called professors of the gospel, and, by their words, doo declare and shew they be much affected to the same: But, I am afraid, some of them doo build vpon the sand, as Simon Magus did, making a weake foundation; I meane, they make

not Christ their chiefest foundation, professing his doctrine, of a sincere, pure, and zealous mind; but either, for bicause they would be called gospellers, to procure some credit and good opinion of the true and verie fauourers of Christs doctrine, either to find out some carnall libertie, either to be contentious disputers, finders, or rebukers of other mens faults, or else, finallie, to please and flatter the world. Such gospellers are an offence, and a slander to the word of God, and make the wicked to reioice and laugh at them, saieing, 'Behold, I praie you, their faire fruits. What charitie, what discretion, what godlinesse, holinesse, or puritie of life, is among them? Be not they great auengers, soule gluttons, slanderers, backbiters, adulterers, fornicators, swearers, and blasphemers, yea, and wallowe and tumble in all sinnes? These be the fruits of their doctrine.'

And thus it may be scene, how the word of God is euill spoken of, through licentious and euill liuing; and yet the word of God is all holie, pure, sincere, and godlie, being the doctrine and occasion of all holie and pure liuing. It is the wicked that peruert all geod things into euill, for an euill tree can not bring forth good fruit; and, when good seede is sowne in a barren and euill ground, it yeeldeth no good corne; and so it fareth by the word of God: For when it is heard, and knowne of wicked men, it bringeth no good fruit; but when it is sowne in good ground, I meane the harts of good people, it bringeth forth good fruit abundantly; so that the want and fault is in men, and not in the word of God. I praie God, all men and women may haue grace to become meete tillage for the fruits of the gospell, and to leaue onlie the iangling of it. For onlie speaking of the gospell maketh not men good Christians, but good talkers, except their facts and works agree with the same; so then their speech is good, bicause their harts be good. And enen as much talke of the word of God, without practising the same in our liuing, is euill and detestable in the sight of God; so it is a lamentable thing to heare, how there be manie, in the world, that do not well digest the reading of scripture, and do commend and praise ignorance, and saie, That much knowledge of Gods word is the originall of all dissension, scismes, and contention; and maketh men haucie, proud, and presumptuous, by reading of the same.

This maner of saieing is no lesse than a plaine blasphemie against the Holie Ghost; for the spirit of God is the author of his word, and so the Holie Ghost is made the author of euill, which is a most great blasphemie, and, as the scripture saith, a sinne that shall not be forgiven in this world, neither in the other to come. It were all our parts and duties, to procure and seeke all the waies and meanes possible, to haue more knowledge of Gods word set forth abroade in the world, and not allow ignorance, and discommend knowledge of Gods word, stopping the mouthes of the vnlearned, with subtile and craftie persuasions of philosophie and sophistrie, whereof commeth no fruite, but a great perturbation of the mind, to the simple and ignorant, not knowing which waie to turn them. For how, is it not extreame wickednesse, to charge the holie sanctified word of God with the offences of man? To alledge the scriptures to be perillous learning, because certaine readers thereof fall into heresies?

These men might be inforced, by this kind of argument, to forsake the vse of fire, bicause fire burneth their neighbours house ; or to abstaine from meate and drinke, bicause they see manie surfet. O blind hate ! They slander God for mans offence, and excuse the man whome they see offend, and blame the scripture, which they can not improve ; yea, I haue heard of some, that haue very well vnderstood the Latine tongue, that when they haue heard learned men persuade to the credite and beleefe of certaine vnwriten verities, as they call them, which be not in scripture expressed, and yet taught as doctrine apostolike, and necessarie to be beleued : they haue beene of this opinion, that the learned men haue mo epistles written by the apostles of Christ, than we haue abroad in the canon of the Old and New Testament, or knowne of anie, but onlie to them of the clergie. Which beleefe I did not a little lament in my hart to heare, that anie creature should haue such a blind ignorant opinion.

Some kind of simplicitie is to be praised ; but this simplicitie, without the veritie, I can neither praise nor allow. And thus it may be seene, how we, that be vnlettered, remaine confused, without God, of his grace, lighten our harts and minds with a heauenlie light and knowledge of his will ; for we be giuen, of our selues, to beleue men better than God. I praie God, send all learned men the spirit of God abundantlie, that their doctrine may bring forth the fruits thereof. I suppose there was neuer more neede of good doctrine to be set forth in the world, than now in this age ; for the carnall children of Adam be so wise in their generation, that, if it were possible, they would deceiue the children of light. The world loueth his owne, and, therefore, their facts and doings be highlie esteemed of the world : but the children of God are hated, because they be not of the world : for their habitation is in heauen, and they do despise the world as a most vile slaue.

The fleshlie children of Adam be so politike, subtilie, craftie, and wise in their kind, that the elect should be illuded, if it were possible ; for they are cloathed with Christs garment, in vtter appearance, with a faire shewe of all godlines and holines in their words ; but they haue so shorne, nopped, and turned Christs garment, and haue so disguised themselues, that the children of light, beholding them with a spirituall eie, do accompt and take them for men which haue sold their maisters garment, and haue stolen a peece of euerie mans garment ; yet, by their subtilie art, and craftie wits, they haue so set those patches and peeces together, that they do make the blind world and carnall men to beleue it is Christs verie mantell.

THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

Of the vertuous properties of God's children, of whome euerie one attendeth his vocation.

BUT the children of light knowe the contrarie ; for they are led, by the spirit of God, to the knowledge of the truth, and, therefore, they discern and iudge all things right, and knowe from whence they come,

euen from the Bishop of Rome and his members, the headspring of all pride, vaine glorie, ambition, hypocrisie, and feigned holines.

The children of God be not abashed, although the world hate them ; they beleue they are in the grace and fauour of God, and that he, as a best father, doth gouerne them in all things, putting awaie from them all vaine confidence and trust in their owne doings ; for they know they can do nothing but sin of themselues. They be not so foolish and childish, not to giue God thanks for their election, which was before the beginning of the world : for they beleue most surelie, they be of the chosen ; for the Holie Ghost doth witnes to their spirit, that they be the children of God, and, therefore, they beleue God better than man. They saie, with St. Paule, 'Who shall separate vs from the loue of God ? Shall tribulation, anguish, persecution, hunger, nakednesse, perill, or sword ? As it is written, For thy sake are we killed all daie long, and are accounted as sheepe appointed to be slaine ; neuertheless, in all these things we ouercome, through him that loueth vs. For I am sure, that neither death, nor life, neither angels, nor rule, neither power, neither things present, neither things to come, neither quantitie or qualitie, neither anie creature, shall be able to depart vs from the loue of God, which is in Christ Iesu our Lord.'

They are not, by this godlie faith, presumptuously inflamed ; nor, by the same, become they loose, idle, or slowe in doeing of godlie works, as carnall men dreme of them ; so much the more feruent they be in doeing most holie and pure works, which God hath commanded them to walke in. They wander not in mens traditions and inuentions, leauing the most holie and pure precepts of God vndone. which they knowe they be bound to obserue and keepe. Also, they worke not like hirelings, for neede, wages, or reward ; but, as louing children, without respect of lucre, gaine, or hire ; they be in such libertie of spirit, and ioie so much in God, that their inward consolation can not be expressed with tongue. All feare of damnation is gone from them, for they haue put their whole hope of saluation in his hands, which will and can performe it ; neither haue they anie post or pillar to leane to, but God, and his smooth vnwrinkled church ; for he is to them all in all things, and to him they leane, as a most sure square pillar, in prosperitie and aduersitie ; nothing doubting of his promises and covenants, for they beleue most surelie they shall be fulfilled.

Also, the children of God be not curious in searching the high mysteries of God, which be not meet for them to knowe ; neither do go about, with humane and carnall reasons, to interpret scripture, persuading men, by their subtile wits, and carnall doctrine, that much knowledge of scripture maketh men heretikes, without they temper it with humane doctrine, sophistic, philosophic, and logicke, wherewith to be seduced, according to the traditions of men, after the ordinances of the world, and not after Christ. St. Paule doth most diligently admonish vs, which arts are not conuenient and meet to be made checkmate with scripture ; for the scriptures be so pure and holie, that no perfection can be added vnto them ; for, euen as fine gold doth excell all other mettals, so doth the word of God all mens doctrines. I beseech the Lord to send the learned and vnlearned such

abundance of his holie spirit, that they may obcie and obserue the most sincere and holie word of God, and shew the fruits thereof, which consisteth, chieflie, in charitie and godlie vnitie: that, as we haue professed one God, one faith, and one baptisme, so we may be all of one mind, and one accord, putting awaie all biting and gnawing; for, in backbiting, slandering, and mis-reporting our Christian brethren, we shew not our selues the disciples of Christ, whom we profess. In him was most high charitie, humilitie, and patience, suffering, most patientlie, all ignomine, rebukes, and slanders, praieng to his eternall father for his enemies with most perfect charitie; and, in all things, did remit his will to his fathers, as the scripture doth witnesse, when he praied in the mount. A godlie example and lesson for vs to followe at all times and seasons, as well in prosperitie, as in aduersitie; to haue no will but Gods will, committing, and leauing to him, all our cares and greefes, and to abandon a'l our policies and inuentions; for they be most vaine and foolish, and, indeed, uerie shadowes and dreames.

But we be yet so carnall and fleshlie, that we run headlong, like vnbridled colts without snaffle or bridle. If we had the loue of God printed in our harts, it would keepe us backe from running astraie. And, vntill such time as it please God to send vs this bit to hold vs in, we shall neuer run the right waie, although we speake and talke neuer so much of God and his word. The true followers of Christes doctrine haue alwaies a respect and an eie to their vocation. If they be called to the ministerie of Gods word, they preach and teach it sincerely, to the edifieng of others, and shew themselves, in their liuing, followers of the same. If they be married men, hauing children and familie, they nourish and bring them vp, without all bitterness and fiercenesse, in the doctrine of the Lord, in all godlinesse and vertue; committing the iustruction of others, which apperteyne not to their charge, to the reformation of God, and his ministers, which chieflie be kings and princes, bearing the sword euen for that purpose, to punish euill doers. If they be children, they honour their father and mother, knowing it to be Gods commandment, and that he hath, thereto, annexed a promise of long life. If they be seruants, they obcie and serue their maisters with all feare and reuerence, euen for the Lords sake, neither with murmuring nor grudging, but with a free hart and mind.

If they be husbands, they loue their wiues as their owne bodies, after the example as Christ loued the congregation, and gaue himselfe for it, to make it to him a spouse without spot or wrinkle. If they be women married, they learne of St. Paule to be obedient to their husbands, and to keepe silence in the congregation, and to learne of their husbands at home: Also, they weare such apparell, as becommeth holinesse, and comlie vsage, with sobernesse; not being accusers, or detractors; not giuen to much eating of delicate meates, and drinking of wine; but they teach honest things, to make the yong women sober-minded, to loue their husbands, to loue their children; to be discreet, chaste, housewifelic, good, and obedient vnto their husbands, that the word of God be not euill spoken of. Verelie, if all sorts of people would looke to their owne vocation, and ordeine the same, according to

Christs doctrine, we should not haue so many eies and eares to other mens faults, as we haue; for we be so busie and glad, to find and espie out other mens dooings, that we forget, and can haue no time, to weigh and ponder our owne; which, after the word of God, we ought first to reforme, and then we shall the better helpe an other with the straw out of his eies.

But, alas! we be so much giuen to loue and to flatter our selues, and so blinded with carnall affections, that we can see and perceiue no fault in our selues; and, therefore, it is a thing verie requisite and necessarie for vs, to praie all with one hart and mind to God, to giue vs an heauenlic light and knowledge of our owne miseries and calamities; that we may see them, and acknowledge them trulic before him.

THE TWELFE CHAPTER.

The Conclusion, with a Christian Exhortation to the Amendement of Life.

IF anie man shall be offended at this my lamenting the faults of men, which be in the world, fantasizing with themselves, that I do it either of hatred or of malice to anie sort or kind of people, verilie, in so dooing, they shall do me great wrong; for, I thanke God, by his grace, I hate no creature; yea, I would saie more, to giue witness of my conscience, that neither life, honour, riches, neither whatsoeuer I possesse here, which appertaineth to mine owne priuate commoditie, be it neuer so deerlie beloued of me, but most willinglie, and gladlie, I would leaue it, to win anie man to Christ, of what degree, or sort, soeuer he were. And yet is this nothing, in comparison to the charitie that God hath shewed me, in sending Christ to die for me. No, if I had all the charitie of angels, and apostles, it should be but like a sparke of fire, compared to a greates heape of burning coales.

God knoweth, of what intent and mind I haue lamented mine sinnes and faults to the world. I trust no bodie will iudge, that I haue done it for praise or thanke of anie creature; since, rather, I might be ashamed, than reioice in rehearsall thereof. For, if they knewe how little I esteeme and weigh the praise of the world, that opinion were soone remooued and taken awaie; for, I thanke God, by his grace, I knowe the world to be a blind iudge, and the praises thereof vaine, and of little moment; and, therefore, I seeke not the praises of the same, neither to satisfie it, none otherwise than I am taught by Christ to do, according to Christian charitie. I would to God we would all, when occasion doth serue, confesse our faults to the world, all respects of our owne commoditie laid apart. But, alas! Selfe-loue doth so much reigne among vs, that, as I haue said before, we can not espie our owne faults. And although, sometime, we find our owne guilt, either we be fauourable to interpret it no sin, or else we be a hamed to confesse ourselves thereof; yea, and

we be sore offended, and greeued, to heare our faults charitablie and godlie told vs of other, putting no difference betweene charitable warning, and malicious accusing.

Trulie, if we sought Gods glorie, as we should dó in all things, we should not be ashamed to confesse our selues to digresse from Gods precepts and ordinances, when it is manifest we haue done, and dailie do. I praie God, our owne faults and deeds condemne vs not at the last daie, when euerie man shall be rewarded according to his dooings. Trulie, if we do not redresse and amend our liuing, according to the doctrine of the gospell, we shall receiue a terrible sentence of Christ the Sonne of God, when he shall come to iudge and condemne all transgressours, and breakers of his precepts and cominamements, and to reward all his obedient and louing children. We shall haue no man of lawe to make our plea for vs, neither can we haue the daie deferred; neither will the iudge be corrupted with affection, bribes, or reward; neither will he heare anie excuse or delaie; neither shall this saint, or that martyr, helpe vs, be they neuer so holie; neither shall our ignorance saue vs from damnation; but yet wilfull blindnesse, and obstinate ignorance, shall receiue greater punishment, and not without iust cause. Then shall it be knowne who hath walked in the darke; for all things shall appeere manifest before him; no mans deeds shall be hidden, no, neither wordes nor thoughts. The poore and simple obseruers of Gods commandements shall be rewarded with euerlasting life, as obedient children to the heauenlie Father; and the transgressors, adders, and diminishers of the lawe of God, shall receiue eternall damnation, for their iust reward. I beseech God we may escape this fearefull sentence, and be found such faithfull seruants, and louing children, that we may heare the happie, comfortable, and most ioifull sentence, ordeined for the Children of God, which is:

‘Come hither, ye blessed of my Father, and receiue the Kingdome of Heauen, prepared for you before the beginning of the World.’

Vnto the Father, the Sonne, and the Holie Ghost, be all honour and glorie, World without End. *Amen.*

THE

LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER'S LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS

Of His Majesty's Ecclesiastical Court.

Containing one Folio Page.

MY LORDS,

I MOST humbly intreat your lordships favourable interpretation of what I now write; that since your lordships are resolved to proceed against those who haue not complied with the King's command in reading

his declaration, it is absolutely impossible for me to serve his Majesty any longer in this commission. I beg leave to tell your lordships, that though I myself did submit in that particular, yet I will never be any ways instrumental in punishing those my brethren that did not : For as I call God to witness, that what I did was merely on a principle of conscience, so I am fully satisfied, that their forbearance was upon the same principle. I have no reason to think otherwise of the whole body of the clergy, who upon all occasions have signalized their loyalty to the crown, and their zealous affection to his present majesty's person, in the worst of times. Now, my lords, the safety of the Church of England seeming to be exceedingly concerned in this prosecution, I must declare I cannot, with a safe conscience, sit as judge in this cause, upon so many pious and excellent men, with whom (if it be God's will) it rather becomes me to suffer, than to be in the least accessary to their sufferings. I therefore earnestly request your lordships to intercede with his Majesty, that I may be graciously dismissed any further attendance at the board ; and to assure him, that I am still ready to sacrifice whatever I have to his service, but my conscience and religion.

My Lords,

Your Lordships most faithful
and humble servant,

R————.

THE INSTRUMENT

BY WHICH

QUEEN JANE

WAS

PROCLAIMED QUEEN OF ENGLAND, &c.

Setting forth the reasons of her Claim, and her Right to the
Crown.

[From the first Edition, in three Folio Sheets.]

WHOEVER reads the latter part of the life of Henry the Eighth, will soon be convinced, that he left the succession of the crown so disputable, that it could only be owing to the hand of Providence, that the nation had not, for ever after, been distracted with contrary claims,

His divorces from Catharine of Arragon and Ann Bullen; the acts of parliament confirming those divorces; other subsequent acts, which seemed to repeal what the first had ordained; the power given to the King to appoint his successors, and to place them in what order he pleased; and his last will itself so embroiled the affair of the succession, that it was left full of obscurity and contradiction. For, as the makers of these new laws were not swayed with justice and equity, and calculated, merely to gratify the ambition and schemes of a prince, who would have taken vengeance on those that should act in opposition to his directions, it was not possible to act in such emergencies according to the ancient laws and customs of the realm.

He, after cohabiting with Catharine of Arragon eighteen years, and having several children by her, obliged the Archbishop of Canterbury to pronounce him divorced from her, and his marriage with her to be null and void; but not before he had contracted a second marriage with Ann Bullen, of which he also grew weary; and, accusing his second queen of adultery, he ordered her to be beheaded, after he had been also publicly divorced from her.

His next step was to obtain an act of parliament (1536) to confirm both these divorces, and to declare Mary and Elisabeth, the children of these two marriages, illegitimate, and incapable of succeeding to the Crown, without his special will and appointment. But in an act, made in 1544, Mary and Elisabeth were declared successively to inherit the Crown after Edward, still allowing the King to impose conditions on these two princesses, without which they could have no right to succeed. And Henry made his last will and testament in the same manner; by which, preferring Edward to be his immediate successor, he left it as his opinion that his daughters were illegitimate.

Thus far the succession was much disturbed; but what still conduced to embroil it more, was the not mentioning, in his will, the issue of Margaret Queen of Scotland, Henry's eldest sister, and placing the Children of his younger sister, Mary, Queen Dowager of France, and Duchess of Suffolk, next to his daughter Elisabeth. And,

To compleat this confusion of claims to the Crown, Edward the Sixth confirmed the act, which declared Mary and Elisabeth illegitimate; abrogated, by his own authority, the act which gave his Father power to settle the succession, and by his own will, excluded Mary, Elisabeth, and the Queen of Scotland from the throne, and conveyed the Crown to Jane Grey, by the importunity and ambition of the Duke of Northumberland, who was known to hold Edward's council in subjection; and therefore whatever methods were taken before, or after the young King's death, to secure and settle Jane on the Throne, and the drawing up and publishing the following proclamation must be looked upon as the act and deed of the said duke, and not to be ascribed to the council.

This was the state of affairs, when Edward the Sixth was removed by death; and, by this short recapitulation, it may easily be perceived, what a door of divisions and civil wars was opened by Henry the

Eighth and his successor. For, according to their acts and wills, and letters patents, Mary, Elisabeth, the Queen of Scotland, and Jane Grey, four princesses, could claim the Crown after Edward's death, and each of these princesses could find in these very acts, &c. arguments to oppose the claim of her competitors. Yet only Jane, who, though by far the youngest, was not less endowed with the gifts of nature, and preferable to all her adversaries in the endowments of her mind, and least tainted with the ambitious desire of a crown, was forced by the importunity of her relations to accept of it, and thereby fell a sacrifice to their ambition; as it is excellently well related by Dr. Heylin, in these words, in his history of the Reformation:

'She was eldest daughter of Henry Lord Grey, Duke of Suffolk. Her mother was the Lady Frances, daughter, and, in fine, one of the coheirs of Charles Brundon, the late Duke of Suffolk, by Mary his wife, Queen Dowager to Lewis the Twelfth of France, and youngest daughter of King Henry the Seventh. She seemed to have been born with those attractions, which seat a sovereignty in the face of most beautiful persons; yet was her mind endued with more excellent charms, than the attractions of her face; modest and mild of disposition, courteous of carriage, and of such affable deportment, as might intitle her to the name of Queen of Hearts, before she was designed for queen over any subjects.

'These her native and obliging graces, were accompanied with some more profitable ones, of her own acquiring; which set an higher value on them, and much increased the same, both in worth and lustre. Having attained unto that age, in which other young ladies used to apply themselves to the sports and exercises of their sex, she wholly gave her mind to good arts and sciences; much furthered in that pursuit by the loving care of Mr. Elmer, under whose charge she came to such a large proficiency, that she spake the Latin and Greek tongues with as sweet a fluency, as if they had been natural and native to her; exactly skilled in the liberal sciences, and perfectly well studied in both kinds of philosophy.'

Take here a story out of Mr. Ascham's *Schoolm.* Page 11. in his own words: 'One example, whether love or fear doth work more in a child, for vertue or learning, I will gladly report; which may be heard with some pleasure, and followed with more profit. Before I went into Germany, I came to Broadgate in Leicestershire, to take my leave of that noble lady, Jane Grey, to whom I was exceeding much beholding. Her parents, the Duke and the Duchess, with all the household, gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in the Park; I found her in her chamber, reading *Phedon Platonis* in Greek, and that with as much delight as some gentlemen would read a merry tale in *Boccace*. After salutation, and duty done, with some other talk, I asked her, why she would lose such pastime in the Park? Smiling, she answered me, I know, all their sport in the Park is but a shadow to that I find in Plato: Alas! good folk, they never felt what true pleasure meant. And how came you, madam, quoth I, to this deep knowledge, and what did

chiefly allure you unto it, seeing not many women, but very few men have attained thereunto? I will tell you, saith she, and tell you a truth, which perchance you will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits that ever God gave me, is, that he sent me so sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a schoolmaster. For, when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go; eat, drink, be merry, or sad; be sowing, playing, dancing, or doing any thing else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly, as God made the world; or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea presently sometimes, with pinches, nips, and bobs, and other ways (which I will not name, for the honour I bear them) so without measure misordered, that I think myself in hell, till the time come, that I must go to Mr. Elmer: who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing, whilst I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall to weeping, because whatsoever I do else, but learning, is full of grief, trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me. And thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more, that, in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deed, be but trifles and troubles unto me. I remember this talk gladly, both because it is so worthy of memory, and because also it was the last talk that ever I had, and the last time that ever I saw that noble and worthy lady.* Thus far Mr. Ascham.

By this eminent proficiency in all parts of learning, and an agreeableness in disposition, she became very dear to the young King Edward; to whom Fox not only makes her equal, but doth acknowledge her also to be his superior, in those noble studies. And for an ornament superadded to her other perfections, she was most zealously affected to the true Protestant religion, then by law established; which she embraced, not out of any outward compliance with the present current of the times, but because her own most excellent judgment had been fully satisfied in the truth and purity thereof. All which did so endear her to the king, that he took great delight in her conversation.

Thus lived she in these sweet contentments, till she came unto the years of marriage; when she, that never found in herself the least spark of ambition, was made the most unhappy instrument of another man's. The proud and aspiring Duke of Northumberland treats with the Duke of Suffolk, about a marriage between the Lord Guilford Dudley, his fourth son, and the Lady Jane. The marriage is concluded, and, by Northumberland's policy, the crown is transferred from King Edward to his cousin the Lady Jane, his two sisters, the Lady Mary and Lady Elisabeth, being passed by. Memorable is the speech she made to the two dukes, when they owned her for queen, to this effect: 'That the laws of the kingdom, and natural right, standing for the king's sisters*, she would beware of burthening her weak conscience with a yoke, which did belong to them: That she understood the

* Mary and Elisabeth.

infamy of those, who had permitted the violation of right, to gain a scepter: That it was to mock God, and deride justice, to scruple at the stealing of a shilling, and not at the usurpation of a crown. Besides (said she) I am not so young, nor so little read in the guiles of fortune, to suffer myself to be taken by them. If she enrich any, it is but to make them the subject of her spoil: If she raise others, it is but to pleasure herself with their ruins. What she adored but yesterday, is to-day her pastime. And, if I now permit her to adorn and crown me, I must to-morrow suffer her to crush and tear me in pieces, &c.' But the ambition of the two dukes was too strong and violent to be kept down by any such prudent considerations; so that, being wearied at last with their importunities, and overcome by the intreaties of her husband, whom she dearly loved, she submitted unto that necessity which she could not vanquish, yielding her head with more unwillingness to the ravishing glories of a crown, than afterwards she did to the stroke of the ax.

Accordingly the Duke of Northumberland declared, in his report to the council, that this good Lady Jane was so far from aspiring to the crown, as to be rather made to accept of it, by enticement and force. And,

The Duke had no sooner obtained Lady Jane's consent, but it was resolved that the council should move with her into the Tower of London, and that she should be proclaimed in the manner following: A proclamation, which, for its substance, antiquity, curiosity, and scarceness, well deserves the attention of the reader, and to be preserved, in this miscellany, from the injuries of time.

JANE, by the grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, under Christ, in Earth the supreme Head. To all our most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, and to every of them greeting, Whereas our most dear cousin, Edward the Sixth, late King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in Earth the supreme Head, under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland, by his letters patent, signed with his own hand, and sealed with his great seal of England, bearing date the twenty-first day of June, in the seventh year of his reign, in the presence of the most part of his nobles, his counsellors, judges, and divers other grave and sage personages, for the profit and surety of the whole realm thereto assenting, and subscribing their names to the same, hath by the same his letters patents recited, that forasmuch as the imperial crown of this realm, by an act made in the thirty-fifth year of the late king of worthy memory, King Henry the Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle, was, for lack of issue of his body lawfully begotten, and for lack of issue of the body of our said late cousin, King Edward the Sixth, by the same act limited, and appointed to remain to the Lady Mary, by the name of the Lady Mary, his eldest daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, and, for default of such issue, the remainder thereof to the Lady Elisabeth, by the name of the Lady Elisabeth, his second daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, with such conditions as should be limited and appointed

by the late King of worthy memory, King Henry the Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle, by his letters patents, under his great seal, or by his last will in writing, signed with his hand. And forasmuch as the said limitation of the imperial crown of this realm, being limited (as is aforesaid) to the Lady Mary and Lady Elisabeth, being illegitimate, and not lawfully begotten, for that the marriage had between the said late King, King Henry the Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle, and the Lady Catharine, mother to the said Lady Mary, and also the marriage had between the said late king, King Henry the Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle, and the Lady Anne, mother to the said Lady Elisabeth, were clearly and lawfully undone, by sentences of divorces, according to the word of God, and the ecclesiastical laws: And which said several divorcements have been severally ratified, and confirmed by authority of parliament, and especially in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, our said progenitor and great uncle, remaining in force, strength, and effect, whereby as well the said Lady Mary, as also the said Lady Elisabeth, to all intents and purposes, are, and have been clearly disabled, to ask, claim, or challenge, the said imperial crown, or any other of the honours, castles, manors, lordships, lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, as heir, or heirs to our said late cousin, King Edward the Sixth, or as heir or heirs to any other person, or persons whatsoever, as well for the cause before rehearsed, as also, for that the said Lady Mary and Lady Elisabeth were unto our said late cousin but of the half blood, and therefore, by the ancient laws, statutes, and customs of this realm, be not inheritable unto our said late cousin, although they had been born in lawful matrimony, as indeed they were not, as by the said sentences of divorce, and the said statute of the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, our said progenitor and great uncle, plainly appeareth.

And forasmuch also as it is to be thought, or, at the least, much to be doubted, that if the said Lady Mary, or Lady Elisabeth, should hereafter have, and enjoy the said imperial crown of this realm and should then happen to marry a stranger, born out of this realm, that then the same stranger, having the government and the imperial crown in his hands, would adhere and practise, not only to bring this noble free realm into the tyranny and servitude of the Bishop of Rome, but also to have the laws and customs of his or their own native country or countries to be practised, and put in use within this realm, rather than the laws, statutes, and customs here of long time used; whereupon the title of inheritance of all and singular the subjects of this realm do depend, to the peril of conscience, and the utter subversion of the commonweal of this realm. Whereupon our said late dear cousin weighing and considering with himself, what ways and means were most convenient to be had for the stay of the said succession in the said imperial crown, if it should please God to call our said late cousin out of this transitory life, having no issue of his body, and calling to his remembrance, that we and the lady Catharine, and the lady Mary, our sisters, being the daughters of the lady Frances, our natural mother, and then and yet wife to our natural and most loving father, Henry, Duke of Suffolk, and the Lady Margaret, daughter of

the Lady Eleanor, then deceased sister to the said Lady Frances, and the late wife of our cousin, Henry, Earl of Cumberland, were very nigh of his grace's blood, of the part of his father's side, our said progenitor and great uncle, and being naturally born here within the realm, and for the very good opinion our said late cousin had of our, and our said sisters and cousin Margaret's good education, did therefore, upon good deliberation and advice herein had and taken, by his said letters patents declare, order, assign, limit, and appoint, that if it should fortune himself our said late cousin, King Edward the Sixth, to de cease, having no issue of his body lawfully begotten, that then the said imperial crown of England and Ireland, and the confines of the same, and his title to the crown of the realm of France, and all and singular honours, castles, prerogatives, privileges, pre-eminences, authorities, jurisdictions, dominions, possessions, and hereditaments, to our said late cousin, King Edward the Sixth, or to the said imperial crown belonging, or in any wise appertaining, should, for lack of such issue of his body, remain, come, and be unto the eldest son of the body of the said Lady Frances, lawfully begotten, being born into the world in his life-time, and to the heirs male of the body of the same eldest son lawfully begotten, and so from son to son, as he should be of antienty in birth, of the body of the said Lady Frances, lawfully begotten, being born into the world in our said late cousin's lifetime, and to the heirs male of the body of every such son, lawfully begotten; and, for default of such son born into the world, in his life-time, of the body of the said lady Frances lawfully begotten, and, for lack of heirs male of every such son lawfully begotten, that then the said imperial crown, and all and singular other the premises, should remain, come, and be to us, by the name of the Lady Jane, eldest daughter of the said Lady Frances, and to the heirs male of our body lawfully begotten, and for lack of such heir male of our body lawfully begotten, that then the said imperial crown, and all other the premises, should remain, come, and be to the said Lady Catharine, our said second sister, and to the heirs male of the body of the said Lady Catharine lawfully begotten, with divers other remainders, as by the same letters patents more plainly and at large it may and doth appear. Sithens the making of which letters patents, that is to say, on Thursday, which was the sixth day of this instant month of July, it hath pleased God to call to his infinite mercy our said most dear and intirely beloved cousin, Edward the Sixth, whose soul God pardon, and forasmuch as he is now deceased, having no heirs of his body begotten, and that also there remain, at this present time, no heirs lawfully begotten of the body of our said progenitor and great uncle, King Henry the Eighth, and forasmuch also as the said Lady Frances, our said mother, had no issue male begotten of her body, and born into the world, in the life-time of our said cousin, King Edward the Sixth, so as the said Imperial Crown, and other the premises to the same belonging, or in any wise appertaining, now be, and remain to us in our actual and royal possession, by authority of the said letters patents: We do, therefore, by these presents, signify unto all our most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, that like as we, for our part, shall, by God's

Grace, shew ourselves a most gracious and benign sovereign Queen and lady to all our good subjects in all their just and lawful suits and causes, and to the uttermost of our power shall preserve and maintain God's most holy word, Christian policy, and the good laws, customs, and liberties of these our realms and dominions; so we mistrust not, but they, and every of them, will again, for their parts, at all times, and in all cases, shew themselves unto us, their natural liege Queen and lady, most faithful, loving, and obedient subjects, according to their bounden duties and allegiances, whereby they shall please God, and do the thing that shall tend to their own preservations and sureties; willing and commanding all men of all estates, degrees, and conditions, to see our peace and accord kept, and to be obedient to our laws, as they tender our favour, and will answer for the contrary, at their extreme perils. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness ourself at the Tower of London, the tenth day of July, in the first year of our reign.

God save the Queen.

Anno Domini
M.D.LIII.

Londini in ædibus Richardi Graftoni Reginae a
typographia excusum.

Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.

THE COPIE OF A PISTEL OR LETTER

SENT TO

GILBARD POTTER,

In the tyme when he was in prison, for speakeinge on our most true
Queenes part, the Lady Mary, before he had his eares cut of,

THE XIII. OF JULYE.

Si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos?

Anno M.D.Liij. the Firste of August. Duodecimo, containing sixteen Pages.

POORE PRATTE, VNTO HIS FREND GILBARD POTTER,

*The most faythful and trew louer of Quene Mary, doth him salute with
many salutations. S.P.D.*

WHEREAS thou haste of late showed thy selfe, most faithful Gilbard, to be a true subiecte to Mary, Quene of England, not only by wordes but by deedes, and for the farther triall of thy true heart towards her, did offer thy hodye to be slayne in her quarell, and offered vp thy selfe into the handes of the ragged beare most rancke, with whom is nether mercy, pitie, nor compassion, but his indignation

present death. Thy promys, Gilbard, is faythfull, thy heart is true, thy loue is feruente towards her Grace ; and, wheras you did promys me faythfullye, when I last visited thee in prison, to be tome with wild horses, thou wouldest not denye Marye oure Quene, and to that whiche thou tofore dyd saye, No denial shalbe found in thee, so styll do thou continue in the same mynde, haue a respect of thy conscience. Feare not to saye the truth ; if thou dye, thou shalt dye in the ryght ; *Pugna pro patria*, Fighte for thy countrey, sayeth the philosopher. For, as it shalbe to thi great honour and prayse in this world, and in heauen, to dye in her Graces quarell, and in the defence of thy countrey ; so wold it be to the viter destruction, both of thy body and soule, to do the contrarye. But, O thou true Gilbard, stand stiflye in her cause, and do thou according to thy last promys made me, (as I do not doubt but thou wilt) then wil God kepe thee and preserue thee. If thou shuld dye, thou shalt dye innocent ; so shal you be assured to possesse the euerlastyng kyngdom of heauen. If you fortune to lyue, then shal it be also accompted praise to thee ; and fully perswade with thy selfe, that her Grace wil consider thy faythful and true heart, as she hath iuste occasion. For, who could haue bene more faythfuller, then thou haste bene ? What man coule haue showed him selfe bolder in her Graces cause, than thou hast showed ? Or who dyd so valiantlye in the proclamation tyme, when Iane was published Quene, vnworthy as she was, and more to blame, I may say to thee, are some of the consenters therunto. Ther were thousands more then thy selfe, yet durst they not (suche is the fragility and weakenes of the flesh) once moue their lippes to speake that whiche thou did speake. Thou offeredst thy selfe amongst the multitude of people to fight agaynste them all in her quarell, and for her honour dyd not feare to runne vpon the poynt of the swordes. O faythful subiect, O true heart to Mury our Quene, I can not but wryte of the condign prayse that thou deseruest for thys thy boldnes. I may compare the to Sidrack, Misack, and Abdenago, whych, rather then they wold forsake their mayster, were contented to suffer the tormentes in the hoate burnyng ouen. And as young Daniel, when he was broughte before such a ruler, as that false Duke of Northumberland, rather then to denye his Lord, would suffer the paynes of imprysonment, and to be cast in the denne of lions : Even so, faythful Gilbard, rather than thou wouldest consente to their false and trayterouse proclamation for Iane, when thou dyd hear it, hauyng a clear conscience, wold not consent to the same most trayterous fact. And so little regarded thy life, boldly stode in thy mistres cause, and offered thy bodye to be imprisoned, and to suffer death, then to denye our veremouse Mary to be Quene. And therefore, trust to it, my faythfull Gilbard, as the God of Sidrack, Misack, and Abdenago saued them from al hurt in the hoat burnyng ouen, that not so muche as one heare of their heade was perished : So shall the same God saue thee out of the bandes of the cruell beare, and give hym no power of thy lyfe. Agayne as God preserued Daniel when he was cast in the denne amongst the lions, at the commaundement of the King Nabuchodonosor. And, when he was in the middeste of them, the lions playd with him, which was admirable. So do thou trust to, albeit thou art now in the denne

amongest devourers (I meane vnder the power of the beare and ragged staf) yet the God of Daniel shall safely delyuer thee out of all their handes; and thee rather, if thou dost stil continue stedfast, and hold on Mary our Quene, and forsake thy mayster, no more then Daniel and the brethren did their God and mayster. Dispayre not, but lyue in hope to see a good day, and the soner will it come, if we continue in praier. For my part, faithful Gilbard, I wyl neuer cease day nor nyght from praying for our good Mary, that her Grace might once obteyne the crowne, and that it wold please him of his omnipotent power to strengthen and helpe her Grace, Mary, thy Quene and mine, so say I to the death, and to conquere that beare. So here I shall desire thee also to offer vp to the Almighty Lord godly contemplations, that she maye ouercome hir enemies.

For, as the inhabitants of the great city of Ninieue continued in praier, and clothed them selues in sackcloth, caste duste vpon their heades, repented, and bewailed their manifold sinnes and offences, at what tyme as the prophete Ionas had preached to them the destruction of their citye; knew that it was time to do al the same, els destruction wold folow: So shulde we now not cease praying to God to send vs quietnes, and that the Lady Mary might enioye the kingdom.

For we haue had manye prophetes and true preachers, whiche did declare vnto vs, that oure Kinge shal be taken awaye from vs, and a tyrant shal reygne; the gospel shall be plucked awaye, the right heyre shalbe dispossessed, and al for our vnthancfulness; And thinkest thou not, Gilbard, the world is now come? Yea, truly. And what shal folow, yf we repent not in tymes. The same God wil take from vs the vertuouse Lady Mary, oure lawfull Quene, and send such a cruel Pharao, as the ragged beare, to rule vs, which shal pul and pol vs, spoyle vs, and vtterly destroy vs, and bring vs in great calamities and miseries. And this God will send vs, and al for our iniquities. For, yf vnto oure Quene Mary any euell shuld happen, let vs fully perswade with our selues, that it is not for her small sinnes only, but for our euell liuinges. And this litle troubles, whiche be greuouse to hir Grace, doth chaunse to her for thy sinnes and myne, let vs so thinke. For truly, faythful Gilbard, God is displeased with vs many wayes. And here, I dar be bold to say, that her Grace is more sorrowful for the death of King Edward her brother, then she is glad that she is Quene. For her part, good vertuouse lady, she would haue bene as glad of her brothers life, as the ragged beare is of his death. Agamemnon, the Heathen King, was neuer more vnquieted with his highe estate, when he lamented for that he was King ouer so manye people, as her Grace is nowe troubled to rule and gouerne so many euell persons. Plato was neuer gladder, when he was exiled from the kinges court, because his mind was more addict therby, and geuen to the study of philosophic, as she wold be, if she might once be exiled from the company of such traitours, wherby she might be more quieter, and possesse this hir kingdom peassablye. Euen so I dare aduouche, that her Grace was farre quieter, and better contented with her olde estate, then now she is Quene, yf it had pleased God. But now, praised be Almighty God, because he hath so prouided vs a right and lawful ayre, and so vertuous

a princesse, to possess this imperial crown of England, and so are we all bounde highlye to thanke him therfore. Trustyng that the same God wil shortlye exalt her Grace, and set her in her perfect dignitie, and plucke downe that lane, I can not nominate hir Quene, for that I know no other Quenes, but the good Lady Mary, hir Grace, whome God prosper. I heare say, faythfull Gilbard, that the true subject, Sir Edmond Peckham, is gone, with al his power and treasure, to assist her Grace, *Ex fructu scimus quid sit arbor*, by the frute, we may knowe what the tree is: So by his frutes, that is by all his doinges we may knowe, what he is, howe true and faythful hath he shewed him selfe to be at al times to Henry theight, of famous memory. What man deserued more commendation then he? He neuer robbed his Grace, when he had al the rule of his treasure: he vsed not to byc siluer for fowre shillings an once, and make the Kinge paye fwe shillings fowre pence, as other false traitours did, but loke, what he payd, the Kinge payde no more. He was euer true and faythfull by reporte, aswell of al other, as of hys owne scruauntes. And now for the ful triall of his true hearte, howe hath he showed him selfe to her Grace? Left house, lands, and al, and gone to help her. Truly, we haue to few such faythfull men. I heare also, that ther is come more to helpe her Grace, the Erle of Darbey, the Erle of Oxford, the Erle of Bath, and diuerse other nobles, whiche I can not rehearse nominarly. The God of Hostes, the God of Abraham, prosper them, kepe them, and geue them power to withstand al their enemies, and the moost mighty Lord take part with them (as I do not mistrust for the right sake. I hear no other newes but that here is continually great preparation, and many cartes appoynted to cary harnes and artillery, God send them euell to spede. The good Erle of Arundel and the Erle of Shresburye be here still; but, as I am informed, the Erle of Arundel will not consent to none of their doynge. O God, I most hertelye desire thee, heare my praier, kepe and presterue the good Erle of Arundel from the tyranny of that deuouryng beare. For, as thou hast from the beginning endued him with al truth, so doth he stil continue stedfaste in the same, like a worthy noble; preserve hym, I beseeche thee, O my God, and geue hym grace still to stande stedfaste. The Erle of Shresburye beareth hymselfe equal, God kepe hym, and send alth ose, that wold the Ladye Mary to be Quene, long life and pleasure; and they which wold not, I wyshe them the paynes of Satan in hell. I haue, faythful Gilbard, scattered abroad thre of the bokes more, and two also haue I sent into the ragged beares campe; kepe that close which thou hast: The world is daungerous: The great dewell Dudley ruleth, Duke, I shuld haue sayde: wel, let that passe, seing it is oute, but I truste he shall not longe. I haue proued, if I could get a M. of them imprinted in some straunge letter, and so a number of them to be dispersed abroad. Forasmuch, Gilbard, as I perceau that thou art straitly kept, and not suffred to haue liberty, I shal brieuely visite the with my letters from time to time. And here, Gilbard, I exhort the to continue in praier, and to take in good parte this yoke, layd vpon thy shoulders, and beare this crosse patiently. For aduersity is a good thinge, and shall make thee to know God the better. For I trust in the Lord, to liue to se the

day her Grace to mary such one, as knoweth what aduersity meaneth, so shal we haue both a merciful Quene and King to their subiects. And wold to God that I might liue, if it so pleased her Grace, to haue an other vertuose Edward: And God make her Grace fruteful, and send hir frute to inherite the kingdom after her. I promised you to salute your frend Robert in your name; accordingly I haue done, desired hym to pray with you for our Quene Mary, that it wold please the Lord to giue hir the crowne, which she oughte to haue of right. And thus, to breuiate my long processe, I end, desirynge the, my constant Gilbard, not to beholde the gorgiousnes of my letters, which be void of al, but to weygh in an equal payre of ballans the good wil of the writer, who beareth thee no worse wil, then to his owne soule, prayinge God to strengthen thee, and giue thee Grace, to abide faythfull towards oure most excellent true and only Quene Mary; so shalt thou be assured to haue God thy faythfull frend againe, and, at the last, thou shalt inherit his kingdom: To the which kingdome, bringe both you and me, and vs all. Amen.

Fayre you well.

FINIS. QUOD POORE PRATTE.

Imprynted at London, in Temstrete, ouer agaynst the Stiliardes, at the Signe of the Dobbel Hood, by Hewghe Singelton.*

THE

COMMVNICATION

BETWENE

MY LORD CHAUNCELOR AND IUDGE HALES,

BEING

*Among other Iudges to take his Oth in Westminster Hall, Anno 1553,
the 6th of October.*

Printed in Octauo, containing five Pages.

Queen Mary no sooner found herself secure on the throne, but she presently forgot both her promises to maintain the established religion, and the good services done her in that critical juncture by the Protestants, of which this small piece before us is a flagrant proof.

* At the time when Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed Queen of England, who continued in that Royal State only nine days, in the beginning of July, 1553.

Judge Hales was the only one of that bench who refused to sign that instrument, which transferred the crown to Jane Grey, at the risque, not only of his estate, but of his life also. Yet he was immediately called in question, as you read in the following paper; and, as history further acquaints us, first cast into the Marshalsea, thence removed to the Compter, then to the Fleet, for charging the justices of Kent to conform to the laws of king Edward VI. concerning religion, not yet repealed, or properly for being a sincere protestant.

The Judge, tho', as it appears in this Communication between him and the Chancellor, he preferred a good conscience to his office, the queen's favour, his fortune, and even to his life, was so bitterly persecuted, and, when the warden informed him of the cruelties preparing for those who would not change their religion, his brains turned so, that he endeavoured to kill himself with a pen-knife; and, tho', in this condition, he was set at liberty, he never recovered his senses, and at last drowned himself. See Burnet, tom. II. p. 248.

Chancellor.

MASTER HALES, ye shall vnderstand, that like as the Quenes Highnes hath hertofore receiuid good opinion of you, especiallie, for that ye stooode both faithfullie and lafulli in hir cause of iust succession, refusing to set your hande to the booke amonge others that were against hir Grace in that behalfe; so nowe through your owne late desertes, against certain hir Highnes dooinges, ye stande not well in hir Graces fauour. And, therefore, before ye take anie othe, it shall be necessarie for you to make your purgation.

Hales. I praie you, my Lorde, what is the cause?

Chancellor. Information is geuen, that ye haue indicted certain priestes in Kent, for saïing of masse.

Hales. Mi Lorde, it is not so; I indicted none, but indeede certaine indictamentes of like matter wer brought before me at the laste assises there holden, and I gaue order therin as the lawe required. For I haue professed the lawe, against which, in cases of iustice, wil I neuer (God willinge) procede, nor in ani wise dissemble, but with the same shewe forth mi conscience, and, if it were to do againe, I wolde doe no lesse then I did.

Chancellor. Yea, Master Hales, your conscience is knowne wel inough, I knowe ye lacke no conscience.

Hales. Mi Lord, ye mai do wel to serch your owne conscience, for mine is better knowne to mie selfe, then to you; and to be plaine, I did as well vse iustice in your saide masse case bi my conscience, as bi the lawe, wherin I am fulli bent to stand in trial to the vttermost that can be obiected. And, if I haue therin done ani injuri or wrong, let me be iudged bi the lawe, for I wil seeke no better defence, considering cheiflie that it is mi profession.

Chancellor. Whi, Master Hales, althoughe ye had the rigour of the lawe on your side, yet ye might haue hadde regard to the Quenes Highnes present doinges in that case. And further, although ye seme to be more then precise in the lawe; yet I thinke ye wolde be veri loth

to yelde to the extremitie of suche aduantage, as mighte be gathered againste your procedinges in the lawe, as ye haue some time taken vppon you in place of iustice. And, if it were well tried, I beleue ye shuld not be wel able to stand honestli thereto.

Hales. Mi Lord, I am not so perfect, but I may err for lacke of knowledge; but both in conscience, and such knowledge of the lawe, as God hath geuen me, I wil do nothing but I wil maintaine and abide in it. And if my goodes, and all that I haue, be not able to counterpoise the case, mi bodie shal be redi to serue the turne, for thei be all at the Quenes Highnesse pleasure.

Chauncelor. Ah, Sir, ye be veri quicke and stoute in your answers; but as it shoulde seme that which ye did was more of a wil, fauouring the opinion of your religion against the seruice now vsed, then for any occasion or zeale of iustice, seinge the Quenes Highnes dooth set it furthe, as yet wishinge all hir faithful subjectes to imbrace it accordingly; and, where ye offer both bodie and goodes in your triall, there is no suche matter required at youre handes, and yet ye shall not haue your owne wil neither.

Hales. Mi Lord, I seke not wilful wil, but to shew myself, as I am bound in loue to God, and obedience to the Quenes Maiestic, in whose cause willingly for iustice sake (al other respectes set apart) I did of late, as your Lordship knoweth, aduenture as much as I had. And as for my religion, I trust it to be suche as pleaseth God; wherein I am ready to aduenture as well mi life, as mi substance, if I be called therunto. And so, in lacke of mine owne power and wil, the Lordes wil be fulfilled.

Chauncelor. Seing ye be at this point, Master Hales, I wil presently make an end with you. The Quenes Highnes shall be enfourmed of youre opinion and declaration. And, as hir Grace shal therupon determine, ye shal haue knowledge, vnto which tyme ye may depart, as ye came, without your oth, for, as it appeareth, ye are scarce worthi the place appointed.

Hales. I thanke your Lordship, and as for my vocation, being both a burthen and a charge, more then euer I desired to take vpon me, whensoever it shall please the Quenes Hyghnes to ease me therof, I shall moost humbli with due contentation obeie the same.

And so departed from the barre.*

*See the Introduction.

THE
VOCACYON OF IOHAN BALE

TO
THE BISHOPRICK OF OSSORIE IN IRELANDE,
PERSECUCIONS IN THE SAME,
AND FINALL DELYUERAUNCE.

*God hath deliuered me from the Snare of the Hunter, and from the
noysome Pestilence. Psal. xcj.*

If I must nedes reioyce, I will reioyce of myne Infirmytees. ij Cor. xj.

Imprinted in Rome, before the Castell of S. Angell, at the Signe of S. Peter, in December, Anno D. 1553. In Twelues, black Letter, containing ninety-eight Pages.

THE PREFACE.

Johan Bale to the Followers of Christes Gospell.

FOR thre consyderacyons chefely (dere bretherne) have I put of urth this Treatyse of my vocacyon te the churche of Ossorye in Irelande, of my harde chaunces therein, and of my fynall deliueraunce by the great goodnesse of God. The first of them is, for that men shulde wele knowe, that the office of a Christen Byshop is not to loyter in blasphemouse papistrie, but purely to preache the Gospell of God, to his christened flocke. The seconde is, that they shulde also vnderstande, that contynuall persecucyons, and no bodyly welthe, doeth solowe the same most godly office, in them which truly executeth it. The third is, that they myght beholde how gracyously our most merciful God wyth hys power wayteth upon them, and fynally delyuereth them in most depe daungers.

These 3. thynges notable, concerninge the electe membres of Gods congregacyon in this life, comprehendeth muche matter in the scriptures of both testaments, with abundaunce of examples from Abel the First to Johan the Euangylist, which was the last lyver in the same.

The examples also therof are both lyuely and innumerable, in the first propagacion and longe contynuaunce of the Christen Churche from hys tyme to this our tyme, as the chronycles and hystoryes most abundantly specifieth.

First, as concernynge the examples of holye scripture. Iesus, the eternall Sonne of the euerlastynge Father, in the godhede preached to Adam in Paradyse Terrestre, and constytute hym so wele an instructour as a father ouer hys posteryte. He proued him also after he had sinned, by dyuerse afflictyons, and fynally promysed, both to hym and to hys, deliuerance in the sede of the woman, which at the lattre in hys owne persone he louingly perfourmed. Christe the seyde Sonne of God continually still taught, by the mouthes of the fathers and prophetes, tyll suche tyme as he hymselfe came in the fleshe.

Than was he aboue all others, of hys heauenly father appoynted a uniuersall doctor ouer all the worlde, and commaunded to be hearde, Math. iij. He followed hys vocacyon in most ample wyse, very cruelly was he of the clergie than persecuted, and gloriously deliuered in hys resurrectyon from deathe. The members of hys true church; the prophetes and apostles, were in case like as he their head was, first called, than afflicted, and graciously alwayes in the ende deliuered. He that shall marke the laboriouse proceedinges of Abraham, Ioseph, and Moyses, of Dauid, Helyas, and Daniel, with the other olde fathers and prophetes, shall fynde it no lesse. He lykewyse that shall dyscretely searche the doynges of Peter, Iames, and Iohan, with the other of the apostles and dysciples, shall wele perceyue the same.

Hieremye for the olde lawe, Paule for the newe lawe, and Iohan Baptist betwixt them both, were called from their mothers wombe to that heauenly offyce of preachynge. Hier. j. Luce. j. Gala. j. yea, they suffered extreme persecucyons vndre tyrauntes, and fynally were deliuered, in this lyfe from parelouse daungers, and in deathe from synne, helle, and dampnacyon. To rehearse the examples of the primatyue church, and of the ages followynge, concernynge these matters, it wolde requyre much tyme, they are so manye, and therfor at thys present I omit them. Thus am I not alone in these 3. matters of vocation, persecucion, and deliuerance, but haue on my syde an infynite nombre of examples. Which maketh me the more a great dele to reioyce, like as I wishe them to do, which haue in these troublouse dayes the lyke. Neyther am I ashamed to tell my bretherne, what God hath most graciously done for me, no mor than S. Paule was for hymselfe in hys owne Epistles, and Luke in the Actes for St. Peter, though I be farre vnlyke them. For I fare lyke the byrde which is deliuered from the snare of the catcher. He flyeth to a bough, and reioyceth in his deliuerance, and euen so do I. In the which reioyce, I make not only my selfe merye, but also all my louinge frinds. And as for my cruel enemyes the papistes, if I make them sorye in the rehearsal of my deliuerance, I am not yll apayde therof. For it is better (they saye in Northfolke) that younge lyddernes wepe, than olde men. I call them yonge and not olde, for God is oldar than Sathan, if age may be attributed to his eternyte, as Daniel sayeth it maye, and Christe oldar than the Deuyls vycar at Rome, their vngracyouse father.

As we are in most thinges contrarie to these papistes, so haue we reioyces contrary to theirs. They reioyce in helthe, prosperite, riches and worldly pleasures for their bellies sake. We in our infir-

mytces, afflictions, losses, and sorowfull crostes, for Christes verities sake. And thus maye we vele do, and boast of it also without offence, for so ded the forenamed S. Paule. 2. Cor. 11. and earnestly willed vs to be his folowers. Phil. 3. First he boasted of his vocacyon, and sayde, God sorted me out and appointed me from my mothers wombe, and also he called me by his grace, to preach his liuely gospell amonge the heathen. Gal. 1. What if I shoulde in like case boaste, that he by his grace had also called me in this age, to preache the same gospell to the Irishe heathens, which neuer hearde of it afore, to knowledge? I shulde not do otherwise than the truthe is. For I was put to it agaynste my wille, by a most Christen kynge, and of his owne mere mocion only, without sute of fryndes, medc, labour, expensis, or any other sinistre meane els. By his regall power and authoritie, which both were of God, Ro. 13. was I both allowed and confirmed, and not all vnioyfully receiued of the people, which causeth me in conscience to iudge my vocacyon iust. Yet was not my reioyce so muche in the dignite therof, as in doinge, for the time, the office therunto belonginge. But now is it most of all in the leauinge of that bishopricke, the gospell being so vnthankfully of the prestes receiued, I so terribly of them persecuted, and my seruantes so cruelly slayne.

Moreouer Saint Paule boasted muche of his persecutions, and described them at large, concluding thus in the ende, Very gladly (saith he) will I reioyce of my weaknes, that the strength of Christe maye dwell in me. Therefor haue I dilectacion in infirmities, in rebukes, in nedes, in persecucion, and anguysches, for Christes sake. 2. Cor. 12. If I haue lykewyse felte a great manye of the same afflictions, as I haue done in dede, maye not I also with him reioyce in them? Maye I not be glad, that I am, in sorowes for the gospell, lyke fashioned to him, and not pranked up in pompe and pleasures, lyke the wanton babes of this worlde? As at this daye is lecherouse Weston, which is more practised in the arte of breche burninge, than all the whores of the stues, to the great infamy of his virginall ordre. The truthe of it is, that, sens I toke that wayghtie office in hande, I haue bene syke to the very deathe, I haue been greued with the vntowardnesse of ministers. I haue been in iournayes and labours, in iniuries and losses, in peines and in penuries. I haue bene in strifes and contentions, in rebukynges and slaunderynges, and in great daunger of poysenings and killinges. I haue bene in parell of the heathen, in parell of wicked prestes, in parell of false iustices, in parell of trayterouse tenautes, in parell of cursed tyrautes, in parell of cruell kearnes and galloglasses.

I haue been in parell of the sea, in parell of shypwrack, in parell of throwyng ouer the boorde, in parell of false bretherne, in parell of curiouse searchers, in parell of pirates, robbers, and murderers, and a great sort more.

Sanct Paule also reioycd, that God had so miraculously deliuered him from so manye daungerouse icopardyes, and spareth not so to report them. 2 Cor. 11. and 12. Whie shulde I than shrinke or be ashamed to do the lyke, hauinge at Gods hande the lyke miraculouse

deliuerance? Are they not left to vs for example, that we shulde do the lyke whan we fele the lyke? Whatsoeuer thinges are written aforetyme (sayth he) they are written for our learninge, that we through pacyence and confort of the scriptures might haue hope, Rom. xv. He, in the cytie of Damascon, beinge layde waite for, by the liefe tenaunt of Kinge Aretha, was lete downe at a windowe in a basket, and so escaped his bandes. Acts ix. I, in the cytie of Dublin, being assaulted of Papistes, was conuayed awaye in the nyght in mariners apparell, and so escaped that daunger by Gods helpe. Whan Pauls death was sought by certayne Iews at Ierusalem, the vpper capitaine there commaunded ij. vnder captaines, in the nyght to convey him to Csesarea with 200. souldyers, 70. horsemen, and 200. spearemen, and so to delyuer him. Actes 23. In lycke case, whan the prestes with Barnabe Bolgar and other had sought my death at Holmes Court, and had slayne v. of my howsholde seruantes by their hyred kearnes, the good suffren of Kylkennie with an hundred horsemen, and 300. fotemen, brought me thyder in the night, and so deliuered me that tyme.

As Paule, against his wylle, was put into a shippe of Adramitium, coupled with other prisoners of Iewrie, conuaid fourth into Italie, and there safely deliuered. Act. 27. and 28. So was I and my companion Thomas against our willes taken into a shippe of Zelande, coupled with Frenche prisoners, conuayed fourth into Flanders, and so, at the lattre, safely there deliuered. As their shippe was caught betwixt Candia and Melita, and coulede not resyste the wyndes, so was ours betwixt Mylforde Hauen and Waterforde. As they had an excedynge tempeste vpon the sea, so had we lykewyse. As they were withoute hope of sauegarde, so were we also.

As they feared syrtes or daungerouse sandy places and rocks, so ded we. As they were almost famyshed and drowned, so were we. As God comforted them, so did he vs. As they were in conclusion cast into an ylande, so were we into S. Iucs in Cornewale. As the people shewed them kyndness at Melita, so ded they vs at the seyd S. Iues. As Paule gaue thanks and brake breade amongst them, so ded we also. As the Captayne Iulius courteously intreated hym and gaue hym lyberte to go vnto hys fryndes at Sydon, and to refreshe hym, so ded our Captayne Cornelis vse vs very gentilly with all fauour and lyberte, what though he had so currishely and cruelly intreated vs afore. As Paule was stonge of a bytyng vyper and not hurte, so was I of that viperous Walter, being most vniustly accused of treason afore the iustices ther, and yet through Gods deliuerance not hurte. As he appealed to Cesar, so ded I to the throne of God.

As great dyspycyons were among the Iewes at Rome concerning Paule, so were there afterwarde amonge the shypers in our returne to their shippe concerning vs. As the souldyers gave counsell to kylle the prisoners, so were there some of our men that gaue counsell to haue drowned vs for our moneye, and of some to haue delyvered vs vp to the counsayll of Englande, in hope of great rewardes. As Publius gentilly receiued Paule, and by hym was healed of all hys dysseases, so ded myne host Lambert receyue me also gentilly, and by me was delyuered from hys vayne beleue of purgatorye, and of other Popysh peltries. As the

people reported Paule to be a murtherer, and after changed their myndes, and sayde he was a God, so our wycked maryners reported me to be a most haynous traytour, and yet afterwarde in my deliuerance called me the seruaunt of God. As he was for the hope of Israel ledde into captiuite, and at the last deliuered, so was I also for the same captiued, and in fyne deliuered into Germanie. As the bretherne met Paule with reioyce at Appij Forum, so ded they me in diuerse partes of Duchelande, and lawded God for my so miraculouse deliuerance. As he sayde that he had committed nothyng against the lawe of his fathers, so saye I also that I haue in this acte committed nothyng against the apostles and prophetes doctryne, I thanke my Lord God therof. Thus had I in my troublous iournaye from Irelande into Germanye all those chaunces in a manner that S. Paul had in his iournaie of no lesse trouble, from Ierusalem to Rome, sauing that we lost not our shippe by the waye.

If Helias, that wetherdryuen runnegate, remayne now in a foren lande in penurie with the Sareptysh wydowe, whyls Baals chattering chaplaynes and sorcerouse sacrificers do dwell styl at home flourishing in prosperouse welth, lecherouse ydelnesse, and lordely dignite, maruele not of it, for so hath he done afore. I speake not thys for myne owne part only, nether vtterly exclude I my selfe, but I vtte it also for my exyled bretherne, of whom a great nombre is at thys tyme in Germanie, Denmarcke, and Geneua. The true churche of God had neuer sumptuose hospitalles any longe tyme together but very simple cottages and caues, if ye marke the sacred hystories and ancyent cronicles. The plasaunt possessions, and gorgious dwelling places, haue euermor remained to the glorious epicures, the very enemyes alwayes of Christes gospell. We are not now to lerne how to take these our present afflictions in good part, for we knowe them afore hande, and haue had them long tyme, as it were in an exercise. Nether are we all barayne of friendly receptacles, for the heauenly doctrynes sake, though our aduersaries in Englande with violence throwe stoncs at vs, and seke vtterly to destroye vs. They are truly much deceiued which thinketh the Christen churche to be a politicall common welthe, as of Rome and Constantinople, mayntayned by humayne polycyes, and not by the only wurde of God. Suche are they which now haue the doynges in these present controuersyes, and dispute the most manifeste verite. God amende it.

I write not this rude treatise, that I wolde receyue praise therof, but that I wolde God to haue all the prayse, which hath bene a moste wonderfull wurker therin. For I am but a clodde of corruption, felinge in my self, as of my self, nothing els but sinne and wickednesse. I haue done it also, to declare my most earnest reioice in the same God, which by grace hath called me, by persecucion hath tried me, and of fauour, beniuolence, and mercye, hath most wonderfully deliuered me. Lete hym that reioyceth (saith S. Paule) reioyce in the Lorde. For he that prayseth himselfe, is not allowed, but he whome the Lorde prayseth, 2 Corint. 10. Moreouer I haue done it, for that my persecuted bretherne might in lyke maner haue their reioyce in that heauenly Lorde, whiche mightely hath wrought in them their saluation, by his graci-

ouse callinge of them from wicked Papisme to true Christianyte, and now tryeth their paciencies by contynuall afflictions, and finally will delyuer them, either from tyrannouse molestacions, as he hath done me, eyther els into martirdome for his truthes sake. For God will be knowne by none other doctryne, than he hath sent hyther by hys Sonne, whom he so earnestly commaunded to be heard. He will also be worshipped by those rules only, which he hath to hys church proponed by hys prophetes and apostles. I besiche that cuerlastyng God for hys dere Sonnes sake, in the Holy Ghost, to rule vs, and alwayes to augment and preserue hys true church confessing his only name. Amen.

I called vpon the Lorde in my trouble, and the Lorde hearde me at large. The Lorde is my helper, I will not feare what man doeth vnto me. Psalm 118.

Veritas Domini manet in æternum. Psalm 116.

Novit Dominus viam iustorum, & iter impiorum peribit. Psalm 1.

O Lorde thou God of truthe, I haue hated them that hold of superstitiousse vanitees, and my trust hath bene in the.

I will be glad and reioyce in thy mercye, for thou hast considered my trouble, and hast knowne my sowle in aduersitees.

Thou hast not shut me vp into the hande of the enemye, but hast set my feet in a large rowme. Psalm xxxi.

Stande by (O Lorde God of Hostes) thou God of Israel, to vyset the all heathen, and be not mercyfull to them that offende of malicyouse wickednesse. Psalm lix.

God is my helper.

IN the Olde and Newe Testament it is not expressed, that any iust or faythfull man euer yet toke vpon hym the adminystracyon of the heauenly doctryne, in teachynge the true worshippynge of God, and in persuadyng men to repentaunce, or amendement of their former lyfe, without the vocacyon and speciall election of God. No truly; Balaam, the notable sothsayer, coulde neyther curse, nor yet blesse, without Gods permission, as he apertly confessed, Num. 22. And to beginne with the formest examples: Adam, our first progenitour, whiche had receyued most helthsome instructions of Gods all Sonne in Paradyse, and the fathers, him succeeding in the righteous lyne befor the generall floude, neuer had taken that high office vpon them, had not he therunto both called them, and allowed them. Noe, Gods true seruaunt, at his most graciouse appointment also, by the space of an C. yeares and xx. earnestly preached to the people of that age, exhorting them to cease from the abhominacions than vsed, as thei wold auoide the vniuersall destruction whiche folowed. After the seyd floude, by vertue of the selfe samg precepte and autoryte of God, Noe taught the people, than growne to an increase againe by longe continuauce; so ded Melchisedech in Salem, Iob in Arabia, Abraham in Chaldie, Iacob in Mesopotamy, and Ioseph in Ægypte; Helias, with the other prophetes, in Israel; Ionas in Ninylue, Daniel in Babylon, Zorobabel in Persie, and Iohan Baptist in Iewrye: Marke the open places of the scripture concernyng vocacyon and election.

And, as towchyng Christe in our manhode, he was called of God his eternall Father, as was Aaron, to be our euerlasting preste, accordinge to the ordre of Melchisedech, Hebre. 7. He was also, by his owne godlie mouth, to the worlde declared that wele beloued Sonne of his, in whom he was most highly both pleased and pacified. Finally, he was, by hys most heauenly ordinaunce, constituted oure vniuersall doctour, and of him commaunded, as a most perfight maistre, of all men to be most diligently hearde and obeyed. From the shippe, from the customehowse, and from other homely ministerys called he not the stought, sturdiye, and heady sort of men, but the lowly harted, simple, and beggarly ydiotes; them he elected most graciously, and they not him, to be the ministers of his holy Gospell, Iohan 15. Them chose he out from the world, 'to gyue knowlege of saluacion to hys people, for the remission of their synnes,' Mat. 10. Luce 2. These, sayth S. Paule, 'whom the Lorde appointed before, those hath he also called; and those whom he hath called, those hath he lykewise iustified' or made mete for that heauenly offyce, Rom. 8. For, 'How shuld they haue preached, sayth he, vnlesse they had ben sent,' Rom. 10. Peter was to him an elect apostle, affirminge hys doctrine to be the wurdes of eternall lyfe, Iohan 6. Iohan was his derely beloued discipule, and became a most mightie thunderer out of the same, Act. 4. Paul was a peculiar chosen vessel vnto him, to manifest hys name before the gentyles, kynges, and chyl dren of Israel, Act. 9.

The idolatour, the tyraunt, and the whoremongar are no mete mynisters for hym, though they be neuer so gorgeously mytered, copped, and typteted, or neuer so synfully forced, pyloned, and scarletted. 'The deceytfull prophetes, sayth the Lorde, made spedy haste, but I appoynted them not; they ranne a great pace, but I sent them not; they prophcyed fast, but not out of my Spret,' Hier. 23. 'To the wicked doar the Lorde hath spoken it, sayth Dauid, Whie doest thou so vniustly presume to talke of my righteousnesses? And, with thy polluted mouth, of my eternall testament whie makest thou relacion?' Psalm 50. After the apostles, immediatly succeeded in the primative church Tymotheus, Ignatius, Policarpus, Irenæus, Paphnutius, Athanasius, Lactantius, and other true ministers of the gospell: These loytered not in the vineyard of the Lorde, as our yddel whomongers doe, but faithfully they laboured in seking Gods glorie and the sowles helthe of the people; but, whan great Constantine the Emperour had gyuen peace to the Christen church, that all persecution ceased, than came in ceremonie vpon ceremonie, and none ende was of them; euery yeare entered one poysen or other, as mannes fyckle nature, in this frayle lyfe, is neuer without vice.

So that S. Augustine, in his tyme, very much lamented, that so many supersticions were than crepte in, confessinge the seruitude of the Christen church to be more greuouse in those daies, than it was to the people vndre Moyses. And so much the more he lamented the case, that, beinge but one man, he coule not reforme it; neither was he able in euerye pointe to resist that euill, beinge with heretykes so sore tossed on euery syde. But what wolde he haue sayde, if he had seene the abhominable ydolatries of our time, without nombre? Specially the

worshippinge of breade and of wyne, which are only the seruantes of our bellies, and corrupt in the same, yea, whan they are at the best and holiest; for, whan they haue done their office, beinge sacramentes of Christes bodie and bloude, that is to saye, preached the Lordes deathe till he come, and declared vs, of manie members, to be one mysticall bodie in Christe, they ascende not into heauen, but, beinge eaten and digested, they are immediatly resolued into corruption; yea, Christ sayth, that they 'descende downe into the bellie, and are cast out into the draught,' Math. 15. which declareth them vnmete to be worshipped.

This write I, not in vnreuerencinge the sacrament, but in detestacion of the abhominable ydolatries therin most bestially committed.

And, breuely to saye sunwhat of the Christen churche of our realme, in those dayes called Britaine, and now named Englande; what originall it had, and from whens; what continuauance, what darkenings, what decayes, what falle, and what rayse againe.

To fatche this thinge from the first foundation, for that lande lyke as for other landes. By the eternall Sonne of God in Paradyse receuyed Adam the first promise of saluacion, in the womans sede: This acknowledged Abel, in his first offeringe yf of the firstlinges of his flocke, and fatt of the same, beinge so instructed by that religiouse father of his, Gene. 4. 'By faith' in his plentiuouse sacrifice, sayth S. Paule, 'obtained Abel wytnesse, that he was righteouse,' Heb. 11. This, with the right inuocation of the name of God, taught by Seth and Enos, was continued by the chosen of that line, to remayne styll in remembraunce to their posteritees, and was renued after the floude by righteouse Noe, Gene. 8. To S. Paule also in reuelacion was this misterie shewed, 'That the Gentiles likewise were partakers of the promyse,' Ephe. 3. Wherunto S. Iohan sayth, that the lambe was slayne from the worldes beginninge, Apo. 13. that is to saye, in promyse, in faith, and in misterie of their sacrifices. Applied is it also to those Gentiles, in the seyed Reuelacion of S. Iohan (who now, amonge other, includeth our lande) that they, from that tyme, haue cryed with a lowde voyce, seinge, 'Helthe be to him that sitteth vpon the seate of our God, and vnto the Lambe,' Apo. 7. and therupon *Gildas, in Excidio Britannie*, concludeth, that the inhabitants of our realme haue alwayes had knowledge of God, almost sens the worldes beginninge.

This rule of sacrifice and inuocation helde Japheth after the floude also, the father of Europa, containinge our lande amonge others, accordinge to the prayer of his righteouse Father Noe, that he might dwell in the tentes of Sem. Gen. 9. or in faith of the promised sede, which is Christe, Gala. 3. So perfyght was Melchisedech, or the fore-named Sem, a father than of the Gentiles, for that his kindrede, sayth Paule, is not reckened amonge the tribes, that he toke tithes of Abraham, and blessed him that had the promyses, Hebre. 7, and Gene. 14. For so muche as God, sayth Luther vpon Genesis, established the kingedomes of the ilandes, whan they were diuided, by the chosen fathers, it semeth wele that they helde his true worshippings, receiued a fore of them. To these holy fathers in the Gentilitie for that realme, by course succeeded, as Berosus, Plinius, Strabo, Caesar, and other authors writeth, the Samothees, Sarronites, Druydes, Bardes,

Sybylles, Eubages, or Vates, Flamines, and suche other, till the comynge of Iesus, Gods sonne in the fleshe. Which all acknowledged but one God, what though it were by the diversite of rytes and doctrines. This haue I written here, to declare what church was in our lande afore Christes cominge. I speake nothyng of them which followed straunge worshippynge, or manifeste ydolatries of the heathen, as the Papistes do in thys age. If it be reasoned, how they coulede heare? S. Paule answereth it out of Dauid, that the heauens preached to them, all the worlde hearyng it, if none had done it els, Rom. 10, and Psal. 19, besyde the lawe of nature, which was also their leader.

In the 63. yere after Christes incarnation, to resort to my purpose, was Ioseph, an Hebrue, and disparsed disciple, thydre sent with hys companyons, by Philipp the apostle, than preachynge in Fraunce, as Freculphus, in the seconde part of hys chronycle, and Isidorus also, *de vita & obitu sanctorum patrum*, rehearseth. He published there amonge them that gospell of saluacion which Christe first of all, and afterwarde hys apostles, had taught at Ierusalem; vntruly, therefore, are we reported of the Italyane writers, and of the subtylle deuysers of sanctes legendes, that we shulde haue our first faythe from Rome, and our Christen doctryne from their unchristen byshoppes. From the schole of Christe hymselfe, haue we receyved the documentes of our faythe. From Ierusalem, and not from Rome, whom both Peter, and also Christe, hath called Babylon, for that she so aptely therunto agreeth in ministryng confusion to the world. And this wele accordeth with the wurdes of the prophete, that the lawe of the gospell shulde come from Sion, and the wurde of God from Hierusalem, Esa. 2. S. Paule also, which had been christenly familiar at Rome, with Claudia Rufina, a Britayne borne, and with Aulus Pudens, her husbande, of whome he maketh mencion, 2 Timoth. 4. shulde seeme, in his owne persone, to haue preached in that nation of ours, by this sainge of his in the same epistle and chaptre: 'The Lorde assisted me, and strengthened me, at my first answeringe, that by me the preachinge shulde be fulfilled to the uttermost, and that all the Gentiles shulde heare.' That clause, all the Gentiles, includeth somewhat concerninge the Britaines, if they were than Gentiles, and in the west part of the worlde, as we can saye none other of them.

Bartholomeus Tridenſinus, and Petrus Calo, reporteth, in their bookes of the Liues of Sanctes, that Timothe, S. Pauls disciple, by his preachinge in Britaine, converted Kinge Lucius, and him baptised, in confirmation of that is said afore. Nurrished, brought vp, and continued, was this British church in the doctrine of faithe, without meunes tradicions, by the wurthie doctours of that age, Eluanus, Meduinus, Melanius, Amphibalus, and suche other like, till the time of Diocleciane, the tirannouse Emperour; which, by his wicked ministers, made hauock of the Christen flocke there, as testiſieth Gildas. Though the Kings of Britaine in that age, Aruiragus, Marius, Coillus, Lucius, and Seuerus, with others, were not all christened, yet were they no cruell persecuters of Christes congregacion, that we reade of.

In the generall quyetnesse provided to the chnrche by the fore-

named Constantine, Arrius, Pelagius, Leporius, and one Tymothe, partly by subtile allegories, and partly by open heresies greauly obscured the glory therof.

Anon after there folowed a certen kind of monkery, with an heap of ceremonies, but yet without blasphemouse supersticions, till Antichrist had fashioned them to his execrable vse.

In that age were Fastidius, Nimianus, Patritius, Bacharius, Dubricius, Congellus, Kentigernus, Ilutatus, David, Daniel, Sampson, Eluodugus, Asaphus, Gildas, Beulanus, Elbodus, Dionotus, Samuel, Nennius, and a great sort more, by Christen doctrine, the vpholders of the Brittish church, the eyuyle gouernours for the time, beinge dissolute and carelesse, as the forseyd Gildas, very sharply, doth laie it to their charge.

Consequently, whan the barbarouse nacions had subdued the Christen regions of Europa, specially here in this realme, the heathenish Saxons, the Christen Brittaines, for not obeyenge and folowing Gods wurde that time faithfully preached: Than entered in an other swarme of monkes, much worse than the other. For they had their beginninge of those solitary bretherne, which had fled to the wildernesse in the tyme of persecucion. These, lyke laysse locustes, sprange fourth of the pytt bottomlesse. They serued God in lyberte, and were fedde of their owne true labours. These serued Antichrist in bondage, and deuoured vp the labours of other. They were sumwhat ceremonious, but these altogyther superstitious. Of this lattre swarme, after the first entraunce of Augustine the Romish monke, was Egbert, Egwine, Boniface, Wilfride, Dunstane, Oswolde, Lanfranke, Anselme, and suche other, without nombre, by whom the sincere faithe of the English church decayed. These were bytter stingars in Antichristes cause, yea, terrible accusers, and suppressers of Kinges, and of other Christen magistrates. These caused the sunne, which is the clere verite of the Lord, to apere as sackecloth made of heare, Apo. 6. placinge, in the rowme therof, their own fantastical doctrines, vaine tradicions, and superstitious ordinaunces. So that they made Gods heauenly wurde to seme to the people darke, rough, harde, and vnpleasaunt, for their ydle bellies sake.

Yet denye I it not, but some godly men were amonge them in those dayes; as Bede, Iohan of Bouerle, Alcuinus, Neotus, Hucarius, Serlo, Achardus, Ealredus, Alexander Neckam, Nigellus, Seualles, and suche other.

Which though they than erred in many things, yet was not their error of obstinacie and malice. Than folowed the schole doctours with the iij. ordres of friers, very wicked kindes of men; and they, with their sophisticall sorceryes, poysoned vp altogyther, clerely ouerthrowinge the Christen church, and settinge vp in her place the most filthye sinagoge of Sathan.

In that malignaunt assemblye were false wurshippinges commaunded for Gods holy seruice, and monstruouse buggery, for a professed virginite, in our consecrate clergy admitted.

Thus were the people nusled vp from their yowth, in callinge vpon dead men, and ymages, the preastes and religious, in the meane time,

occupied in all beastly wurkes of the flesh. I haue the registre of the visitacions of the cloysters of Englande, and therfor I know it to their confusion. The monkes, afore their time, ded no more but mixe the Christen religion with the Paganes supersticions, but these fowle lechourouse locustes haue banished the Christen religion altogethyer. They haue taken vpon them a power by vertu of transubstanciacion, farre aboute Gods power, as of corruptible creatures to make Goddes to be worshipped, bearing them a broad with Persical pompes, as it were, in their gaddinge and gagginge processions, fit for wanton gossippes, to shewe their selues in their holy daye apparelinges.

Yet were there alwayes some in that miste of palpable darknesse, that smelled out their mischefes, and in part maintained the syncere doctrine; as Mathew Parys, Oclyf, Wickleff, Thorpe, White, Purueys, Pateshulle, Paine, Gower, Chaucer, Gascoigne, Iue, and now in our time, William Tindale, Iohan Frith, Bilneye, Barnes, Lambert, and a great sort more. Now, truly in this lattre age and ende of the worlde, God, shewing great mercy to his elected heritage, hath gathered them togyther from the paret of perdition, by the voyce of his holy gospell: Yea, like as by Hieremie the prophete, before that exile, into Babylon, by Iohan Baptist, Christe, and his apostles before the destruction of Hierusalem, and by the apostles followers, before the diuision and first ruyne, and the Romish empire he called his disparsed remnaunt; so doth he now agayne, before hys generall comminge to iudgement, call togyther hys church of true beleuers, by the godly preachers of this age. That wonderfull wurke of God, that noble prince, Kyng Henrye the 8, within this realme by hys royall power assysted, after that he had gyuen an overthrowe to the great Goliath of Rome, oure most godly Souerayne Kyng Edward the 6. for hys tyme perfourmyng the same.

The fyrst, with noble Kyng Dauid, prepared this buyldynge of the Lorde; but this other, with the wyse Kyng Salomon, to hys power made all thinges very perfyght. And though now, after hys death, a Hieroboam, paraenture, is risen, which will sett up the golden calves in Samaria, or mayntayne the Popysh religion agayne, in ymagis, autlers, ydle ceremonies, and blasphemouse supersticions. Yet doubt I it not, but a faythfull Asa shall folowe, either els a Iosaphat, an Ezechias, or a myghty Iosias, which will dissolue those ydolatrycs agayne. And, as concerning the fornamed Kyng Edward, I will recite here what hys worthinesse ded for me his most vnworthie subject, that I shuld, among others, be a collectour, or a caller togyther of the Christen flocke in this age.

Vpon the 15. daye of August, in the yere from Christes incarnacion 1552, being the first daye of my deliuerance, as God wolde, mortall ague, which had holde me longe afore: In reioyce maiestie was come in progresse to Southampton, whiche waye from my personage of Byshoppes Stoke, within the same toke my horse about 10 of the clocke, for very weakness sytt hym, and so came thydre. Betwixt 2. and 3. of the same day, I drew towardes the place where as his maiestie stode in the open strete ryght against the gallerye.

Johan Fylpôt, a gentylman, and one of hys preuie chambre, called vnto him 2. more of hys companyons, which, in mouing their neede towardes me, shewed me most friendly countenaunces. By one of these 3. the Kynge hauynge information that I was there in the street he marueled therof, for so much as it had bene tolde hym a yere agoe, that I was bothe dead and buried. With that hys grace came to the wyndowe, and earnestly behelde me a poore weake creature, as though he had had vpon me, so symple a subiect, an earnest regard, or rather a very fatherly care.

In the very same instaunt, as I haue bene sens that I was informed, hys grace called vnto him the lordes of his most honourable counsel, so manye as were then present, willinge them to come to the bishoprick of Ossoric, in Irelande. Wherunto they all consentinge, commaunded the letters of my first callinge written, and by to be writtyn and sent me. The next daye, which was the xvj. day of August, the lettre beinge written by a clarke of the counsell, they very favourably subscribed it in maner as hereafter foloweth:

THE COPPIE OF THE SEYD LETTRE

To our very louinge Friends, Doctor

AFTER our hartye commendacions. For as much as our true maiestie is minded, in consideration of your manye other as true and other vertuouse qualities, to bestowe vpon you the bishopricke of Ossoric, in Irelande, presently voyde, we have thought there, than to giue yow knowledge therof, and therewithal to charge you with the charge of his maiestie wolde ye made your repayre to the churche of as conueniently ye maye, to thende, that you shoulde there, but accordinge to this charge, his highnesse maye, at your owne lord chauncellour right for the farther proceeding with yow hereafter to be done after the boke. thus we bid yow hartely farewell. From London the xvj. daye of August, 1552.

Your louing Friends

W. Winchester

I. Bedford,

H. Suffolk,

W. Northampton

And to conclude, thus was I called to a waye to be brought to Kylkennie, office, without my expectation, the xvj. daye and holy daye in Lent, tyll the haue ye my vocacyon to the bishopricke of Ossoric, neuer felinge any maner of grefe pass ouer my mind, as I was in the pulpet; whereat many men, Majesties rest, my lawfull, my lawfull Bishopes, Nether had I, for all that for any temporall profit, which was vnderaunce. From that daye

the Court at London within vj. wekes after, accordinge to the tenure of the forseyd lettre; and within .vi. dayes had all thinges perfourmed pertaininge to my election and full confirmacion, frely without any maner of charges or expenses, wherof I muche marueled.

On the xix. day of Decembre, I toke my Iourney from Byshopps Stoke with my booke and stuffe towards Bristowe, where as I tarried xxvj. dayes for passage, and diuerse times preached in that worshipfull cytie, at the instaunt desyre of the cytiezens. Vpon the xxj. daye of Ianuary we entred into the shippe, I, my wyfe, and one seruant: and, being but ij. nyghtes and ij. dayes vpon the sea, we arriued most prosperously at Waterforde, in the coldest time of the yere, so mercifull was the Lorde vnto vs.

In beholdinge the face and ordre of that citie, I see many abhominable ydolatries maintained by the epicurysh prestes, for their wicked bellies sake. The communion, or supper of the Lorde, was there altogethyer vsed lyke a popysh masse, with the olde apysh toyes of Antichrist, in bowynges and bekynges, knelinges and knockinges, the Lordes death, after S. Pauls doctryne, neyther preached nor yet spoken of. There wawled they ouer the dead, with prodigyouse howlynges and patterynges, as though their sowles had not bene quyeted in Christe and redemed by hys passion, but that they must come after and help at a pinche with *Requiem Eternam*, to deliuer them out of helle by their sorrowfull sorceries: Whan I had beholden these heathenish behauers, I seyde vnto a senatour of that cytie, that I wele perceyued that Christe had there no bishop, neyther yet the Kynges maiestie of England any faythfull officer of the mayer, in suffering so horryble blasphemies. The next daye after I rode towardses Dublyne, and rested the nyght folowinge in a towne called Knocktouer, in the howse of maister Adam Walshe, my generall commissarye for the whole dyocesse of Ossorie.

At supper, the parish prest, called Syr Philyp, was very seruiceable, and, in familiar talke, described vnto me the howse of the White Fryres, which sumtyme was in that towne; concludinge in the ende, that the last prior therof, called Wyllyam, was his naturall father. I axed him, if that were in mariage? He made me answer, No. For that was, he sayd, against hys profession. Than counselled I hym, that he neuer shulde boast of it more. Whie, sayth he, it is an honour, in this lande, to haue a spirituall man, as a byshop, an abbot, a monke, a fryre, or a prest, to father. With that I greatly marueled, not so much of his vnshamefast talke, as I ded that adultery, forbidden of God, and of all honest men detested, shulde there haue both prayse and preferment, thinking in processe, for my part, to resourme it. I came at the last to Dublyne, wher as I founde my companyon maistre Hugh Goodaker, that archebishop of Armach elected, and my olde fernde, M. Dauid Coper, parson of Calan. Much of the people ded greatly reioice of our cominge thidre, thinkinge, by our preachinges, the popes supersticions wolde diminish, and the true Christen religion increace.

Vpon the Purificacion daye of our ladye, the Lorde Chancellour of Irelande, Sir Thomas Cusake, our speciaall good Lorde and earnest

ayder in all our proceedinges, appoynted vs to be inuested or consecrated, as they call it, by George, the Archebishop of Dublyne, Thomas, the Bishop of Kyldare, and Vrbane, the Bishop of Duno, assistinge him. I will not here describe at large the subtyle conueyaunce of that greate epicure the Archebishop, how he went about to diffarre the daye of our consecracion, that he might by that meanes haue preuented me, in takinge vp the proxyes of my bishoprick to his owne glottonouse vse, and in so depriuinge me of more than halfe my lyuynge for that yeare. As we were comminge fourth, to haue receyued the imposition of handes, accordynge to the ceremonye, Thomas Lockwode (blockheade he myght wel be called) the deane of the Cathedrall Church there, desired the Lord Chauncellour very instauntly, that he wolde in no wise permyt that obseruacion to be done after that boke of consecratinge bishoppes, which was last set fourth in Englande by acte of parlement; alleginge that it wolde be both an occasion of tumulte, and also that it was not as yet consented to by acte of their parlement in Irelande. For whie, he muche feared the newe changed ordre of the communion therein, to hindre his kychia and bellye. The Lorde Chauncellour proponed this matter vnto vs. The archebishop consented thereunto, so ded the other ij. bishoppes. Maistre Goodaker wolde gladly it might haue bene otherwise, but he wolde not at that time contende there with them.

When I see none other waye, I stepped fourth, and sayde, If Englande and Irelande be vndre one kinge, they are both bounde to the obedience of one lawe vndre him. And as for vs, we came hyther as true subiectes of his, sworne to obeye that ordinaunce. It was but a bishopprick, I sayde, that I came thydre to receiue that daye; which I coulde be better contented to treade vndre my fote there, than to breake from that promyse or othe that I had made. I bad them, in the ende, sett all their heartes at rest, for, came I ones to the church of Ossorie, I wolde execute nothinge for my part there, but accordinge to the rules of that lattre boke. With that the lord chauncellour right honourably commaunded the ceremonie to be done after the boke. Than went the asseheaded deane awaie, more than halfe confused; neyther folowed there any tumulte amonge the people, but every man, sauynge the prestes, was wele contented. Than went the Archebishop about that obseruacion, very vnsauerly, and as one not muche exercised in that kinde of doynge, specially in the administracion of the Lordes holy supper. In the ende the Lorde Chauncellour made to vs and to our frendes a most frendly diner, to saue vs from excedynge charges, which otherwise we had bene at that day.

Within ii. dayes after was I sick agayn, so egerly, that no man thought I shulde haue lyued, which malladie helde me till after Eastre. Yet, in the meane tyme, I founde a waye to be brought to Kylkennie, where as I preached euery Sondaye and holy daye in Lent, tyll the Sondaye after Eastre was fully past, neuer felinge any maner of grefe of my syckenesse, for the tyme I was in the pulpet; whereat many men, and my selfe also, greatly maruel'd. Neyther had I, for all that tyme space, any minde to call for any temporall profites, which was afterwarde to my no small hynderaunce. From that daye of our

consecracion, I traded with myselfe, by all possybyltye, to set fourth that doctrine, which God charged his churche with, euer sens the beginninge; and thought therwith in my minde also, that I had rather that Acthna ded swallowe me vp, than to mainteine those wayes in religion, which might corrupte the same. For my daily desire is, in that euerlastinge Schole, to beholde the eternall Sonne of God, both here and after this lyfe: and not only to see the fathers, prophetes, and apostles therein, but also, for loue of that doctrine, to enioye their blessing feliship hereafter. And so muche the rather I traded thus with myselfe, that I see than the Kinges Majestic, the Archebishopp of Canterbury, and the honourable lordes of the counsell, so feruently bent that waye, as to seke the peoples helthe in the same. I thought it, therupon, no lesse than my bounde dewtie, to shewe my selfe faithful, studious, and diligent in that so chargefull a function.

My first proceedinges, in that doynge, were these: I earnestly exhorted the people to repentaunce for sinne, and required them to giue credite to the Gospell of saluacion. To acknowledge and beleue that there was but one God, and him alone, without any other, sincerely to worship. To confesse one Christe for an only sauour and redemer, and to truste in none other mannis praiers, merites, nor yet deserainges, but in his alone, for saluacion. I treated at large both of the heauenly and politicall state of the Christen Church; and helpars I founde none amonge my prebendaries and clergy, but aduersaries a great nombre.

I preached the gospell of the knowledge and right inuocacion of God; I mayntened the politicall ordre by doctrine, and moued the commens alwayes to obeye their magistrates. But, whan I ones sought to destroye the ydolatries, and dissolue the hypocrites yockes, than folowed angers, slaunders, conspiricies, and, in the ende, the slaughter of men. Much a do I had with the prestes; for that I had sayd amonge other, that the whyte goddes of their makinge, such as they offered to the people to be worshipped, were no Gods, but ydoles; and that their prayers for the dead procured no redempcion to the sowles departed, redempcion of sowles beinge only in Christe, of Christ, and by Christe. I added, that their office, by Christes strayght commaundement, was chiefly to preache, and instruct the people in the doctrine and wayes of God, and not to occupie so muche of the tyme in chauntinge, pypynge, and synginge.

Muche were the prestes offended also, for that I had, in my preachinges, willed them to haue wiues of their owne, and to leaue the vnshamefast occupieng of other mennes wiues, doughters, and seruauintes. But heare what answer they made me alwayes; yea, the most viciouse men amonge them: what shulde we marrie, sayd they, for halfe a yeaer, and so loose our liuynges? Thinke ye not that these men were ghostly inspired? eyther yet had knowlege of some secreete mischefe wurkinge in Englande? I, for my part, haue not a litle, sens that time, marueled, whan it hath fallen to my remembraunce. Well, the truthe is, I coulde neuer yet, by any godly or honest perswasion, bringe any of them to mariage, neither yet cause them, whiche were knowne for vnshamefast whorekeepers, to leaue that fylthy

and abhominable occupieng, what though I most earnestly laboured it. But, sens that tyme, I haue considered, by the iugement of the scriptures, that the impenytent ydolatour must therwith be also a fylthie adulterer or most detestable sodomite. It is his iust plage, Rom. 1. we can not stoppe it. Lyke wyse the dissemblinge hypocrite, in contemning Gods truthe, must nedes folowe errours and lyes in the doctrine of deuyls, 1 Timot. 4, to haue in the ende the greater confusion. "Lete him that is wicked," sayth that angell to S. Iohan, "become more wicked, and he that is fylthie, become more fylthye, that hys damnacion maye be the depar, and his sorowes extremer." Apoca. 22.

The Lord, therfor, of his mercie, sende discipline with doctrine, into his church. For doctrine without discipline, and restraint of vices, maketh dissolute hearers. And, on the other syde, discipline without doctrine maketh eyther hypocrites, or els desperate doars. I haue not written this in dispraise of all the Prestes of Kylkennye, or there about; for my hope is, that some of them, by thys tyme, are fallen to repentaunce, though they be not manye. An other thinge was there, that muche had dyspleased the prebendaryes, and other prestes: I had earnestly, euer sens my first comminge, requyred them to obserue and folowe that only boke of comen prayer, whych the Kyng and hys counsell had that yere put fourth by acte of parlement. But that wolde they at no hande obeye, allegynge, for their vayne and ydle excuse, the lewde example of the Archebishop of Dublyne, which was alwayes slacke in thynges perteyninge to Gods glorie; alleginge also the want of bokes, and that their owne iustices and lawers had not yet consented therunto; as though it had bene lawfull for their iustices to haue denyed the same, or, as though they had rather haue hanged vpon them, that vpon the Kinges autoritie, and commaundement of his counsell.

In the weke after Eastre, whan I had ones preached xii sermons amonge them, and established the people, as I thought, in the doctrine of repentaunce, and necessarie beleue of the Gospell, in the true worshyppynge of one God, our eternall Father, and no more; and in that hope of one redemer, Iesus Christe, and no more: I departed from Kylkennie to an other place of myne, v myles of, called Holmes Court, where as I remained tyll the Assension daye. In the meane time came sorowfull newes vnto me, that M. Hugh Goodacker, the Archebishop of Armach, that godly preacher, and virtuouse learned man, was poysoned at Dublyne, by procurement of certen prestes of his diocese, for preachinge Gods verite, and rebukinge their comen vices. And letters by and by were directed vnto me, by my speciall frendes from thens, to be ware of the like in my diocce of Ossorie; which made me parauenture more circumspect than I shulde haue bene. Vpon the Assension daye, I preached again at Kylkennie, likewyse on Trinite Sondaye, and on S. Peters daye at Midsomer than folowinge.

On the xxv daye of Iuly, the prestes were as pleasantly disposed as might be, and went by heapes from tauerne to tauerne, to seke the best *Rob Dawe* and *Aqua Vite*, which are their speciall drinckes there. Thei caused all their cuppes to be filled in, with *Gaudeamus in*

dolio, the misterie therof only knowne to them, and, at that time, to none other els.

Which was, that Kynge Edward was dead, and that they were in hope to haue vp their maskynge masses againe; as we haue in S. Iohns Reuelacion, That they which dwell on the yearth (as do our earthly minded masmongers) shulde rejoyce and be glad, whan Gods true witnessses were once taken awaye, and shulde send gyftes one to an other for gladnesse, because they rebuked them of theyr wycked doyngs, Apoca. xi. For ye must consydre, that the prestes are commonly the first that receiue suche newes. The next daye folowinge, a very wicked iustice called Thomas Hothe, with the Lorde Mountgarret, resorted to the cathedrall church, requyryng to haue a communion, in the honour of S. Anne. Marke the blasphemouse blyndenesse and wyfull obstinacye of thys beastly papist. The prestes made hym answer, That I had forbydden them that celebration, sauynge only vpon the Sondayes; as I had, in dede, for the abhominable ydolatries that I had seene therein. I discharge you, sayth he, of obedience to your bishop in this point, and commaunde yow to do as ye haue done heretofore; which was, to make of Christes holy communion an ydolatrous masse, and to suffre it to serue for the dead, cleane contrarye to the christen vse of the same.

Thus was the wicked iustice not only a vyolatur of Christes institution, but also a contempner of his princes earnest commaundement, and a prouoker of the people, by his vngracious example, to do the lyke. Thys coulde he do, with other mischeces more, by his longe beyng there by a whole monethes space; but for murthers, theftes, ydolatries, and abhominable whoredomes, wherewith all that nacion habundeth, for that time he sought no redresse, neyther appointed any correction. The prestes thus reioycing that the kinge was dead, and that they had bene that daye confirmed in their supersticiouse obstinacie, resorted to the forseyd false iustice the same night at supper, to gratifye him with Rob Dauye and Aqua Vite, for that he had bene so friendly vnto them, and that he might styll continue in the same. The next daye after was the Ladye Jane Gylforde proclaimed their quene, with solemnite of processions, bonefyres, and banquettes; the seyde iustice, as I was informed, sore blamyng me for my absence that daye, for, in dede, I muche doubted that matter.

So sone as it was there rumoured abroad, that the kynge was departed from this lyfe, the ruffianess of that wilde nacyon, not only rebelled against the English captaines, as their lewde custome, in such chaunces, bath bene alwayes, chesely no English deputye bringe within the lande, but also they conspired into the very deathes of so many English men and women, as were left therin alyue; mindinge, as they than stoughtly boasted it, to haue set vp a kinge of their owne. And, to cause their wilde people to beare the more hate to our nacion, very subtilly, but yet falsely, they caused it to be noysed ouer all, that the yonge Earle of Ormonde, and Barnabe, the barne of Vpper Ossories sonne, were both slaine in the court at London.

Vpon this wylfe practise of myschefe, they raged, without ordre, in all places, and assaulted the English forces euery where.

And at one of them, by a subtile trayne, they got out ix of our men, and slewe them.

On the xiii. daye of August, a gentill woman, the wyfe of Mathew Kinge, hauyng a castell not farre of, her husbände than beinge at London, fledde with her familie and goodes, in cartes, towards the for-seid Kylkennie; and, in the hyghwaye, was spoyled of all, to her very petycute, by the Kearnes and the Galoglasses of the forenamed Barne of Vpper Ossorie, Michell Patricke, and of the Lorde Mountgarret, which ought rather to haue defended her. In this outrage had she, after longe conflict with those enemyes, iiii of her companie slain, besides other mischeces more.

On the xx. daye of August, was the ladye Marye with vs at Kylkennye proclaimed Quene of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, with the greatest solemnyte, that there coulde be deuysed, of processions, musters, and dysgyssinges, all the noble captaynes and gentilmen there about beinge present. What a do I had that daye with the prebendaryes and prestes abought wearinge the cope, croser, and myter in procession, it were to muche to write.

I tolde them earnestly, whan they wolde haue compelled me therunto, that I was not Moyses minister, but Christes; I desyred them not to compell me to his denyall, whiche is, S. Paule sayth, in the repetinge of Moyses sacramentes and ceremoniall schaddowes, Gal. v. With that I toke Christes testament in my hande, and went to the Market Crosse, the people in great nombre folowinge. There toke I the xiiij. Chap. of S. Paule to the Romanes, declaringe to them breuely what the autoritie was of the worldly powers and magistrates, what reuerence and obedience were due to the same. In the meane tyme, had the prelates gotten ij. dysgyssed prestes, one to beare the myter afore me, and an other the croser, makinge iij. procession pageauntes of one. The yonge men, in the forenone, played a tragedye of Gods Promyses in the olde lawe, at the Market Crosse, with organe, plainges, and songes very aptely. In the afternone agayne they played a commedie of Sanct Johan Baptistes preachinges, of Christes baptisyng, and of his temptation in the wilderness, to the small contentacion of the prestes and other papistes there.

On the Thursdaye next folowinge, which was S. Bartylmewes daye, I preached agayne amonge them, bycause the prebendaryes and other prestes there had made their boastes, that I shulde be compelled to recante all that I had preached afore; and, as I was entered into the pulpit, I toke this sainge of S. Paule for my thema: *Non erubesco euangelium; virtus enim Dei est in salutem omni credenti, &c.* 'I am not ashamed of the gospell.' And whie? 'For it is the power of God unto saluacion, to all them that beleue it,' Rom. 1. Than declared I vnto them all that I had taught there, sens my first comming thydre, the iustice Hothe beinge present; as, That our God was but one God, and ought alone to be worshipped; and that our Christe was but one Christe, and ought alone to be trusted to for our redemption of sinne. I earnestly charged the people to rest vpon these ij. principles firmly, as they wolde answer it at the dredfull daye, and not to suffre themselves to be led, by a contrariouse doctrine of deceytfull teachers,

into any other beleue, from thens fourth. *Item*, Concerninge the sacramente of Christes bodye and bloude, wherein they had bene most prodigiously abused, through the vnsaciabie couetousnesse of the prestes, I required them very reuerently to take it, as a sacramente only of Christes deathe, wherby we are redemed, and made innocent membres of hys mysticall bodye, and not to worship it as their god, as they had done, to the vtter derogacion of hys heauenly honour. And, as I came in the vsuall prayer to remembraunce of the dead, I willed them to gyue harty thanks to God for their redemption in Christe, largely declaringe, That the sowles of the rightcouse were in the hande of his mercye, without cruell torment, Sap. 3. and that the prestes, with all their masses and funerall exequies, coulde nothinge adde to their redemption, if they had bene otherwise bestowed.

After the prayer, I toke the gospell of the daye, *Beati oculi, qui vident quæ vos videtis, &c. Luce 10.* wherein I was occasioned to speake of certen degrees of men, as of kinges, prophetes, lawers, iusticiaryes, and so fourth: As, That the kinges were desierouse to see Christe, the prophetes to embrace him, the swellinge lawers to rise vp againste him and to tempte him, and the ambiciouse iusticiaryes to toye with him and to mocke him. The wounded man to haue nede of him, the preste to shewe no compassion, the Leuite to minstre no mercye, and, last of all, the contemptuouse Samaritane to exercise all the offices of pitye, loue, beniuolence, and liberall mercye, vpon the same wounded creature; as, to resort to him, fauourably to see him, with layser to beholde him, to haue compassion on him, to hynde vp his woundes, to poure in oyle and wyne, to sett him on his owne beaste, to brynge him to a place of comfort; finally, to socour him, and to paye his whole charges: All these matters I declared there at large, which were now to muche to repete here againe.

The same daye, I dined with the mayer of the towne, whome they name their Suffren, called Robert Shea, a man sober, wise, and godly; which is a rare thinge in that lande.

In the end of our dyner certen prestes resorted, and began very hotely to dispute with me concerninge their purgatorye and suffrages for the dead. And as I had alleged the scriptures prouing Christes sufficiencie for the sowles discharge afore God, without their dirtie deseruinges, they brought fourth, as seemed to them, contrary allegations, that there shulde apere no truthe in those scriptures. As S. Paule prophecied of them, Rom. 1. That suche as they were, shulde seke to turne the veryte of God into a lye. And whan I had ones comprehended them in that theuerie, and agreed both our alleged scriptures, to the mayntenaunce of my first princyple, to their manifest reproche: I demaunded of them, what a christenmannys office was, whan suche a scripture was vttered as neyther man nor angell was able to denie any truth therof? But they made me no answer. Than sayde I unto them, Ye haue set me fourth a newe lesson, and taught me this daye to knowe a good man from an hypocrite, and to discerne a true Christian from a wicked Papist. The good man, said I, beleueth a truthe in the scriptures, the hypocrite denieth it, the Christian embraceth it, the Papist doubteth and disputeth against it; as ded the

deuill in the wilderness with Christe, whan he sought by one scripture to confounde an other.

The next daye I departed from thence, and went home with my cumpayne to Holmes Court agayne.

Where as I had knowledge, the next daye folowinge, that the prestes of my diocese, specially one Sir Richard Routhe, treasurer of the church of Kylkennie, and one Sir Iames Ioyes, a familiar chaplaine of mine, by the helpe of one Barnabe Bolgar, my next neibour and my tenaunt, at the seyde Holmes Court, had hired certen kearns of the Lorde Mountgarret, and of the Barne of Vpper Ossorie, whom they knew to be most desperate theues and murtherers, to slea me.

And I am in full beleue, that this was not all without their knowleges also; for so muche as they were so desierouse of my landes in diuerse quarters, and coulde neyther obtaine them by their owne importunate sute, nor yet by the frendshipp of others. As for the Lorde Mountgarret, I suspect him by this :

An horse grome of his, with an other of his brechelesse gallauntes besides, came into my court one daye, and made a stought bragge among my seruantes, that he wolde both steele my horses, as it is there reckened no great faulte to steel, and also that he wolde haue my heade, if I came abroade.

I sent my seruaut vnto him, not as one desireouse to be reuenged, but to knowe what cause his grome had, to vtter so muche malice. Yea, I afterwards complayned therof my selfe, to his owne persone, and had but a slendre answer, with no redresse at all. The Barne of Vpper Ossorie molested my pore tenauntes in the quarter wher as he dwelte, most maliciously; and Barnabe Bolgar maryed his yonge doughter to one of those murtherers, called Grace Graceless, to helpe the matter forwarde: For he thought by that meanes to haue the full occupieng of Holmes Court yet onces agayne.

On the Thursdaye after, which was the last daye of Auguste, I beinge absent, the clergie of Kylkennie, by procurement of that wicked Iustice Hothie, blasphemously resumed agayne the whole papisme, or heape of supersticions of the Bishop of Rome; to the vtter contempte of Christe and his holy wurde, of the kinge and counsell of Englande, and of all ecclesiasticall and politike ordre, without eyther statute or yet proclamacion. They ronge all the belles in that cathedrall, minstre, and parish churches; they flonge vp their cappes to the battlement of the great temple, with smylinges and laughinges most dissolutely, the iustice himselfe beinge therwith offended: They brought fourth their coopes, candelstickes, holy waterstocke, crosse, and sensors: They mustered fourth in generall procession most gorgeously, all the towne ouer, with *Sancta Maria, Ora pro nobis*, and the reest of the Latine *Letanie*: They chattered it, they chaunted it, with great noise and deuotion: They banketted all the daie after, for that they were deliuered from the grace of God into a warme sunne.

For they maye, now from thens fourth, againe deceiue the people, as they ded afore tyme, with their Latine momblings, and make marchaudice of them, 2 Petre ii. They maye make the witlesse sort believe, that they can make euery daye newe goddes of their lyttle whyto

cakes, and that they can fatche their frendes sowles from flaminge purgatory, if nede be, with other great miracles els.

They maye now, without checke, haue other mennes wiues in occu-
pience, or kepe whores in their chambers; or els playe the buggery
knaues, as they haue done alwayes, and be at an vttr defiaunce with
marriage, though it be the institution of God, honourable, hollyc, righ-
teouse, and perfight.

I wryte not this without a cause, for whie, there were some amonge
them, which boasted both of this and muche more to vayne to be told.

And, whan they were demaunded, How they wolde, afore God, be
discharged?

They made answer, that care confession was able to burnish them
agayne, and to make them so white as snowe, though they thus offend-
ed neuer so oft. And one of them, for example, was the dronken
bishop of Galwaye, which, besides these vncomly bragges, furiously
boasted, in the howse of one Martine, a faithfull Italiane and seruant
to the Earle of Ormonde, and in other howses more, that the Bishop of
Rome was the heade supreme of the Christen church in earthe, and
shulde so be proclaimed in Irelande, the said Martine, as Gods true frende,
rebukinge him for it. The exercise of this beastly bishop is none other,
but to gadde from towne to towne ouer the English part, confirminge
yonge children for ij. pence a pece, without examinacion of their
Christen beleue, contrary to the Christen ordinaunces of Englande,
and at night to drinke all at Rob Dauye and Aqua Vite, like a man:
to whome, for a mocke now of late, a Galoglasse of the land brought
hys dogge, wrapped in a sheet, with ij. pens about his necke, to haue
him confirmed among neybers children: in this he noted this beastly
bishop more fit to confirme dogges, than christen mennes children.

On the Frydaye next followinge, which was the eyt daye of Sep-
tembre v. of my howsholde seruauntes Rycharde Foster, a deacon,
Rycharde Headley, Iohan Cage, an Irish horsegrome, and a yonge
mayde of xvj. yeares of age, went out to make haye about half a
myle of betwixt viij. and ix. of the clocke, after they had serued God
according to the daye. And, as they were come to the entraunce of
that medowe, the cruell murtherers, to the nombre of more than a
score, leaped out of their lurkyng busshes, with swerdes and with
dartes, and cowardly slewe them all vnarmed and vnweaponed, with-
out mercy. This ded they, in their wicked furye, as it was reported,
for that they had watched so long afore, yea, an whole month space
they saye, and sped not of their purpose concerninge me. They fel-
lonously also robbed me of all my horses, and of all Maistre Coopers
horses, which that time soiourned with me for sauegarde of hys lyfe,
to the nombre of vij. dryuyng them afore them. In the afternoone,
about ij. of the clocke, the good suffren of Kylkennye, hauinge
knowledge therof, resorted to me with an hondred horsemen, and iij
hondred fotemen, and so with great strengthe brought me that nyght
to the towne, the yonge men syngynge psalmes and other godly
songes all the way, in reioyce of my deliuerance.

As we were come to the towne, the people, in great nombre, stode
on both sydes of the waye, both within the gates and without, with

candels lyghted in their handes, shoughting out prayes to God for deliueringe me from the handes of these murderers. The prestes the next daye, to colour their myschefe, caused it to be noysed all the country ouer, that it was by the hande of God that my seruantes were slain, for that they had broken (they sayde) the great holy daye of our ladyes natiuitie. But I wolde fayne knowe what holy dayes those bloodthurstye hypocrites and malyciouse murderers kepte, which had hyred their cruel kearnes to do that myschefe? O! abhoymynable traytours, both to God and to all godly ordre. Ye here commende murther undre a colour of false religyon, to hyde your owne mayschefes to the eyes of the people, but the eyes of God ye cannot deceyue. Your horrible slaughter must now be Gods doynge, and yet was it the devyll that sett ye a wurke. Ye prate here of the obseruacion of the holy daye, which neuer yet kepte the holy daye as it shulde be kepte. For ye neuer yet preached the wurde of God truly, neyther mynystred the sacramentes ryghtly, neyther yet taught the people to honour God purely, and to keepe his commaundementes inuolably, which are the only kepinges of the holy dayes.

But on those dayes, more than on any other, ye pampré them vp in all supersticions, false worshippinges, and ydolatries, to the utter defilynge both of the dayes and of them. Ye are much offended that a good wurke shulde be done on the sabboth daye, as were your forefathers the Pharisees, but, with whoredome, ydolatrie, dronkenesse, and slaughter of men, ye are nothinge at all offended, but wickedly ye do mainteine them, as I am able to proue by a thousande of your lewde examples. The natiuitie of our ladye was at that daye a feast abrogated, by autoritie of a christen kynge, and his whole parlement; and yet you saye the holy daye is broken, whan it is no holy daye at all, but as all other dayes are holy to them only which are holy through their true obedience to Gods most holy wurde. Ye had kepte the daye much holyar, in my opinyon, if ye had, in the fear of God, obeyed the commaundement of your christen kynge; where as, in disobeynge the same, ye haue resisted the holy ordinaunce of God for a supersticion, procuringe thereby to your selues damnacion, Roma. 1. Christe, our heauenly Maistre and Redemcr, was wele contented that his most holy natiuitie gaue place to an heathnysh emperours obedience, Luc. 2. And yow disdaine that daye to obeye a most christen kynge, counsell, and parlement, and yet ye are not ashamed to boast it, that ye kepte the daie holy. O! right antichristes. On the daye next followinge, which was Saturdaye in the afternoone, the forseid treasurer, a man vnlearned, and therwith an outragious whorkepar, resorted to me with a nombre of prestes, to tempte me, like as Sathan dede Christe in the wilderness, sauing that Sathan to Christe offered stones, and that tempting treasurer both apples and wyne. And, as they had than compassed me in rounde about, the seid treasurer proponed vnto me, that they were all fully minded to haue solempne exequies for kynge Edward, lately departed, lyke as the quenes highnesse had had them in Englande. I axed them how that was? They made me answere, with a *requiem masse* and *dirige*. Than asked I of them agayne, Who shulde singe the masse? And they answered, me,

that it was my bounde dewtie to do it, beinge their bishop. Than sayde I vnto them, massinge is an office appointed of that antichriste, the Bishop of Rome, to whom I owe no obedience, neither will I owe him any so longe as I shall lyue. But if ye will haue me there, to do that office, which Christe, the Sonne of God, hath earnestly commaunded, which is to preach hys holy gospel, I will do it with all my heart.

No, sayde they, we will haue a solempne masse, for so had the quene. By my trouth, sayde I, than must ye go seke out some other chaplayne; for, truly, of all generacions, I am no masse-mongar; for, of all occupacions, me thinke, it is most folish; for there standeth the preste disguised, lyke one that wolde shewe some conveyance or iuglyng playe. He turneth his back to the people, and telleth a tale to the walle, in a foren language. If he turn his face to them, it is cyther to receyue the offering, cyther to desyre them to giue him a good worde, with *orate pro me fratres*, for he is a poore brother of theirs; cyther to bid them God speede, with *dominus vobiscum*, for they get no part of his banket; cyther els to blesse them with the bottom of the cuppe, with *benedictio Dei*, whan all the brekefast is done. And of these feates, said I, can I now lyttle skille. With that the treasurer, beinge in hys fustene fumes, stoughtly demaunded a determinate answer, as though he came not thydre without autoritie. Than suspected I somewhat the wickednesse of Iustice Hothe, and such other; notwithstandinge, I axed him ones again, What profyght he thought the kynges sowle to haue of those funerall exequies? Than answered one of the prestes, that God knewe wel inough what he had to do. Yet yow must appoint him, sayde I.

If these poure suffrages be a waye for him to heauen, and that he cannot go thydre without them, ye are much to blame, that ye haue diffarred them so long. Ye had, sayde I, a commaundement, the last Saterdaye, of the Iustice Hothe, to haue solempnised them that nyght, and the next daye after. But the deuyll, which that daye daunted at Thomas-Towne (for they had a procession with pageauntes) and the Aqua Vite, and Rob Dauie withall, wolde not suffre ye than to do them. I desire yow, considering that the last Sondaye ye diffared them to see the deuyll daunce at Thomas-Towne, that ye will also this Sondaye differre them, tyll such tyme as I sende to the quenes commissioners at Dublyne, to knowe how to be discharged of the othe which I made to the kyng and his counsell for abolysment of that Popish masse; for I am loth to incurre the daunger of periurie. With that, after a few wordes more, they seemed content, and so departed. The next daye came thydre a proclamacion, that they which wolde heare masses, shulde be suffered so to do, and they that wold not shulde not therunto be compelled.

Thus was that buyldyng clearly ouerthrowne, and that practyse of blasphemye wolde not take at that tyme, as God wolde.

And, as I had continued there certen dayes, I chaunced to heare of manye secreete mutteringes, that the prestes wolde not so leaue me, but were styll conspiring my deathe.

It was also noysed abroad, by the Bishop of Galwaye, and others,

that the antichrist of Rome shulde be taken agayne for the supreme heade of the church of Irelande.

And, to declare a contemptuouse chaunge from religion to supersticion againe, the prestes had sodainly set up all the alters and ymages in the cathedrall church. Beholdinge therfor so many inconueniences to ensewe, and so many daungers towarde, hauinge also, which was worst of all, no English deputie or gouernour within the lande to com- plaine to for remedie, I shoke the dust of my fete against those wicked colligyners and prestes, accordinge to Christes commaundement, Math. 10, that it might stande against them as a witnesse at the daye of iudgement. The next daye, early in the morninge, by helpe of frendes, I conuayed my selfe awaye to the castell of Lechline, and so fourth to the cytie of Dublin, where as I, for a certen time, amonge frendes remayned.

As the epicurouse archebishop had knowledge of my beinge there, he made boast vpon his ale benche, with the cuppe in his hande, as I hearde the tale tolde, that I shulde, for no mannis pleasure, preache in that cytie of his. But this neded not, for I thought nothinge lesse at that time, than to poure out the preciouise pearles of the gospell afore so brockish a swine as he was, becomminge than, of a dissemblinge proselite, a very pernicious Papist. And as towchinge learninge, wherof he muche boasted amonge his cuppes, I knowe none that he hath so perflyghtly exercised as he hath the knowne practises of *Sardinapalus*; for his preach- ings twice in the yere, of the ploughman in winter, by *Erit qui seminat*, and of the shepherde in somer, by *Ego sum pastor bonus*, are now so wele knowne by rott, of euery gossipp in Dublyne, that, afore he cometh vp into the pulpet, they can tell his sermon. And as for his wife, if the mariage of prestes endureth not, he hath already provided his olde shifte of conueyaunce, by one of his seruauntes. But I wolde wishe, that, amonge other studies, he remembred old Debethes at London, for surgerie; for ywys there is yet some moneie to be paid, and an Irish hobby also by promysc.

About thre yeaeres ago, he made interpellacyon to the Kynge, in his Lente sermon, for his daughter Irelande; but now he commaundeth her to go a whoringe againe, and to folow the same deuyll that she folowed afore; for that he ded than, was but only to serue the time. He neded lyttle than to haue accused Sir Antony Selleneger of treason, if ye marke him wele now, but that he thought, by such conueyaunce, to winne estimacion, and to obtayne the Hygh Primacie of Irelande, from the archebishshoprycke of Armach, as he ded in dede. Full wele bestowed. Such dissemblinge gluttons, and swynysh Papistes, are a sore plage to that lande, which, for their wicked bellyes, make the people beleue, that sower is sweete, and darkenesse lighte, with their alters, masses, and ymages. And that causeth me to write this to his shame.

'The salte,' sayth Christe, 'that is become vnsauerie, is from thens fourth good for nothinge, but to be cast out at the dores, and trodden vndre mennes fete,' Math. 5. After certen dayes within my hostehowse, a yonge man of Estsexe, called Thomas, was comminge and

goynge, which, for his maisters affayres into Scotlande, had hyred a small ship, there called a Pyckarde.

I reioyced at the chaunce, as one that had founde a great treasure, and thought it a thinge provided of God, for a sauegarde and deliuerance at that present. Anon I couenaunted with him, to paye the halfe charges of that shippe, that I might passe thydre with him, and deliuered to him out of hande the more part therof.

I thought at all tymes by him, and by an other whom I there had also herde of, hauinge their continuall occupynges thydre, to haue, from tyme to tyme, knowlege of the deputyes comminge ouer into Irelande, and so to resort againe to myne owne, in case all thinges were to my minde: As that the tirannouse Bishop of Rome had not his primacye and old doynge there againe, as it had bene boasted he shulde, and that the Christen religion gaue not place to blasphemouse papistrie. And as he and I were togyther in the shippe, there tarringe vpon the tyde for passage, an frische pirate, yea, rather a cruell tiraunte of helle, called Walter, beinge pylate, as they call them, or loades man in a Flemnish shippe of warre, made the couetouse captaine therof to beleue that I was a Freneche man, and that I had about me innumerable treasure. The captaine, hearinge of this, with an exceedinge scarcenesse, inuaded our poore shippe, and remoued both the yonge man Thomas and me from thens into his great shippe of warre: Where as he searched vs both to the very skinnies, and toke from vs al that we had in moneye, bokes, and apparell. He toke also from the maistre of our pickarde, or lyttle shippe, v. pounde, which I and the seyd Thomas had giuen to him in part of payement, with all his beere and vitayles, notwithstandinge that he perfightly knewe vs to be Englishe men, and no Freneche men.

\ In the ende I loked fourth of the captaines cabynne, and behelde a fayre howse, as it had bene a mile from vs, and axed of the yonge man, whose howse that was? He made me answer, that it was the howse of one Mr. Parker, the searcher there. I instauntly desired of the captayne to be deliuered to him, but in no wise wolde he graunt it. I requiured anon after, as I beheld a farre of, the citeye of Dublyne, to be brought thydre for my honest tryall (for they had accused me of treason) but it might not be allowed. The next daye after, we came into the hauen of Waterforde, where as also, for my tryall, I desired to go a lande, but in no wyse wolde it be graunted. After that we passed more than the halfe seas ouer, towards Cornewale, and were driuen backe againe with so feare and terrible a tempest, that the whole seas, to our syght and feling, went ouer vs. And, as we were come yet ones againe into the hauen of Waterforde, I sayde vnto the captaine, God hath with violence brought vs hyther againe (I perceyue it) that I shulde trye my innocencye. I desyre yow (sayd I) as I haue done heretofore, to deliuer me into the cytie of Waterforde, where as I am wele knowne. He refused vtterly so to do, and, after certen other talk, he desiered me to content myselfe, and I shulde, he sayde, in the shippe haue all thinges to my mynde. Whie, sayde I, ye go not my waye, neither is it fit for me to seke for pryces, and to go a roauinge as yow do, but to sattle myselfe sumwhere.

Sens ye came to our shippe, sayde he, I hearde yow wishe yourselfe in Duchelande; and I promise yow, we will honestly brynge yow thydre, and not longe tarry by the waye. My chaunce was, in dede, to fynde there amonge them an Hollander, called Leonarde, which knewe me in Nortwick, with Maistre Iohan Sartorius. To him, in familiar talke, I had wished myselfe there at that present: But how will ye leade me, sayde I to the captaine, as ye haue done hytherto, lyke a captiue prisoner, or lyke a free passenger? No, sayde he, I take ye now for no prisoner, but for a man of worshipp, and for a most honest passenger, and so will I deliuer yow there. But all this time he had my moneye in his owne kepinge. Within ii dayes after, we were driuen into S. Iues in Cornewale by extremitie of wether; where as the forseid wicked pyrate Walter got him a lande afore vs so fast as euer he coulede, and accused me there for an haynouse traitour, yea, for such a one as for that cause had fledde out of Irelande.

And, to bringe his wicked purpose to passe of winninge sumwhat by me (for he thought than to haue halfe my moneye which was in the captaines hand) he fatched thydre one Downinges from vii myles of, by the counsell of the mariners of that towne, which was noysed to be the most cruell termagaunt of that shire, yea, suche a one as had bene a begynnar of the last commocion there, both to examine me and apprehende me.

And, as I was commen to that examinacion before one of the baylyses, the constables, and other officers, I desiered the seyd baylyfe, apeareinge to me a very sober man, as he was in dede, to axe of the seyd Walter, How longe he had knowne me, and what treason I had done sens that tyme of his knowlege? He answered, That he neuer sawe me, neyther yet had hearde of me, afore I came into that shippe of warre a iiii or v dayes afore. Than sayde the baylyfe, What treason hast thou knowne by this honest gentelman sens? For I promise the, he semeth to be an honest man? Mary, sayde he, he wolde haue fledde into Scotlande. Whie, saith the baylyfe, and knowest thou any impediment, wherfor he ought not to haue gone into Scotlande? No, sayde the fellowe, but he was goinge towards Scotlande. If it be a treason, sayth the baylyfe, to go towards Scotlande, a man having businesse to do there, it is more than I knewe afore, and truly, sayth he, than are there manie traitours abroade in the worlde.

Good Fellowe, sayde he, take hede that thy grounde be good in accusinge this man, els art thou wurthie to suffre due ponnishment for it; for thou doest it els vpon some other affection, than desire of right. With that he stode still, and was able to saye nothinge, for he was as dronke as an ape, in hope of a bone viage.

Than came in the captaine and his purser, and reuiled the seyd Walter, reportinge him to be a very noughtye fellowe, and a commen dronkarde, and that I was a very honest man.

For they feared, at that tyme, the discharge of my moneye out of their handes, I offeringe myselfe, for my tryall against him, to be brought to the sessions, which were than not farre of.

Than sayde the forseid Downinges in great displeasure, Gods sowle, what do I here? This is but a drouken matter, by the masse; and so

went his waye in a fume, and for anger wolde not ones drinke with vs, so that I wente clere awaye in this prodigious conflict. The next daye, beinge Sondaye, I resorted to the temple, to see the fashions there. As the peales were all ended, they sange mattens, houres, holy water-makinge, and masse, all in Latine. Nothinge was there in Englishe but the poble Lctanie, which the preste, a stought sturdie lubber, sayde with the least deuotion of all, muche of the people lamentinge to beholde so miserable a mutacion; and saienge, Afore time might we haue learned sumwhat by our comminge to the church, but now nothinge at all to our vnderstandynge: Alas! what shall become of vs?

After dynere, that preste resorted vnto vs, as bolde as great Hercules, and, after a little talke, fell to flat raylinge of good Myles Couerdale, their bishop, after this sort: Where is that heretyke knaue now, sayth he, and other of his companions, vagaboundes, apostates, and runnegates? with other vncomly wurdes. And, as I was bent to haue made him an answer, a gentilman of the countrey therabout rubbed me on the elbowe, and bad me, in mine eare, to lete him alone, and I shulde heare wonders: And the seyde gentilman brought him into an other talke of olde familiaritees: Wherin he confessed, that he had, in one daye, bygotten ii mennes wyues, of that parishe, with childe, to encrease the churches profyght in crisyms and offeringes, where as their husbandes were not able to do it. Yea, mary Sir Iames, sayth the gentleman, and ye haue done more miracles than that: Went ye not one daye a fishing? sayth he. Yes, by the masse, ded I, sayde the preste againe, and made the fyshes more holye, than euer the whorsons were afore: For I sent out my Maker amonge them, whome I had that daye receyued at the alter: By the masse, quoth he, I was able to holde him no longer. Sens that daye, I am sure, quoth he, that our fyshars hath had better lucke than euer they had afore.

Thus whan he had ragd by the space of more than an houre, the last peake calling him thens to euensonge, the gentilman sayde vnto me, These are the ghostly fathers, which now are permitted to be our spirituall gydes. Are not we, sayth he, wele apoynted, thynke yow? The Lorde be mercyfull to vs, for it is sure a plague for our vnthankfulnessse, whils we had the truthe. Suche lewde bawdie prestes as this is, sayde he, doth wonderfully now reioyce, not for any vertue they loke for, but in hope to be mainteined in libertie of all wickednesse, more than of late dayes. Whan supper was done, certen of the mariners resorted to vs, declaringe what an vncomly part the preste had played with their pyper, as that he pyssed in his mouthe, beinge gapinge a slepe in the church after euensonge. This is the bewteouse face of our Irishe and English churches at this present.

The poore people are not taught, but mocked of their mynysters, their seruantes abused, their wiues and daughters defyled, and all Christen ordre confounded.

As the wether waxed fayre, the captaine went awaye with the shippe, and was more than ii miles on his waye, mindinge, as it appeared, to haue gone awaye with all that I had, moneye, apparell, and bokes, if the winde had serued him wele. The costomers seruauant, an Irishe man also, beinge admonished by his countreyman Walter, of my moneye in

the capitaines handes, came to my lodginge in the morninge, and tolde me therof, thinkinge, as I had bene in possession therof, if I had come to lande agayne therwith, to have raysed newe rumours vpon me, and so to haue deprived me therof; for he shewed himself very seruisable in prouidinge me a boate, and in bringinge me to the shippe. But whan he onces perceiued, that I wolde not demaunde my moneye of the capitaine, and returne agayne with him, though I gaue him a crowne for his boate and paynes, yet went he awaye in great displeasure, with no small reproches. And, at that present, was the forseid Walter bannished the shippe for his only troublinge of me, so beniuolouse that houre was the capitaine vnto me.

The next daye after, I demaunded my moneye of the capitaine, and it was very honestly deliuered me, all scysmes, as I thought, pacified. Howbeit, that wretched mammon most strongly wrought in the vnquietouse harte of the capitaine, so that, continually after that time, he threttened to sett vs on lande, and inaruele it was that he threwe vs not both ouer the borde. Alwayes were we wele contented to haue gone to lande, but yet still he droue it of till we came into Douer roade, I not vnderstandinge the misterie concerning the seyd moneye, as that it was in my hande and not in the capitaines, which marred all the whole matter.

In the mean tyme they went a roauinge by a whole wekes space and more. And first they take an Englishe shippe of Totnes going towards Britaine, and loaden with tinne, and that they spoiled both of ware and moneye vnder the colour of Frenche mennis goodes. The next daye in the afternoon, behelde they ii English shippes more, whom they chaced all that night longe, and the nexte daye also till x of the clocke; and of them they toke one, by reason that his topsaile brake, and that was a shippe of Lynce. In this had they nothinge but apples, for he went for his loadinge. After that, traced they the seas ouer more than halfe a weke, and found none there but their owne countrey men, beinge men of warre and sea rōbbers as they were.

At the last they came to Douer roade, and there wolde the capitaine nedes to lande with his purser. My companion Thomas and I, takinge ourselues for free passengers, desiered to go a lande with them, but that might not be, he sayde, till he had bene there afore. Yes, sayth Thomas, I will go a lande if any man go, for I have nothinge to do here. Thū shalt not go, sayth the capitaine, but I will laye thee fast by the fete, if thū prate any more. With that one Cornelis stode fourth, and sayde, We are muche to blame, that we haue not dispatched him ere this, and throwne him ouer the borde. Than doubted I some myschefe in wurkinge amonge them; for one Martin, an English pyrate, but yet a French man borne, beinge suntyne Tompsons man, and after that Stranguyshes man, and now one of their vnthriftie nombre, had made them beleue, that I was he which not only had put down the masse in Englande, but also I had caused Doctour Gardiner, the Bishopp of Winchestre, to be kepte so longe in the Tower, and that also I had poysoned (whome I loued and reuerenced aboue all mortall men) the kinge, with many other most prodigiouse lyes.

So went the capitaine and his purser with all these newes a lande,

hauinge also with them my bisshoppes seale, and ij. epistles sent me from Conradus Gesnerus and Alexander Alesius, with commendacions from Pellicanus, Pomeranus, Philippus Melancthon, Ioachimus Camerarius, Mathias Flacius, and other learned men, desierouse of the Englishe churches antiquytees and doctrines; which letters I had recyued at Dublyne, the daye afore I came to the shippe, and not yet answered them. These epistles and seale, with an other letter sent to me from the counsell of Englande, concerninge my first callinge to that pastorall office, they had taken out of my male, vnknowinge to me. For that they had seane the kinges armes in my seale, as the maner is of byshoppes seales, they layde to my charge the counterfettinge of the kinges seale, upon the ij. epistles, heresie, and vpon the counsels letter, conspiracie against the quene; so wele were they ouerseane in that malice for moneye. In Douer, amonge all his cuppes, this captaine discovered these matters, as what a man he had gotten in the borders of Irelande, suspiciously passinge ouer from thens towards Scotlande, with all the reest. And, as he had perceiued some of the hearers desierouse of that praise, he called a great pece of his tale backe againe, and sayde, that he had sett vs a lande at Southamton, and so letten vs go. His minde was to haue solde me, if any man wolde haue offered him a good somme of moneye.

After midnyght, he returned agayne to the shippe, pratinge amonge his cumpany, what he had done a lande, and how he had almost lost all, by his busye talke. But he had hearde of me, he sayde, muche more than he knewe afore, and he trusted that I shulde be to him, and to all the shippe, a profitable prise. The next daye in the morninge, after his first slepe, he arose, and, with stought countenance, boasted that he wolde strayght to London, with his most daungerouse carryage, which were we ij. poore innocent sowles, that had done ill to no man, sauinge that we coulde not beare with the blasphemies of the Papistes against God and his Christe. Muche to and fro was amonge them about that passage: In the ende they all concluded, that better it was to tarry still there with the shippe, whils one or ij. of them went to the counsell of Englande, in masse, and came againe, than thydre to trauaile with shippe and all. To lande goeth the purser and an other besides, to hyre their horses towards London, for mountaines of golde wolde be gotten that wayes, they sayde.

As I behelde this madnesse, though I little than cared for my life, yet sayde I to the captaine, Maistre Captaine, What do yow meane by these strange turmoilings? Thinke ye there is no God? Neither yet a reckninge to be made, at the lattre day, of these mad proceedinges? The time hath bene sens our first metinge, that ye haue taken me for an honest passenger, and defended my innocencie against that cruel pyrate Walter: How standeth it with equity than, that ye now proclame me so haynouse a traitor? I am sure that ye knowe now no more by me, than ye ded afore. Your allgacions, that I had put downe the masse, emprisoned Doctour Gardiner, and poysoned the kinge, are most false, as all the worlde knoweth. My seale, and my other letters, are plaine argumentes of my truthe and honest estimacion, and might be to your confusion, if I chaunced to haue righteouse hearers. I praie yow therfor in con-

science, that ye tell me what cuyll ye knowe els by me, that ye make here so terrible doynges? I can not see, sayth the captaine, that ye will be ordered after anye good sort. My only misordre was than, that my moneye was in my purse, and not in his. Wherunto I answered, with an hart full of dolour and heauinesse, to beholde mennis so dampnable practises of myschefe for fylthie luces sake.

I am contented, Maistre Captaine, sayd I, to be ordered as ye will reasonably haue me. What will ye gyue than, sayde the captaine, to be deliuered into Flaunders, and our purser to be called againe? I answered, that I wolde gyue as his selfe wolde with reason and conscience require. If ye had told vs so much yester night, sayde he, this matter had bene at a point, and we by this tyme had bene in Zelande.

Than was all the rable of the shippe, hag, tag, and rag, called to the reckeninge, rushelinge together as they had bene the cookes of belle, with their great Cerberus, and an whole hundred ponde demaunded for my deliuerance. In the ende it was concluded, that no lesse might aswage that hungrye heate, than fiftie ponde at the least, with this prouiso, that all the moneye, which I had in my purse, with part of my garments also, shulde be out of hande deuyded amonge them and the Captaine; whiche was xxj. ponde in the whole. I instantly desired, that it might be receyued in part of the other somme. They cried all, with one voice, naye, we will none of that. Than I besought them, that I might haue, at least, an honest porcion thereof, for payment of my charges, whils I shulde be prouidinge of so great a raunsome, as they had layde to me.

In fine, they assented, that I shulde haue vj. crownes of myne owne moneye allowed me for my costes, till I had founde out my frendes. Than caused the Captaine a pece of ordinaunce to be fiered, and a gunne to be lete, to call backe the purser and his companion; in whose returne there was muche to and fro; for some wolde uedes to London, thinkinge that waye to winne more, than to bringe me into Flaunders: and, of them which wolde into Flaunders, some wolde to lande for a barrell of drinke, for in the shippe, at that time, was neither breade, befe, nor beere. Some feared the comminge of the Mayre and captaine of the Castell for searchinge their shippe; so that our captaine commaunded them at the last to hoeye vp the sayles, and spedily to passe towards Flaunders. In the mean tyme was I, poore sowle, compelled to set my hande to a false bylle of their deusinge, as, that I had hyred their shippe in Irelande, for fiftie ponde, to bringe me, withoute delay or tarriaunce, into Zelande: which I neuer ded, as the Almightye Lorde wele knoweth, but came from thens with them against my will, and was tossed to and fro vpon the seas, by the space of xxiiij. dayes, in folowinge prises, as they call their roberies; and I was, by that time, so full of lyce, as I coulde swarme.

As we came ones thydre, they brought me into the howse of one of the iiij. owners of the shippe, which was a man fearinge God, and his wyfe a woman of muche godlynesse also; which was to me a carefull creature, a singular comfort prouided of God. The next daye were all the iiij. owners called to the reckeninge, and a Latyne interpretour wyth them, to knowe howe, where, and whan this raunsome of fitye

pounde shulde be payde; and more than xxvj. dayes of layser for the payment therof might not be graunted. I desired to haue had libertie to go abroade to seke my frindes, but that could I not obtaine, though it were in my former couenaunt, whan the vj. crownes were deliuered me. In the afternoone was it noysed abroade, by the dronken mariners all ouer, that they had brought suche a one with them out of Irelande, as payed halfe an hundred pounde for his passage, to the wonderinge of all the towne; so that my hoste was fayne to kepe me close in his howse, and to saye, both to the mariners and others, that I was gone to Andwerpe, the people there resorted so fast to see me; they reported there also, in their dronkennesse, that I was he which had put downe the masse in Englande, and had throwne Doctour Gardiner into the Tower, wyth a great sort of lyes and slaunders more.

Thus continued I there, as a prisoner, by the space of iij. wekes, sumtyme threttened to be throwne in their commen iayle, sumtyme to be brought afore the magistrates, sumtyme to be left to the examinacion of the clergie, sumtyme to be sent to London, or els to be deliuered to the Quenes Embassadours at Brucels; but alwayes, by Gods prouysyon, I had myne hoste and hostesse to frendes. And, beholde a most wondrefull wurke of God! The persone of the towne, a most cruell monke, a maistre of Louayne, and an Inquisitour of heretykes, as they call those rabyes, the next daye after my comminge sore syckened, and neuer came out of his bedde, so longe as I was there; which was greatly marked of some of the inhabitauntes, beinge godly affected: At the last, in delibera'tinge the matter, that they requyred so muche moneye of me, and wolde not suffre me to go abroade to seke it, mine hoste had the capitaine and mariners considre how farre they had ronne beyonde the limites of their commission, in mysusynge the Englishe nation, with whome they had no warre. It may chaunce hereafter, sayth he, depely to be layde to your charges; therefore, by my assent, ye shall agree with this good man for lesse moneye; than were they contented to receyue xxx. pounde, as I shulde be able to paye it, and so to discharge me,

Thus hathe my Lorde God most miraculously deliuered me from all those daungerouse pannels, and from the gredye mouthes of deuourynge lions, into the wurthie lande of Germanye yet ones againe, I hope to the glorie of his most holie name; euerlastinge praise be to him for it. *Amen.*

Here haue ye, dere frendes, a most lyuely and wondrefull example of Gods chastenynges, and of his most graciouslye deliuerauunces agayne; for no chosyn chylde receyueth he to enherytaunce without muche correction, Hebre. 12. The mercyfull Lorde throweth downe into helle, and bringeth from thens agayne, 1 Reg. 2. Though Sathan be suffred, as whete, to syfte vs for a tyme, yet faileth not our faythe, through Christs ayde, but that we are at all tymes readye to confirme the faythe of our weake bretherne, Luce 22. I thought my selfe now of late, for the cares of this lyfe, wele sattleed in the Bishopricke of Ossorie in Irelande, and also wele quieted in the peceable possession of the pleasaunt Euphrates, I confesse it; but the Lorde of his mercye

wolde not there leaue me: what though, for the small tyme, I was in his vyneyarde not at all an ydell wurkeman? But he hath prouyded me, I perceyue it, to taste of a farre other cuppe.

By vyolence hath he yet ones agayne, as ye in this treatise haue redde, driuen me out of that gloryouse Babylon, that I shulde not taste to muche of her wantou pleasures, but, with his most derely beloued disciples, to haue my inwarde reioyce in the Crosse of his Sonne Iesus Christ; the glorie of whose church, I see it wele, standeth not in the harmoniouse sounde of belles and organes, nor yet in the glitteryng of miters and coopes, neither in the shynyng of gylte ymages and lyghtes, as the blinde bludderinge papistes do iudge it, but in continuall labours and dayly afflictions for his names sake. God, at this present, in Englande hath his fanne in hande, and, after his great haruest there, is now syttinge the corne from the chaffe; blessed shall they be, which perseuer in saythe to the ende. In case, without doubt, is Englande now, as was Iewrie, after the heauenly doctryne was there plentifully sowne by Christe and by his apostles, the true mynisters of his worde beinge partly enprisoned, and partly dispersed, as they were: God of his great mercye preserue it from that plage of destruction, which not only Hierusalem, but also that whole lande, tasted, for their wylfull contempte of that message of their saluacyon. Amen.

I wryte this vnto the, thu sorrowfull church of Englande, that in the middes of thy afflictions thu shuldest not despayre. Beholde how graciously, yea, if I maye so speake it, how miraculously and gloriously the heauenly Lorde hath delyuered me, his most vnworthie seruaunt of all men, and an exceeding great sinner. He called me of grace to that office in his vyneyarde, by sore persecucions he proued me of loue, and at the latte of mercye and goodnesse he preserued me from the deadly fure of most fearce enemies. Thy callinge to the gospell is not vnknowne to the, thu carefull congregacion. Now suffrest thou persecucions diuersly, for not regardinge the time of thy visitacion. Repent yet in the ende, and doublesse thou shalt haue a most prosperous delyueraunce. They are no noblemen, that do vexe the at this present. They are but pille peltinge prestes, knights of the dongehill, though they be Sir Swepestretes, maistre doctours, and lorde bishoppes. Loke vpon their faces, though thou measure not them by their frutes, and thou shalt sone knowe their vertues. They are fierye, hawtic, and lecherouse as gootes, the chastest amonge them. But that shall other mennis wyues knowe, and not thou. A wele papped pygion of Paules is wholsome (they saye) for a tippetted gentilman of the Popes spialte, in a darke euenyng, to coole the contagiouse heates of a coltish confessor.

No noblemen are they, which trouble the in this age, as I told the afore. For true nobylitie neuer yet hated the truthe of God, but hath aduanced it by all ages. Examples we haue in Adam, Noe, Abraham, Moyses, Dauid, Iosias, Nycodeme, Ioseph, Kynge Lucius, Constantine, Iustinyane, Theodosius, Kynge Arthour, Alphrede, Ethelstane, Henry the Seconde, Edward the Thirde, and now last of all the Virgine Kynge Edward the vj. which neuer was defyled with

the Popes ydolatryes. Immortall fame, and note of renowne, remaineth yet to them for it. Such men (sayth the Lorde) as worshipp me, will I make worshipfull, and they, that despise me, shall become ignoble or wretched, j. Reg. 2. These will not take away the keye of knowlege from Gods people, as do the hypocrites, Math. 23. and as the wicked lawers do also, Luce. 11. wo to them for it. But as the noble Dauid requireth, they will open the gates that the Kinge of glorie maie entre. Open the gates (sayth he) O ye noblemen, lete the euerlastinge dores be opened, that the Kinge of Glorie may come in. Ps. 24.

If any be wicked in this behalfe, which beare the name of noblemen and women, lete them wele weygh with themselues, how Pharo, Antiochus, Herode, and suche other, whome God by princely autoritie had made noble, by only tirannie against his manifest truth, are now become more vile, than any kichine slaue or yet Lazar. *Felix* (sayth Horace) *quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum*. Happie is he, whome an other mannis misfortune maketh wyse.

Ouer the now triumpheth the Bishoppes, the pharisees, the prestes, and the couetouse lawers. At thy late soden fall, reioyceth the hypocrites, the epicures, the ydolatours, and the wicked papistes. What shall I saye more? Iohan Baptist is now derided in the prison. Iesus the Sonne of God is grenned at vpon the Crosse. Paule now in Athens is byssed at. The poore apostles are sheliy laughed to scorne. Naye, shall I yet saye more: Mycheas is smitten on the face, whils Sedechias plaith the false harlot, 2 Paral. 18. Helias is driven into the wilderness, whils Baals chaplaines are banketinge amonge ladies, 3 Reg. 18. Esaye is contempned, whils the prestes are giuen to ydolatrie and dronkenesse, Esa. 28. Hieremie is sore afflicted, while Semeias peruerteth the truthe of the Lorde, Hier. 29. Daniel is throwne into the Lyons denne, whils myschefes are in working amonge the wicked, Dan. 6. Peter is accused of the Bishoppes wenche, whils Cayphas sitteth in consistorie, condemninge the innocent, Math. 26. Steuen is called to a reckenninge, whils the prestes and wicked lawers are bannishinge the Gospell, Acto. 6. Antipas (they saye) is now slaine at Pergamos, whils Simon Magus triumpheth in Samaria, Apo. 2. And Iohan Zebede is sent into Pathmos, whils Cerinthus, Menander, and Hebion playe the heretike knaues at home, Apo. 1. well, lete them plye it a pace. It maye chauce to cost theyr poluted Hierusalem a fowle ouerthrowe, for so persecutyng the seruauantes of God, in her whoredome, Esa. 1. yea seruauantes I saye, for they serued faithfully in the paynefull office of the Gospell.

Those ydell mercenaries not only loyter in the vineyarde, but also like cruell wolves they ravishe and destroye, Ioan. 10. Of that which God hath expressly forbidden, they make nowe a solempne religion, both in the refusall of mariage, and in the prodigyouse veneration of ymages, sayinge yea to his nay, and naye to his yea. God sayth, it is not good for man to be alone, without an helpe, which is a wife in mariage, Gene. 2. They saye contrariously, that it is more than good, for it is holy, religious, and prestlike, to haue no wiues of their owne, whatsoeuer they haue of other mennis, besides buggery boyes. I

troue Doctour Weston will saye none other at this daye, what though not longe ago he brent a beggar in S. Botolphes parishe without Bishopsgate, geuinge her no worse than he had receiued afore of that religious occupieng. The same Weston proponed to another woman of his parishe, which was a mannis wife, that, her husbände beinge a slepe, she might lawfully occupie with him, by vertue of this texte, *Mulier, dormiente viro, a lege soluta est.* 1 Cor. 7. If this scripture were not religiously applyed, lete them tell me which knowe the right handelinge of them. Whils this priapustick prelate is prolocutor in the conuocation howse, I trust we shall lacke no good lawes for religion, the man is so religious. O Abhominacion. Though they now are busily spising and paintinge of a toorde (the ydolatrouse masse) yet will a toorde be but a stinkinge toorde, both in smelle and syght, pepper him and bawme him, garnish him and gilde him, as wele as they can, all the packe of them. To conclude. Now are their most filthie buggeries in the darke, with their other prodigious whoredomes, holden a most pure state of liuinge, holy mariage disgraced, contempned, and bannished.

God sayth, thou shalt make no grauen ymage to worshipp. They say, ye shall not only make ymages, but ye shall also gylde them, sense them, worshipp them, and axe helpe of them, for whie they are the layemennis gospell. In dede Porphiriuse, the blasphemouse heretike, and troubler of the Christen Church, as Eusebius reporteth him, was the first that called them the layemennis calender. And though S. Gregorie the Great, cominge after, confirmed the same calender, yet shall it remaine an horrible blasphemie, bycause God hath in paine of dampnacion forbidden it. Epiphanius, that worthie father of the Church, nombreth the worshippinge of our ladyes image among heresies.

If we be of his opinion, we must iudge yow no lesse than most pernicious heretikes. Moreover it is now become a religion agayne in Englande, to call vpon dead men, with *Sancte Petre ora pro nobis.* This also is fatched from the olde paganes sorceries, for holde hath it none of the scriptures canonicall. How howlinge and iabberinge in a foren language shulde become Gods seruice, that can I not tell. But wele I wote that S. Paules doctrine doth vtterly condemne it, as superstitious beggerie, bycause it is but an ydell noise and nothinge to edificacion. 1 Cor. 14.

Some men perauenture will maruele, that I, utteringe matters of Irelande, shulde omitt, in this treatise, to write of coynce and lyuerie: which are so cruell pillages and oppressions of the poore commens there, as are no where els in this whole earthe, neither vndre wicked Saracene nor yet cruell Turke, besides all prodigious kindes of lecherie and other abhominacions, therin committed. Thre causes there are, which hath moued me not to expresse them here. One is, for so much as they pertaine nothinge to the tyttle of this boke, which all concerneth religion. An other is for that the matter is so large, as requireth a muche larger volume.

The thirde cause is, for that I haue knowne ij worthie men, whome I will not now name, to haue done that thinge so exactly, as no man

(I suppose) therein can amende them. But this will I utter breuely, that the Irishe lordes and their vnder captaines, supportinge the same, are not only companions with theues, as the prophete reporteth, Esa. 1, but also they are their wicked maisters and mainteners. So that they both coupled together, the murderer with his maistre, and the thete with his maintener, leyue nothinge vndeououred behinde them in that fertile region, no more than ded the deuouringe locustes of Egypte, Exo. 10. Anon after their haruestes are ended there, the Kearnes, the Galloglasses, and the other brechelesse souldiers, with horses and their horsegromes, sum tyme iij waitinge vpon one iade, enter into the villages with muche crueltie and fearcenesse; they continue there in great rauine and spoyle, and, whan they go thens, they leaue nothinge els behinde them for payment, but lice, lecherye, and intollerable penurie for all the yeare after. Yet set the rulers therupon a very fayre colour, that it is for defence of the Englishe pale. I besiche God to sende such protection a shorte ende, and their lordes and captaines also, if they see it not sone amended. For it is the vtter confusyoa of that lande, and a maintenaunce to all vices.

Thre peoples are in Irelande in these dayes, prestes, lawers, and kearnes, which will not suffre saythe, truthe, and honestye to dwell there; and all these haue but one God, their bellye, and glory in that wicked feate to their shame, whose ende is dampnation, Phil. 3. I speake only of those which are bredde and borne there, and yet not of them ail: These, for the more part, are sworne bretherne together in myschefe, one to maintaine an others maliciouse cause, by further preuily procured. And, to bringe their conceyued wickednesse to passe, they can do great miracles in this age, by vertue of transubstanciation belyke, for therin are they very conninge; for they can very wittely make, of a tame Irishe, a wilde Irishe for nede, so that they shall serue their turne so wele as though they were of the wilde Irishe in dede. Lyke as they ded properly and fynely, in the most shamefull and cruell slaughter of my v. seruantes, by the Lorde Mountgarrettes kearnes, and the barne of Vpper Ossorys farye knyghts. By suche fyne conueniaunce of accusinge the wilde Irishe, and colour of the holy daye broken, as is written afore, they can alwayes apere to haue fayre white handes, and to be innocent maydes, what murder so euer is by them committed. But I axe of the prestes, chiefly of Richard Routhe the treasurer, and of Sir Iames Joys, his companion, what they ment by their so oft rydinge to that barne of Vpper Ossorie, whan I was dwellinge at Holmes Court? Whome they neuerthelesse to me reported, to be the most errande thefe and mercilesse murderer of all the lande. And what they haue ment also, to be so familiar with the furiose famelye of Mountgarrett? Commonly resortinge in the endes of all those iournayes to the howse of Barnabe Bolgar. As I suspected the matter than, so haue I sens that time proued it effectually true. Moreouer, I myght axe of the lawers, why they seeke to haue so many theues and murderers perdoned, specially whan they haue slaine English men, and done their robberies within the English pale? But at this time I leaue them, and returne againe to my purpose.

Now must I saye sumwhat to the, thu carefull churche of Englande, concerninge thy misbehauer against thy most lovinge Creatour. God chose the for his elect vyneyarde; yea, he plenteously poured and prepared the. 'But, whan thu shuldest haue brought hym fourth frute, for grapes thu gauest him thornes,' Esa. 7. He loked to haue had at thy handes, after the gospell preachinge there, faythe, knowledge, feare, loue, repentaunce, obedience, true inuocacion, and hartie thanks for his manifolde giftes, with such other wholsome frutes of lyfe.

And, in stede of them, thu hast brought fourth ydolatrie, blindnesse, impenitencie, frowardnesse, crueltie, pride, fornication, vnclennesse, couetousnesse, ingratefull contempte of the truthe, and hate of the faithfull preachers therof, with other sower crabbes of dampnacion.

Thu woldest fain be like the malignaunt churche of the Papistes, prosperouse and welthye in worldly affaires, and therewith sumwhat gloriouse; but thy eternal father in heauen will uot so haue the, but by persecucions transfourmeth the into the very similitude of his derely beloued Sonne, to whome he hath espoused the, to reigne with him at the lattre in eternal glorie.

God hath sufficiently declared in the scripture, what his churche is in this worlde; as that it is an afflicted and sorowful congregacion, forsaken in a maner, and destitute of all humaine confort in this lyfe. It maye right wele be compared to a flocke of orphans, which, beinge destitute of father and mother, are in this worlde subject to manye sorowfull calamitees and miseryes; but, because that poore churche shulde not utterly discourage, in her extreme aduersitees, the Sonne of God hath taken her to his spowse, and hath promised her protection, helpe, and confort in all her afflictions and pannels: so that she maye at all tymes confort herselfe with this verse of Dauid, 'Though my father and mother hath left me, yet hath the Lorde taken me up for his,' Psalm 26. In the first promyse was she taken to grace after transgression, and assured of delyueraunce from sinne, deathe, helle, and the deuyll; for, if God had not most wonderfully collected her togyther, preserued her, saued her, and defended her, it had not bene possible for her to haue escaped in so horrible daungers, as were in the vniuersall floude, in the burninge of Sodome and Gomer, undre the tirahnie of Pharao, in the iourneie through the Red-sea, in the captiuite of Babylon, and destruction of Ierusalem, and in so manye wonderfull alteracions and terribble ruynes of the Romane empyre, so manye deuyls, paganes, Mahumetes, Turkes, Iewes, epicures, heretykes, popes, bysshoppes, monkes, prestes, and tyrauntes reigninge.

A perpetuall and vnplacable enemye is Sathan, and euermore hath bene to that poore congregacion, sekinge not only to disfigure her, but also to spoyle her and destroye her vtterly. Like as it is sayed, Gen. 3. That he shulde treade Christe on the hele. This exceedinge great benefight of the goodnesse of God ought to be remembred, that he, after the sinne of our first parentes, not only receiued this church to grace, but also hath cuer sens both preserued and defended it; but

alac! great is the vntowardnesse, and muche is the hardenesse of mannis harte, that he neglecteth so high a benefight as is also the patefaction of Christe in the gospel, by whome we are redemed, and so remayne vntankefull for the same. A most swete voyce is it vnto vs, from the Son of God, Iesus Christ, That he will not leaue vs as orphans, or fatherlesse and motherlesse children, without confort, but will come vnto vs, Ioan. 14. That is, like a gentill and mercifull Lorde he will continually stande by his church, assistinge, helpinge, and scouringe it alwaies. 'I will be with yow, saith he, to the end of the worlde,' Math. 28. Lete this be thy confort, thou sorowfull church of Englande, and staie thy selfe in him which was incarnate, lyued, wrought, taught, and dyed for thy sinne; yea, he arose from the deathe and ascended to heauen for thy iustificacion, Rom. 4. Cleaue thou fast to him, repent thy folyes past, and take heede to thy doynges from hensfourth. Praye and fast busily, for this frantick kinde of deuyls is neuer taken awaye, but in prayer and fastinge, Math. 17. So shalt thou be restored plenteously, and flourish in vertues hereafter fruitfully, to the prayse of one God eternal, which liueth and reigneth worlde without ende. Amen.

AN

EPISTLE OF THE LADYE IANE,

A righte vertuous Woman,

TO A LEARNED MAN

Of late false from the Truth of Gods most holy Word, for fear of the Worlde.

Read it, to thy Consolacion.

Whereunto is added,

The Communication that she had with Master Feckenham, vpon her Faith, and Belefe of the Sacraments. Also, another Epistle whiche she wrote to her Sister; with the words she spake vpon the Scaffold before she suffered.

Printed Anno M.D.LIV. Duodecimo, containing Thirty-one Pages.

SO oft as I cal to mind the dreadful and feareful sayings of God, 'That he whiche laieth hold vpon the plough, and looketh back again, is not meete for the kyngdome of heauen:' And, on the other syde, to remember the comfortable words of our Sauour Christ to all those that, forsaking them selues, do folowe him, I cannot but maruel at thee, and lament thy case; that thou, which sometyme wast the liuely member of Christ, but now the defourmed impe of the diuel; sometyme the beautiful temple of God, but now the stincking and filthy

kenell of Sathan; sometye the vnspotted spouse of Christ, but now the unshamefast paramour of Antichrist; sometye my faithful brother, but now a straunger and apostata; yea sometye a stout Christen souldier, but now a cowardly runawaye. So ofte as I consider the threatninges, and promises of God to al those that loue him: I cannot but speak to the, yea, rather cry out vpon the, thou sede of Sathan, and not of Iuda, whom the diuel hathe deceiued, the worlde hath begiled, and desire of life hath subuerted, and made the, of a Christian, an infidel. Wherefore hast thou taken vpon the the testament of the Lord in thi mouth? Wherefore hast thou yelded thi body to the fire, and blodi handes of cruel tirauntes? Wherefore hast thou instructed other to be strong in Christ, when thou thy selfe dost nowe so horribly abuse the testament and law of the Lord? When thou thy selfe preachedst (not to steale) yet most abhominably stealest (not from men) but from God, and as a most hainous sacrelcger, robbest Christ, thi Lorde, of his right of his members, of thi body, and thi soule: When thou thy selfe dost rather chose to liue miserably, with shame, to the world, then to dye, and gloriouslye, with honour, to raigne with Christ; in whom, euen in death, there is life. And, when I say thou thy selfe art most weke, thou oughtest to shew thy selfe moost stronge; for the strength of a forte is not knowne before the assaulte, but thou yeldest thy holde, before any battry be made.

Oh wretched and vnhappy man, What art thou but dust and ashes? And wilt thou resist thy Maker that formed the, and fashioned the? Wilt thou nowe forsake him that called the from costome-gathering, among the Romish Antichristians to be an imbassadour and messenger of his eternall worde, he that first framed the, and since thi creation, and birth, preserued the, norished the, and kept the, yea, and inspired the with the spirit of knowledge (I cannot say of grace) shal he not possesse the? Darest thou deliuer vp thy selfe to another, being not thine owne, but his? How canst thou, hauing knowledge, or how darest thou neglect the law of the Lord, and folow the vaine tradicions of men? And, whereas thou hast been a publicke professour of his name, become now a defacer of his glorie? I will thou refuse the true God, and worshippe the inuencion of manne, the golden calfe, the whoore of Babilon, the Romish religion, the abhominable idol, the most wicked masse? Wilt thou torment againe, rent and teare the most precious bodi of our Sauour Christ, with thi bodily and fleshy teeth? without the breaking wherof vpon the crosse, our sinful sinnes could els nowaies be redeemed? Wilt thou take vpon the to offer vp ani sacrifice vnto God for our synnes? consydering that Christ offred vp him selfe (as Paul saith) vpon the crosse a lyuely sacrifice once for al.

Can neyther the punishment of the Israelites, whiche for their idolatrye so oft they receaued, moue the? Neyther the terrible threatenings of the auncient prophetes stirre thee, nor the curses of Gods own mouth feare the to honour any other God than hym? Wilt thou so regarde him, that spared not his deare and only Sonne for the? So deminishing, yea, vterlye extinguishing his glorie, that thou wilt attribute the praise and honour to idols, whiche haue mouthes, and speake not, eyes, and se not, eares, and yet heare not; which shal perish with

them that made them? What saith the prophet Barucke, wher he reciteth the epistel of Ieremie, written to the captiue Iewes? Did he not forewarne them, that in Babilon thei should se gods of gold, siluer, wood, and stone, borne upon mens shoulders, to cast a fear before the heathen; but he not ye afraide of them (saith Ieremie) nor do as other do; but, when you se other worship them, saye you in your hartes: It is thou, O Lord, that oughtest only to be worshipped: for, as for the timber of those gods, the carpenter framed them, and polyshed them, yea, gylded be they, and laid ouer with siluer, and vayne thynges, and cannot speake. He sheweth, moreouer, the abuse of their deckings, how the priests toke of their ornaments, and appareled their women withall: Howe one holdeth a septer, another a sworde in hys hande, and yet can they iudge in no matter, nor defend them selues, much lesse any other, from either battel, or murther, nor yet from gnawing of woormes, nor anye other euill thyng. These, and such lyke words, speaketh Ieremie vnto them, wherby he proueth them but vain thinges, and no Gods. And, at last, he concludeth thus: Confounded be thei that worship them. They wer warned by Ieremie, and thou, as Ieremie, hast warned other, and art warned thy selfe, by many scriptures, in many places.

God saieth, he is a gelious God, which wil haue al honour, glorye, and worship giuen to him onely. And Christ saith in the fourth of Luke to Sathan, whiche tempted him, euen to the same Sathan, the same Belzabub, the same dyueil, whyche hath prenyed agaynste thee, 'It is written, saith he, thou shalt honour the Lorde thy God, and him onely shalt thou serue.' These, and such like, do prohibite thee and al Christians to worship anie other God then whiche was before all worldes, and laied the foundations bothe of heauen and earth. And wilt thou honour a detestable idol, inuented by Romish popes, and the abhominable colledge of craftie cardinals? Christ offered him selfe vp once for al, and wilt thou offer him vp againe dayly at thy pleasure? But thou wilt saye, thou dost it for a good intent. Oh sincke of sinne, Oh child of perdition! Dost thou dreame therein a good entent, wher thy conscience beareth the witnesse the promys of Gods wrath toward the? How did Saule, who, for that he dysobeyed the word of God for a good entent, was throwen from his worldli and temporal kingdome? Shalt thou then, that dost so deface Gods honor, and robbe him of his right, inherit the eternal and heauenly kingdome? Wilt thou for a good entent pluck Christ oute of heauen, and make hys deathe voyde, and deface the tryumphe of hys crosse, offering hym vp daylye? Wilt thou, eyther for feare of death, or hope of life, deny and refuse thi God, who enriched thi pouerti, healed thine infirmitie, and yelded to this victorie, if thou couldest haue kept it? Dost thou not consider that the thryde of lyfe hangeth vpon hym that made the, who can, as his wyll is, either twine it hard, to last the longer, or vntwine it againe, to breake it the sooner? Doest thou not remember the saying of Dauid, a notable king, whiche teacheth thee, a miserable wretche, hys ciiii Psalme, where he sayth, 'When thou takest away thy Spirit, O Lord, from men, they dye, and ar turned againe to their dust; but, when thou lettest thy breath go fourth, they shal be made, and thou shalt renew the face of the earth.'

Remember the saying of Christ in his gospel, 'Whosoeuer seeketh to

saue his lyfe, shal lese it; but whosoever wil lese it for mi sake, shal find it.' And in another place, 'Whosoever loveth father or mother above me, is not mete for me: For he that wyll be my dysciple, must forsake father and mother, and him selfe, and take vp his crosse and folow me.' What crosse? the crosse of infamy and shame, of misery and poverty, of affliction and persecution, for hys names sake.

Let the oft falling of those heavenly showres pearce thy stonye hart. Let the two edged sword of Gods holy word, shere a sonder the sewed together sinowes of worldly respectes, euen to the very mari of thy carnal hart, that thou maicst once againe forsake thy self, and embrace Christ; and like as good subjectes wil not refuse to hazard al in the defence of hys earthly and temporal gouernour: So flye not lyke a white hewed milksoppe from thy standyng, wherein thy chief captaine, Christ, hath set the in a rai of this life, *Viriliter age, confortetur cor tuum, & sustine Dominum*. Fight manfullye, come lyfe, come death, the quarel is Gods, and vndoubtedly the victorie is ours. But thou wilt say, I will not break vnitie. What, not the vnitie of Sathan and his members? Not the vnitie of darknes, the agreement of Antichrist, and hys adhearentes? Nay, thou deceivest thy selfe with fond imaginations of such an vnitie as is among the enemyes of Christ. Were not the false prophetes in an vnitie? Were not Iosephs brethren and Iacobs sonnes in an vnitie? Were not the Heathen, as the Amelechites, the Feresites, and Iebusites, in an vnitie? I kepe no order, but rather looke to mi matter. Were not the Scribes and Pharisees in an vnitie? Doth not King David testifie, *Convenerunt in unum adversus dominum*? Yea, theeues and murderers, conspiratours, hane theyr vnitie.

But marke, my frende (ye frende) if thou be not Gods enemy: ther is no vnitie but wher Christ knitteth the knotte among such as be hys. Yea, be you wel assured, that, where his truthe is resident, there it is veriefyed that he sayeth, *non veni mittere pacem in terram, sed gladium*. That is, Christ came to set one against another; the sonne against the father, the daughter against the mother. Deceiue not thi selfe therefore with the glysteryng and gloryous name of vnitie; for Antichrist hath his vnitie, yet not in deede, but in name. The agreement of euery man is not an vnitie, but a conspiracie.

Thou hast heard some threatenings, some curses, and some admonishions oute of the Scripture, to those that loue themselves aboute Christ; thou hast heard also the sharpe and byting wordes, to those that denye him for loue of life. Saieth he not, that 'he that denieth me before men, I wyl denye hym before my father in heauen? And to the same effecte wryteth Sainte Paule. Hebru. vi. 'It is impossible (saith he) that they, which be once lightned, and haue tasted of the heavenly gyfte, and be partakers of the Holy Ghost, and haue tasted of the good worde of God, if they fal and slide away, it is impossible that they shuld be renewed againe by repentaunce, crucifyinge againe to themselves the Sonne of God, and makinge him a mocking-stocke.' And again, saith he, 'If we shal willinglie sinne, after we haue receiued the knowledge of the truthe, there is no oblation left for sinne, but the terrible expectation of iudgement, and fire, which shall deuour the aduersaries.' Thus S. Paule writeth, and this thou readest, and

dost thou not quake and tremble? Well, yf these terrible and thundring threatninges cannot stur thee, to cleaue unto Christ, and forsake the world, yet let the swete consolacions and promises of the scriptures, let the example of Christ and his apostles, holi martirs and confessours, encourage the to take faster hold by Christ. Harken what Esay saith, 'Blessed are you when men reuile you, and persecute you for my sake; reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen; for so persecuted thei the prophets before you.' Heare what Esay saith, 'Feare not the curse of men, be not afraid of thei blasphemies and reuylynges; for wormes and mothes shal eate them vp like clothe and wol, but my righteousnes shal endure for euer, and my sauing-health from generation to generation. What art thou then, saith he, that fearest a mortal man, the child of a man, that fadeth away as doth the flower, and forgettest the lorde that made the, that spread out the heauens, and laid the foundations of the earth. I am the Lord thy God that maketh the Sea to rage, and to be styll, who is the Lord of hosts. I shal put my word in thy mouth. and defend the with the turning of a hand.' And our Sauour Christ saith to his disciples, 'They shall accuse you, and brynge you before the princes and rulers, for mi names sake. And some of you thei shal persecute and kil, but feare you not, saith he, neither care you not what you shal say, for it is mi spirit that speaketh in you, the hand of the highest shal defend you, for the heares of your head are nombred, and none of them shal perish. I have layed vp treasure for you, saith he, where no theefe can steale, nor moth corrupt, and happye are you, if you endure to the end. Feare not them, saith Christ, that haue power ouer the bodi only, but feare him that hath power both ouer the bodi and soul. The world loueth her owne, and, if ye wer of the world, the world wold loue you; but you are mine, therefore the world doth hate you.' Lette these and such like consolacions, out of the scriptures, strengthen you to godward. Let not the ensamples of holy men and women go out of your mind, as Daniel, and the rest of the prophetes, of the three children, of Eleazarus, that constant father, of the vii. of the Machabes children, of Peter, Paule, Steuen, and other apostles and holi martirs in the beginning of the church. As of good Simeon Archbishop of Seloma, and Zetrophone, with insynite other vnder Sapoires the King of the Persians and Indians, who contempned al tormentes deuysed by the tiraunts, for theyr Sauours sake, Returne, returne, againe into Christes warre, and, as becommeth a faithful warriour, put on that armour that S. Paule teacheth to be moste necessarye for a Christian man. And, aboue al thynges, take to you the sheylde of faythe.

And be ye prouoked, by Christes owne example, to withstande the deuyl, to forsake the world, and to become a true and faithful member of his mystical body, who spared not his own body for our sins. Throwe doune thy selfe with the feare of his thretned vengeance for this so great and heinous offence of apostacy, and comfort your selfe on the other part with the mercy, bloud, and promises of him that is ready to tourne to you, whensoever thou tourne to him. Disdaine not to come again with the lost son, seinge you haue so wandred with him. Be

not ashamed to tourne again with him from the swil of straungers, to the delicates of the moste benign and louing father, acknoledginge, that you haue sinned against heauen and earth. Against heauen, by staynyng his glorious name, and caused his most cinsere and pure worde to be euil spoken of, through you. Against earth, by offending your so many weak brethren, to whom you haue bene a stombling-blocke through your sodaine slidinge.

Be not ashamed to come againe with Marye, and to wepe bitterly with Peter, not only with shedding of teares out of your bodely eyes: but also powring out the streames of your heart, to wash awaye out of the sight of God the filth and mire of your offensive fal. Be not ashamed to saye with the publicane: 'Lord be merciful to me a sinner.' Remember the horrible history of Iulien of old, and the lamentable case of Fraunces Spira of late, whose case (me thyncketh) should be yet so grene in your remembraunce, that, being a thing of our time, you should fear the like inconuenience, seinge that you are fallen into the like offence. Last of al, let the liuely remembraunce of the last day be alwaies afore your eyes, remembering the terrour that suche shal be in at that time, with the runnagates and fugetiues from Christ, whiche setting more by the worlde, then by heauen, more by their life, then bi him, that gaue them their life, did shrink, yea did cleaue fal away from him that neuer forsoke them. And contrary wise the inestimable ioyes prepared for them that feared no pael, nor, dreading death, haue manfully fought, and victoriouslye triumphed ouer al power of darknes, ouer hel, death, and damnation, through their most redoubted captain Christ, who now stretcheth out his armes to receiue you, ready to fal vpon your necke and kisse you, and last of al to feast you with the deinties and delicates of his own precious bloud, which vndoutedly, if it might stand wyth his determinate purpose, he wold not let to shed againe rather then you should be lost. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be honoure, prayse, and glorie euerlastingly. *Amen.*

Be constant, be constant, feare not for payne:
Christ hath redemed the, and heauen is thy gayne.

A certayne commenyation, betwene the Ladye Iane, and Master Feckenham, iiii Dayes before her death, euen word for word, her own Hand being put therto.

Feckenham first speaketh.

WHAT thing is required in a Christian?

Iane. To beleue in God the Father, in God the Sonne, in God the Holi Gost, thre persons and one God.

Fecken. Is ther nothing els required in a Christian, but to beleue in God?

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Iane. Yes, we must beleue in hym, we must loue hym, with al our hart, with al our soule, and al our minde, and our neyghbour as our selfe.

Fecken. Why then faith iustifieth not, nor saueth not.

Iane. Yes verely, faith (as St. Paule saith) only iustifieth.

Fecken. Whi S. Paule saith: If I haue al faith without loue, it is nothing.

Iane. True it is, for howe can I loue hym, in whom I trust not? Or howe can I trust in hym, whom I loue not? Faith and loue agreeth both together, and yet loue is comprehended in faith.

Fecken. Howe shall we loue oure neyghbour?

Iane. To loue oure neyghbour, is to feede the hungri, clothe the naked, and geue drinke to the thirstie, and to do to hym, as we wold do to our selues.

Fecken. Why then it is necessary to saluation to do good workes, and it is not sufficient to beleue?

Iane. I deny that, and I affirme that faith onely saueth. But it is mete for Christians, in token that thei folow their master Christ, to do good workes, yet may we not say that thei profit to saluacion. For, although we haue al don al that we can, yet we be vnprofitable seruantes, and the faith onely in Christes bloude saueth,

Fecken. Howe many sacramentes be there?

Iane. Two; the one the sacrament of baptisme, and the other the sacrament of oure Lordes Supper.

Fecken. No, ther be vii.

Iane. By what scripture find you that?

Fecken. Well, we will talke ther of hereafter. But what is signified by youre two sacramentes?

Iane. Bi the sacrament of baptisme, I am washed with water, and regenerated bi the Spirite; and that washing is a token to me, that I am the child of God. The sacrament of the Lordes supper is offred vnto me as a sure seale and testimoni, that I am by the blood of Christe, whiche he shedde for me on the crosse, made partaker of the euerlasting kyngdome.

Fecken. Why, what do you receiue in that bread? Do you not receiue the very body and bloude of Christ?

Iane. No surely, I do not beleue so. I thinck that at that supper I receiue neither flesh, nor blood, but only bread and wine. The which breade when it is broken, and the wine when it is dronke, putteth me in minde, howe that for my sins the body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed on the crosse, and, with that bread and wine, I receiue the benefites that cam bi breaking of his bodi, and bi the shedyng of his blood on the crosse for mi sins.

Fecken. Why, doth not Christ speake these wordes: Take, eate, this is my bodi? Require we any plainer wordes? Doth not he say, that it is hys body?

Iane. I graunt he saith so, and so he saith: I am the vine, I am the doore, but yet he is neuer the more the vine nor doore. Doth not S. Paule say, that he calleth those thinges that are not, as though thei were? God forbid that I shuld say that I eate the very natural

bodi and bloud of Christ, for then eyther I shuld pluk awai my redemption, either els ther wer ii. bodics, or ii. Christes or els ii. bodics? the one bodi was tormented on the crosse, and then, if thei did eate another bodi, then either he had ii. bodics, either els, if his bodi were eaten, it was not broken vpon the crosse; or els, if it wer broken vpon the crosse, it was not eaten of his disciples.

Fecken. Whi is it not as possible, that Christ by his power coulede make his bodi both to be eaten and broken, as to be borne of a woman, without the seide of man, and as to walke on the sea, hauing a bodi, and other such like miracles as he wrought by his power onelye?

Iane. Yes, vereli, if God wold haue done at his supper a miracle, he might haue don so; but I say he minded no worke, or miracle, but only to breake his bodi, and shed his bloud on the crosse for our sins. But I pray you answer me to thys one question, Wher was Christ when he sayd: Take, eat, this is my bodi? Was not he at the table when he said so? He was at that time aliuie, and suffred not, til the next daye. Well what tooke he, but breade? And what brake he, but breade? And what gaue he, but breade? Looke what he toke, he brake; and looke what he brake, he gaue; and looke what he gaue, that did they eate; and yet al this while he hym selfe was at supper before his disciples, or els they were deceiued.

Fecken. You ground your faith vpon suche authors as say and vnsay, both with a breathe, and not vpon the churche, to whom you ought to geue credyt.

Iane. No, I ground my faith vpon Gods word, and not vpon the churche. For, if the churche be a good churche, the faith of the churche must be tried by Gods word, and not Gods word by the churche, neither yet mi faith. Shall I beleue the churche, because of antiquitie? Or shall I geue credit to that churche, that taketh awai from me that half parte of the Lordes supper, and wyl let no lai man receiue it in both kyndes, but them selues? Which thing if they denye to vs, thei denie us part of our saluation; and I say that is an euyll church, and not the spouse of Christ, but the spouse of the diuel, that alreth the Lordes supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that churche I saye, God wyl adde plagres, and from that churche wyl he take their parte out of the Booke of Lyfe. Do you not learne that of S. Paule, when he ministred it to the Corinthians, in both kyndes? shall I beleue that churche? God forbid.

Fecken. That was done of a good intent of the church to auoide an heresi that sprong on it.

Iane. Whi, shal the churche alter Gods wyl and ordinaunces, for a good intent? How did King Saul the Lord define? With these and such like perswasions, he wolde haue had me to haue leaned to the churche, but it would not be. Ther wer many mo thinges, whereof we reasoned, but these wer the chief.

*Be me
Iane Dudley.*

These woordes were spoken openlye. After this master Feckenham tooke his leaue, sayinge, that he was sorie for her. For, said he, I am sure we two shal neuer mete. Trothe it is, quoth she, that we shall neuer mete, vnlesse God turne your hart. For I am sure, vnlesse you repent and turne to God, you ar in an euyl case, and I pray to God, in the bowels of his mercie, to sende you his holy spirite. For he hath geuen you his great gift of vtteraunce, if it please him to open the eyes of your hart to his truth. And so she departed.

AN EXHORTATION

Written by the Lady Iane, the Night before she suffered, in the Ende of the New Testament, in Greke, which she sent to her Sister,

LADY KATERINE.

J HAUE here sent you, good sister Katerine, a boke, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardli it is more worth then precious stones. It is the boke (deare sister) of the lawe of the Lorde. It is his Testament and last Wil, whiche he bequethed vnto vs wretches, whiche shal leade you to the path of eternall ioye. And if you with a good mynde read it, and with an earnest desire folowe it, it shal bring you an immortal and euerlasting life. It will teache you to liue and learne you to dye. It shal winne you more, then you should haue gained by the possession of your woful fathers landes. For, as if God had prospered him you should haue inherited his landes; so, if you appli diligently this boke, seking to direct your life after it, you shal be an inheritour of sutch riches, as neither the couetous shal withdraw from you, neither the theife shal steale, neither yet the mothes corrupte. Desire with Daudid (good sister) to vnderstand the lawe of the Lord your God. Liue stil to dye, that you by death maye purchase eternall life. And trust not that the tendernes of your age shal lengthen your life; for assone (if God cal) goth the yong as the olde. And laboure alwaye to learne to dye. Deny the world, defie the deuil, and dispise the flesh, and delight your selfe only in the Lord. Be penitent for your sinnes, and yet dispaire not: Be strong in faith, and yet presume not; and desire with S. Paule to be dissolued, and to be with Christe, with whom, euen in death ther is life.

Be like the good seruaunt, and euen at midnight be waking; least, when death commeth and steale vpon you, like a theife in the nighte, you be with the deuils seruaunt found sleping; and least for lacke of oyle ye bee founde like the fye foolishhe women, and like him that had not on the wedding garment; and then you be cast out from the marriage. Reioyce in Christ, as I trust ye do. And seinge ye haue the name of a Christian, as nere as ye can, folow the steppes of your master Christ, and take vp your crosse, lay your sinnes on his backe, and alwaies imbrace him. And, as touching my death, reioyce as I do (good sister) that I shal be deliuered of this corruption, and put on

incorruption. For I am assured, that I shal, for losing of a mortal life, winne an immortal life. The whiche I praye God graunt you, sende you of his grace to liue in his feare, and to dye in the true Christian faith. From the whiche, in Gods name, I exhorte you that ye neuer swarue, neither for hope of life, nor fear of death. For if ye wil deny his truth, to lengthen your life: God wil deny you, and yet shorten your daies. And, if ye wil cleaue to him, he wil prolonge your daies, to your comforte, and his glory. To the which glory, God bringe me nowe, and you hereafter, whan it shal please God to cal you. Far well, good sister, and put your onely trust in God, who onely must helpe you. Amen.

Your louing sister,

IANE DUDLEY.

The Lady Ianes Wordes vpon the Scaffold.

‘GOOD Christen people, I am vnder a lawe, and by a lawe I am condemned to dye, not for ani thing I haue offended the Quenes Maiesti, for I wil wash my hands giltles therof, but only for that I consented to the thing whiche I was inforced vnto. Notwithstanding I haue offended Almyghtie God, for that I haue folowed ouer much the lust of mi flesh, and the pleasure of this wretched world, and I haue not liued according to the knowledge that God hath geuen me; wherfor God hath plagued me nowe wyth thys kinde of death, and that worthyey accordyng to my desertes. Howebeit I thancke him hartelie that he hath geuen me time to repent my syns here in this world. Wherfor, good Christian people, I shal desyre you al to pray with me, and for me, while I am now aliue, that God of his goodnes will forgeue me my sinnes. And I pray you al to beare me witnesse, that I here dye a true Christian woman, and that I truste to be saued by the bloud of Iesus Christ, and bi none other meanes; and now I pray you al, ‘pray for me, and with me, and so saied the Psalm of *Miserere mei*; that don, she saied, Lorde saue my soule, whyche now I commend into thy handes and so prepared her selfe meekelie to the blocke.’

A DECLARATION
OF THE
QUENES MAIESTIE, ELIZABETH,
BY THE GRACE OF GOD,
QUENE OF ENGLAND, FRAUNCE, AND IRELANDE,
DEFENDOR OF THE FAYTH, &c.

Conteyning the causes which haue constraigned her to arme certeine of her subiectes, for defence both of her owne estate, and of the mooste Christian Kyng, Charles the Nynth, her good brother, and his subiectes. Septemb. 1562. Imprinted at London, in Powles Churchyarde, by Kycharde Iugge and Iohn Cawood, printers to the Quenes Maiestie. Cum Priuilegio Regis Maiestatis. In Quarto, containing thirteen pages, black letter.

This political Queen, Elisabeth, having discovered, that great endeavours were carrying on by the Papists to restore their religion by force of arms, under a pretence of the Queen of Scotland's title to the crown of England; and that the duke of Guise was to assist her rebellious subjects, with a French army, to execute their treason; and that the duke of Guise, with the Cardinal of Lorraine, had engaged the King of Navarre, or Anthony of Bourbon, to their support; with a promise to guarantee to the said king the crown of England, if he would assist in dethroning Elisabeth; she resolved to support the French Huguenots, in opposition to the Guises, and procured for them a favourable edict, called, the Edict of January.

The duke of Guise, penetrating into the Queen's intentions, concerted and assisted in the execrable massacre of Vassy; which at once deprived the Queen Regent of Fraunce, and her son the King, of their liberty, and obliged the Huguenots, or French protestants, to desire succours from Queen Elisabeth; promising to put her in possession of 'Havre de Grace,' till she had Calais restored to the Crown of England.

The Queen, glad of this opportunity to declare against the Guises, agrees to furnish them with an hundred-thousand crowns, and six-thousand foot; and then published the following declaration, or manifesto, viz.

ALTHOUGH the myserable and afflicted estate of the realme of Fraunce is to be lamented of all Chrystien Princes and nacions, and requyrethe som good remedie, not only for preservation of the Kyng there, with the Quene his mother, and the subiectes of that realme from danger and ruyne; but also for the staye of the reste of Christendome in peace, and to be free from the lyke cyuyle warre,

into the whiche, as it appeareth by these straunge dealinges in the sayde realme, it is meant the same shall fall; yet there is no prince, that hath more iuste cause to haue regarde herunto, nor that hath more indifferently and earnestly intended the recouery of quietnesse and accomde therin, than the Quenes maiestie of this realme of Englande, both by her owne gracious disposition, and by aduys of her counsell. For, as the matter is nowe playnly discouered to the worlde, and as her maiestie hath proued the same sufficientlye by her owne late experience, she is not only touched, as other princes ought to be, with great compassion and commiseration for the vnnaturall abusyng of the French Kyng, her good brother, by certen of his subiectes, the daunger of his person and his bloud, the lamentable and barbarous destruction, hauocke, and spoyle of so manye Chrystien innocent people beyonde all measure: but her maiestie also euidently seeth before her eyces, that, yf some good remedye be not, by Gods goodnesse, prouided in season, the very fyre, that is nowe kindeled and dispersed there, is purposely ment and intended to be conueyed and blowne ouer to inflame this her crowne and her realme. Whiche greate peryll, although it be so playnly sene to all wyse and prouident men, both at home and abroad, that they can not mislyke her care and prouidence to remedye the same in tyme; yet hath her maiestie thought not vnmeetē to notifie some parte of her dealynges herin, so as it shall well appeare howe sincerely her maiestie hath both hytherto proceeded with her neyghbours, and how playnly and vprightly she is determined to continue.

Fyrst, It hath ben well sene to the worlde, howe well disposed her maiestie was, euen at the beginning of her raigne*, to the restitution of peace to Christendome, that, for loue therof, was contented to forbear for certen yeres the restitution† of a portion of her auncient dominion, when all other parties to the same peace, with whom, and by whose alliaunce her crowne susteyned losse, were immediately restored to the most parte of their owne in possession: and yet it can not be forgotten, within howe short a space, or rather no space after, and by whom, and vpon howe greate, euidente, and iuste causes (aswell by meanes of force and armes first taken, as by other open attemptes agaynst her maiestie) she was constrained to prepare like armes of defence only, euen for her whole crowne and kingdome, and ioynly therewith for the safetie of her next neyghbours‡ from a playne tyrannye. And also howe sincerely her maiestie proceeded therin||, firste, by sundry requestes and meanes made to forbear theiyr attemptes; next, by open declaration of her intent to be onely for defence of her selfe, and by the whole handelyng of the matter; and, lastly, by the euent and issue of the cause all the worlde hath clerely vnderstande.

After which daungerous troubles pacified the quene of Scottes, at her returne to her countreye, felyng the greate commoditie herof folow- yng, both to her selfe and her realme, and vnderstanding the sincere dealyng of the Quenes maiestie in all her former actions, dyd by diuers meanes geue signification to her maiestie, of a greate desire to

* 1 Apryl, 1550. The peace made at Casteau, in Cambresy. Callays, which was to be restored to the Quene of Englande.

† 20 Apryll, 1560.

B b 4

‡ The Towne of
§ The Scots.

enter with her into a strayghter kynde of amitie: Wherunto her maiestie, being of her owne nature much enclined, redely accorded. And howe farre and prosperously they both proceded therein by many and sundry mutuall offices of frendshippe, aswel the good wyl shewed by her maiestie to the Quene of Scottes vnckes, the Guyuses, and to all her frendes and ministers passyng and repassyng through this her realme; as also the accorde of the enteruiue intended betwixt them both, this last sommer*, hath well declared.

But, in the midst of these her maiesties quiet and peacyble determinations, she hath ben, to her great griefe, vtterly disapoynted; and constraigned, for her owne interest, to attende and intermedle in the pacification of these great troubles in Fraunce neare to her realme, the same beyng styrred vp by suche, as both were her laste manifest great enemies, and haue also (they know howe) continued the cause of mistrust tyl this day, by manifest argumentes of iniustice, which her maiestie is contented to conceale, for the great affection that she beareth to the Scottyshe Quene. Fyrste, her maiestie at the beginning, doubting, by the encrease of these Frenche troubles, that not onely that realme should fall into daunger of ruine † by diuision, as it now is; but also that the reste of Christendome, and specially her owne realme, both for the nearenesse thereto, and for the respectes of them which were the principall aucthours and parties in these troubles, shoulde be also disturbed and brought to daunger; vsed all the meanes that might be, by messages, by solicitations, by aduyse, yea, by a speciall ambassade ‡ of a person of good credite, to haue some mediation made betwixt these parties beyng at controuersie. But suche was the policie and violence of the one partie in hasty proceadyng, euen at the firste, as no mediation coulde be harde of, or allowed. And yet coulde not her maiestie discontinue her good intent, but, scyng the cruelties encrease, the bloudsheddyng and murders continue; yea, which was most peryllous, the yonge Kyng, and the Quene his mother, being sodeynlye assayled, and founde without force, were directed and drawen altogether, by the verye aucthours of the troubles, to suffer theyr name and auctoritie to be abused, euen to the kyllinge of the Kynges owne vnarmed innocente people, the spoylyng of his ryche townes, the breakyng of his best aduysed edictes, the persecutyng of his owne bloud and his nobilitie, the destroying of his faithfull approued || seruantes, with many suche other heapes of mischiefes; and all these for no other cause, but for the particular appetites of some, and to breake with violence the ordinaunces § of the realme, specyallye those which were lately deuysed by the long and great councill of the realme, both for quietnesse in matters of religion, and for the reliefe of the Kynges estate diuers wayes ¶.

And, finally, her Maiestie vnderstandyng very certainly of an open destruction and subuersion ** there, put already in vre, and lyke-

* 1562.

+ 1 March, 1562. The slaughter of Vassy.

‡ 29 April, 1562.

Syr Henry Sidney, Lord President in Wales.

† Protestant.

§ Of the great

Parliament at Orléans, in Jan. 1560.

¶ The Edict of 17 Jan. 1562.

** The slaughters at Vassy, Paris, Sens, Tholose, Blois, Tours, Angers, and other places, by credible estimation reported out of Fraunce, to the number of an hundred thousand persons, between the 1st of March and the 20th of August last.

wyse intended against all states and persons professyng the gospell abroad, her Maiestie thought it very nedefull to thynke of some other meanes of more efficacie to induce the aucthours of those troubles to geue care to some reasonable mocions of accomde, and not to aduenture the ruine of a realme for theyr particuler appetites; and therefore determined * to sende a solempne ambassade of a certeine nombre of personages of her counsell, being of great auctoritie, experience, and indifferencie, to repayre into Fraunce, to assay howe some staye myght be reasonably deuysed for these extremities, by perscruyng of both partes indifferently, to the seruice of the kyng theyr soueraigne, according to theyr estates of byrth and calling.

But this maner of proceeding also could no wyse be lyked nor allowed, neither coulde answer be hadde hereunto from the good yonge kyng, nor the timerous quene his good mother, without the onely direction of that part, which both began and continued the troubles from the begynnynge.

And whylest her Maiestie was thus well occupied, meanyng principallye the weale and honour of the Kyng, her good brother; and, secondly, well towards both the parties beyng at deuision, without the priedice of eyther; a playne contrary course and proceeding was vsed agaynst her Maiestie, by the whiche was made manifest what was further ment and intended by them that had so often tymes refused to heare her Maiestie speake for mediation and accomde. All her Maiesties subiectes aad marchauntes, aswell of her cities of London and Excester, as of other porte townes in the west partes of the realme, beyng at that very tyme† in diuers partes of the countrey of Brytayne, resortyng thither onely for trade of marchaundizes, and ready to returne to theyr owne portes, were in the same tyme‡ apprehended, spoyled, miserably imprisoned; yea, such, as sought to defend themselves, cruelly kylled, theyr shypes taken, theyr goodes and marchaundize seased, and nothyng sayde nor deuysed to charge them, but onely furiouslye calling them al Hugenotz: a word, though very strange and folyshe to many of the honest marchauntes and poore maryners, yet fully sufficient to declare from whence these commaundementes came, and what their intent is to prosecute, when theyr tyme shall serue them. Neither were these spoyle small or few, but in value and nombre greate and many; neither done by private furye, but by publique officers, who were also mainteined by gouernours of the countreys; yea, none of her Maiesties subiectes were there spared, that coulde be taken, though some escaped with great hazarde. Well; herof complaint was made||, where it ought to be, but therein hath ben as small regard had, as was before for robbing of her Maiesties owne messengers with her letters from her embassadour, and yet the fact vnpunished, without any satisfaction for the same: wherein her Maiestie surely noteth and pitieth the lacke, rather of auctoritic, then of good wyll, in the Kyng, or the Quene his mother, or the Kyng of Nauarre his lieuetenant; but see the manifestly, by this, and by al other proceedings, in what harde tearmes the estate of the yong kyng is set,

* 25 July, 1562.

† 30 July.

‡ 19 Aug. 1562.

§ 20 Aug. 1562.

that can neither be permitted to preserve his own people and servauntes, his owne lawes and ordinaunces, neither to aunswere to other princes and people, in fourme of iustice, that which he ought to do.

Vpon these, and other former daungerous enterprises agaynste her Maiestie and her crowne, may it well appeare, to all persons of indifferent iudgement, howe these violent proceedynges in Fraunce, conducted at this tyme by the Duke of Guyse and his adherentes, do touch the Quenes Maiestie much nearer for her state and realme, then anye other prince of Christendome. Wherefore, seying the auctoritie of the King and the Quene his mother, with theyr quiet good counsellours, can not at this tyme haue place to direct theyr affayres, neyther towards theyr owne people, nor towards theyr neyghbours; neither can any mediation, sought by her Maiestie, for concorde, be allowed; but, contrarywise, the tender persons of the king, and the quene his mother, be manifestly abused, and daungerouslye caried about, for the particuler pleasures onely of a fewe persons, and specially those of Guyse, to waste the kinges countreys, to sacke and spoyle his ryche and greate townes, to kyll and murder the multitude of his good and true subiectes: And, seying also the quarrell manifestly publyshed, and prosecuted, both by wrytyng and otherwyse, by them, is to subuert the whole profession of true * religion through Christendome by force, without mercy, and thereby to stirre vp a ciuile blouddy lamentable warre in all Christendome. Lastly, seying they, whiche be the aucthous and mainteyners of all these diuisions, are well knowne to the worlde to be the same that, when tyme serued them, bent theyr whole endeouours to offende and diminishe the crowne and dignitie of this realme of Englande †; and of late tyme, for the exaltation of theyr particuler house, deuysed vnjustly to assayle the whole crowne of Englande ‡ by sundrye wayes; though, by Gods goodnes, theyr practises and counsels turned, for that tyme, to theyr owne confusion, as, by the same goodnes, they shall at all tymes hereafter.

Howe may her Maiestie, without note of manifest vnkyndnes to her deare yonge brother and confederat; of vnmercifulnes to her next neyghbours, his subiectes; of vncaresfulnes to the common quiet of Christendome; and, lastly, whiche is nearest to her selfe, of mere negligence to the suertie of her owne estate, her country, and people, suffer these fewe troublesome men, firste, to destroye and shedde the bloud of a number of Chrystien people, whose bloud, by nearnesse of place to her maiesties realme, may be stopped, or some wyse sauved: Nexte, to surprise and take such townes and hauens, whereby theyr former long intended and manyfest practises agaynst the crowne of this realme may be most easily for them, and daungerously for this realme, put in vre and execution. Wherefore, for these reasonable, evident, vrgent, and necessary considerations, and not without the lamentable and continuall request of the Frenche kynges subiects, her maiesties nexte neyghbours, crying to her maiestie onelye for defence of themselves, their portes, and townes, from tyranny and subuersion, duryng this theyr kynges minoritie,

* Protestant and Evangelical. † By denying the restitution of Calice. ‡ From 1560, there were French armies sent by way of Scotlande, and other donjays, to clayme the crowne of Englande, &c.

or, at the least, during this his vnhabilitie to pacifie these troubles; her Maiestie hath put certayne numbres of her subiectes in order, both by sea and land, to saue some parte of her good brothers innocent people from this tyranny, slaughter, and ruine; and to preserue some speciall townes and portes of importaunce for the kyng, her good brother, that they come not into the possession of them; who, yf they hadde them, myght more easely therby prosecute theyr old particuler practises against this realme, as in tymes lately paste they dyd manifestly attempte; wherby of necessitie they muste nedes endaunger the perpetuities of the peace betwixt the Frenche kyng and her Maiestie, and so, consequentelye, though agaynste the meanyng of the kyng, depriue her Maiestie of her good ryght to her towne of Callyce, and the membres thereof, wherof it behoueth her Maiestie, as thinges be handled, to haue good regarde. And in this sort her Maiestie doubteth not, but the sinceritie of her doynge, tending onely to procure Chrystien quietnes, by sauing of Chrystien bloud, shal wel please Almyghtie God; content the kyng her good brother, when he shal be in estate and libertie, to ponder the same indifferentlye; and serue also for the iuste and naturall defence of her selfe, her people, and countreys; and, finallye, by Gods grace, shal establishe the continuance of some more assured peace and concorde betwixt both theyr Maiesties and countreys, so as eyther of them quietly enioy and rule theyr own. And, in the meane time, her Maiestie assurth the sayde kyng, the quene his mother, the kyng of Navare, and al his good counsellours and subiectes, that, whatsoever anye malicious or discontented person shall sinisterly report of her intent and doynge, her Maiestie meaneth nothing herin, but sincerely, and as the necessitie of the time and cause requireth, without vsurpyng any thyng, or doying wrong or violence towards any the French kynges subiects; protesting before God and all the worlde, that her meanyng is for a necessary defence onely of the true and good subiectes of the Frenche kyng, whiche otherwyse apparantly, in this troublesome tyme, shoulde be violentlye kyllled or destroyed: And so, consequentelye, her Maiestie intendeth, by al maner of meanes possible, to kepe and continue good peace with the sayde Kyng and all his countreys, and to neglect no reasonable meanes, that may procure libertie to hym selfe, and quietnesse betwixt his subiectes; which then shall succede, when it shall please Almyghtie God to geue to the first and chiefe authours* of these troubles grace to content them selues with theyr owne estates, and to lyue within the compasse of theyr degrees, lyke quiet subiectes, and fauourers of the common peace and tranquillitie of Christendome: A matter more necessarye at this tyme to be sought for, rather by coniunction of Christen princes and states in vnitie of mynde, and loue of peace and concorde, then in this sorte by sworde and fyre, by priuate deuises and secrete factions to stirre a deuision and ciuile warre in Christendome, vnder the cloke and pretence of religion.

* The Guises.

A LETTER

FROM

SIR HENRY SIDNEY, TO HIS SON, SIR PHILIP SIDNEY,

Consisting of

RULES, IN HIS CONDUCT IN LIFE.

MS.

Son Philip,

I HAVE received two letters from you, the one written in Latin, the other in French, which I take in good part, and will you to exercise that practice of learning often, for it will stand you in stead, in that profession of life which you are born to live in; and now, since that this is my first letter that ever I did write to you, I will not, that it be all empty of some advices, which my natural care of you provoketh me to with you, to follow as documents to you in this tender age. Let your first action be the lifting up of your hands and mind to Almighty God, by hearty prayer, and feelingly digest the words you speak in prayer with continual meditations and thinking of him to whom you pray, and use this at an ordinary hour, whereby, the time itself will put you in remembrance to do that thing which you are accustomed in that time.

2. Apply your study such hours as your discreet master doth assign you earnestly, and the time I know he will so limit, as shall be both sufficient for your learning, and safe for your health; and mark the sense and matter of that you read, as well as the words; so shall you both enrich your tongue with words, and your wit with matter; and judgment will grow, as years grow on you.

3. Be humble and obedient to your master, for unless you frame yourself to obey, yea, and to feel in yourself what obedience is, you shall never be able to teach others, how to obey you hereafter.

4. Be courteous of gesture, and affable to all men with universality of reverence, according to the dignity of the person; there is nothing that winneth so much with so little cost.

5. Use moderate diet, so as after your meat you may find your wit fresher, and not duller; and your body more lively, and not more heavy.

6. Seldom drink wines, and yet sometimes do, lest being forced to drink upon the sudden, you should find yourself inflamed.

7. Use exercise of body, but such as is without peril of your bones or joints; it will much increase your force, and enlarge your breath.

8. Delight to be cleanly, as well in all parts of your body, as in your garments; it shall make you grateful in each company, and otherwise loathsome.

9. Give yourself to be merry, for you degenerate from your father, if you find not yourself most able in wit and body to do any thing, when you be most merry; but let your mirth be ever void of all scurrility and biting words to any man, for a wound given by a word is harder to be cured than that which is given by a sword.

10. Be you rather a hearer and bearer away of other men's talk than a beginner, or procurer of speech, otherwise you will be accounted to delight to hear yourself speak.

11. Be modest in each assembly, and rather be rebuffed of light fellows for a maiden shamedness, than of your sober friends, for pert boldness.

12. Think of every word you will speak before you utter it, and remember how nature hath, as it were, rampired up the tongue with teeth, lips, yea, and hair without the lips, and all betoken reins and bridles to the restraining the use of that member.

13. Above all things tell no untruth, no not in trifles, the custom of it is naught; and let it not satisfy you, that the hearers for a time take it for a truth, for afterwards it will be known as it is to shame, and there cannot be a greater reproach to a gentleman than to be accounted a liar.

14. Study and endeavour yourself to be virtuously occupied, so shall you make such a habit of well doing, as you shall not know how to do evil though you would.

15. Remember, my son, the noble blood you are descended of by your mother's side, and think, that only by a virtuous life, and good actions, you may be an ornament to your illustrious family, and otherwise through vice and sloth you may be esteemed *Labe Generis*, one of the greatest curses that can happen to a man; well, my little Philip, this is enough for me, and I fear too much for you at this time, but yet if I find that this light meat of digestion do nourish any thing the weak stomach of your young capacity, I will, as I find the same grow stronger, feed it with tougher food. Farewel; your mother and I send you our blessing, and Almighty God grant you his; nourish you with his fear; guide you with his grace, and make you a good servant to your prince and country.

Your loving Father,

HENRY SIDNEY.

THE
COPIE OF A LETTER,

WRITTEN BY
ONE IN LONDON TO HIS FREND,

Concerning the

CREDIT OF THE LATE PUBLISHED DETECTION OF THE DOYNGES OF THE
LADIE MARIE OF SCOTLAND.

Without date, black letter, 12mo. containing fourteen pages ; and, by some, thought to have been written by the learned Buchanan.

MANY are the practises of Papistes, and other false and hollow-harted subiectes ; and wonder it is, what they dare do and say, as if they had the Maiesty of our Prince in contempt, or did still beare them selues bold vpon the successe of some mightie treason, the bottome whereof hath not yet bene thoroughly searched. Of late hath bene published, out of Scotland, a treatise, detectyng the foule doynge of some that haue bene daungerous to our noble Queene ; by which detection, is induced a very excellent comparison for all Englishmen to iudge whether it be good to chaunge Queenes or no, and, therewith, a necessary enforcement, to euery honest man, to pray hartely for the long continuance of our good mother to rule ouer vs, that our posteritie may not see her place left empty for a perilous stepedame. Some caryed with popishe affection, that regardeth neither naturall prince nor contrey, and puffed with the dropsey of a trayterous humor, labour what they can to discredit the same detection, as vntrue. Some of them, whyle they, lyke good sincere men forsooth, would fayne seme very indifferent iudges, say they will credit nothing, till they heare both parties, not remembryng, that, in the same one booke, are both parties to be heard, the one in the former parte, both in the declaration and oration of euidence ; the other in the latter parte, in the parties owne contractes, songes, letters, iudiciall procedynges, protestations, examinations, and confessions. Some other more open fellows say flatly that all is false, the booke hath no credit, the authour is vnknowne, obscure, the mater counterfaite, and all is nothing. If any such rumors come to youre eare, first, I think verely, in truth you may be bold to say to the partie, *Et tu ex illis es*, thou art also one of them, And, for the matter, I haue thought good to enforme you of so much as I know, for profe of the same treatise to be of credite, wherewith you may aunswere and stoppe the mouthes of such rumor spreaders.

The booke it selfe, with the oration of euidence, is written in Latine

by a learned man of Scotland, M. George Buchanan, one priuie to the procedynges of the Lordes of the Kynges secret Counsell there, well able to vnderstand and disclose the truth, hauyng easie accesse also to all the recordes of that contrey that might helpe hym. Besides that the booke was written by hym, not as of hym selfe, nor in hys owne name, but accordyng to the instructions to hym geuen by common conference of the Lordes of the Priuie Counsel of Scotland; by hym onely for hys learynyng penned, but by them the mater ministred, the booke ouerseuen and allowed, and exhibited by them as mater that they haue offred, and do continue in offeryng, to stand to and iustifie before our soueraigne ladic, or her Highnesses commissioners in that behalfe appointed. And what profe they haue made of it already, when they were here for that purpose, and the sayd authour of the sayd booke one among them, when both parties, or their sufficient procurators, were here present, indifferently to be heard, and so were heard in deede; all good subiectes may casely gather, by our sayd soueraigne ladyes procedyng, sins the sayd hearyng of the cause, who, no dout, would neuer haue so stayed her request, but rather would haue added enforcement, by ministring of aide to the Ladic Marie of Scotland, for her restitution (the president and honor of princes, and her Maiesties own former example of sinceritie, vsed in defense of the Scottish Queene, her selfe in Scotland against France, and her maintenance of the French Kinges honour and libertie, against the hye attemptes of some of his Popish subiectes, considered) nor would haue lyued in such good amitie with the yong Kyng of Scotland, the Regentes, and the true lordes maintainers of that side*; if these haynous offenses, alleged on that part, had not bene prouable, or if the yong Kyng had bene an vsurper, or hys Regentes, and other lordes of that faction, traytors, as they must haue bene, if all be false that is objected against the sayd Ladic Marie. I recite not what subscriptions and assentes haue bene to confirme the booke, and the maters in it contained; byside that I do you to wyte, that one written copie thereof, in Latine, was now, vpon hys late apprehension, found in one of the Duke of Norfolkes mens houses, and thither sent, by his commaundement, a little before his apprehension, to be secretlie kept there, with diuers other pamphlets and writynges; whiche thyng not onely addeth credit to this booke, that it was not counterfait, but also geueth shrewed suspicions, that the Duke could not so well lyke the woman, beyng such a woman, as, for her persons sake, to venture the ouerthrow of such a flourishing state, wherein he stode before; but that some other greater thing,† it might be, that he lyked, the gredynesse wherof myght temper his abhorryng of so foule conditions, and of so great a danger to hym selfe, to be sent after his predecessours.‡ The Bysshop of Rosse || lykewise doth both knowe, that the duke had this booke, and can tell how the duke came by it. The other mater of the contractes, letters, songes, &c. haue, among other, these proues. Liuely witnesses, of great honor and credit, can tell, that the very casket, there described, was here in England shewed; the letters,

* See Ane Admonition to Lordis.
 ‡ Beheaded for treason.

† Vis. the Crown of England and Scotland,
 † Agent for the Queen of Scots,

and other monumentes, opened and exhibited ; and so much, as is there sayd, to haue bene written or subscribed by the sayd Ladie Marie, the Erle Bothwell, or other, hath bene, by testimonies and othes of men of honor and credite of that contrey, testified and auowed, in presence of persones of most honorable state and authoritie, to haue bene written and subscribed, as is there alleged, and so deliuered without rasure, diminution, addition, falsifieng, or alteration, in any point. And a nomber there be in England, of very good and worshypfull calling, byside the commissioners thereto apoynted, that haue seene the originals them selues, of the same handes whoes this book doth say them to be. Whiche thinges haue been heard and vnderstoode by those that can tell, and those whoes truth, in reporting, is aboue all exception.

Wherefore sithe the Scottishemen haue, for satisfaction of vs, their good neyghbours, among whom the sayd Ladie Marie remayneth, to the perill of both Princes as the Scottishemen say, published these maters, to the intent that the impudencie of the sayd Ladie Maries fautors, in denyeng those truthes, may not seduce Englishe subjects to the vnderminyng of the estate, honor, and noble procedyng of our most gracious Soueraigne, and diuerting of affections to vndue places, and to the great perill of both realmes, which the aduersaries call, 'beneficiall vnityng,' but is in deede most maleficiall confoundyng, intended to ioyn the realmes in other persones, excluding the person of our sayd Soueraigne Lady: Let vs receiue this admonishment thankfully, and gather the frute thereof, to the stablishment of our loyaltie to our owne Queene, agaynst whom the fauorers of the other side haue banded them selues in hostility and treason.

This I haue thought good to write to you, for your satisfaction in knowledge of the case ; whom I know alreadie sufficiently satisfied in good and dutifull affection. God disclose these hollow hartes, or rather God graunt her Maiestie, and those that be in authoritie vnder her, an earnest will to see them, for they will disclose them selues fast enough. And God send her Maiestie so to remoue the groundes of her perill, that not onely we, which by open thrustyng our selues agaynst her enemyes, haue set vp our rest vpon our Queene Elizabeth, and shall neuer be admitted to fauour on the other side, but also all wise and honest men may know that it shal be safe to be true, and daungerous to be false. Otherwise the mischief is euident. For men in nature and in policie will seke for their own safeties, which if they may not finde in truth, it is a great auauancement of falsehood. God long preserue our good and gracious Queene Elizabeth, and make her enemyes know, that there is sure perill in treason, and her true subiectes bold to stick to her without dread of any reuenge or displeasure. So fare ye well.

For further profe, that the sayd letters, written by the said Ladie Marie, and mentioned in the sayd booke, are not counterfait but her owne, I haue herewith also sent you the most autentike testimonie of the three estates of Scotland, assembled in Parliament: The copie of which acte you shall receiue word for word, as it was enacted in Scotland in December 1567, and remaineth publicly in print, sayyng, that I haue for your more easy vnderstanding changed the Scottishe orthography, which I would to God had been done for Englishemens better satisfac-

lon in Maister George Buchanans booke. Howbeit, the same is not so hard but that, after the readyng of two leaues, a man may easily enough grow acquainted with it; and doutlesse the knowlege and monumentes, therein contained, are wel worth so small a trauell to vnderstand them.

The Scottishe Act of Parliament, touching the retention of our Soueraigne Lordes Mothers Person.

ITEM; touching the article propounded by the earles, lordes, and other noblemen, who tooke armes at Carbarie hill, vpon the xv. day of Iune last by past, and touching their conuynnges of before, and of the cause of the apprehension of the Queene Mother to our Soueraigne Lord: and whether the sayd noblemen, and others, which tooke armes of before her sayd apprehension, and which ioyned with them, and assisted them at that tyme, or any wayes sence, haue done the dutie of noblemen, good and true subjectes of this realme, and no wayes offended, nor transgressed the lawes in that effect, or any thing dependyng thereupon, either preceding, or following the same.

Our Soueraigne Lord, with aduise of my Lord Regent, and three estates, and whole body of this present parliament, hath found, declared, and concluded, and by this present act, findeth, declareth, and concludeth, that the cause and occasion of the conuentions and messages of the sayd earles, lordes, noblemen, barons, and others, saythfull and true subiectes, and consequently, their takyng of armes, and comming to the fieldes, with open and displayed baners, and the cause and occasion of the taking of the sayd queenes person, vpon the sayd xv. day of Iune last, by past, and holdyng and deteynyng of the same, within the houses and fortalice of Lochleum, continually, sence presently, and in all tyme comming, and generally all other thinges inuented, spoken, written, or done by them, or any of them to that effect, sence rhe x. of Febr. last by past, vpon the which day, the late Henry Kyng, then the sayd Queenes lawfull husband, and our Soueraigne Lord the Kynges dearest Father, was treasonable, shamefully, and horriblie murdered, vnto the day and date of this present act, and in all tymes to come, touchyng the sayd Queene, and deteynyng of her person: that the cause, and all thinges dependyng thereon, or that any wayes may pertaine therto, the intermission, or disponyng vpon her propertie, casualties, or whatsoever thing pertynyng, or that any wayes might pertyne to her, was in the sayd Queenes own default, 'in so far as by diuers her priuie letters, written wholly with her own hand, and sent by her to James sometime Earle of Bothwell, chief executor of the said horrible murther, aswell before the committing therof, as thereafter, and by her vngodly and dishonorable procedyng to a pretended marriage with him, sodainly and vnprovisedly thereafter, it is most certain, that she was priuie, airt, and part, of the actual deuise, and dule of the foresaid murther, of the King her lawfull husband, and father to our Soueraigne Lord, committed by the said James,

sometime Earle of Bothwell, his complices and partakers.' And therefore, iustly deserueth what soeuer hath ben done to her, in any time by gone, or that shal be vsed towards her, for the sayd cause in time comming, which shal be vsed by aduise of the nobilitie, in respect that our sayd Soueraigne Lordes Mother, with the sayd Iames, sometime Earl of Bothwell, yeid about by indirect and coloured meanes to colour, and hold backe the knowlege of the truth of the committers of the sayd crime. Yet all men in their hartes were fully perswaded, of the authours and deuisers of that mischieuous and vnworthie fact, awaityng while God should moue the hartes of some to enter in the quarell, for reuengyng of the same. And in the meane time, a great part of the nobilitie, vpon iust fear to be handled and demeaned in semblable manner, as the Kyng had bene of before; perceiuyng also the Queene so 'thrall, and so blindly affectionate to the priuate appetite of that tyranne, and that both he, and she, had conspired together such horrible crueltie,' being therewith all garnished with a companie of vngodly and vitious persons, ready to accomplish all their vnlawfull commaundementes, of whom he had a sufficient number, continually awaytyng vpon him, for the same effect, all noble and vertuous men, abhorrying their tyrannie, and companie, but chiefly suspecting, that they, who had so treasonable put downe and destroyed the father, should make the innocent prince, his onely sonne, and the principall and almost onely comfort, sent by God to this afflicted nation, 'to tast of the same cup' (as the many inuented purposes to passe where he was, and also where the noblemen were in) by their open confession gaue sufficient warnyng and declaration, where through the sayd earles, lordes, barons, and others, faythful and true subjects, taking armes, or otherwayes whatsoeuer ioynyng and assisting in the sayd action, and in the sayd conuentions, displaying banners, and commyng to the fieldes, takyng and reteinyng of the Queenes person, aswell in tymes by past, as hereafter, and all others that haue thereafter, or shall in any time comming adioyne to them, and all thinges done by them, or any of them, touching that cause, and all other thinges depending thereon, or that any wayes may appertaine therto, the intromission, or disposing upon her propertie, or casualties, or whatsoeuer other thinges pertynyng, or any wayes might apperteyne to her, was in default of her selfe, and the sayde Iames, sometime Earle of Bothwell, and by the 'horrible and cruel murder of our sayd Soueraigne Lordes late dearest father, conspired, deuised, committed, counseled, and coloured by them,' and not condignely punisht according to the lawes, &c.

This act with the rest is thus subscribed in the Scottishe booke. *Extractum de libro actorum parlamenti per me Jacobum Makgill de Rankelour nether clericum rotulorum registri ac consilij S. D. N. Regis sub meo signo et subscriptione manualibus. Jacobus Makhill. And is imprinted at Edinburgh, by Robert Lxpreuik, printer to the King's Majestie the vi. day of Aprill, in the yeare of God 1568.*

AN EPITAPH,

OR RATHER

A SHORT DISCOURSE MADE VPON THE LIFE AND DEATH

OF

DR. BONNER,

Sometime vvororthy Bishop of London,

Whiche dyed the Fifth of September in the Marshalse.

Imprinted at London, at the long Shop adjoyning vnto S. Mildreds Church in the
Pultrie, by John Allde, An. Dom. 1569. Sept. 14. Duodecimo, containing
fourteen Pages.

*Quam cito de viuis extirpabuntur iniqui?
Fidentum Domino pars bona fortis erit:
Per breue tempus adhuc et non erit impius vltra,
Quæretur, nec erit quo fuit ante loco.*

HOW soon are wicked men cut of,
From suche as liue in fame?
Yet is the Lord the portion good,
Of those that loue his name.

A little while as yet therfore,
And there shall not remain
One wicked man hencefoorth to be,
Of all the wicked train.

The wicked man shall then be sought,
But he shall not finde grace;
There to be found, where he before
Was knowne to haue a place.

And therfore joy all Englishe harts
That fear the Lord aright,
And haue the loue of natie land,
Alwayes before your sight.

Lift vp your harts, rejoyce in him,
For work of his owne hand;
For I of happy tidings mean,
To let you vnderstand.

c c 2

AN EPITAPH ON THE LIFE AND

Whiche cheerful wil be sure to all,
 Of faithful Englishe blood ;
 Whose harts did neuer hate the truthe,
 Nor gospel yet withstood.

A man there was, a *quondam* great
 Of might, of pomp, and praise ;
 Of Englishe blood, though Englishe loue
 Were small in all his wayes.

As did appeer by Roomishe acts,
 Proceeding from his hight ;
 Whiche proude him not an Englishe man,
 But sure a Romain right.

For neuer faithful Englishe hart
 Was foe to natiue soil ;
 Yet hee in natiue land did seek,
 Christ's faithful flock to spoil.

And also then be wrought much wo,
 To England's chiefest staves ;
 He spilt their blood, and mockt God's woord,
 Whereby his gaue him praise :

Seducing men from sacred truthe,
 To walke in Roomish trade ;
 Whereby this land was ransackt so,
 So spoil'd and so bare made,

That many yet doo feel the smart
 Of that unhappy time ;
 Though God haue clensed now these parts,
 From suche moste vgly crime.

Wherwith this land infected was,
 By Balams brood throughout ;
 Who sought a mischeef huge and great,
 As then to bring about.

And more then so, t'encrease, by blood,
 The great and pining lack
 Of pastors pure, and pillers strong,
 Whiche then were brought to wrack.

Without remorse, his mates and he
 Ful sore did them torment ;
 By seeking of their death and losse,
 Which lov'd Christes Testament.

And more then so, of woorthy wights,
Of whom bereft are wee;
Whiche left their welth, their ease, and life,
That Christe might gayned bee.

And yet not so, this * Cyrus left
Muche humain blood to spil;
And so ceace his devouring rage,
And moste blasphemous wil.

But more and more he sought outrage,
(As all his matcs were bent)
By lies and tales, and popish toys,
Gods gospel to prehent.

As one in place by Sathan sent,
Gods instrument of ire;
To daunt the pride of England then,
(Which did it much require.)

And so no dout this † Bonner did,
He spared no degree;
Ne wise, ne graue, ne riche, ne poor,
Be pitied no man hee.

Ne lame, ne blinde, suche was his thirst,
Ne fooles, ne wise in name;
Yea nobles blood, as tyrant tride,
He sought to bring to flame.

When pastors roun, and bishops place,
Of London see he had;
As beautie then of all his dayes,
(A woolf in lamb-skinne clad)

His rage defilde the seat with crime,
That nations far could say:
A drunken man dooth take in hand,
To guide the ship her way.

Not drunk with wine, tho' iudgement might
Declare he loou'd it more;
Then Christes pasture sheep, whereby
He should have set great store.

* Cyrus was Sonne of Cambises, and King of the Meodes and Persians, who making war against the Scythians, Tomiris the Queen, having by subtletie slain Cyrus with two hundred thousand Persians, did cut of his head, and cast it into a boll of man's blood, saying, *Satis te sanguine quæm sibiisti*, &c. *Iustin.* li. i.

† He spared none, that he eyther durst, or could, be bolde to put to pain for Gods truth.

AN EPITAPH ON THE LIFE AND

But bloody drunk, sith he not one
 Did spare of Christes sheep ;
 Whiche did desire their conscience pure,
 By gospel, for to keep.

Yet he did watche, though as a woolf,
 Christes lambes for to deuoure ;
 He watched not to feed their soules,
 Nor yet to preache one houre.

For sure, though he had bishops rowm,
 Paul saith, he was vnfit* ;
 In suche a place of Christes flock,
 At any time to sit.

Whose iudgment was so small and weak,
 In Christes testament ;
 And learning lesse to teache the flock,
 With that so slowe intent:

Should he obtain of grace deuine,
 Now for to haue a praise ?
 Whose retchless rage, and swinish life,
 Shall liue in all mens dayes.

His knoweledge was to base, no dout,
 To sit in bishops seat ;
 Though he, perhaps, in Popes decrees,
 Through travail might be great.

And ciuile law right prompt he knew,
 Though all for private gain ;
 And cannons too, for therein was
 His only studeous pain.

And all but to upholde the pride
 Of Rome, which was to ill ;
 Or els to finde a way how he
 Gods childrens blood might spil.

But who can boste in Gods decrees,
 Of Bonners knowledge now,
 In Scriptures force his answers shewd
 Him learned as a cow.

Or as an asse, whiche iudgement lacks,
 In sence of holy writ ;
 Though he obtaind, a bitter space,
 In bishops seat to sit.

* 1 Tim. iii.

* Sus taught Mineruam there to long,
Whiche held usurped place;
'Till Christe, by force of gospel truthe,
This † Bufo did displace:

‡ And took the asse from his repast
Of playing on the harp;
Whose horned pawes, in harmony,
Made neither flat nor sharp.

But spilt the sound so long a time,
When mischeef reignd at wil;
'Till ¶ Pallas came who took the asse
Down from Parnassus hil.

And tied him vp at Maunger yet,
Whiche once did there remain;
Though there he felt not his deserts,
Nor halfe deserued pain.

To lodge on boards, as he had made
Some other lodge before;
With hands and feet, to starue in stocks,
With giues to be ful sore.

No, no, in stall, his torments were
None suche, nor half so vile;
He pris'ner hath been sure, but yet
Not tasted, all this while,

Of pris'ners thrall, of hungers bit,
In dungeon deep to grone;
Yet he of captiues life, ful oft,
To many made his mone.

Not sure for pain, which he did feel,
But for the greatest greef;
That he could not be fed as yet,
(In slaughter who was cheef)

With blood of saints, and Christian fleshe,
Wherwith his lust was fed;
That he could not exalt the Pope,
Stil heer as supreme hed.

* *Sus Mineruam*, the sow teacheth Minerva. What a sow is by nature, needeth no expressing. Minerva was daughter of Iupiter, and called by the poets Goddess of Wisdome and all good arts; now this is talking a proverb, where one unlearned teacheth him of wisdom he might better be taught.

† *Bufo* is a toad, so applied to Bonner, because of his venomous minde.

‡ *Asinus ad Liram*. This is a proverb of those that haue neither goodnes, nor wils to submit to discipline.

¶ Pallas the neck-name of Minerva, so named from a mountain of Thessalia or Aonia, with a twisted toy, where the muses called Parnassides, or Aonides, did remain.

AN EPITAPH ON THE LIFE AND

That he could not his holy lambes,
 And leaden bulles bestowe;
 His pardons and his obsequies,
 Mens souls to ouerthrowe.

That truthe had ouerthrowen with power
 His brutishe vile intent;
 Whiche thought, by fire and fagots force,
 Gods gospel to preuent.

This wrought his onely greef and wo,
 As wel it did appeer;
 For other cause sure there was none,
 That euer I could hear.

He lay ful soft and had inough
 Of beer, and chaunge of wine;
 Bothe fleshe and fishe, bothe fruits and foul,
 Moste delicate and fine.

His table neuer wanted sutes,
 At wil it to maintain
 He lacked neuer cators he,
 His ayds took always pain.

To keep their God, their hope, their trust,
 Their staffe of Roomishe stay;
 Because with him they wisht a chaunge,
 Stil looking for a day.

And not with him, but with the rest,
 Of all their hellishe rable;
 Whiche are in their blinde errors stil,
 Moste hard and wilful stable.

Who pris'ners are as foes to Christe,
 To Christian Queen and land;
 But cheef this Quondam which made boste,
 If he might haue in hand

His former poure and time again,
 To blesse and curse at wil;
 Where one he burnt, on thousands then
 He would his lust fulfil,

This was his boste and bloody thirst,
 Wherin his ayds did trust;
 That once again the Roomishe whore
 Might haue her filthy lust.

Although since he, by due desert,
 Hath been in holde for sin;
 Suche mercy hath been shew'd him there,
 As he shew'd none I win,

To such as were his betters far,
 In knoweledge, birth, and fame;
 Yea, and in life apostolique,
 Of muche more godly name.

For sure his manners were moste vile,
 At all times plainly shew'd;
 Why† wa'st not he that sought the tree
 Of our increase t'auc hew'd?

Who shamelesly hath stood thus long,
 At royall mercyes grace;
 Although his deeds and woords ful oft,
 Did craue another place,

But what said those of Balams sect,
 There is no law wherby
 The sword of justice could him strike,
 Nor cause why he should die.

Although, when as the dragon rulde,
 Right woorthy wights were slain:
 But * one, when cannon law could not,
 He was adiudged pain.

Without the cannons counsels he,
 That † Pool might haue his place:
 By Popes assent, and Roomishe rout,
 Whiche ror'd him to deface.

Yf Popes assent, when Englishe lawes,
 Nor cannons could preuail:
 Might guiltless make so wise a sage,
 By fiery flames to quail.

Why might not princes lawful poure
 Haue made a iust decree?
 That suche, deseruing open shame,
 Might recompensed be,

But onely that pure mercy did
 Keep back that right did craue:
 In recompensing him with death,
 As all the rest might haue,

* Tho. Cranmer, Archbishop of Cant. whom, by their cannons, they could not put to death, till
 the Pope, araying his image at Room, condemned it, burnt it, and then was he burned at Oxford,
 Cardinal Pool, who could not be Archbishop by the cannons, till the other were dead.

AN EPITAPH ON THE LIFE AND

Yet he tryumphant as whole and sound,
 His purpose whole to make :
 Right many yet (if time would serue)
 To bring vnto the stake.

And once again, if Fortune stood,
 He might haue vp the masse :
 (But see how now the Lord of Hostes
 Hath made his foe like grasse)

Who bragd and boasted in his greace,
 To washe the tile anew :
 And faind an end to his deuise,
 Whiche yet he neuer knew.

And so the rest with cheerful sound,
 At eu'ry newes that came,
 Sang, as the prouerb olde hath been,
Laudes ante victoriam.

Sith monst'rous corps, with delicates,
 So monst'rously was blowen :
 Whose monst'rous minde, with poys'ning woords,
 In graue is ouerthrowen.

But what, did he repent of all
 His bloody sinful race?
 And learn by Gods woord to amend,
 His life so voyd of grace?

Nay sure, til time of present death,
 He chaunged not his minde :
 But, as he liu'd a foe to Christe,
 So dyed moste wilful blinde.

Oh, yet though he had liu'd so il,
 Gods mercy is not bare :
 To suche as think that Ihesus Christe
 Can all their sinnes deface.

But as this * Eresichthon liu'd,
 In spite and rage to spoil :
 So, in his end, of mightie Ioue
 He took a deadly foil.

Not that he died, but that in death
 His helth he did denie :
 For sure *non mori turpe est,*
Sed turpiter mori.

* Eresichthon was King of Thessalia, who despised Ceres, and cut down her woods ; at last, being stricken with a mercurious hunger, was compelled to eat his own flesh.

And yet though Erisichthons end
 Hapt not vnto this foe :
 To eat his fleshe, sith Bonners mates
 In stie did fat him so.

Yet viler end had he, no dout,
 Then Eresichthons was :
 Because their times were far vnlike,
 As it did come to passe.

The one a Christian was in name,
 The other Pagan prowd :
 Yet in there acts of maners like,
 As may bee wel avou'd.

He Ceres sought, this Ihesus Christe,
 And his to bring to wrack :
 He did starue, this with grease died,
 Though grace from him went back.

Whereby all such as blinded were,
 By fau'ring of his acts,
 May see what iudgement is preparede,
 To recompence their facts.

And therefore houle all Balams seed,
 And weep both moste and least :
 Which bear the mark (in such a light)
 Of that ilfau'red beast.

But Englishe harts, which love Gods word,
 Our Queen and Englishe land :
 Reioyce, sith hope of foes is spoild,
 By force of Gods right hand.

Sith filthy flesh doth lie in graue,
 Though soule I fear be il :
 Which liu'd and dide so stout a foe
 To Christes death and wil.

But what though bloody corps of his
 Be forste to live ful lowe :
 His bloody facts and deeds moste vile
 From hence, shall no man knowe?

Shall treason so conspir'd, shall pride,
 Shall blasphemy lie dead ?
 No fame from earth to vpper skies,
 His wickednes shall spread ?

His brutishe tigrishe toill, in time
Of his most high renown :
Textoll the power and pomp of him,
That weres the triple crown.

His rage and currish cruel spite,
Against his cuntriemen :
His butcherly deuice to waste
The fleshe of Christians then.

His false surmise and murthering spite,
Whiche shew'd him then to be
A * Poliphemus right, whiche slue,
In three yeerus, hundreds three.

Not of Vlisses souldiours sure,
But Christians truly tride,
Whiche were deuoured, while he had
The ruther for to guide.

Shall now † Philonides lie dead,
Shall serpentinishe rage
So sleep ? Nay sure his wickednes
Shall liue the worldes age.

His stoutnes shall remain now shewd,
In time of his conflict :
Who as a subject did deny,
To haue his hart adict.

And as a foe to Christ (his woord)
And to our gracious Queen :
Wisht with his mates moste tra'rously
Some others raigin I ween.

Beside his epicurishe life,
Before and in this cace :
Though corps be dead, yet death cannot
These horrors quite deface.

He suffred was, ful ten years space,
By fauour him to win :
(As gospels nature is) yet he
Could never once begin

* Poliphemus, or Cyclops, was son of Neptune and Thoosa, a great monster, hauing but one eye, which was in his forehead : He was of the ile of Scicilia, into whiche Vlisses being cast by rage of tempest. and hapning on the cane of this Cyclops, lost four of his men, who would haue deuoured the rest, if Vlisses, making him drunk, had not, with a fire-brand, bored out his eye.

† Philonides was a great big lubber of Miletus (now called Malta) altogether so foliabe and unlerned, that of him grew a prouerb, *Indolitor Philonide*. Some wil say, Bonner was well lerned. I graunt, yet, in knowledge of holy scripture, like to Philonides, notwithstanding his ciuile law.

For to repent (though fauour he
Deserued had but small
At those, which now in his distresse,
Did shew him moste of all.)

But scoft and mocked those, as yet
Whiche gladly would him teache.
But, cheefly in his death, such men
As gospel soundly preache.

And therefore sith, in life of his,
No vertue was to praise :
In welth, ne wo, no spark of grace,
Whiche liu'd and spent his days,

So like a Cyclops in his den,
Deseruing no good fame :
Sith God hath cut of suche a * drone,
Can we but praise his name ?

And eke beseeche th' almightie Ioue,
The number to fulfil :
In cutting of the rest with speed,
That bear the beast good will.

Who sure may shame at his vile race,
But more at his vile end :
And sore lament his fearful state,
Whiche now did not amend.

Though all his life he had been bent,
Yet now to stand so stout :
Denying Christe, at his last breath,
Is fearful, out of dout.

This may suffize, as God hath lent
Me grace to rule my pen :
In blasing forth the deeds and fame,
(Before all Christian men)

Of Romaines greasy God, whose life
And death (so woorthy shame)
I haue display'd, and therefore now,
Such shal be muche to blame,

Which carp at truthe, and stomack this
That eury man can tel
Throughout this land, and others to,
Ere this whiche knew it wel.

* A drone breedeth among bees, muche like a bee; and alwayes flies in the hieue, neuer coming out to gather hony, but still deuoureth that whiche the bee dooth gather, and, at last, the bee and all.

God saue our Queen Elizabeth,
 And bring her foes to il:
 And root out those with speed from vs
 Whiche bear the Pope good wil. Amen.

T. KNELL. Iu.

A

COPIE OF A LETTER

Lately sent by a Gentleman, Student in the Lawes of the Realme, to a
 Frende of his,*

CONCERNYNG D. STORIE.

Black Letter, Octavo, containing twenty-two Pages.

ACCORDING to your request, you shal hereby vnderstand what you may truly saye and auowe vpon such questions as it seemeth you haue harde, of the late execution of D. Storie, who suffred at Tiberne the first of Iune last.

It is notorious howe euyl and vnloyally he behaued hym selfe here in Englande before he departed the realme, and howe earnest a persecutor afterward he was of all the good subjectes of Englande, hauyng cause to be in the Lowe-countrys, both before the arrest made of late by the Duke of Alua, as sence that tyme, a multitude of honest marchaunts knowe it, both Englyshe and others, and a great number haue felt it, by imprisonment, procured by hym, and by seasyng and confiscatyng of their goodes; so as there is no doubt to be made, but that he was, to his power, as earnest an enemy to the state of Englande, his naturall cuntry, and the Queenes Maiesties good subiectes, as any man borne in this realme could be. Neuerthelesse, because, at the place of his execution before his death, he vsed long and many speeches, to moue some of simple understanding, or that dyd not knowe his rancor and malice agaynst the Quences Maiestie, and the state of this realme; and for that it was not then conuenient, nor at least could be imagined aforehande, that he woulde haue vsed suche speeches at that tyme, and so he was suffred to speake altogether without contradiction, whereby the trueth, percase, may be made to you obscure; you shall vnderstande of what detestable crymes he was gyltie, and therewith shoulde haue ben particularly charged at tyme of his arraignment in the Kyngs-benche, but that he craftyly and traytorously, knowyng by his examination wherewith he was to be

* See the 4th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets.

charged, and howe much he hym selfe had confessed in the Towre; and, beyng written in certayne leaues of paper, had subscribed with his owne hande wrytyng; refused to haue any tryall made therof, alleging that he ought not to answere, nor woulde answere, because he was subject to the Kyng of Spayne, and not subject to the Queenes Maiestie, and the Crowne of Englande: and so, although he was charitably, earnestly, and reasonably required at his arraignment, to answere to the matters wherewith he was charged by indytement, as a borne subiect of this realme; yet he woulde not, but traytorously refused to answere thereto, in such sort, as if he had been indyted of felonie, as he was of hygh-treason, he should, for his not answeryng, haue suffred the payne of pressing to death, which maner of iudgement is not vsed in cases of treason by the lawes of the realme, but was adjudged gyltie of the treasons conteyned in the indytement, as of necessitie and iustice he ought to be, for other iudgement coulede not be geuen: and so, by iustice of lawe, he was iudged to the death which he suffred. But, for that it may serue to the satisfaction of all men, to consyder howe farre he was gyltie of the treasons conteyned in his indytement, hereafter foloweth a true, iuste, and playne report of the matters, both wherof he was accused and examined, and which also he did confesse in the Towre.

He was to be charged, that he dyd traytorously conspire agaynst the Queenes Maiestie, with one Prestall, an Englyshe man, who was a fugityue, and principall deuisor of the first treason intended by the young Pooles xi yeres past, and therof was indyted and outlawed: and afterwarde, of late tyme, he practised an other great treason with certayne persons, wherof one disclosed the same to the Duke of Norfolk, who also verie dutifullye reuealed the same to the Queenes Maiestie, wherupon the sayde Prestall, beyng sought for to be apprehended, fledde into Scotlande, where also he ioyned hymselfe with the Englyshe rebelles, and there attempted sundry treasons against her Maiestie, and from thence he fledde into Flaunders. With this maner of traytor had this D. Storie a continuall intelligence to further his treasons, insomuche as he sayde, not long before he came into Englande, to one that for Dueties sake disclosed it, and is redy to proue it, that Prestall shoulde, or it were long, be the leader of xl thousand men into Englande, agaynst that woman which toke vpon her to be Queene; and sayde the same Storie, I woulde be God she were in the bottome of the sea; with other vile and reprochfull wordes, not meete to be reported. With which traytorous speeches he should haue ben charged, yf he woulde haue abyden Tryall accordyng to the lawes of the realme.

The sayde Storie sayde also, in the presence of two persons of English byrth, who were redy to haue charged hym therewith, yf he woulde haue stande to tryall, that he had written letters to Bruxels, that, yf the matters conteyned therein shoulde be reuealed, where he shoulde be charged therewith, he shoulde be hanged, drawen, and quartered. And immediately after this speeche he went to Bruxels with Prestall, where he and Prestall were rewarded with money; and there Prestall declared to certayne persons, redy also to haue auowed

the same, that he had opened his whole purposes to D. Story, whereto D. Story was sworne to kepe the same secrete. But, of the thynges intended by Prestall and Story at that tyme, neyther of them woulde be then knowen; but yet Prestall affirmed, that he had an art to poyson any body a farre of, beyng not present with them, and that none coulde do it but he. And, to shew some taste of their mischiefes, a gentleman belongyng to Courteuile, a secretarie to the Duke of Alua, tolde an Englyshe man, redye also to auowe the same, that D. Story and Prestall were about such matters, and such vyle treason, as the saide partie sayde, that no man coulde deuise worse, and that D. Story was such a wicked man, as could not be found the like, and that he thought verily they were about murdring of some great persons in Englande.

The sayde Story also receaued certayne letters from Prestall out of Scotland, being written in Scottyshe, whiche are also to be scene, and myght haue ben shewed at the arraignment, yf he woulde haue ben tryed: which letters Story translated into Latin, and caryed the same to Bruxels, by whiche it was required, that meanes should be made to the Duke of Alua, to sende into Scotland certayne horsmen, and a number of dagges, to make an entry and inuasion into Englande, with the Scottes; and by the same letter Prestall wrote, that, the thyng, whiche he tolde D. Story in secrete, woulde cost a thousande markes, and that yf the regent and the foolyshe boy, the young kyng, were dispatched and dead, the Scottyshe Queene were a marriage for the best man lyuyng. Al which wordes are conteyned in the letter, translated by D. Story.

The sayde Story beyng at Bruxels, and receauyng a letter from olde Norton, a very olde rebell, beyng arryued at Antwerpe, dyd sollicite certayne of the counsell about the Duke, for money for the reliefe of the same Norton, and his company; and wrote to hym to comfort hym by expresse wordes, that, where he and his company were before but worshipfull, now they were an honourable state, and had wonne double honor, and perpetuall fame, for their late enterprise in Englande, and that he woulde come shortly, to geue them their welcome to Antwerpe; and immediatlye he procured, that one D. Saunders, with certayne Englyshe fugityues harboured in Louain, went to Antwerpe to the rebelles, and there Saunders made to them a solemne long oration in prayse of their actes.

Story also declared in Antwerpe, in presence of such as shoulde haue auowed it at his arraignment, yf he woulde haue denyed it, that the rebellion shoulde be renewed in Englande, and that, at the same instant also, Irelande shoulde rebell, whereof he sayde he was well assured by aduertisement from an Iryshe bishop, that hadde scaped out of the Towre of London, and that, at the same instant also, the Scottes shoulde, with an ayde out of Fraunce, inuade Englande, and set vp the Scottyshe Queene.

The sayde Story also vsed commonly this maner of prayer after his meates, whereof there are diuers persons redy to witnes the same, that haue hearde hym, and lastly, euen in the hoy wherein he was before he came last into Englande, in the presence of diuers persons, that yf the Queenes Maiestie, whom he woulde neuer tearme, but by the

name of Dame Elizabeth, that tooke vpon her to be Queene, would not speedily turn to Queene Maries religion, he prayed that she myght be ouercome with sworde and fyre, and all that would take her part.

And though he myght haue ben charged with sundry other traytorous and haynous conspiracies in the Lowe Countreys, and with aydyng of the rebelles there, whereof out of the saide Lowe Countreys aduertisement was geuen by sundry of good credite; yet of set purpose no more is aboue recited, but suche thynges only, as wherwith he shoulde haue ben charged openly by witnesses, at his arraignment, who, yf he would haue denyed the same, shoulde haue auowed the whole to his face, and in the hearyng of the jury, that shoulde haue tryed hym. And howe many of the thynges before recited are to be iudged true and probable, it is to see by these thynges folowyng, whiche are worde by worde extracted out of his owne confessions, subscribed with his owne hande, and vttered upon interrogatories, without any maner of torture, or offer of torture, although at the place of execution he vsed speeche to the contrary, very vntruly, as the worshipfull persons that examined hym can well testifie, which were,

Sir Thomas Wroth, Knight, Maister Wilbraham, then Recorder of London, and Maister Peter Osborne, the tresorers Remembrancer in the Exchequer, and so can also the Lieuetenaunt of the Towre; as touchyng any torture.

Extracted out of D. Storics Confessions.

ix. December. 1570.

IOHN STORY, the day and yere aboue written being examined, saith, that John Prestall dyd wryte a letter to the sayde John Story, of three sydes of a sheete of paper, as he remembreth, and directed to the sayde Story, which letter was inclosed in a letter, wrytten to one Hamelton, a Scot, that lay at Bruxels, for hym to peruse and seale the same, and then to delyuer it to the sayd Story. And the same letter the sayde Hamelton read, and sealed it vp, and told this examinat the effect therof, and he bad hym open it, and reade it; and so the sayde Hamelton dyd, vntyll he came to a word, 'Boy or Chylde,' meanyng the King of Scottes, to be made away, as the said Story tooke it.

xii. December. 1570.

Item, He sayth, that Hamelton tolde hym, that Prestall had written, that the matter which Prestall had tolde Story, and the sayd Hamelton, that an Englyshe man nowe in Irelande coulde do, would not be done without a great summe of money, whiche matter was to make the Kyng of Scottes away; for Prestall had told this examinat and Hamelton, that the Scottes would hardlye be reduced to obe

dience, as long as the Queene of Scottes was without an husbande, and no man of estimation would haue her, so long as the boylyued; and yf he were dead, he hoped the Emperours brother would haue her, and wyshed he myght be an entreater in that matter. And further Prestall said, that the said man, nowe in Irelande, had tolde the Pooles, and hym, the very month, the daye, and houre, that the Queene of Englande should be in hazarde of her lyfe, and that the same Englyshe man could dispatch the King of Scottes for money: and beyng asked what the same Englyshe mans name was, Story sayth of trouth he knoweth not, but hath forgotten it, yet Prestall told it him; but whither he is in Irelande, or of what estate, degree, or condition he is of, he knoweth not. And further, that Prestall tolde him, he coulde do much with that Englyshe man in Irelande, wherein this examinat discouraged hym. And the sayde Story sayth, he thynketh of his conscience that Prestall would do all the harme that he coulde to this realme of Englande.

And further sayth, that Prestall tolde hym, he woulde take any thyng in hand to inuade Englande, so he might haue good assistance, and not to be vied as an vnderlyng. But Prestall neuer tolde hym by what deuice Englande should be inuaded.

And more he sayth, that Jenny and Markenfelde hath made suite to Courteuile, and to Northcarne, as Northcarnes secretarie tolde hym, for the reliefe of the Nortons and Neuyls; and after this Courteuile called this examinat, wylling hym to byd Markenfelde to come to hym that day, at two of the clocke, and then this examinat prayed, that yf he shoulde come about the money, for the reliefe of the Nortons, and others, that then one Parkar myght be payed for theyr charges, and so it myght be delyuered to Parkar.

He sayth, he wrote a letter to the elder Norton from Bruxels, and shewed the sayde elder Norton, that he woulde be glad to do for hym, euen the best that lay in the sayde Stories power to do, and that he woulde rather stay his owne suites to the Duke, then not to do the best he could for hym, and this was all the effecte of his letter to the sayde eldest Norton; but, afterwarde he called to remembrance, he wrote vnto him, that he was glad, that he and his company were so well come into the Catholyke realme, and safely arryued there. He sayth, he doth not remember, that he wrote to the sayde Nortons, and the reste, that where they were before but worshipfull, they were nowe worthy double honor; but he sayth it may be he dyd write so, because he thought so; and thinkes he dyd wryte vnto them, that he woulde come shortly to Antwerpe, and geue them their welcome, because he meant so to do.

After Markenfelde, and Jenny came ouer, and one Leedes with hym, and first they came to Parkars house, where the sayde Jenny declared openly at the booke, in the presence of this examinat, and others, the order of the sayde late rebellion.

And hereupon this examinat made reporte to Northcarnes secretarie, that the sayde Jenny was a frende to the Catholykes, and the Earles, and is a very trusty frende, and hath ventured his life for the Catholykes. But afterwarde, this examinat perceauyng the contrary of

lenny by a Scotte, he gaue Northcarnes secretarie warning to take heede of lenny.

Shortly after this, the sayde Story came to Antwerpe to Parkars house, where sytting at dynner, the sayde elder Norton and some other of his company came in from the churche, and one saide, this is Norton, and thereupon this examinat rose, and gaue hym place, and had him welcome; and so the elder Norton sate downe in the said Stories place.

After old Norton shyfted his lodging, and this examinat, with one Shawe, Nortons sonne in lawe, went to the sayde olde Nortons lodging to dynner, and there dined with hym; and that day at their talke was of the suspition that Norton had of lennys firste commyng to the rebelles in Englande, from the Earle of Sussex, and so he tooke hym styl but a spye, and to couer hym selfe with, to the Duke, with labouryng for them.

He sayth, that he hearde by Markenfeldes report, that the sayde Nortons and Neuyls, and their company, had two-hundred crownes geuen them from the Duke, at their first commyng, and shoulde haue two-hundred crownes more afterwarde.

More he sayth, that, before the dukes last commyng to Antwerpe, the saide Story and Sir Iames Shelley, beyng at Louain, were there sent for to come to D. Saunders, to heare a certayne booke read (of the reasons that the bull late sent over into Englande should be obeyed, as he suspected) and thither the sayde Story promised to come, but that after noone he was dryuen to go to Bruxels; and so Sir Iames Shelley went thither, and brought worde to this examinat, being with one Leedes at dynner, that, yf he had come, he shoulde haue hearde goodly reasons, that he would haue wel lyked, about the booke that Saunders had made.

Further, the sayde Story doth say, that he was neuer sworne to King Philip, nor to the Duke of Alua, nor neuer by any meanes was made Kyng Philippes subiecte or denizen, or otherwyse naturalized to be Kyng Philippes subiect, but remaynes only styll a subiect to the Queene of Englande.

Thus subscribed, though he sayd otherwyse at Tyborne,

JOHN STORY.

xx. December, 1570.

The sayde John Story, this xx. day of December, beyng examined, sayth, that about two yeres sence he dyd deale by wrytyng with Courteuile, shewyng vnto hym, that the Catholykes in Englande dyd dayly decay, and the scismatykes dyd there daylye encrease; and therefore, yf the King of Spayne had any meanyng to wryte to the Queene of Englande, or otherwise to helpe to restore religion in Englande, he shoulde do it betyme, or els it woulde be to late. And eyther he dyd wryte further, or sayde by mouth to the sayde Courteuile, that, yf the Kyng of Spayne dyd but come into the Low Countreys out of Spayne, with a number of shyppes, the catholykes of Englande would thynke, as this examinat thought, that he were come to restore

religion, and would take the Kyng of Spaynes part. And the said Story confesseth, that he wrote to Courteuile, that, if about the realme of Englande there might go a number of shyppes, as men went about Ierico, then the catholykes of Englande would take courage to prepare entry for them that went so about with the said shyppes. To which ende of entry by the Kyng of Spaynes power into England, the said Story dyd write to Courteuile many tymes by his letters and perswasions therein, hoppyng thereby, that either the King of Spayne would write to the Queene of Englande to restore the catholyke religion, or els would make some entry into Englande and refourme religion, according as he was bounde by his title of Catholyke King, as the sayde Story thought.

Further the sayde Story sayth, that Iohn Prestall, at such tyme as he talked with Hamelton and this examinat about the death of the Kyng of Scottes, as is aforesayde, when Prestall had tolde hym, as aforesayde, that the Englyshe man, that fledde into Irelande, had tolde the sayde Prestall of the tyme and houre the queenes maiestie should be in peryll of her death, as is aforesayde, then Prestall sayd, that, yf the sayde Englyshe man in Irelande myght be plyed, he could bryng the Queenes Hyghnes to death in deede, and sayde he thought surely he coule do it; and then this examinat sayde, that was to be done by necromancie.

Subscribed,

Iohn Story.

It is here to be considered also, howe lykely it is, that the thynges whiche he spake at Tiborne for his purgation were true, when at the same tyme he would haue had, by his earnest speches then vsed, all the hearers beleue, that he vsed neuer any crueltie, in Queen Maries time, against any that were then burnt for religion, but, as he sayde, he dyd but only chyd them; and that he was no cause of the death of any, but that the Bishoppes dyd procure the sentences of death. And howe yntrue this speeche of his was in that behalfe, as to excuse hym selfe, a number of witnesses lyuyng, that manifestly saw his extreme cruelties, and some that felt thereof, are very plenteous. And what his hart was towards the Queenes maiestie may playnly appcare by his traytorous wordes in the Parliament House, where he sayde, that, yf his counsell had ben folowed, the root should haue ben stryken downe, and not the branches.

And howe horrible, traytorous, and monstrous a meanyng he had to refuse to answer at his arraignment, by refusyng his naturall allegiance to the Queenes maiestie and this crowne (from which no lawe in the worlde coule separate hym) and by auowynge that he was a subiecte to the Kyng of Spayne, it may appcare, in that he sayde at his arraignment, for defence of his traitorous refusall of his obedience: that kynges were chosen at the first by the people for their necessitie, and not the people for their kynges; and therefore the people myght leaue their kynges, when they hadde no more neede of them. And so the conclusion, in his opinion, serued for hym, that he myght refus his naturall liege lady and queene; and so, consequently, by the

monstruous reason, all kynges may be deprived of their subiectes, or of as many as woulde enter into that traytorous and monstruous error, at their pleasure: a thyng, of it selfe, worthy of some monstruous death, accordyng to the monstruousnes of the treason.

Otherwyse, to remember the vnworthynes of this D. for his long lewde lyfe in all tymes past, is not conuenient, because he is dead; of whom also nothyng should be now in this sort written, but that, by his craftye traytorous doynges at his arraignment, and by his vntruethes vttered at his death, trueth it selfe shoulde take harme by mistakyng and misreportyng; and only in fauour of trueth haue I collected the premisses, and for no other purpose; and so, I pray you, vse it accordyng as you shal thynke meete. For al those thynges, which are before recited, are manifestly to be proued, partly by the very wrytynges extant, and in no worde altered, and the rest by sufficient witneses, whereof I haue hadde good regarde, euen for the truethes sake, knowyng that Almyghtie God is the auenger of all vntrueth.

4 Iunii, 1571.

God saue the Queene.

THE CASE OF THE BISHOP OF ROSS,

RESIDENT OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTS;

WHO WAS SEIZED AND COMMITTED TO THE TOWER

BY

QUEEN ELISABETH,

For traiterous Practices, and Endeavouring to raise a Rebellion
against her *.

Folio, containing four Pages.

RIDOLPHO, the Florentine, who was sent to sollicit the Queen of Scots affairs beyond sea, had communicated to Charles Bayliff, a Netherlander, the Queen of Scots servant, all his transactions with the Duke d'Alva; and had given him letters, written in cyphers, for her, the Spanish Ambassador, the Duke of Norfolk, Ross, and the Baron of Lumley, made up in one packet; which Bayliff brought over himself, though Ross had ordered him to leave them with the Governor of Calais to be conueighed over.

* Which is in some measure applicable to the case of the Marquis de Botta and M. de Chetardie, Ambassador at the Court of Russia from France, and detected of treasonable practices against the Czarina.

But, as soon as Bayliff was arrived at Dover, he was apprehended and imprisoned, and the packet sent to the Lord Cobham, governor of the Cinque-ports. Ross was the first that had notice of it, who managed his business so industriously and cunningly with the Lord Cobham, that the packet was delivered to him, and another packet made up of other obsolete letters delivered to the Council; and this Bayliff was acquainted with. But however, being put to the rack, he confessed some things, and amongst the rest, that a packet of letters was come to Ross's hands. Nor was Ross ignorant of this, who presently sent away Cuthbert his secretary, and left his cyphers and what else might do him any prejudice, among his friends; so that, when Sussex, Burleigh, Mildmay, and Sadler made a careful search in his house, they found nothing, nor could they get any thing out of him by questions, who stily maintained, that an ambassador was not to be accountable to any but his prince. However, the third day after he was committed to the custody of the Bishop of Ely, and a while after conveyed to the Isle of Ely.

But since by the confession of all, even of the duke of Norfolk himself, the Bishop of Ross was charged as principal contriver of the business, they entered into a serious consultation what should be done with him, being an ambassador? For, whilst he, after the manner of other ambassadors, thought he might lawfully promote the interest of his prince by any methods, and that, by the sacred and inviolable privilege of ambassadors, he was not to be accountable to another's jurisdiction; he had already committed many irregularities, by raising rebellion, and holding nocturnal cabals with the Earl of Southampton and others; and now lately with the English fugitives in the Netherlands, the Duke d'Alva the Spaniard, and the Pope, for invading of England. It was therefore proposed to Daniel Lewis, Valentine Dale, William Drury, William Aubrey, and Henry Jones, learned civilians,

First, Whethether an ambassador, that raises rebellion against the Prince to whom he is sent, should enjoy the privileges of an ambassador, and not rather be liable to punishment as an enemy?

They answered :

“That such an ambassador, by the law of nations, and the civil law of the Romans, has forfeited the privileges of an ambassador, and is liable to punishment.”

Secondly, Whether the minister or agent of a prince deposed from his publick authority, and in whose stead another is substituted, may enjoy the privileges of an ambassador?

They answered :

“ If such a prince be lawfully deposed, his agent cannot challenge the privileges of an ambassador, since none but absolute princes, and such as enjoy a royal prerogative, can constitute ambassadors.”

Thirdly, Whether a prince, which comes into another prince's kingdom, and is there kept prisoner, can have his agent; and whether that agent can be reputed an ambassador?

They answered :

" If such a prince have not forfeited his principality, he may have an agent; but, whether that agent may be reputed an ambassador, depended upon the authority of his commission."

Fourthly, Whether, if a prince declare to such an agent, and his prince in custody, that he shall be no longer reputed an ambassador, that agent may, by law, challenge the privilege of an ambassador?

They answered :

" That the Prince may forbid the ambassador entrance into his kingdom, and may command him to leave the kingdom, if he keep himself not within the bounds prescribed to an ambassador; yet in the mean time he may enjoy the privileges of an ambassador according to the authority deputed to him."

According to these answers of the civilians, Ross being called up from the Isle of Ely, and receiving a sharp reprimand, it was declared by the council, that he should be no longer reputed an ambassador, but be severely punished, according to his demerits. He answered: " That he was the ambassador of an absolute queen that was unjustly deposed, and had, according to his duty, carefully endeavoured the delivery of his princess, and the safety of both kingdoms; that he came into England with the full authority of an ambassador under public warrant, which he had produced; and that the sacred privileges of ambassadors are by no means to be infringed."

Burleigh most gravely informed him, " That neither the privileges of an embassy, nor letters of public warrant could protect ambassadors that offended against the public majesty of a Prince, but that they are liable to be punished for the same; else wicked ambassadors might plot against the life of princes without any punishment."

On the other hand, he stily maintained, that the privileges of ambassadors had never been violated (to use his own words) *via Juris*, but *via Facti*; and he pleasantly wished them not to shew him fouler play than the English ambassadors Throckmorton in France, and Randolph and Tamworth in Scotland had found; who had raised rebellions and openly fomented them; and yet suffered no greater punishment, than the being commanded to depart within such a time.

When they began to urge him with testimonies of Englishmen, he gently desired them not to do it, since by a common received custom, which (as he said) was grown into a law, The testimony of an Englishman against a Scotchman, or of a Scotchman against an Englishman, was not to be allowed.

After some debates whether this would hold good, unless betwixt

the borders of both kingdoms, and that in cases relating to the frontiers; and whether the English ambassadors had raised rebellions; Ross was committed to the Tower of London; where being kept close prisoner, within a while he answered to all questions, with this proviso, that his answers should not be prejudicial to any: "He excused the Queen of Scots, for that, she being a prisoner, in the flower of her age, could not but use her utmost endeavours to regain her freedom, since Queen Elisabeth denied her access to her presence, debarred her from all hope of her liberty, and openly relieved her enemies. The Duke of Norfolk he excused, in that he had done nothing as to the marriage with the Queen of Scots, but with the consent of many of the queen's council; nor could he forsake her, though he had promised to do so under his hand and seal, since there was before a mutual engagement of marriage betwixt them. Lastly, he excused himself, for that, since he was an ambassador and a servant, he could not without a sin depart from his duty, and abandon his princess in her distress. But that he proposed the design of seizing on the Queen, with no other intent, than to try whether the Duke had courage to undertake such an attempt." The crimes of the other conspirators he cunningly extenuated, but could by no means be brought to tell the names of the gentlemen who had devoted their service to the Duke in seizing the Queen. But he confessed, that, by the Queen of Scots orders, he had, by servants employed betwixt them, treated with the Duke, Arundel, Lumley, and Throckmorton, and with the Lord Viscount Montacute by Lumley, about putting the Castles in Scotland, the hostages, and the King of Scots into Englishmen's hands, about renouncing the title, and giving up the English rebels. Thus far of these transactions for this year, extracted wholly out of the Duke of Norfolk's confession, and Ross's own account under his own hand to the Queen of Scots.

A DECLARATION

OF THE

LIFE AND DEATH OF IOHN STORY,

Late a Romish Canonick Doctor, by Professyon. 1571.

Imprinted at London, by Thomas Colwell. Octavo, containing thirty-two pages.

John Story, whose life and death are related in the following tract, and related by a Protestant, perhaps without that candour and impartiality, which the Protestant religion prescribes, was a man of great eminence and authority in the reign of Queen Mary, and contributed very much to kindle the flames of persecution in that cruel reign; and, with whatever detestation he may be mentioned by this writer, he is by some of the Romanists celebrated as a saint.

Of the justice of the proceedings against him, it is not necessary here to dispute. It is certain, that he had given great provocation in the reigns of Edward and Mary; first, by his opposition, and afterwards by his cruelty; in the reign of Queen Elisabeth, he renewed his struggles against the establishment of the reformation.

When a parliament met, Jan. 25, 1558-9, (says Heylin) 'Many of the members eagerly opposed all oppositions, which seemed to tend unto the prejudice of the Church of Rome; of which number none so violent as Dr. Story, Doctor of Laws, and a great instrument of Bonner's butcheries in the former reign, who, being questioned for the cruelty of his executions, appeared so far from being sensible of any error which he then committed, as to declare himself to be sorry for nothing more than, that instead of lopping off some few boughs and branches, he did not lay his ax to the root of the tree; yet passed unpunished for the present, though divine vengeance brought him in conclusion to his just reward.'

The Author, who has recounted Story's cruelties with so much acrimony, has forgotten to inform his reader, that part of his severity was repaid; for he was cut down so soon from the gallows, that, when the executioner began to quarter him, he rose up and gave him a blow on the ear; but, notwithstanding his sensibility, they proceeded to dismember him. J. --- O.

The speciall Contents of this Declaration.

First, wherefore Iohn Story was imprisoned in the Queenes Benche.

His breaking of that prison, and flying into Flaunders.

His trayterous and naughtie delying there.

The cause and maner of his conueyance from thence into England.

The maner of his arainement and iudgement.

The maner of his death and execution.

An epilogue or short conclusion of his lyfe.

GENTLE reader, in this short declaration, I purpose briefly to note vnto thee part of the lyfe, and the maner of death of Iohn Story, late a Romish and canonicall doctor by professyon. If I should discourse the common places of discription of persones, hys parentes, hys educatyon and bringyng vp, hys sundrie outragious doinges executed by him, in the persecutyng of the membres of Christ, and the maner of hys lyfe, from tyme to tyme, namely in the tyme of King Henry the Eight, when the statute of sixe articles was first set forth, and all hys cruelty used sithens, to the daye of hys death, it would ask a volume as greate as the Booke of Martyrs; a great part of which booke is stuffed with hys tyrannous and cruell tragedies, executed against God and hys poor membres.

As for the wilfull and wicked course of hys yonger yeres, a great parte wherof he spent in the Uniuersitie of Oxforde, to reporte all the partes, it would require a longer story.

One pranke may stand instead of many. And although Christian

charitie requyre vs alwaye, and of all men, to reporte the best, speciallye of them that be departed: yet no charytie forbyddeth a man with sobryetic and modestye to reporte the truth, for the benefite of good example to other: or els all wrytyng of histories after the parties death (when they be most truly written) shoulde bee condemned, and the bridle of iust infamy perilously taken away from wicked men.

About the yere of our Lord, 1529, Story, being a student of the ciuill law in Hinkete-hall, in Oxforde, and on a tyme, lodging abroad alone, as often tymes his maner was to do, in the company of a woman, whome hee had at his commaundement, was set home from thence late in the night, and caried alofte through the open streetes with a solemne procession of the whole companie of his house, euery man caryenge a candle burninge before hym, as a token of hys virginytye, and syngyng merelye together,

*Qui pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus,
Sobrius, castus fuit, & quietus,
Vita dum presens, &c.*

as if they had been S. Nicholas clerkes.

After that, about the yere of our Lord, 1538, the sayde Story, beyng then Doctour and Pryncypall of Broadgates in the sayde Universitye of Oxforde, and mistrusting a yonge gentleman for over familiar resorting to hys acquaintance in the towne, gaue him earnest charge, with terrible threat, as he loued his life, to come there no more, for loue and lordship can brooke no fellowship.

Therefore on a certayne tyme for hys good chaste purpose, takynge occasion to walke abroad, and hauing his man with his sworde wayting vpon him, and passing through the church-yarde of St. Olaues, he met the sayde yonge gentleman retorning home from the towne, beeyng vtterly without weapon, and hauing onlie his study gowne cast vpon him. And he imagining that he cam from such places, as he had so often forbidden him, in great furie and heate of minde, beeyng also fired with ielosie towards his loue, he raught backe sodenlye vnto hys man, and drewe hys sworde, and, hauing the gentleman at advantage in the corner of two walles, ran him thorowe both sydes, and left him for dead.

Imediately a cry was raysed, the people assembled, Doctor Story was apprehended by the officers, and layd in Bocardo, wher he continued vntill it was perfectly knowen, that the yonge gentleman so wounded was past all danger. For God, by hys gracious providence, so dyrected the sworde, that, notwithstanding it pearced through both sides, yet it perished not one parte of all the entrailes.

He that writeth these wordes is a witnes hereof, and sawe the partye dressed, and the towells drawn through his bodie.

The partie so wounded is named N. Brierton, and is yet aliue.

These are the fyrst frutes of Doctour Stories good doctorly doinges, agreable with his lyfe that folowed afterwarde.

A kyndty beare wyll bite by tyme.

Now I wyll begyn the rest of this declaration at the begynning of the reigne of the most vertuous, godly, learned, and hopeful prince, King Edward the Sixt, who, after the death of the most noble and famous prince, Kinge Henry the Eight, his father, tooke vpon him, as of right appertayned vnto him, the regall state and Government of this realme. And first, and before all other things, he, seekyng the high aduancement of Goddes honour, restored vnto vs the sincere doctrine of the gospel of our Saviour Iesus Christ, and made most godly lawes, for the abolysshynge of all superstycion and idolatry. At whiche tyme, John Storye being then of the parliament house, and a great enemye to the glorious light of Christes gospel, did vehemently inueigh against the godly doynges of that vertuous prince, namely, for settinge forth the book of common-prayer and administracion of the sacraments in Englysh, where he did not only slanderouslye speake of the doctrine, but also malyciouslye and sediciouslye spake of that godly prince, alleging the sentence of Ecclesiastes: "That wo is to that realme, whose kynge is but a childe," wrestynge the same text against that noble prince, euen to the same sence that gave cheefe occasion to the rebellion in the same Kinges tyme, and meaning that both the Prince, and the realme, did they wyt not what.

And shortly after, that he had thus declared hys rebellious hart, and canckred iudgement, he then fledde this realme into the partes beyond the seas, and there abode all the lyfe of that vertuous Prince.

After his death, as sone as the late Queen Mary possessed the crowne, the aforesayd Story retourned again from beyond the seas, and obtayned of Queene Mary by the help of Bishop Boner, that he became a commissioner, and a cruel persecutor of Christes members, wherin he trauelled with such vehemency and in such a tyrannous maner, as neuer was there any before him did, and in that state he continued all the dayes of Queene Maryes lyfe.

After the death of Queene Mary, so sone as our most dere soueraine lady came to the possession of the crowne, and that she had called a parliament, chieflye for the restitucyon of Gods blessed worde, and the true administracion of the sacramentes to Goddes high honor, and also for the amendment of the decayed state of this realme: the said Story, being of the parliament-house who was an enemy to al godly reformatiōs, did wyth great vehemency speake against the bill that was ther exhibited for the restitucyon of the Book of Common-Prayer, and sayd these wordes: 'I did aften tymes, in Queene Maryes tyme, saye to the bishops that they were to busie with *Pecora campi* (for so it pleased him to terme the poor commons of England) chopping at twiges; but I wished to haue chopped at the roote, which if they had done, this gere had not cum now in question, and here in most traiterously he meant the distruccion of our dere and Soueraine Lady Queene Elizabeth.' For the which wordes, spoken in such an audience and in such vehement maner, there was no honest nor true hart, that hard him, but did utterly abhorre him.

And sone after, that he had declared his trayterous hart to the Queenes Highnes, and hys conscience accusing him, he fled and lurked about in souldry corners, as did Cain, when he had murdered his bro-

ther Abell. But, at the last, he was taken in the West Countrey, ryding before a male, in a frise coate lyke a seruing man, and was apprehended in the highwaie, by one Master Ayleworth a gentleman, one of the Queenes seruantes, and brought before the counsaill, and after sent to prison to the Queenes-Bench (for more than suspicion of treason) in the fyrst yere of her Highnes reigne.

And after the sayd Story had remained there a whyle, he cspyenge hys tyme, and by the helpe of hys frendes (as commonly such lewde Papistes lacke none) he brake the sayd prison and fled againe beyond the seas, namely, into Flaundrys, and there not only practised diuerse wicked and treyterous enterprises towards our Soueraigne Lady, the Quenes Majestie, and the state of this realme, by sondry conferences that he had, with such as haue of late rebelled and conspired the destruction of the same: but also he became an open and comon enemy to euery good subiect of this realme of England, and obeyned in Flaundrys, of the Duke of Alua, a commission and auctoritie to practise his old crueltie, and to arest and apreheind al such Englishmens goods, as shold arriue in those countries, or that did trafique out of England, into those partes, or from thence into England, and to confiscat the same; by reason of which auctoritie, he vsed there such extremitye, that he was the spoiler and vndoer of dyuerse merchauntes, and of more would haue bene, if he had longer continued; wherfore the sayd merchauntes were inforced to study and deuise some remedye, and to practise some waye or meane howe to remove this combersome man from them.

And among other deuises they, hauing experience of hym to be a greedy and rauenous wolfe, put into hys head (by such as he suspected not) that ther was a praye for hym of English goodes, in a ship that lay in a certain place, which was named vnto him, where he should fynd such a treasure of goods to be confiscate, as would be sufficient for him, during his lyfe. The wolfe, beyng hongry and desyrous of this great praye, set forward, and came into a shyp that promysed to brynge hym to the place, where the praye was. But, to be shorte, assone, as he was entered the shyp, the same brought hym cleane awaye out of Flaundrys into England, and landed him at Harwyche, in the moneth of Auguste last paste.

And sone after, knowlege being geuen to the queenes honorable counsaill of his landyng, he was brought to London, and there he was committed to prison to the Lollardes Tower in Powles, where he continued a whyle that he myght well peruse that place, wherein he had most cruelly tormented many a good Christyan. But he lacked there one thing, which was the monstrous and houghe stockes, that hee and Boner, his old faithfull frend, had vsed to turmoyle and persecute the poore and innocent Christians in, hanging sum therin by the heles so high, that only theyr heades laye on the ground. Some wer stocked in both feet and armes, some also wer stocked by both thir feet and by both thir thombes, and so did hang in the stockes. And some also were stocked by both theyr fete, and cheyned by the necke wyth collars of iron made fast behynde them to a post in the wall, and suche other deuелиshe and tyrannus engynes and deuyses by hym practised; these at his being in

the Lollardes Tower he myssed, and great pitie it was, that he had not tasted of them: But alack, the good Bishshop Gryndall, late Bishop of London, had brent and consumed them with fire.

But to returne where I left, after that Story had contynued a certaine of tyme, in the Lollardes Tower, and had ben diuers tymes examined, he was from thence remoued to the Tower of London, wher he remayned vntill the xxvi. day of Maye, 1571. And then was hee brought from thence into Westminster-hall, before the Judges of the Queenes-Benche, and there arayned. And after the indictment had ben read vnto hym, the effect wherof was, that wher as Rychard Norton, Thomas Markenfelde, Christopher Neuyll, Frances Norton, and Thomas Jenny, alias Jennings, with other traytors, after their offences committed in the north, and being thereof indicted in the xij. yere of the Queenes Highnes raigne before the right honorable Thomas Erle of Sussex, Lorde President of the Queenes Counsaill in the North Partes, John Lorde Darcy, &c. they, after their indictment, did the xxiii. of June, in the yere aforesayd, embarke themselves in sundry shyppes, and fled this realme unto Antwarpe in Brabant, whych is vnder the gouernment of King Phylip, and ther contrarye to theyr allegiaunce did lead their liues, and the aforesayd John Story. D. W. P. and J. P. being borne in Englande, and the Queenes subiectes, did with them conspire, compasse, and imagin the Queenes death, and her Highnes to depose and depyue.

And by diuers perswasions and letters, did also procure straungiers to inuade this realme of England, and to leuy warre against the Queene, and her Hyghnes to depose. And, that the aforesayd John Story, &c. knowing the abouesaid Norton, and others, to haue committed theyr treasons here in England, did receaue, comfort, and helpe them at Antwarp aforesaid, agaynst theyr allegaunce, &c.

And after the indictment read, he being called vpon by the courte to answer to the same, pleaded, that he was not the Queenes subiect nor had not bene these vii. yeres, but was the subject of the most Catholicke and mighty Prince, Kyng Philip, Kyng of Spaine, to whome he was sworne, and had in fee of him one-hundred pound by the yere; therefore said he I am not bound to answer vnto that indictment, neyther will I answer vnto it.

And here he vsed many pretie tauntes as well to the iudges, as also pleasyng himselfe with giuinge of pretie nippes and girdes.

And verye stowtlye he maintayned his former plea, affirming also, that they were not his lawfull iudges, neither that they had law to procede against him, being none of the Queenes subiectes.

And then, beyng demaunded where he was borne; he answered in England.

Then sayd they it followeth that you are subiect to the lawes of thys realme, and should be so to our Queene,

Whereunto he replyed and sayd, 'That God commaunded Abraham to go soorth from the lande and countrey where he was borne, from his friendes and kynsfolke, into an other countrey.' And so he followynge his example, for conscience sake in religion, did forsake his countrey, and the lawes of this realme, and the prince also, and had wholly geuen hymselfe to the seruice of a foreyne gouernour Kyng Philip, Kyng of Spayne.

And herevpon he stood very stoutlye, but to small purpose.

Then, when he perceived that they would proceed in iudgement against him, he sayde, they had no lawe so to do. And with that he turned him about to the people, and sayd: ' Good people, I trust ye see, howe violently I am vsed, and howe vniustly and contrary to al iustice and equitie they vee mee.

And he added, that he had good hope, that he was not destitute of some friendes there, that would geue notice and knowlege to the most Catholycke Prynce hys maister how cruelly they dealt with him.

And then, again beyng called vpon to answer, one said vnto him, ' Maister Storye, because you thynke it violence that is shewed vnto you instead of lawe and justice, you shall knowe that we do nothing but that wee maye do doth by lawe and equitie.

And then one of the iudges said: This is Scarborowes case. Nay, said Story, my case is not Scarborowes case; but indeede I had Scarborowes warnynge to come to this arraignment, for I knew nothyng thereof vntyll vij. of the clocke in the mornynge.

Then there was a booke delyuered hym to read, wherein he might see what they might doo by lawe; and, after he had read it, the iudge demaunded of him how he liked it? And he answered, God haue mercie vpon mee. Then the Lorde Chief Justice gaue him iudgement to be drawen, hanged, and quartred, and so was he agayne sent vnto the Tower.

And as he went, by the way, certayne persons in scuerall places met with him, and one said: ' Oh Story, Story, thou art a strange Story: Remember Mayster Bradford, that godly man, his blood asketh vengeance on thee, Story, repent in tyme.' Another cryed on hym and said, Story, call to mynde the rigour that thou shewedest vpon Maister Read, a gentleman, whom thou diddest vtterly destroy, aske God forgiveness, Story, for that wicked deede.'

Another cryed vnto hym and saide: ' Blessed be God, Story, that hath made thee partaker of suche breade, as thou wast wont to deale to the innocent membres of Iesus Christe.'

Another also cryed out vpon him, and saide: ' Story, Story, the abhominable cup of fornication and filthynes, that thou hast given other to drinke, be heaped vp topfull, that thy plagues maye be the greater at the terrible daye of Gods wrath and vengeance, vnlesse thou aske mercy for thy filthy, corrupte, and stinkyng lyfe.' And yet again, another cryed out vnto hym and said: ' I pray God that thy hart be not hardened, as was Pharaos, and made harder then the adamant stone, or the steele, that, when he woulde, he could not repent and call for grace.'

And, among al the rest, one came to him at London Stone, and saluted him with this meeter, saying,

Maister Doctor Story,
For you they are right sory
The Court of Louaine and Rome.
Your holy father, the Pope,
Cannot saue you from the rope,
The hangman must haue your gowne.

To which he answered not one word.

THE first daye of June, the saide Story was drawn npon an herdell from the Tower of London vnto Tiborn, wher was prepared for him a newe payre of gallowes made in triangular maner. And, by the way as he went, many people spake vnto hym, and called vpon hym to repent his tirrannie and wickednes, and wylled him to call vpon God for mercy: But he lay as though he had ben asleepe, and would not speake to any person.

And, when he was taken from the herdell and set in a carte, he made there a solemne protestation, and said:

‘I am come hither to die; and truely, if this death were ten times more fierce and sharp then it is, I haue deserued it.

I haue lyved the space of threescore and vij. yeres, and now my body must abyde this temporall payne and punishment prouyded for mee here in this lyfe, by meane whereof, my daies shall be cut off. But, where at the first I stode in feare of death, I thanke God, this night passed I haue ben comforted with good and godly men, that the feare of death is taken from my sight. And now I appeale to God the Father, trustyng in the passion of his Sonne Christ Iesus, and hopynge, by the shedding of his blood only, to be saued. And although of a long tyme I could not applie the vertue of his passion and death to the vse and benefite of my soule, because of my longe houerynge in feare; yet now, I thanke God, I know how to applye this medicine, as for example.

A pothecarye maye haue a medicine lyng in his shop vij. yeres, that maye helpe a sicke or diseased man by the counsaile of a physicion; but, if this medicine be not applyed to the pacient, but styl remaineth in the pothecaries shop, it profiteth nothyng; no more, said he, coulde the benefite of Christes death helpe mee; because, though I knew the medicine good, I did not applie it vnto my soules helth; but now that it hath pleaseth Almightye God to call mee to accompt of my lxxij. yeres, which now must haue an end, and this corrupt body must feelee a temporall punishement, for my sinnes haue deserued it (as I sayd before) I am now come to the prooffe of this medicine.

Dauid, when he had committed adulterie with Barsabe, the wife of Urias (whose husband also he caused to be put in the front of the battell, and so was he murdered) he for that trespasse felt a temporall punishement by the losse of the lyfe of his son, which he loued tenderly.

Also, when he nombred his people, he greatly displeased God; and, for his offence and transgression, he felt a temporall payne; and choyce was geuen vnto him from aboue, to choose one of these iij temporall and bodily punishments: That is to saye, three daies pestilence; the sworde, that is to say, bloodie battell vij yeres; or famyne vij yeres.

And he thought to choose the least; and he chose three daies pestilence. But this scourge tooke away an infinite nombre of his subiectes. So now as my sinnes deserue a temporall payne, whiche here haue an ende, euen in this flesh; I am of the same minde that the prophet Dauid was; and with him I agree saying: *Inuoco te Domine, &c.* ‘Lord, I call vpon thee in this day of my trouble, heare mee, O Lorde, out of hy dwelling place,’ &c.

But now to speake a little of my arraignment; when I was at Westminster, I alleaged in my plea that I was no subiect of this realme, as I

did likewise before the Queene's commissioners, Sir Thomas Wrath, Maister Thomas Wilbraham, late Recorder of the citie of London, Maister Peter Osborne, Maister Marshe, and Maister Doctor Wattes ; where the Recorder of London made lyke demaunde as was demaunded of me at Westminster ; and that was, Whether I was borne in Englande, or no ? Wherynto I answered, I was.

Then sayde he, it followeth that you are and ought to continue the Queene's faithfull subiects. Wherunto I replied then as I do nowe, saying, I am sworne to the noble kyng, defendour of the aunient catholique faith, Kyng Philip, Kyng of Spaine ; and he is sworne again by a solempne and corporall othe, to maintayne and defende the Uniuersitie of Louaine, whereof I am a member, and therefore no subiect of this realme, ne yet subiect to any lawes therof.

For it is well known, that I departed this realme beyng freely licensed therunto by the Queene, who accompted me an abiect and castawaye, and I came not hether agayne of myne owne accorde ; but I was betrayed.

And although I had an inckelyng given mee before, of such a thing pretended towards mee, yet I coule not shun nor escape it. For sure it was God that made dym myne vnderstandyng, and blynded myne eyes, so that I could not perceyve it. But holye writ commandeth mee to loue my enemies, and here I forgeue them freely with all my hart, beserchyng God that they take no harme for me in another country ; I would be right sorye they should, although they betrayed me.

I trauayled with them from shyp to shyp, by the space of eight yeres, and mistrusted no perill to be at hand, vntyll I was clapt fast under the hatches.

But sure, sure, it was God that wrought it ; yea, and although I was accompted a poller of the Englyshmen of yourcountry ; I stand nowe here before God, and by the death I shall die, I had neuer out of any shyp more then two peeces of golde, and forty dallers that was laid in my hand.

But once agayne, to my arraignment, where there were certain letters laid to my charge, wherein I should go about to prouoke the Nortons, the Neuilles, and others to rebell, I neuer meant it ; yet will I discharge my conscience freely and frankly and tell you trueth. There was a commission for a lyke matter sent into Scotland, which I wrote with myne owne hande ; but it conteyned a prouiso, wherein the Queene of England and her dominions were excepted.

There are yet two things that I purpose to talke of ; namely, for that ther are here present a great nombre of youth ; and I would to God I might saye or speke that which might bring all men to the vnitie of the church ; for there is but one church, one flocke, and one shepherde ; if I could this do, I would think myselfe to haue wrought a good worke.

The first poynt toucheth my crueltie, wherwith I am sore burdened ; and the second concerneth my religion.

As touchyng the first, there were three in commission, of the whiche I was one that might do least, for I was the last of the three. And

though I might by perswasion assaye to cause them to reuoke the articles that they had maintayned, and to confesse the presence, wherein I stande; ye knowe that he, that chydeth, is not worthy to be condemned for fighting; no more am I worthy to be condemned for fighting; no more am I worthy to be counted cruell for chydynge; it was the Bishop that pronounced the sentence *excommunicamus*, and against that I could not do, for I was one of the layetie.

Yet oftentimes the Bishop, to whom I was servant, was bold with mee, when he had so many prisoners that he could not well bestow them. For at one tyme the Lorde Riche sent him out of Essex xxviij, and at another tyme xxiiij, also at another tyme xvi, and xiiij. and some of them were sent to mee, whiche I kept in my house with suche fare as I had prouided for myselfe and my famylie, at myne owne cost and charge.

And, to proue that I was not so cruell as I am reported to bee, let this one tale suffice; there were at one tyme xxviij condemned to the fire, and I moued the deane of Paules to tender and pitie their estate, whiche after was abbot of Westminster, a very pitiful minded man; I thincke the moste parte of you know him, it is Mr. Fecknam, and we went up and perswaded with them, and we found them very tractable. And Mr. Fecknam and I laboured to the Lorde Cardinal Poole, shewynge that they were

Nescientes quid fecerunt.

The Cardinall and we did sue together to the Queene, and layd both the swordes together, and so we obteyned pardon for them al, sauynge an olde woman that dwelt aboute Paules Churchyard; shee would not conuert, and therefore she was burned. The rest of them receyved absolution, and that with al reverence; serch the Register, and you shall finde it.

Yea, and it was my procurement that there should be no more burnt in London, for I saw well that it woulde not preuaile, and therefore we sent them into odde corners into the country.

Wherefore I pray you, name me not cruell, I would be loth to haue any suche slaunder to ron on mee. But, sith I dye in charitie, I pray you al of charitie to pray for mee, that God may strengthen mee with patience to suffer my death; to the whiche I yelde most wyllyngly.

And here I make a peticion to you my frendes that would haue bestowed any thyng on mee, I beseeche you, for charitie sake, bestow it yerely on my wife, who hath foure small children, and God hath nowe taken mee away, that was her staffe and stay; and nowe my daughter Weston and her three chyl dren are gone ouer vnto her, and I know not how they shal do for foode, vnlesse they go a beggynge from door to door for it; although indede no English persons do begge but of English, beyng helped by the lady Dorm. and Sir Francisco; I haue good hope that you wyl be good vnto her, for she is the faythfullest wife, the louyngest and constantest that euer man had. And twise we haue lost all that euer we had, and nowe she hath lost mee to her great grieve I knowe.

The second poynt, that I thought to speke of, is concerning my religion, for that I know manie are desirous to know what faith I will dye in, the whiche I will briefly touch; I saye with Sainct Iherome, that auncient father and pillar of the old auncient, catholique, and apostolicke church, grounded vpon the patriarkes, prophetes, and apostles, that, in the same faith that I was borne in, I purpose to dye. And as the arcke, that Noe and his family did possesse, figured the ship of Christes Church, out of which ship whosoever is cannot be saued. In that ship am I; example: A ship, that is tossed on the floods, is often in danger of losse on the sandes, and sometimes on the rocke. But, when the men that are in the ship espye present peryll at hande, there is a cockboat, at the tayle of the ship, wherunto they flye for succour: so likewise, I, beyng in the ship of Christ, once fell out of the same ship, and was in present peryl and great danger. But then I, followyng the example of a good maryner, tooke the cockboat, thinkyng to driue to lande, and at the last, beyng in the boat, I espied three oares, that is to wit, contricion, confession, and absolution; and I held al these fast, and euer sence I haue continued in the ship of Christ, of whiche, the Apostle Peter is the guide and principall, and in the faith catholike of my kynge I dye.

Then sayde the Earle of Bedford, Are you not the Queenes subiect? No, sayde Story, and yet I do not exclude the Queene, but I pray for her, her counsaile, and the nobilitie of this realme longe to continue.

Then sayde the Lorde Honsdon: Are you not the Queenes subject, you were borne in England? Then sayde Story, euery man is free borne, and he hath the whole face of the earth before him to dwell and abyde in, where he liketh best; and, if he can not lyue here, he may go els where. Then was there (as I thinke one of the ministers) hearyng him to make so light of our noble Queene and countrey, demaunded of him, whether she was not, next and immediatlye vnder God, supreme head of the churches of Englande and Irelande? whereunto he answered: I come not hither to dispute, but, if shee bee, shee is; my nay wyll not preuayle to proue it otherwise.

And then they cryed, Awaye with the carte; and so he was hanged according to his iudgement.

An Epilogue, or a brieue Conclusion, of the Lyfe of the aforesaid Iohn Story.

THE aforesaid John Story, beside that he was an obstinat Papist and a rancke traitour, he was also, in Queene Maryes time, the cruellat tirant and persecutor of the innocent membres and blessed professors of Christ; that euer was to his power, sithen that cruell tirant Nero. For his whole delectacion and pleasure was, in rackyng, stockyng, whip-pyng, manaklyng, and burnyng of innocents, without respect either of age, vertue, learnyng, weakenes of wyt, or of a simple boy, or childsh wenche; and all was fish that came to the net.

- And he often and openlie sayde (in the herynge of manie) in the time of Queene Mary, that the burnyng of heretiques (as he termed them) was to gentle a death, for they had too much scope to prate and talke what they lust; but, sayde he, if I lyue, I wyll haue a close cage of iron made for them, with a doore in the side, lyke to the brasen bull of Perillus, where they shall be enclosed, and the doore made fast, and the fire to be made vnder them. And then (sayde he) they shall know what frying is, and their mouthes shall be stopped from blowyng out their pestilent doctrine. So that, by the premisses, it maye manifestly appeere, that there hath not ben a wickeder man towards God, his prince and countrey, then he hath ben.

God saue the Queene, and confound her enemies.

Seen and allowed, &c.

ANE
ADMONITION,

DIRECT TO THE

TREW LORDIS

MANTENARIS OF THE KINGIS GRACES AUTHORITIE. M. G. B.

Imprinted at Strivling by Robert Lekprevik. Anno Dom. 1571.

Octavo, containing thirty pages in the Scottish tongue.

This pamphlet came out at a time when Scotland was in the greatest fermentation: religion was then just reforming, and the Queen Regent was not only a prisoner in England, but there was a secret faction ready to join with every designing malecontent to destroy the reigning family.

The Author, who, I apprehend, was the learned and truly Protestant Buchanan, that wrote the detection of Mary Queen of Scots, was very well apprised of the danger of his country, to which it was liable, not only from foreign, but especially from the policy of the domestick foes; and, in a true regard to the real welfare of the same, writes these particulars, addresses them to the governing part of the nation, and by way of caution, as well as proof of what he advanceth, plainly shews the origin of all their present troubles and future dangers, to be owing to the ambition of the Hamilton-family, who, tired of subjection, were not content to share the government, but aspired to the crown of Scotland: and, perhaps, contains a piece of the best and most secret history of those times.

IT may seme to your Lordschippis, that I, mellyng with heigh materis of gouerning of commoun welthis, do pas myne estait, beyng of sa meane qualitie, and forgettis my dewtie, geuyng counsell to the

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wyset of this realme: not the les seyng the miserie sa greit apperyng, and the calamitie sa neir approchyng, I thocht it les fault to incur the crime of surmountyng my priuate estate, then the blame of neglecting the publik danger: thairfor I chesid rather to vnderly the opinion of presumption in speiking, then of treson in silence; and specially of sic thingis, as euin some presently to redound to the perpetuall schame of your Lordschippis, destruction of this royall estate, and ruine of the hole commoun welth of Scotland. On this consideration I haue takin in hand, at this tyme, to aduertise your honours of sic thingis, as I thocht to appertene, baith to your Lordschippis, in speciall, and in generall to the hole communitie of this realme, in punitioun of tratouris, pacificatioun of troublis amongis your selfis, and continuatioun of peace with our nighbouris. Of the quhilk I haue takin the trauell to write, and do remit the iudgement to your discretion, hoppyng, at leist, that, although my wit and foresight shall not satisfie yow, yit my gud will shall not displeis yow, of quhilk aduertisement the summe is this.

First, To consider how godly the actioun is quhilk yow haue in hand, to wit, the defence of your King, an innocent pupill, the stablishing of religioun, punitioun of thiefis and tratouris, and maintenance of peace and quietnes amongis your selfis, and with forrane nationis.

Item, Remember how yow haue vindicat this realme from the thraldome of strangeris, out of domestik tyrannie, and out of a publik dishonour, in the sight of all forrane nationis, we beyng altogidder estemid a pepill-murtherars of Kingis, and impacient of lawis and ingrait, in respect of the murther of the late King Henry, within the wallis of the principall town, the greatest of the nobilitie beyng present with the Quene for the tyme: and by your power, one part of the chief tratouris tried from amongis the trew subjectis, quhairby strangeris wer constrainid afterwart as mekle to praise your iustice, as of befoire they wrangfully condemnid your iniustice.

Item, Remember how far, in doing the same, ye haue obliged your selfis befoir the hole warld, to continew in the same vertew of iustice, and quhat blame ye shall incur, if ye be inconstant: for all men can belief na vtherwise, if the tyme following be not conforme to the tyme past, that nouthir honour nor commoun welth stirrid yow vp then, but rather sum particulair tending to your priuate commoditie.

Also remember how many gentill and honest meanis yow haue socht, in tymes past, to caus the King be acknowledged, and the countraie put at rest; and how vnprofitabill hath been your honestie in treityng; your vailyrant curage in werr; your mercifulnes in victorie; your clemencie in punisching, and facilitie in reconsiliatioun.

Quhilk thingis witnessis sufficiently, that ye estemit na man an enemy that wald liue in peace, vnder the Kingis authoritie; that ye wer neuer desirous of blude, geir, nor honour of sic as wald not, rather, in making of troubill and seditioun, declair thame selfis enemies to God, and the Kingis Maiestie, than liue in concord and amitie with thair nighbouris vnder the correctioun of iustice.

And sen ye can nouthir bow thair obstinate hight with pacience,

nor mease thair stubburne bartis with gentilnes, nor satisfie thair inordinate desyris, vtherwyse then with the Kingis blude and youris, the destruction of religioun, banisching of iustice, and fre permissioun of crueltie and misordour, your wisdomes may easily consider quhat kind of medicine is not only mete, but alsua necessair, for mending of sic a maladic.

And, to the effect that ye may the better consider this necessitie of medicine, remember quhat kynd of pepill they ar, that professis thame selfis in deid, and dissemblis in worde, to be enemeis to God, to iustice, and to yow, becaus ye maintene the Kingis actioun.

Sum of them ar counsellaris of the King his fateris slaucher, sum conueyaris of him to the schambles, that slew his grandachir, banished his father; and, not satisfyd to haue slayne him self, murtherit the Kingis regent, and now seikes his awin blude, that thay may fulfill thair crueltie and auarice, being Kingis, quhilk they begonne to exercise, the tyme of thair gouerning.

Vthers ar, that, being alliat nor neir of kyn to the Hamiltounis, thinkis to be participant of all thair prosperitie and succes.

Vthers, being gyltie of King Henryis death, in the first parliament halden in the Kingis regne that now is, could well accord, that the Quene should haue bene put to deith also.

And, seing they could not obtene that point, the next schift of thair impietie was, to put downe the King, that he should not rest to reuenge his fateris deith; quhilk, thay thocht, could not be mair easilie done, then by bringing hame the Quene with sic a husband, that, other for auld haitred, or for new couatice, wald desire the first degre of succession to be of his awin blude.

Sum vthers ar practisid in casting of courtis, and reuoluing of estatis, by raising of ciuile werr, and ar becum richer than euer thay hopid; and, becaus thay haue found the practise sa gude in tyme past, now thay seik all wayis to continew it; and, hauing ones gusted how gude fisching it is in drumly waters, they can, by no maner, leaue the craft.

Vthers of that faction ar, sum Papistis, sum feined Protestantis, that hes na God bot Geir; and desiris agane the Papistrie, not for luif they beir to it (for they ar scornors of all religioun) but hoping to haue promotioun of idle bellies to benefices; and lamentis the present estait, quhair (as they say) ministeris gettis all, and leisus nathing to gude fellows; and to this intent thay wald set vp the Quenis authoritie, say thay.

Sum thair be also, that, vnder colour of seiking the Quenis authoritie, thinkis to eschaip the punischement of auld faultis, and haue licence, in tyme to cum, to oppres thair nichbouris that be febillier then they.

Now haue I to schew yow, by coniecture, quhat frute is to be hopid of an assembly of sic men, as for the maist pairt ar of insatiabill greedines, intollerabill arrogance, without faith in promeis, measure in couatice, pietie to the inferiour, obedience to the superiour, in peace desirous of troubill, in werr thirstie of blude, nuryshers of theft, raisers of rebelloun, counsellours of tritouris, inuenteris of tressoun,

with hand reddie to murther, mynd to deceiue, hart voyde of treuth and full of felonie, toung trampid in dissait, and worde tending to fals practise without veritie; by quhilk properteis, and many vthers thairunto ioynid, as is knawin to all men, ye, that vnderstandis thair beginning, progres and hole lyfe, may easilie remember, to quhome thys general speiking appertenis in speciall; and it is not unknowin to sic as knawis the personis, how they ar mellid with godles persons, Papistes, harlot Protestantis, commoun brybouris, holy in worde, hypocrites in hart, proude contempners or Machiauell mockers of all religioun and vertew, bludie boucheris, and open oppressouris, fortifieris of theiffis, and manteneris of tratouris.

It is also necessarie to your Lordschippis to vnderstand thair pretence, that, if it be a thing quhilk may stand with the tranquillitie of the commoun-welth, your Lordschippis may, in sum pairt, rather condiscend to thair inordinate lust, then put the hole estate in icopardie of battell.

First, It is not honour, riches, nor authoritie that thay desire; for thay haue had, and als haue presentlie, and may haue, in tyme to cum, sic pairt of all thay thingis, as a priuait man may haue in this realme, not being chargeabil to the countrie, or not suspectit to ane King, as vnassurit of his awin estait.

It is not the delyuerance of the Quene that thay scik, as thair doings contrair to thair worde testifeis manifestlie; for, if they wald haue her deliuerit, they wald haue procurit, by all menis possibill, the Quene of Englandis fauour and support, in quhais power the hole recouerance stode only, and not offendid hir sa heichly as thay haue done, and daylie dois, in participatioun of the conspirit tressoun, to put hir Maiestie, not only out of hir stait, bot out of this lyfe present; nor in recyting and mantening of hir rebellis contrair to promeis and solemne contract of pacificatioun betuix this two realmes, nouthur yet haue houndit furth proude and vncircumspect young men, to hery, burne, and slay, and take presoneris in her realme, and vse all misorder and crueltie, not only vsed in werr, but detestabill to all barbar and vile Tartaris, in slaying of presoneris, and, contrair to all humanitie and iustice, keip na promeis to miserabill catiues, receiued once to thair merey; and all this was done by commandment of sic as sayis thay scik the Quenes deliuerance, and reprochit to thame, by the doaris of the mischeitis, saying, That they enterit thame in danger, and supportit thame, not in mister, so mekle as to cum to lawder and luik from thame; in quhilk deserting of thair collegis, thay schew crueltie ioynd with falsheid, and maist heich tressoun against the Quene, pretending, in worde, hir delyuerance, and stopping, in warke, hir recouerance; the quhilk, as euery man may cleirly se, thay socht, as he that socht his wyfe drowned in the riuer againis the streime.

It is not the Quenis authoritie that thay wald set vp, in hir absence; for, if that war their intention, quhome can they place in it mair friendly to hir then hir onlie sone; or qthat gouernour may they put to him, les suspect, than sic men as haue na pretence of succession to the crowne, or any hoip of proffit to cum to tham after his deith; or thay that euer haue bene trew seruandis to Kingis before him, should

they not be preferrit to his paternall enemeis, yea, and slayeris of his father, and sollicitaris of strangeris to seik his innocent blude?

Quhat then shall we think that these men seikis vnder pretence of the Queenis authoritie, seing they can not bring hame the Quene to set vp hir, nor will not suffer the King lawfully inaugurat and confirmed, by decreit of parliament, to bruik it, with sa many of his tutoris chosin by his mother, as ar not to be suspectit to will him harme? I traist it is not vn easie to perceiue, by thair hble progres, now presently, and in tyme by past, that they desire na other thing but the deith of the King and Quene of Scotland, to set up the Hamiltounis in authoritie; to the quhilk they haue aspyrit, by craftie meanis, these fyftie yeires ago: and, seing thair purpos succedit not by craftie and secreit meanis, now thay follow the same traide, conioynnyng to falsheid opin wickitnes.

And, that ye may see quhat meanis they haue vaid, thir fyftie yeiris by past, to set vp by craft this authoritie, quhilk now they seik by violence, force, and tresoun, I will call to your memorie sum of thair practis, quhilk many of you may remember asweill as I.

First, After the deith of King James the Fourth, Iohn, Duke of Albany, chosin by the nobilitie to gouerne in the Kingis les age, the Hamiltounis, thinking that he had bene als wicked as thay, and should, to his awin aduancement, put downe the King, being of tender age, for the tyme, and by the deceis of his brother left alone; and that thay wald easilie get thair hand beyond the Duke, being an stranger, and without successioun of his body, held thame quyet for a season, thinking that vther mens actioun should be thair promotioun; but seing that the Duke, as a prince baith wyse and verteous, to bring him selfe out of sic suspitioun, put four Lordis estemid of the maist trew and verteous in Scotland, in that tyme, to attend on the Kingis grace, to wit, the Erle Merchell, the Lordis Erskyn, Ruthuen, and Borthick; the Hamiltounis being out of hope of the Kingis putting doun by the Duke of Albany, and out of creidit to do him any harme by thame selfis, maid one conspyracie, with certane Lordis, to put the sayd Duke out of authoritie and take it on thame selfis, that, all thinges put in thair power, thay might vse the King and the realme at thair awn plesure. To that effect thay tuik the castell of Glasgow, and therd maid an assembly of thair factioun, the quhilk was dissoluit by the haistie cummyng of the Duke of Albany, with an armie; for feir of the quhilk, the Erle of Arrane, cheif of that companie, fled to his wifis brother, the Lord Hume, being then out of court.

The second conspyracie was, after the Dukis last departyng (the fore-sayd Lordis separate from attending on the king) deuyisit be Schir James Hamiltoun, bastard sone to the sayd Erle of Arrane, quha conspyrit the kingis deith, then being in his hous, in the abbay of Halyruidhous; quhilk conspyracie, after mony yeiris, reuellit, the Schir James sufferit deith for it. This conspyracie not beyng execute, Schir James perseuerid in his euill intentioun; and, by secreit meanis in court, sought alwaies that the king should not mary, that, for lack of his successioun, the Hamiltounis might cum to thair intentis: For the King was young, lusty, and redy to stenture his persoun to all hazardis, baith by sea and land,

in doune putting of theifs, and vpsetting of iustice. The Hamiltounis luiked on, quhen seiknes, throw excese of travell, or sum vther rakles auenture, should cut him of without children; and, destitute of this hope, first he stoppid the Kingis metyng with his vncl the King of Ingland, quha, at that tyme, hauing but one doughter, was willing to haif marryid with the King of Scotland, and maid him King of the hole ile after him; and to haue enterid him, at that present tyme, in possession of the duchy of Yorke; but the said Schir James, euer hauing eye to his awn scope, hinderid this purpois by sum of the Kingis familiaris, that he had practised with by giftis, and speciallie by the Bischop of Sanctandros, James Betoun, vncl to the Erle of Arranis mother, and greit vncl to Schir James wyfe, and raised sic suspitioun betuix the twa Kingis, that brocht baith the realmes in greit besynes.

This purpois as sayd is put abak; the King, seing that his ambassadouris furtherit not at his plesure, deliuered him selfe in persoun to ga be sey in France; and Schir James Hamiltoun, perseuering in his former intencion, went with him to hinder his mariage, by all meanis that he might; and, to that effect, the King sleiping in the schip, without any accessitie of wynde and wedder, Schir James causid the marineris to turn saill of the west coist of Ingland bakwart, and land in Galloway, quhair the King was verray miscontent with Schir James and Maister David Panter, principall causeris of his returnyng, as diuers that was in the schip, yit liuyng, can report: And, fra that time furth, the King, hauing tryid out his pretence, and persaiuing his vnfaithfull dealing euer disfaourid him, and, to his greit displesure, fauoured opinlie the Erl of Lennox and his friendis in his absence; the quhilk Erl pretended a right and tytill to the hole Erldome of Arrane, the present Erl for that tyme being knawin to be bastard; as also, it was in mens recent memorie how Schir James Hamiltoun had cruellie slayne the Erl of Lennox at Linlythgow, euin to the greit displesure of the Erl of Arrane, father to Schir James, and vncl to the Erl of Lennox, cumming by the Kingis commandiment to Linlythgow: Sa the King, as said is, vnderstanding the priuate practick of Schir James, in keiping him vnmaryid, haistit him the mair earnestlie to mary, to the effect that his successioun might put the Hamiltounis out of hope of thair intent, and him out of danger by the Hamiltounis. And albeit that Schir James, to make him selfe clene of that suspitioun, soght many diueris wayes to the destruction of the Erl of Arrane his brother; yit he could neuer conqueis the Kingis fauour, vntill finallie he was executid for tresoun, and tooke ane miserabill end, conforme to his vngodly lyfe.

The King at last deceissit, and leuing a doughter of sex dayis auld, the Hamiltounis thocht all to be thairis. For then the Erl of Arrane, a young man of small wit and greit inconstancie, was set up by sum of the nobilitie, and sum familiar seruandis of the Kingis, lately deceissit; for thay thocht him mair tollerabill then the Cardinall Beton, quha, by ane sals instrument, had takin the supreme authoritie to him selfe.

The Erl of Arrane namid gouernour, by a priuait factioun, and fauourid by sa many as professit the trew religioun of Christ, becaus he was beleift then to be of the same; howbeit he was gentill of nature, yit his friendis, for the maist part, wer gredie baith of geir and blude, and

gein to iniustice quhair gayne followid. Thair was, in his tyme, no-thing ellis but werr, oppressioun, and brybing of his callid brother, the Bischop of Sanctandros, sa that all the estatis wer verie of hym, and dischargid hym of hys office, and charged with it an woman stranger.

In the beynnynng of hys gouernement, the Quene and hir mother wer keipit by hym, rather lyke presoneris then princessis; but yit that incommoditie was caus of preseruynng of the Quenis lyfe, he beleifing to mary hir on his sone. But after the Erle of Lennox had delyuerid tham out of hys handis, and the nobilitie had refusid to mary hir on hys sone, howbeit he left hys ferme freindis, and, come to the Quene, abiurid hys religioun in the Gray-freiris of Striuling, yit he could neuer cum agane to hys pretendid clymaming to the crowne, quhilk he had lang sought, partly by fauour of sic of the nobilitie as wer alliat with hym, and partly by distructioun of the ancienst howsis that might haue put impediment to hys vnreasonabill ambition. For, hauing banished the Erle of Lennox, he thocht the Erle of Angous to be the principall that might resist hym; and, hauing enterid in waird Schir George Dowglas, to be yit mair assurid, he sent for the said Erle of Angous in freindly maner, and put hym in presoun, without any iust occasioun, and wold haue beheidid tham baith, if the arryuing of the Inglis army had not stayit hys purpois, by the quhilk and fear of the murmour of the pepill, he was constrainit to delyuer tham. And, seing he durst not at sic a tyme put tham down by tyrannie, he offerit tham to the sword of the enemy to be slaine by tham. And, to the effect that thay and thair freindes, hauing put abak the Inglis horsemen, and receiuyng an vther charge, might be the mair easely slayne, thay standing in battell and fighting for hym, he, in the battell behind, fled to Tynetham, and sa these nobillmen, sa far as lay in hym, was slayne, and preseruid by the prouidence of God.

The young Quene, quhilk, being in hir motheris keiping, he might not put doune, nor mary at hys plesure, he consentid to offer hir to the stormes of the sea, and danger of enemeis, and sauld hir as a slaue in France, for the duchy of Chastellarault; the quhilk he bruikis in name onlie, as the crowne of Scotland in fantasie, and reccauit sic price for hir, as tresoun, periurie, and the sellyng of fre persounis should be recompensit with. But yit the couatise of the crowne that he had sold cessid not heir, for befor hir returning hame out of France, at the troubillis quhilk began anent the repressing of the Frenchemen, and tyrannie agais the religioun, how many meanis sought the Hamiltonis to haue depriuit hir of all right, and translatit the crowne to tham selfis, is knawin baith in Scotland and England.

Also after the Quenis arryuing in Scotland, sche seiking a querrell against the sayd Duike and sum vther Lordis, vnder pretence that thay had conspyrit against hir, for the religionis caus, the Duikis freindis left hym all, becaus that the rest of the Lordis wald not consent to destroy the Quene, or derogat hir authoritie by any maner of way. A lytill befor the quhilk tyme, the occasioun of the Dukis conspyracie with the Erle Bothwell, to slay the Erle of Murray in Falkland, was nather, but becaus, the sayd Erle of Murray flyng, thay could nouthir do the sayd Quene harme in her persoun, nor diminische her authoritie, nor constreane her to mary at thair plesyre, and to her vther displeasure.

After that the Quene had maryit with hym, quhom thay esteim'd their auld enemye, and was with child, the gude Bischop of Sanctondreis, first callid Cunligham, esteimis Cowane, and at last Abbot Hamiltoun, not onlie conspyrit with the Erie Bothwell, but come with the Quene to Glasgow, and convoyit the King to the place of his murder, the Bischop being lodged, as he seildom of befoir, quhar he might persais the pleasure of that crueltie with all hys sensis, and helpe the murderaris, if mister had bene, and send four of his familiar seruandis to the execution of the murder, watching all the night, and thinking lang to have the ioy of the cumming of the crowne a degree neirer to the hous of Hamiltoun; and sa greit hope mellit with ambition inflamit his hart for the Kingis deceis, that within schort tyme he beleuid firmilie hys callid brother to be King, and he (the sayd Bischop) to be to him as curatour, duryng the hole tyme of his non-wit; quhilk had been a langer teirme than Witsunday or Martymes; for he thocht vndoubtedly, that the Erie Bothwell should destroy the young prince, and not suffer hym to prosper, to reuenge hys fatheris deith, and precede the Erlis children in succession of the crowne; and, the young prince onis cut of, the Bischop maid hys rekning, that the Quene and the Erie Bothwell, hated alredy for the slaughter of the King hir husband, and maid for the innocent, wer easie to be destroyit with consent of all estatis, and the cryme easie to the Bischop to be proued, quha knew all the secretis of the hole disguise: Or, if they wald slay the Erie Bothwell, and spair the Quene, thay wer in hope sche should mary Iohn Hamiltoun, the Dukis son, quhome with merie luikis and gentill countenance (as sche could weil do) sche had enterid in the pastyme of the glaikis, and causit the rest of the Hamiltounis to fond for fainnes. But, after that the Erie Bothwell had refusit battell, at Carberry-Hill, and the Quene, befoir the cumming of the Hamiltounis, come to the Lordis, the Hamiltounis as at that tyme disappoint, fosterid their vane hope with a merie dreame, that the Quene should be punishit after hir demeritis, and wer a tyme in dowbill ioy; the one that, beyng rid of the Quene, sche should not beir ma children to debar tham from the crowne; and the vther, that thay might haue ane easie way to calumniat the regent for destroying of the Quene; but, sayng hir kept, thay blamit openlie the regent, quha kept hir in stoir in despite of tham (as thay sayd) to be a stud to cast ma foillis, to hinder tham of the succession of the crowne; yit, for all that, there would nane of tham cum to parliament to further thair desyre with ane anerie vote, but lay bake to keip tham selfis at libertie, to reproof all that should be done in that conuentioun; and to fenze fauour towards the Quene quhome thay hated, sa as, if by consent of the Lordis, or otherwise, sche wer delyuerit, thay might helpe hir to put downe the Lordis, that wold not put hir downe in fauour of tham.

This thair intentioun was opinlie schawit, quhen the Quene beyng kept in Lochteuin, by commaundement of the hole parliament, was delyuerit by conspiracie of sum priuate men, especieallie of the Hamiltounis, for thay assemblit all thair forces to put downe the young Kyng and Lordis obedient to hym. Quhilk cuill will thay schew towards the Lordis at the Langsyde, brynging with tham great stoir of cordis, to murder and hang tham, if thay had been takin prisoneris, and the victorie fallen to the Hamiltounis; and the same cuill will towards the

King, in helping the watter of Forthe, that he should not eschapp their cruell bandis, beyng assurit, if he come in the Quene of Inglands power, that sche, of hir accustomed clemencie and kyndnes of blude, wald not abandoun hym to their vnnercyfull crueltie, experimentit alreidy in hys father. And, seyng that the prouidence of God had closit the dore to all their wicetnes at that tyme, they haue neuer ceist since to seike enemeis to his Grace in all strange nationis; and perceiuing that they had faire wordis of all vtheris, except of the Quenis Maiestie of Ingland, quhe vnderstode their fals and tressonabill dealing, thay turnit their hatred agaynst hir, and enterid in conspyracie with sum tratouris of Ingland, that wer als euil mindit towardis the Quenis Maiestie thair Souerane, as the Hamiltounis wer to the Kingis Hienes of Scotland. This is nouthre dremid in wardrop, nor hard throw a boir, but a trew narrative, of which the memorie is ludged in menis hartis, baith Scottis and strangeris, and the veritie knawin. By the quhilk ye may vnderstand the Hamiltounis pretence, this fifty yeiris and mair.

After sa many wayis sought by tham to distroy the right successioun, and place them in the kinglie rowme, seyng all thair practises could not auail, and thair forces wer not sufficient, thay sought to augment thair factioun, adioyning to tham all that wer participant of the Kingis slaughter, and had aspyrit to slay the Quene of Ingland. And, to the effect thay might cum to thair wickit purpois, thay in a manner displayit a baner, to assemble togidre all kynd of wickid men, as Papistes, renegat Protestantis, theifis, tratouris, murtherais, and opin oppressouris. As for thair adherentis in Scotland, I neid not to exprethe their namis, nor the qualiteis of the conspiratouris of Ingland, for thay ar weill enough knowin to your lordschippis. Yit one I can not ouerpass, beyng the cheif conspiratour choisin by tham to be King of Scotland and Ingland, I mene the Duike of Norfolk; in quhilk act ye may see how the thirst of your blude blindit tham agaynst thair awin utilite. First, thay chose the principall enemie of the religioun of Christ in this ile, accompanyit with vther fylthie idolateris, to change the stait of the kirk in baith realmes, by cuttyng of the twa princes, seyng that, thair autoritie standyng, the conspiratouris could not cum to thair intent. Next thay respectit, in that proude tyranne, the vertewis that wer common to him and tham, as arrogancie, crueltie, dissimulatioun, and tressoun; for euin as thay had, this lang tyme in Scotland, sought the deith of thair righteous prince; sa he in Ingland, followyng the traide of his antecessouris, diueris tymes attemptyng tressoun, wald haue put downe the Quene of Ingland. Heir also appeiris the Hamiltounis crueltie agaynst the nobilitie of thair awin natioun; in seiking thair professit and perpetuall enemie of Scotland (as his bage beiris witnes) quhe should haue spilt the rest of the noble blude of Scotland in peace; that his antecessouris could not spill in werr; by quhilk electioun, beyng assurit that na Scottis hart can loue tham, sa can they loue nane of you, agaynst quhome thay haue vit so many tressonabill actis. Thay do schaw also how crueltie and auarice haue blindit tham, thay can not se, in bringyng a tyrane to haue power over tham, seyng thay, pretending neirest clame to the crowne, should be neirest the danger. And yit, for all this, could these men be weill contentit, if by any means thay

could attene to thair intent, by spoyle and rubberie, as they did quhen as they wer placid in supreme authoritie; or by makyng of you slaues, as they did, in selling of thair quene, begyn that practise, quhairin howbeit the inhumanitie was great, yit was it not in supreme degre of cruelteis; but it is na moderat, tollerable, nor accustomat thyng that thay seike: it is the blude, first, of our innocent kyng, euen sic as hath bene preservit by wyld beastis, nixt the blude of all his trew seruandis and trew subiectis indifferentlie. For quhat defence can be in nobilitie, or quhat suirtie agaynst tham that haue murtherit a kyng, and seikis strangeris to murther ane vther knyng? Quhome sall thay spare for vertew and innocencie, that latelie executit, and yit defendis the murther of the regent: or quha will be ouersene for law, degre, or base estait, in respect of thay that conductit out of Tuidail to slay maister Iohn Wood, for na vther cause, but for beyng a gude servand to the crowne, and to the regent his maister, and had espyit out sum of thair practis?

If this thirst of blude of these Lochlechis might be impute to haistie honger, or any sudane motion, quhilk causis men sum times to forget thair dewtie, there might yit be sum hope that, sic a passion ouerpast, thay wald with tyme remember thame selfis, and after power amend faultis past, or at leist abstene in tyme to cum; but thair is na sic hmanitie in thair nature, nor na sic pietie in thair hartis; for, not content with a kyngis blude, thay gaip for his sonnies murther; nor satisfiit to haue slayne the regent, they keipit the murtherar in the Duikis hous in Arrane. Maist like thinkyng, as, if thay honourit not the doar, thay should not be knawin as counsallouris of the deid, and wald tyne the glorie of that nobill act. And, besydes all this, thay ar not-onlie contentit to mantene Scottis tratouris, but alsua receiuis Inglis tratouris, and settis vp a sanctuarie of tresoun, a refuge of idolatric, a receptacle of theifis and murtheraris.

And howbeit the bullerant blude of a king and a regent about thair hartis, quhair of the lust in thair appetite geuis tham litil rest, daily and hourlie makyng new prouocation; yit the small space of rest quhilk thay haue, beside the executioun of thair crueltie, thay spend in deuysing of generall vnquyetnes throw the hole countrie; for, not content of it that thay tham selfis may steale, brybe, and reif, thay set out ratches on euery side, to gnaw the pepillis bonis, after they haue consumit the flesche, and houndis out; one of tham, the Clangregour, ane vther the Grantie, and Clauchattan, an vther Balcleuch and Fairnyherst, ane vther the Johnstounis and Armestrangis; and sic, as wald be hald in the halyest amangis tham, schew playnlie the affectionn thay had to banish peace and steir up troublis, quhen thay bendit all thair syue wittis, to stop the regent to go first north, and syne south, to punish thift and oppressioun; and, quhen they saw that their counsall was not authorisit, in geuyng imp unitie toall misordour, thay spend it in puttyng downe of hym that wald haue put all in gude ordour.

Thair is a kynd of these theifis euin odious to mair gentill theifis, quhilk, callyng tham selfis great gentilmen, spoyllis trauellaris, cadgearis, and chapmen by the way, and ransounis pure men about Edinburgh for xx. schillyng the heid; quhilk vice can not procede of

vengeance of enemeis, but rather of loue and pleasure in wicktnes. This kynd of men dois not onlie dishonour to nobilitie in steillyng, and to theifis in purspyking, but also to the whole natioun of Scotland, geuing opinioun to strangeris, that sum of the Scottis be of sa law courage, that men amangis tham, aspiring to the hiest estait of a kingdome, haue crouchit tham selfis in the mayst law ordour of knaifis.

Now, my lordis, ye may consider, how thay, that slayis sa cruellie kyngis and thair lieutenentis, will be mercyfull to you; and, quhen thay fall haue put you downe, that craifis reuenge of the Kyngis blude, ye may vnderstand how few dar craif iustice of your slaughter. Ye may se how cruell thay will be in oppressioun of the poore, hauing cut of you, quhilk, beyng of the mayst nobill and potent housis of this realme, sufferis throw your sleuthfulnes euery pairt of this countrie to be maid worse then Liddisdail, ane Annanderdail; and not onlie sufferis the purspykaris of Cliddisdail to exercise thift and reif as a craft, but nuris and authoris, amangis you, the chief counsellaris of all misordour, as ane edder in your bosum. Of all this ye may lay the wyte on, na vther, but vpon your selfis, that haue sufficient power to repres thair insolencie and proudnes, hauing in your hand the same wand that ye haue chastisit tham with of befor; for ye haue your protectour the same God this yeir, that was the yeiris past, unchangeable in his eternall counsellis, constant in promeis, potent in punising, and liberall in rewarding; ye haue your trew freindis and seruandis, that wer with you of befor; ye ar delyuerit of dissimulat brethren, that had thair bodyis with you, and thair hartis with your enemeis; that subscribit with you, and tuik remissioun of your aduersaris; that stuide with you in battell, luiking for occasioun to betray you, had not God bene your protectour. Ye haue a great number of new freindis alienat from tham, for their manifest iniquitie in deid, wickednes in worde, and treason in hart; ye haue of the same enemeis that ye had then sa many, as hes thair hartis herdinnit, and thair myndis bent agaynst God and lawfull ingraitis; ye haue the same actioun that ye had then, accumulat with recent murther and tresoun, to prouoke the ire of the eternall agaynst tham. How far God hath blindit tham, blind men may se, that, hauing sa euill ane actioun, and so many enemeis at hame, yit be houndyng out of small tratouris of thair wickid conspyracie, men execrable to thair awin parentis, quhome amangis vtheris thay haue diueris tymes spoylit; be houndyng out, I say, of sic persounis, to burne, murther, reif, and steill. Thay prouoke the Quenis Majestie of England, to seik vengeance of thair oppressioun agaynst hir realme and subiectis; quhilk vengeance iustice and honour craifis of hir sa instantlie, that sche can not ceis but persew tham, thair ressettaris and mantenaris, vntill sche git sic exempill to vtheris, that, althocht thay will not respect vertew, yet, for fear of punitioun, thay sall be content to lyue in peace with nichbouris; quhairin her heighnes bath alredy renewit the memorie of hir experimentit liberalitie, and tender loue to thia natioun, sciking, on hir proper charges and trauell of hir subjectis, the punitioun of sic, as we on our charges should haue punished; I mene not onlie of our tratouris, but also ressettaris of hir

semitatis tractouris, and in doing of this seikis pacification amangis them that violatid peace with hir without prouocation; seuering the punisshement of sic ar gillie in offendyng, from the subjectis that hes not violatid the peace. And, as sche kepis peace and iustice amangis hir awn subjectis in Ingland, sa vnrequyrit sche offeird support to the same end in Scotland, and not onlie geuis remedie to our present calamiteis, but cuttis the roote of troublis to cum, and preuenis the wickid counsaill of sic, as prouokis Inglisshmen, and solistis Frenchmen to cum in this realme, to the end that, these twa nationis enterit in barres, the one agais the vther, they may saciat thair cruell hartis of blude, thair obstinat will of vengeance, thair bottomles couatise of spoyle and thift.

Thairfor, seying God haue so blindit your enemeis wittis, my lordis, be in gude hope that he sall also cast the spreit of fear and desperatioun in thair indurat hartis, and prosper your gude action, to the quhilk he comfortis you with his redy helpe, exhortis you by his worde, and constrainis you by the dewtie of your estait, and necessitie of pre-seruying of your lyfis and honouris. For, prouokis beyng neglectit, faith violatid, subscription set at naught, thair is na meane way left but outhir to do or suffer: and, seying that baith ar miserabill, amangis sic as should be freindis, yit better it is to slay iustitie, then to be slayne wrangfullie. For the executioun of iustice, in punisshing the wickid, is approuid by God and man; and sleuthfulnes, in defence of iustice, can not be excused of tresoun. And, besides that God schawis him sa mercyfull and liberall to you, in sending you freindis, by precuriing of your enemeis, also the personis maist recommendit of God craifis the same; for saikles blude, oppressioun of the pure, and of the fatherles, cryis continually to the heuin for auengence, quhilk God committis to your handis, as his lieutenantis and speciall officiaris in that pairt; and, euen as he rewardis faith and diligence in obedience of his eternall will, sa he will not neglect to punishe sleuthfulnes in iust executioun of his commandementis.

Thairfor, my lordis, as ye wald that God should remember on you and your posteritie, quhen they sall call on him in their necessitie, remember on your king our souerane, and on my lord regentis pupillis, committit to you in tutorie, by the reason of your office and estait, anent personis that ar not in age nor power to helpe tham selfis, and ar recommendit speciallie to all Christianis by God in his holy scripture; and defend sic innocent creaturis, as may nouthir do nor speike for tham selfis, from the crueltie of vmmercifull wolfis; neglect not the occasioun, nor refuse not the helpe send to you by God, but recognose thankfullie his fauour towardis you, that causis your enemeis to procure your helpe; neglect not the offer of friendis. In cais gif ye lat slip this occasioun, ye sall craif it in vane in your necessitie. Think it na les prouidence in your heuinlie father, then if he had send you ane legioun of angellis in your defence; and remember that he schew him selfe neuer mari freindfull and suocurable to na pepill, than he bath done to you; and traist weill, if ye will perseuer in obedience and recognoscence of his grace, he will multiplie his benefitis to you and your posteritie, and sall neuer leif you, vntill ye forget him first.

A
TRUE AND PLAIN REPORT*
OF THE
FURIOUS OUTRAGES OF FRANCE,
And the horrible and shameful slaughter of
CHASTILLION THE ADMIRAL,
AND
DIVERS OTHER NOBLE AND EXCELLENT MEN,
AND OF THE
WICKED AND STRANGE MURDER OF GODLY PERSONS,
Committed in many Cities of France, without any respect of sex, kind, age, or degree.
BY ERNEST VARAMUND OF FRIESELAND,

Printed at Stirling in Scotland, 1573. Duodecimo, containing one hundred and forty-three pages.

YOU must cease to marvel, my good countrymen of Scotland, that I have caused this book printed in our country of Scotland to be published altogether in the English phrase and orthography. For the language is well enough known to our countrymen: and the chief cause of my translating it was for our good neighbours the Englishmen, to whom we are so highly bound, and upon whose good Queen, at this present, in policy dependeth the chief stay of God's church in Christendom. I know not what respects have stayed the learned of that land from setting out this history: therefore, supposing the causes to be such as I conceive them, I have been bold to set it forth in their language in our country. And you, good countrymen, that have received so honourable succours from England, and from whence all Christendom hopeth for charitable assistance, must be content to yield that this is framed to serve their understanding. Ye Englishmen our good neighbours, friends, brethren, and patrons, I pray you to construe rightly of my labour, that my purpose is not here to offend any amity, nor violate any honour, nor prejudice any truth, but to set before you a story, as I found it, referring the confirmation thereof to truth, and proof, as in all historical cases is lawfully used. How many histories written in Latin, Italian, and French, by Jovius, Paradine, Belleforest, and others, are printed in Italy, France, and Flan-

* Vide the 196th article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

ders, and published and freely had and read in your land, although they contain matter expressly to the slander of your state and princes? Matters of that nature are published, the burden of proving resteth upon the author, the judgment pertaineth to the reader, there is no prejudice to any part, books are extant on both parts. The very treatises of divinity are not all warranted that be printed; you must take it as it is, only for matter of report on the one part, so far to bind credit as it carrieth evidence to furnish your understandings, as other books do that make rehearsals of the acts and states of princes, commonwealths, and peoples. But, howsoever it be, good Englishmen, thank God that you have such a sovereign, under whom you suffer no such things; and, by the noble and sincere aid that your Queen hath given us in Scotland, I pray you gather a comfortable confidence, that, in respect of such honourable charity to his church in Scotland, God will not suffer you at your need to be succourless in England, as by daily miracles in preserving your Queen he hath plainly shewed: and the rather ye may trust hereof, if ye be thankful and faithful to God and her, and that ye pray heartily to God, either by mediate operation of your Queen's justice, or by his own immediate hand-working, to deliver his church and people from the common peril to both these realms, and to the state of all true religion in Christendom. Farewel, and God long preserve both your good and our hopeful Sovereign to his glory. Amen,

IT were to be wished, that the memory of the fresh slaughters, and of that butcherly murdering, that hath lately been committed, in a manner, in all the towns of France, were utterly put out of the minds of men; for so great dishonour, and so great infamy, hath thereby stained the whole French nation, that the most part of them are now ashamed of their own country, defiled with two most filthy spots, falshood and cruelty; of the which, whether hath been the greater, it is hard to say. But, forasmuch as there flee every-where abroad pamphlets, written by flatterers of the court, and men corruptly hired for reward, which do most shamefully set out things feigned and falsly imagined, instead of truth; I thought myself bound to do this service to posterity, to put the matter in writing, as it was truly done in deed, being well inabled to have knowledge thereof, both by my own calamity, and by those that, with their own eyes, beheld a great part of the same slaughters.

In the year of our Lord 1561, when there seemed to be some peril of troubles to arise, by reason of the multitude of such as embraced the religion which they call reformed (for, before that time, the usual manner of punishing such, as durst profess that religion, was, besides the loss and forfeiture of all their goods to the King's use, to burn their bodies) at the request of the great lords, there was held an assembly of the estates in the King's house, at St. Germain's en Laye, near to the town of Paris; at which assembly, in the presence, and with the royal assent of King Charles the Ninth, who now reigneth, it was decreed, "That, from thenceforth, it should not be prejudicial to any man to profess the said religion; and that it should be lawful for them to have

public meetings and preachings for the exercise thereof, but in the suburbs of towns only.

At this assembly, Francis Duke of Guise, being descended of the house of Lorraine, and at that time grand-master of the King's household, was not present; but, when he was informed of this decree, he boiled with incredible sorrow and anger, and, within a few days after, at a little town in Champagne, called Vassey, while the professors of the said religion were there at a sermon, he, accompanied with a band of soldiers, set upon them, and slew men and women, to the number of two hundred.

There was among these of the religion (for so hereafter, according to the usual phrase of the French tongue, we intend to call them) Lewis of Bourbon, of the blood royal, commonly called Prince of Conde, after the name of a certain town, a man of great power, by reason of his kindred to the King; therefore, when the Duke of Guise most vehemently strove against that law, and, as much as in him lay, did utterly overthrow it, and troubled the common quiet thereby established, Gaspar de Coligni, Admiral of France, and Francis d'Andelot his brother, captain of the infantry, and other princes, noblemen, and gentlemen of the same religion, come daily by heaps to the Prince of Conde, to complain of the outrageous boldness, and intemperate violence of the Duke of Guise.

At that time, Catharine de Medicis, Pope Clement's brother's daughter, and mother of King Charles, born in Florence, a city of Italy, had the governance of the realm in the King's minority; for, though, by the law of France, neither the inheritance, nor the administration of the realm, is granted to women, yet, through the cowardly negligence of Anthony, King of Navarre, the said Catharine de Medicis, the King's mother, against the custom of the realm, was joined with him in that office of protectorship. She, fearing the presumption and fierce pride of the Guisians, wrote to the Prince of Conde, with her own hand; which letters are yet remaining, and, at the assembly of the Princes of Germany at Francfort, held under Ferdinand the Emperor, were produced and openly read about ten years past; wherein she earnestly besought him, in so great hardness and distress, not to forsake her, but to account both the mother and the children, that is, both herself and the King, and the King's brethren, committed to his faith and natural kindness, and that he should with all speed provide for their common safety; assuring him, that she would so imprint in the King's mind his pains taken in that behalf, that he should never be a loser by it.

Within a few days after, the Duke of Guise, well knowing how great authority the name of the King would carry in France, and to the intent that he would not seem to attempt any thing rather of his own head, than by the privy of the King, and having attained fit partners to join with him in these enterprises, he got the King into his power. Which thing being known abroad, and many hard incumbrances thereupon suddenly rising, and a great part of the nobility of France marvellously troubled with it, the Prince of Conde, by advice of his friends, thought it best for him to take certain towns, and fur-

nish them with garisons; which was the beginning of the first civil war. For the Prince of Conde alledged the cause of his taking armour to be the defence of the King's edict, wherein consisted the safety of the commonwealth; and that it could not be repealed without most assured undoing of the nation of France, and destruction of the nobility, by reason of the exceeding great multitude of those that daily joined themselves to that religion; of which number such, as, being of noble birth, were in power, dignity, wealth, and credit above the rest, thought it not meet for them to suffer the punishments and cruelties accustomed to be exercised upon the professors thereof: besides that, they held them discontented, that the Duke of Guise, a new comer, a stranger translated from the forests of Lorraine into France, did take upon him, in France, so great courage, and so high dominion and power. Thereto was added the Queen-mother's singular care (as was reported) for conservation of peace, and repressing the rage of the Guisians. Upon which opinion, it is certain, that above twenty thousand men, having regard only to the Queen's inclination, joined themselves to the side of those of the religion, and to the defence of their profession, which at that time had besieged the force of the King's power.

After certain battles, and many losses on both parties, and the Duke of Guise slain, within a year peace was made, with this condition, 'That they of the religion should have free liberty thereof, and should have assemblies and preachings for the exercise of the same in certain places.'

This peace continued in force, but not in all places, during five years; for, in the most towns and jurisdictions, the officers that were affectionate to the Romish side, whom they commonly call Catholicks, did all the displeasure they could to those of the religion. Therefore, when Ferdinando Alvares de Toledo, commonly called Duke of Alva, was leading an army not far from the frontiers of France, against those of the Low-countries, which embraced the reformed religion; against the will of the King of Spain, the Queen-mother caused to be levied, and brought into France, six thousand Switzers for a defence, as she caused it to be bruited; but, as the success hath proved, for this intent, that the Prince of Conde, the admiral, and other noblemen of the religion, if they escaped the treasons prepared for them, and listed to defend themselves by force, and try it by battle, might be suddenly oppressed before they were provided. For the courtiers, which then had the managing of these matters, did not, at that time, well trust the soldiers of France. Many things pertaining to the course of that time, and the renewing of the war, must here, for haste to our present purpose, be necessarily omitted.

When the war had endured about six months, peace was made with the same condition that we have above rehearsed, That all men should have free liberty to follow and profess the reformed religion. For this was ever one and the last condition upon all the wars. But, within a few days or months after, it was plainly understood, that the same peace was full of guile and treason; and finally, That it was no peace, but most cruel war, cloaked under the name of peace. For, forth-

wish, all those towns, which they of the religion had yielded up, were possessed and strengthened with garrisons of soldiers on the contrary side, saving only one town on the sea coasts in the parts of Xantwoigne, commonly called Rochelle. For the men of that town, about two hundred years past, had yielded themselves to the King's power and allegiance, with this condition, That they should never be constrained, against their will, to receive any garrison soldiers.

Also the Prince of Conde, and the admiral, were advertised, that there was treason again prepared to intrap them, by Tavaignes, a man given to murder and mischief, who had lately been made Marshall of France; and that, if they did not speedily avoid the same, it should shortly come to pass, that they should be deceived and taken by him, and delivered up to the cruelty of their adversaries.

Upon the receipt of these advertisements, they immediately make haste to Rochelle, carrying with them their wives and young children, which was the beginning of the third civil war, the most sharp and miserable of all the rest.

There was, at that time in the court, Charles, Cardinal of Lorrain, brother to the Duke of Guise, who, as is abovesaid, was slain in the first war; one accounted most subtle and crafty of all the rest, but of a terrible, cruel, and troublesome disposition, so that he was thought intolerable, even at Rome itself. This man they of the reformed religion reported to be the most sharp and hateful enemy of their profession, and him they abhorred above all others, for the cruelty of his nature, and named him the firebrand of all civil flames. He, at the beginning of the third civil war, persuaded the King to publish an edict, That no man profess any religion but the Romish or Popish, and that whosoever would embrace any other, should be counted as traitors. In that same edict, printed at Paris, this sentence was expressly contained; and, for the strangeness of the matter, and for that it stained the King's name with the most dishonourable spot of perjury and breach of faith, it was, in other impressions afterwards, omitted. And it was further then declared, that, albeit the King had, in many edicts before that time, permitted the freedom of religion, yet his meaning ever was to retain, and cause to be retained of all men, the only Romish or Popish religion within his realm.

After many overthrows on both parts given and received, whereas the end of this third war was thought likely to be the harder, by reason of the breach of faith in the years before; and, on the other side, the state of the realm, by reason of the waste that the cities were brought unto, and the extreme poverty of the mean people and husbandmen, did require some treaty of composition; the King sent messengers to the Admiral, to signify unto him, in the King's name, that the King himself had at length found out a most sure way of peace and concord, namely, That the armies of both parts joined together should go into the Low Countries against the Duke of Alva, who had been the author of the late calamities in France. He signified further, That he had great causes of quarrel against the King of Spain, and this principally, that he had invaded, and held by force, suddenly slaying all the soldiers there, an island of the new found world. called

Florida, which had been taken by the French, and kept under his dominion; and likewise the Marquisdom of Final, the inhabitants whereof had but a little time before yielded themselves to the King's subjection and allegiance. He said, that the most stedfast band of concord should be that foreign war, and that there could no other better means be devised to drown the memory of the former dissensions, in eternal forgetfulness.

To the performance hereof, he said, It was a matter of most apt opportunity, that Lodovick, Count of Nassau, brother to the Prince of Orange, had been now two years in the admiral's camp, to whom the admiral gave principal credit in all things; and that by him and his fellows of the Low-Countries, and others whom he understood to favour his part, it might be easily brought to pass that certain cities might be surprised, and thereby great advantage be attained to the achieving of the war.

The admiral, hearing these things, was marvellously troubled. For, albeit he doubted not of the King's fidelity, yet, therewithal, many things fell into his mind to be considered; as the power of the cardinal, and the rest of the Guisians, who were well known to have been at all times most affectionate to the King of Spain: for the Duke of Guise had left a son, a very young man, called Henry, to whom the Queen had given all the offices and places of honour that his father had borne before, being unfit thereto by age, and against the ancient laws and customs; and also through the traitorous infidelity of certain of the King's counsellors, whom she knew, for their affection to the Popish religion, to be most addicted to the Spanish King, and that divers of them had great yearly pensions of him, and did disclose unto him the affairs of the realm. He remembered how hereby it came to pass, that the same King's ambassador (which, amongst strange nations, seemed utterly incredible) was admitted into the privy council of France; and that one Biragio, a Lombard, and, as it is reported, a traitor to his own country, otherwise altogether unlearned, and especially ignorant of the civil law, was yet, for the subtlety of his wit, advanced to so great honour, that he executed the chancellor's office, Michael Hospitall being displaced, a man known to be such a one, as there was not, in all degrees of men, any either more wise, or more learned, or more zealously loving his country. Herewithal he considered the slanderous cavillations of his adversaries, to whom, hereby, might seem an occasion given, as if the admiral were of a troublesome nature, and could not abide any quietness, nor could long rest at home without some tumultuous stir. Hereupon the messengers replied as they were able, and therewithal alledged this cause of so sudden hatred against the Spanish King, that one Albeny, late returned out of Spain, had informed the King, and the Queen-mother, for certainty, that King Philip, a few months before, had poisoned his wife, the French King's sister, and had spread rumours of her throughout all Spain, such as, for the honour of many persons, are not meet to be disclosed. But nothing moved the admiral so much as the cheerful earnestness of Lodovick of Nassau, who, as soon as he was adver-

tised of that purpose of the King, omitted nothing that he thought might serve to encourage the admiral thereunto.

The admiral, persuaded hereby, nothing fearing the infidelity of those of the court, gave his mind to hearken to composition. And so was the third civil war ended, and the peace concluded with the same conditions that were before, that every man should have free liberty to use and profess the religion.

Within few months after this, divers princes of Germany, that favoured the reformed religion, and, amongst those, the three Electors, the Palsgrave, the Duke of Saxony, and the Marquis of Brandenburg, sent their ambassadors into France to the King, to congratulate him for the new reconciliation of his subjects. And, because they accounted it greatly to behove themselves, that the same concord should remain stedfast, and of long continuance, they promised, that, if any would for that cause procure trouble, or make war upon him, either within his own dominions, or without, they and their followers should be ready to defend him. To this ambassage, the King first, by words, and afterwards by a book, subscribed with his own hands, answered, and gave his faith, that he would for ever most sacredly and faithfully observe his edict of pacification.

Hereby so much the more willingly the admiral suffered himself to be drawn to the said purposes for the Low-countries, although oftentimes, calling to mind the nature of the Queen-mother, he used to say to divers, and especially to Theligny, to whom he afterwards married his daughter, that he greatly suspected the rolling wit of that woman. For, said he, so soon as she hath brought us into that preparation against the Low-countries, she will leave us in the midst.

Nevertheless, the Count of Nassau writeth to his brother, and they, conferring their advices together, send messengers to the King, that, if it please him to deal with the Low-countries, they will shortly so do, that he shall, by their many and great services, well perceive their affection and devotion towards him. The King writeth again to them in most loving terms, saying, That their message most highly pleased him, and he gave to them both his hearty thanks.

About the same time Maximilian the Emperor, pitying the estate of the Prince of Orange, as he said, treated, by his ambassadors, with the King of Spain, and had, in a manner, obtained, that the Prince should have all his goods restored unto him, but with this condition, that he should have no house within the territory of the Low-countries; but, settling his residence and dwelling elsewhere, he should freely enjoy all his revenues. Which matter being reported to the French King, he immediately sent messengers to the Prince of Orange, willing him to look for nothing by that dealing of the Emperor; saying, that it was but a fraud and guileful device, intended for this purpose, only to break up his levying of soldiers that he had begun in Germany; and assuring him, that, if he would credit and follow him, he would give him aid sufficient to recover his estate.

The Prince of Orange, persuaded by these promises of King Charles, continued his musters, and determined a while to bear the charges, though they were heavy to him, while such things, as were necessary

for the war, were preparing. In the mean time Lodovick, in disguised apparel, went to Paris to the King: forasmuch as the season of the year, by this time, seemed not commodious to levy an army, for the winter was at hand, by assent they deferred the matter till the next summer.

These things thus hanging, the Prince of Orange's captains by sea did oftentimes set upon the Spaniards and Portuguese, and such ships as they took they brought into the haven of Rochelle, which then was in the power of the Prince of Conde's party; and there they openly uttered and sold their prizes to the men of the town, and other merchants of France; whereupon the ambassador of Spain made often complaints to the King's privy-council.

And, forasmuch as they thought it very available to this enterprise, that Elisabeth, Queen of England, might be brought into league with them, the King committed the dealing in that matter to the admiral. For, a few months before, the King had, with most sweet alluring letters, gotten him to the court, where he was most honourably entertained: and, to take from him all occasion of distrust upon his adversaries, or of otherwise suspecting the King's or Queen-mother's affection towards him, first, all the Guisians of a set purpose departed the court. Then the King gave the admiral free liberty to take with him what company, and with what furniture he would: and because it was thought that he had more confidence in the Marshal Cosse, than in the rest, therefore the King commanded the said marshal to be ever at hand with the admiral, and to assist him in the King's name, if any need were.

The matter of the league with England the admiral so diligently and industriously handled, that, within short space after, by ambassadors sent, and by faith given and received, and oaths solemnly taken on both parts, it was confirmed. Concerning the procurement of other leagues and amities, such as might seem to further the enterprise of the Low-countries, the admiral also travelled in the King's name, and by his commandment, and had, in a manner, brought all these things to an end. And, of all those leagues, the first and principal condition was, That the liberty of religion should continue, and that the King should most diligently and sincerely observe this edict of pacification.

Though these things seemed to be handled secretly, yet, by the letters both of Biragio the vice-chancellor, of whom we made mention before, and of Morvilliers, whom, for his hypocritical leanness, children commonly called the chimera, or bug of the court, and by advertisements of Cardinal de Pelve, a man most fit either to invent or execute any treason, they were carried to the bishop of Rome, who, by advice of his cardinals, sent by one of their number, called Alexandrine, in the midst of a most sharp winter, into France, with these instructions: To persuade the King to enter into the society of the league of Trent, whereof the first and principal article was, That the confederates should join their powers, and make war upon the Turks and Hereticks, meaning, by the name of hereticks, all those princes that did permit the use of the reformed religion within their dominions.

The Cardinal Alexandrine was honourably received in the court, but yet dismissed without achieving his purpose; for so was it bruited among the people, and commonly believed throughout France, albeit he himself secretly seemed to return very merry and cheerful to the Pope; and, as it is reported, did sometimes say, that he received such answer of the King as was needful not to be published, and that the King and Queen-mother had largely satisfied him.

Forasmuch as it was thought a matter greatly availing to the enterprise of the Low-Countries, to send certain ships into the English seas, that, if any aid should be sent into the Low-Countries to the Duke of Alva out of Spain, it might so be stopped: Strozzi, and the Baron de la Garde, were appointed for that purpose, to whom the King gave in commandment to rig forth certain ships of Bourdeaux and Rochelle, well armed and well appointed, and to provide with all speed all things needful for those ships. The ambassador of Spain, somewhat moved with this preparation, made divers complaints to the King's council on the behalf of the King his master; and yet never received any other answer, but that the King thought it not likely, and that he would send commissioners to Bourdeaux and to Rochelle, with letters and commandment that there should be no preparation made to the sea, and, if any had been made, it should be enquired of. What instructions were secretly and closely underhand given to these two captains of that navy, we do not certainly know; but this no man can doubt of, but that they had commission to distress all such ships wherein any Spanish soldiers should be transported into the Low-Countries, and that all this preparation to the sea was ordained against the Spanish King and the duke of Alva.

And, moreover, that the admiral, at the same time, received commandment from the King, to send spies into Peru, an island of the New-found World, most plentiful of gold above all others, now being in the Spaniards dominion, to learn if there were any good enterprise to be attempted or achieved for the getting of it. Which matter was committed to a certain gentleman, one of the admiral's train, who went thither, accompanied with a certain Portuguese, a man most skilful in those navigations, whom the admiral had joined with him by the King's commandment, and is not yet returned.

Now it cannot be expressed, how many, and how great tokens of most loving mind, the king at that time shewed to the admiral, and to the count Rochefoucault, and to Theligny, and to the rest of the chief noblemen of the religion. First, all such things as in the former wars had been taken away in the towns, farms, and castles of the admiral, and d'Andelot, the King caused to be sought out and restored. If there were any other whom the king understood to be beloved and esteemed of the admiral, or to have attained any special honour in the said late wars, those he liberally benefited and rewarded. To the admiral himself, he commanded one day to be given a hundred thousand pounds of his own treasure, in recompence of his former losses. When his brother, the Cardinal Castillon, endowed with many great and wealthy benefices, departed this life, the King gave him the fruits of one whole year. Also the King wrote to Philibert Duke of Savoy, that he should do him

a most acceptable pleasure, if he did not only deal more gently with those that in the former wars had aided those of the religion, but also would use clemency and mildness towards all others that professed the same religion within his dominions,

And for that there was old enmity between the Guinians and the admiral, whereby it was to be doubted, that perilous contentions would arise in the realm of France, the King willed it to be signified to them both in his name, that they should, for his sake, and the commonwealth's, give over those displeasures; and he prescribed them a certain form of reconciliation and agreement, the same whereof the foundations had been laid almost six years before in the town of Molins, where the King calling to him the greatest estates of his realm, after consultation and deliberation had upon the matter, pronounced the admiral not guilty of the death of the Duke of Guise, wherewith he was charged by the young Duke of Guise, and his kinsmen: and so the King, by the advice of his council, had ended that controversy.

Furthermore, the cardinal of Lorraine, who, as we have said, was the very forger of all the former wars, to take away all jealousy of new practices, was departed to Rome, and took with him his familiar friend, the late created Cardinal Pelvey, one reputed a most subtle and crafty person, under pretence of going to the election of a new pope, in place of the old pope, then lately deceased.

But there was no greater and more assured token of publick peace and quietness than this, that the King purposed to give his sister Margaret in marriage to Prince Henry, the Son of the Queen of Navarre, which prince had in the last war defended the cause of the religion, and been sovereign of their army. Which marriage the King declared, that it should be the most streight bond of civil concord, and the most assured testimony of his good-will to those of the religion.

Yea, and also, because it was alledged that the said Prince Henry was restrained in conscience, so as he might not marry the lady Margaret, being of a contrary religion, a catholick, and given to the rites of the Romish Church, the King for answer said, that he would discharge her of the Pope's laws; and, notwithstanding the crying out of all his courtiers to the contrary, he permitted him, that, without all ceremonies, in the porch of the great church of Paris, the marriage should be celebrated in such a form, as the ministers of the reformed church misliked not.

Which thing being by report and letters spread through the world, it cannot be expressed how much it made the hearts of those of the religion assured, and out of care, and how it cast out all fear and jealousy out of their minds; what a confidence it brought them of the King's good-will towards them: Finally, how much it rejoiced foreign princes and states, that favoured the same religion. But the admiral's mind was much more established, by a letter, which about the same time Theligny brought him, with the King's own hand and seal, wherein was contained, that whatsoever the admiral should do for the matter of the intended war of the Low-Countries, the King would allow and ratify the same, as done by his own commandment. About that time, Lodovick of Nassau, with the Queen of Navarre, a lady

most zealously affected to the religion, came to the French court. The league was made between King Charles and the prince of Orange, and the articles thereof put in writing. The marriage was appointed to be held in the town of Paris: for which cause, the Queen of Navarre, during those few days, repaired thither, to provide things for the solemnity of the wedding. For the same cause, the king sent to the admiral one Cavaignes, a man of an excellent sharp wit, whom, for the admiral's sake, the King had advanced to great honour, requiring the admiral to go before to Paris, as well for the said preparation, as also for the matter of the war of the Low-Countries, promising, that he himself would, within few days, follow after him; assuring him, that there was now no cause to fear the threatenings and mad outrages of the Parisians. For, inasmuch as the same town is above all others given to superstitions, and is with seditious preachings of monks and friars daily inflamed to cruelty, it is hard to express how bitterly they hated the admiral, and the professors of that religion. Whereto was added a grief of their mind, conceived certain days before, by reason of a certain stone cross, gilt, and built after the manner of a spire steeple, commonly called Gastigne's Cross, which the admiral, with great earnest sute, obtained of the King to be overthrown; for he alledged, that, being erected in the midst of the rage of the civil war, as it were, in triumph to the reproach of one of the religion, it was a monument of civil dissension, and so a matter offensive to peace and concord.

The King, well knowing this deadly hate of the Parisians to the admiral, wrote his letters to Marcell, the provost of the merchants, which is the highest dignity in Paris, with sharp threatenings, if there should be raised any stir of trouble, by reason of the admiral's coming. To the same effect, also, the Duke of Anjou, the King's brother, and the Queen-mother, wrote to the same Marcell, and the rest of the Magistrates of Paris, so that now there seemed utterly no occasion left for the admiral to fear or distrust. And, within few days after, the King sent Briquemault, a man of great virtue and estimation, to the admiral, with the same instructions, saying, that the matter of the Low-Countries could not well be dealt in, without his presence.

The Admiral, persuaded by these many means, and filled with good hope and courage, determined to go to Paris, where, so soon as he was arrived, and had been honourably and lovingly entertained of the King and his brethren, and the Queen-mother, and consultation entered among them, about the preparation for the Low-Countries, he declared to the King at large, how the Duke of Alva was levying of great power, and preparing an army, and that, if the King should dissemble his purpose, it would come to pass, that many thereby would shew themselves slower and slacker to the enterprise; and that now were offered great means to do good, which, if he let slip, he should not so easily recover the like again hereafter; and, therefore, it was best to take the advantage of this opportunity.

A few days before, Lodowick of Nassau went secretly into the frontiers of the Low-Countries, and took with him, as partners of his journey, and privy to his council, three Frenchmen of great credit

While these things were doing at Paris, Strozzi, who, as we have said, had the charge of the King's power at sea, hovering upon the coast of Rochelle, did now and then send of his captains and soldiers into the town, under colour of buying things necessary, and sometimes he came thither also himself. The like was done at the same time, in another part of France, by the horsemen of Gonzague, duke of Nivers, near to the town of la Charite, which hath a bridge over the river of Loyre, and remained, till that time, in the power of those of the religion, by reason of the great number of them there inhabiting. This troop was of those horsemen, which the King hath accustomed to keep in ordinary wages, in every country, whereof the most part were Italians, countrymen to their captain, Lewis Gonzague, to whom the Queen-mother had given the daughter and heir of the duke of Nivers in marriage. They requested of the townsmen, that they might make their musters within the town, saying, that they had received warrant from the King so to do, and shewed the king's letters therefore. At Lyons, the governor of the town commanded a view to be taken of all those, that professed the religion, and their names to be written in a book, and brought unto him; which book shortly after, according to the success, was called, The bloody Book.

After the marriage, ended at Paris, which was the time, that the admiral had appointed to return to his own house, he moved the King, concerning his departure. But so great was the preparation of plays; so great was the magnificence of banquets and shews; and the King so earnestly bent to those matters; that he had no leisure, not only for weighty affairs, but also, not so much as to take his natural sleep. For, in the French court, dancings, maskings, and stage plays (wherein the King exceedingly delighteth) are commonly used in the night-time: and so the time, that is fittest for counsel and matters of governance, is, by reason of nightly riotous sitting up, of necessity consumed in sleep. So great also is the familiarity of men and women of the Queen-mother's train, and so great the liberty of sporting, entertainment, and talking together, as to foreign nations may seem incredible, and be thought, of all honest persons, a matter not very convenient for preservation of noble young ladies' chastity. Moreover, if there come any pander or bawd, out of Italy, or any schoolmaster of shameful and filthy lust, he winneth, in a short time, marvellous favour and credit. And such a multitude is there begun to be of Italians, commonly throughout all France, especially in the court, since the administration of the realm was committed to the Queen-mother, that many do commonly call it France Italian; and some term it a colony, and some, a common sink of Italy.

These madnesses of the court were the cause, that the admiral could not have access to the King's speech, nor entrance to deal in weighty matters. But when they that were sent from the reformed churches, to complain of injuries commonly done to those of the religion, understood of the admiral's purpose to depart, they did, with all speed, deliver to him their books and petitions, and besought him, not to depart from the court, till he had dealt in the cause of the churches, and delivered their petitions to the King, and his coun-

eil. For this cause, the admiral resolved to defer his going for a while, till he might treat with the King's council, concerning those requests; for the King had promised him, that he would shortly inquire into those matters, and be present with the council himself.

Besides this delay, there was another matter that stayed him. There were owing to the Rutters of Germany, which had served on the part of the religion in the last war, great sums of money, for their wages, in which matter the admiral travelled with incredible earnestness and care.

Concerning all these affairs, the admiral, as he determined before, having access and opportunity for that purpose, moved the King's privy council, the twenty second day of August, which was the fifth day after the King of Navarre's marriage, and spent much time in that treaty. About noon, when he was returning home from the council, with a great company of noblemen and gentlemen, behold a harquebuzier, out of a window of a house, near adjoining, shot the admiral, with two bullets of lead, through both the arms. When the admiral felt himself wounded, nothing at all amazed, but with the same countenance, that he was accustomed, he said, through yonder window it was done: go, see who are in the house: what manner of treachery is this? Then, he sent a certain gentlemen of his company to the King, to declare it unto him. The King at that time was playing at tennis, with the Duke of Guise. Assoon as he heard of the admiral's hurt, he was marvellously moved, as it seemed, and threw away his racket, that he played with, on the ground, and, taking with him his brother-in-law, the King of Navarre, he retired into his castle.

The gentlemen that were with the admiral broke into the house, from whence he received his hurt. There they found only one woman, the keeper of the house, and shortly after, also a boy, his lacquey, that had done the deed; and, therewithal, they found the harquebuz lying upon the table, in that chamber, from whence the noise was heard; him that shot they found not; for he, in great haste, was run away out at the back gate, and getting on horseback, which he had waiting for him, ready saddled at the door, he rode a great pace to Saint Anthony's gate, where he had a fresh horse tarrying for him, if need were, and another at Marcelles gate. Then, by the King's commandment, a great number rode out in post into all parts, to pursue him; but, for that he was slipped into by-ways, and received into a certain castle, they could not overtake him.

At the suit of the King of Navarre, and the prince of Conde and others, the King by and by gave commission for inquiry to be made of the matter, and committed the examining thereof to three chosen persons of the parliament of Paris, Thuan, Morsant, and Viol, a counsellor.

First it was found that the same house belonged to a priest, a canon of Saint Germain, whose name is Villemurc, which had been the Duke of Guise's schoolmaster, in his youth, and still continued a retainer towards him. Then the woman which we said was found in the house, being taken and brought before them, confessed, that a few days before, there came to her one Challoy, sometime a master d'Hôtel

of the Duke of Guise's house, and now of the King's court, and commanded her to make much of the man that had done this deed, and to lodge him in the same bed and chamber where Villemure was wont to lie, for that he was his friend and very familiar acquaintance, and that Villemure would be very glad of it. The name of him that shot was very diligently kept secret. Some say it was Manrevet, who, in the third civil war, traiterously slew his Captain Monsieur de Moovy, a most valiant and noble gentleman, and straightway fled into the enemies camp. Some say it was Bondot, one of the archers of the King's guard. When the woman's confession was brought to the King, he immediately called Monsieur de Nance, captain of his guard, and commanded him to apprehend Challey, and bring him to him. Challey, as soon as he heard the stroke of the piece, fled into the King's castle called the Louvre, and hid him in the Duke of Guise's chamber, from whence he conveyed himself away as soon as he had heard of the King's commandment. When de Nance was informed of his departure, he answered that Challey was a gentleman of good worship, and there was no doubt, but, when need were, he would appear before the King and the magistrates.

While these things were doing, and the admiral's wound dressing, Theligny went by his commandment to the King, and most humbly besought him in the name of his father-in-law, that his Majesty would vouchsafe to come unto him, for that his life seemed to be in peril, and that he had certain things to say, greatly importing to the King's safety, which he well knew that none in this realm durst declare to his Majesty. The King courteously answered, that he would willingly go to him, and within a little while after he set forward. The Queen-mother went with him, and the Duke of Anjou, the Duke of Montpensier, a most affectionate subject to the church of Rome; the Count de Rhetz, the Queen-mother's great familiar; Chavigny and Entragny, which afterwards were chief ringleaders in the butchery of Paris.

When the King had lovingly saluted the admiral as he was wont to do, and had gently asked him some questions concerning his hurt and the state of his health, and the admiral had answered with such a mild and quiet countenance, that all they that were present wondered at his temperance and patience, the King being much moved, as it seemed, said, The hurt, my admiral, is done to thee, but the dishonour to me: but by the death of God, said he, I swear I will so severely revenge both the hurt and the dishonour, that it shall never be forgotten. He asked him also how he liked of the judges that he had chosen, to whom he had given commission for examining the matter. The admiral answered, that he could not but very well like of those that his Majesty had allowed of, yet he besought him, if he thought it good, that Cavagnes might be called to counsel with them: albeit that it was no hard matter to find out, for it was no doubt, said he, that this good turn was done him by the duke of Guise, the revenge whereof he referred to God. This only he most heartily and humbly besought of his Royal Majesty, that the fact might be duly inquired into. The King answered that he would take earnest care of it, and revenge that injury with no less severity than if it had been done to himself. Then, the King's brethren and

their mother withdrawing themselves a while, the admiral, as it was afterwards known by his own report, began to advise the king to have in memory those things that he had often told him, of the dangerous intentions of certain persons: And he told him, that, though he himself had received a great wound, yet there was no less hanging over the King's head: And that long ago there was treason practising against his life, which, if he would do wisely, he should avoid betimes. Further he said, that tho' as soon as God should take him to himself out of this life, he doubted not but that his fame should be brought into sundry slanders by envious persons, and such as sought him ill-will by reason of the late wars, nevertheless he had oftentimes disclosed unto the King the authors of the dissensions, and opened the causes thereof; and that God was his witness of his most faithful heart to the King and the common-wealth, and that he had never holden any thing dearer than his country and the publick safety.

The King, after such answer made hereunto as he thought best, spoke aloud, and heartily intreated the admiral to suffer himself to be removed into his castle of the Louvre; for that he thought some peril, lest there should arise some sedition among the commons already in disorder, or any stir in that mad and troublesome city. Whereto this speech of the King tended could not then be understood. For, though the commonalty of Paris had ever been accounted the most foolish and mad of all others; yet is it ever most easily appeased, not only with the coming and presence of the King, but also with the very sound of his name. The admiral most humbly and largely thanked the King, and made his excuse upon the counsel of the physicans, who feared that shaking would increase his pain, and therefore had taken order that he should not be stirred out of his place. Then the Count de Rhetz, turning to certain gentlemen of the admiral's friends, said, I wish the admiral would follow the King's counsel; for it is to be feared that some such stir may arise in the town, as the King shall not easily be able to appease: Which speech being uttered, although no man did yet suspect whereto that advice tended, yet the admiral and his friends thought it good to request of the King to assign unto him certain of the soldiers of the guard for his safety. The King answered that he very well liked of that device, and that he was fully determined to provide as well for the admiral's safety as for his own; and that he would preserve the admiral as the ball of his eye; and that he had in admiration the constancy and fortitude of the man; and that he never before that time believed that there could be so great valiantness or courage in any mortal person.

Therewith, the Duke of Anjou, the King's brother, commanded Cossin captain of the King's guard, to place a certain band of soldiers to ward before the admiral's gate. There could hardly a man be found more hateful against the admiral's party, nor more affected to the Guisians, than this Cossin, which the success plainly proved, as hereafter shall appear. The Duke of Anjou further added that he thought it should be good for the admiral, if more of his friends and familiars, that lodged in the suburbs, did draw nearer about him; and forthwith he commanded the King's harbingers to warn those, to whom they had before assigned lodgings in that street, to remove from thence, and to place the

admiral's friends in their rooms: Which counsel was such, as none could possibly be devised more fit for those things that followed. For those, who might have by flight escaped out of the suburbs, were now held fast enough, being inclosed not only within the walls of the town, but also within the compass of one narrow street. The next day after the undermasters of the streets, commonly called Quartermen, surveyed all the victualling-houses and inns from house to house, and all the names of those of the religion, together with the place of every of their lodgings, they put in books, and with speed delivered over the same books to those of whom they had received that commandment.

After noon, the Queen mother led out the King, the Duke of Anjou, Gonzague, Tavaignes, and the Count de Rhetz called Gondin, into her garden called Tegliers. This place, because it was somewhat far from resort, she thought most fit for this their last consultation. There she shewed them, how those, whom they had long been in wait for, were now sure in hold, and the admiral lay in his bed maimed of both his arms and could not stir; the King of Navarre and Prince of Conde were fast lodged in the castle; the gates were kept shut all night, and watches placed, so as they were so snared that they could no way escape; and, the captains thus taken, it was not to be feared that any of the religion would from thenceforth stir any more. Now was a notable opportunity, said she, offered to dispatch the matter. For all the chief captains were fast closed up in Paris, and the rest in other towns were all unarmed and unprepared, and that there were scarcely to be found ten enemies to a thousand Catholics: That the Parisians were in armour, and were able to make threescore thousand chosen fighting men; and that, within the space of one hour, all the enemies may be slain, and the whole name and race of those wicked men be utterly rooted out. On the other side, saith she, if the King do not take the advantage of the fitness of this time, it is no doubt, but that, if the admiral recover his health, all France will shortly be on fire with the fourth civil war.

The Queen's opinion was allowed. Howbeit it was thought best, partly for his age, and partly for his affinity's sake, that the King of Navarre's life should be saved. As for the Prince of Conde, it was doubted, whether it were best to spare him for his age, or to put him to death for hatred of his father's name. But herein the opinion of Gonzague took place, that he should, with fear of death and torment, be drawn from the religion. So that council broke up, with appointment that the matter should be put in execution the next night early before day, and that the ordering and doing of all should be committed to the Duke of Guise.

The admiral, being informed of a stir and noise of armour, and threatenings heard every where throughout the town, and preparation of many things pertaining to tumult, sent word thereof to the King: Who answered, that there was no cause for the admiral to fear, for all was done by his commandment, and not every where, but in certain places; and that there were certain appointed by him to be in armour, lest the people should rise and make any stir in the town.

When the Duke of Guise thought all things ready enough, he called to him the abovesaid Marcell, and charged him that he should a little after midnight assemble together the masters of the streets, whom they

call Diziners into the town-house, for he had certain strange and special matters in charge from the King, which his pleasure was to have declared unto them. They all assembled at the time. Carron, the new provost of merchants, guarded with certain Guisians, and amongst the rest Entragne and Puygallart, made the declaration: He said that the King's meaning was to destroy all the rebels which had in these late years borne arms against his Majesty, and to root out the race of those wicked men; it was now very fitly happened that the chieftans and ringleaders of them were fast inclosed within the walls of the town, as in a prison; and that the same night they should first begin with them, and afterwards for the rest, as soon as possible might be, throughout all parts of the realm, the King would take order: And the token, to set upon them, should be given, not with a trumpet, but with a tocksein or ringing of the great bell of the palace, which they knew to be accustomed only in great cases: And the mark, for them to be known from others, should be a white linnen cloth hanged about their left arm, and a white cross pinned upon their caps. In the mean time the Duke of Guise made privy thereunto the captains of the King's guard, both Gascoigns, Frenchmen, and Switzers, and bade them to be ready to go to it with good courage. Shortly after, the Duke of Guise and the bastard son of King Henry, commonly called the Chevalier, with a great band of armed men following them, went to the admiral's house, which Cossin kept besieged with harquebuziers, placed in order on both sides of the street.

The admiral, advertised of the stir and the noise of the armour, although he had scarcely ten persons in his house able to bear harness, and in his chamber only two surgeons, one preacher, and one or two servitors, yet could not be made afraid, trusting, as he often rehearsed, to the King's good-will towards him, approved by so many and so great means of assurance; having also confidence that the commonalty of Paris, if they once understood the King to mislike of their mad fury, how much soever they were in outrage, yet, so soon as they saw Cossin warding the gate, they would be appeased. He repeated also the oath for keeping of the peace, so often openly sworn by the King and his brethren and their mother, and entered in publick records; the league lately made with the Queen of England for the same cause, the articles of treaty covenanted with the Prince of Orange, the King's faith given to the Princes of Germany, some towns attempted and some taken in the Low-Countries by the King's commandment; the marriage of the King's sisters solemnised but six days before, which it was not like that he would suffer to be defiled with blood; finally, the judgment of foreign nations and of posterity, shame and the honour and constancy of a prince, publick faith, and the sacred respect of the law of nations, by all which it seemed monstrous and incredible that the King could assent to be stained with so outrageous and cruel a deed.

Cossin, when he saw the noblemen draw near, knocked at the gate, which, as is above said, he was commanded by the Duke of Anjou to keep. Whereupon many applied the old proverb, A goodly guard to make the wolf keeper of the sheep. When he was entered without any manner of difficulty, he carried in with him a great company of armed men, and after those followed the great Lords. Such as Cossin found

at the entry of, and within the porch of the house, he slew with a partisan that he had in his hand: Which when the admiral understood, he caused those that were about him to lift him out of his bed, and, casting on a nightgown upon him, he rose upright on his feet; he bade his friends and servants to flee and make shift for themselves, and to take no more care for him, for he said that he was most ready, with most willing heart, to render into the hands of God, now calling for it again, the spirit that he had lent him to use for a time: And said that this violent cruelty was prepared, not so much for his destruction, as for the dishonouring of Christ, and the tormenting of so many churches, the defence of which churches he had, at the petition of all godly men, with his many dangers and calamities sustained.

In the mean time there came up the stairs, into the higher part of the house, one Benuese a German, brought up in the house of the Duke of Guise, and to whom it is said, that the Cardinal of Lorraine had given one of his bastard daughters in marriage: And with him came Cossin the Gascoign, Attin a Picard, a retainer and familiar of the Duke d'Aumale, one that a few years before sought to murder d'Andelot by treason; and also one Hanfort an Avernois, all weaponed with swords and targets, and armed with shirts of mail.

When they were broken into the admiral's chamber, Benuese came to him, and, bending his drawn sword upon him, said, 'Art not thou the admiral?' He, with a quiet and constant countenance, as we have since understood by themselves, answered, 'I am so called.' And then, seeing the sword drawn upon him, he said, 'Young man, consider my age and the weak case that I am now in.' But the fellow, after blaspheming God, first thrust his sword into the admiral's breast, and then also struck him upon the head, and Attin shot him through the breast with a pistol. When the admiral was with this wound not yet thoroughly dead, Benuese gave him the third wound upon the thigh, and so he fell down for dead. When the Duke of Guise, who stayed in the court with the other noblemen, heard this, he cried out aloud, Hast thou done, Benuese? He answered, I have done. Then said the Duke of Guise, our Chevalier, meaning King Henry's bastard abovesaid, unless he see it with his eyes, will not believe it: Throw him down at the window. Then Benuese, with the help of his fellows took up the admiral's body and threw it down through the window. When, by reason of the wound in his head, and his face covered with blood, they could not well discern him, the Duke of Guise kneeled down on the ground, and wiped him with a napkin, and said, Now I know him, it is he. And, therewithal going out at the gate with the rest of the Lords, he cried out to the multitude in armour, saying: My companions, we have had a good lucky beginning: Now let us go forward to the rest, for it is the King's commandment: Which words he did often repeat aloud, saying, Thus the King commandeth: This is the King's will, this is his pleasure. And then he commanded the token to be given by ringing tocksein with the great bell of the palace, an alarm to be raised; and he caused it to be published, that the conspirators were in armour, and about to kill the King. Then a certain Italian of Gonzague's band, cut off the admiral's head, and sent it preserved with spices to Rome to the Pope, and the Cardinal of Lorraine,

Others cut off his hands, and others his secret parts. Then the common labourers and rascals, three days together, dragged the dead body thus mangled and bewrayed with blood and filth, through the streets, and afterwards drew it out of the town to the common gallows, and hanged it up with a rope by the feet.

In the mean time, those of the noblemen's bands broke into all the chambers of the admiral's house, and such as they found, either in their beds, or hidden, they mangled them with many wounds, and so slaughtered them. Of that number were two young children, pages, of honourable birth. There was also the Count Rochefoucault, who, for the excellent pleasantness of his wit, and for his valiantness, was highly beloved of King Henry, and so seemed, for the same cause also, to be beloved of the King. Him was De Nance, abovesaid, commanded to kill; but, he refusing it, for their old acquaintance and familiarity, one Laberge, an Avernois, offered himself to the King to do it; but with this condition, That the King should give him the captainship of horsemen, which Count Rochefoucault had. There was also slain Theligny, the admiral's son in law, a young man of singular towardness, both of wit and courage, to whom the King, these many years, had, in words and countenance, made shew of so great goodwill, as that no man was thought to be more highly in his favour: He crying out, That it was more grievous to him to live, for that he had ever commended to his father-in-law the faithfulness of the King, refused not the death offered him. And many other most flourishing young noblemen and gentlemen were every where hutchery murdered in that street. Then the noblemen's bands, and Cossin's soldiers, went ransacking from house to house; and the admiral's house, and all the other houses, were all sacked and spoiled, even in like manner as is used to be done by soldiers greedy of prey in a town taken by assault; and many, by this robbery, were, of beggars, suddenly become rich men. For the Duke of Guise, the Duke of Montpensier, the Chevalier, King Henry's bastard, Gonzague, Tavaignès, and the other great Lords, did, with reward of the spoil and booty, encourage the multitude to the slaughter; and cried out aloud, that this was the King's will. So all the rest of the day, from morning to evening, the rascal multitude, encouraged by spoil and robbery, ran with their bloody swords raging throughout all the town; they spared not the aged, nor women, nor the very babes. In joy and triumph they threw the slain bodies out at the windows, so that there was not, in a manner, any one street or lane, that seemed not strewed with murdered carcasses.

While these things were thus a doing in the town, the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Conde, whom the King had lodged in his own castle of the Louvre, were, by the King's commandment, sent for, and conveyed unto him. But their company, their servitors of their chambers, their friends retaining to them, their schoolmasters, and those that had the bringing up of them, crying out aloud to the King's fidelity for succour, were thrust out of the chambers, and, by the King's guard of Switzers, hewed in pieces, and slaughtered in the King's own sight. But, of that number of persons slain, no man's case was so much lamented of many, as Monsieur De Pilles, in whom it is hard to express, whether there were more godly zeal in religion, or prowess in war. Whereby having in the

late years, especially by the defence of the town of Saint John d'Angeli, which the King then besieged, gotten great honour of chivalry, he was thought very well beloved, and highly esteemed of the King. Him and Leranne, the son of Odou, by the French King's commandment (which was not then understood whereto it tended) the King of Navarre had stayed in a wardrobe adjoining to his own chamber, and caused them to lodge there all night. A little before day, hearing of the ranning of men, and noise of armour, and cries, and killings, they rose in haste, and immediately De Nance, whom we have before spoken of, came to them, and commanded them, in the King's name, to come down into the court, and to leave their weapons behind them, and lastly, to depart out of the castle. When De Pilles saw himself thrust out amongst the multitude of the murdering soldiers, and beheld the bodies of them that were slain, he cried out with a very loud voice that the King might well hear him, protesting against the King's fidelity, and detesting his traitorous infidelity; and therewith he took off a rich cloke which he wore, and gave it to one of his acquaintance, saying, Take here this token of Pilles, and hereafter remember Pilles most unworthily and shamefully slain. Oh! my good Monsieur De Pilles, said the other, I am none of them; I thank you for your cloke, but I will not receive it with that condition; and so refused to take the cloke, and immediately De Pilles was thrust through by one of the guard, with a partisan, and died. And this end had this most valiant and noble gentleman. And then his body was thrown into the quarry with the rest, which, when they that passed by did behold, the soldiers cried out, There they be that made assault upon us, and would have killed the King. Leranne, being thrust through with a sword, escaped, and ran into the Queen of Navarre's chamber, and was, by her, kept and preserved from the violence of those that pursued him. Shortly after she obtained his pardon of her brother, and, committing him to her own physicians, restored him both to life and health.

While these things were doing at Paris, Strozzi, who, as we have aforesaid, was come with all his power to Rochelle, sent a great number of his soldiers into the town, under colour of a banquet to be made to his friends in the castle called la Cheine; but, by reason of the jealousy and watches of the townsmen, by whom he saw his treason was espied, he went away without his purpose. But they of la Charite, which, as we have before shewed, were trapped by the Italian horsemen, taking less heed to the safe keeping of their town, were, a little before night, surprised; and, within few days after, put to the sword.

The next day following, where any, that had hidden themselves in corners of Paris, could be found out, the slaughter was renewed; also common labourers and porters, and others of the merest rascals of the people, and desperate villains, to have the spoil of their clothes, stripped the dead bodies stark naked, and threw them into the river of Seine. The profit of all the robberies and spoils came all, for the most part, to the hands of these labourers and the soldiers, and, to the King's treasure, came very little or nothing. The only gain, that came to him, was that which might be made of the vacations, as they term them, of offices, and of places of magistrates, captains, and other rooms of charge,

whereof yet he gave a great part freely away to divers of the court. For the admiral's office he gave to the Marquis de Villars; the chancellorship of Navarre, after the murder of Francourt, he, by and by, gave to Henry Memne de Malassise who had been the truchman and messenger in the treaty of the last peace; the office of the master of the finances, after the slaughter of Prunes, he gave to Villequier; the office of president des aides, when Plateau was slain, he gave to De Nully; the other offices he sold, as his manner is, to such as gave ready money for them. For it hath been the custom now lately of certain Kings of France (such as amongst foreign nations hath not been heard of) to put to sale all the profits, rights, and benefits of the crown, and to keep an open market for money of all judicial offices, and of all the rooms belonging to his treasure and finances, according to a rate of price set upon every one of them; and there is not, in a manner, one in all France, that doth not openly justify, that he bought his office for ready money, and that no man ought to marvel, if he desire to fill up the empty hole of his stock again. And, therefore, justice is, through all France, usually bought for money; and, though there be never so many murders committed, yet is there no process awarded to inquire thereof, till present coin be paid to the rakehells and scribes.

This butcherly slaughter of Paris thus performed, and four hundred houses, as is abovesaid, sacked, immediately messengers were sent in post into all the parts of the realm, with often shifting their horses for haste, to command all other cities, in the King's name, to follow the example of Paris, and to cause to be killed as many as they had amongst them of the reformed religion.

These commandments it is wonderful to tell how readily and cheerfully the greatest part of the cities of France did obey and execute; but the King, fearing (as it was likely) the dishonour of false treachery and perjury, sent letters to the governors of his provinces, and also special messengers into England, Germany, and Switzerland, to declare, in his name, That there was a great commotion and seditious stir happened at Paris, which he was very sorry for; that the Duke of Guise had raised the people, and, with armed men, made assault upon the band that was assigned to the admiral for his guard, and had broken into the house, and slain the admiral, and all his company and household servants; and that the King had hardly kept safe from those dangers his own castle of the Louvre, where he kept himself close with his mother and his brethren: The true copy of which letters is hereafter inserted. But the same most mighty, and, by the consent of all nations, commonly called the most Christian King, within two days after, came into the parliament, accompanied with a great train of his brethren and other princes. The council being assembled, he, sitting on his throne, began to speak to them. He declared, that he was certified, That the admiral, with certain of his accomplices, had conspired his death, and had intended the like purpose against his brethren, the Queen his mother, and the King of Navarre; and that, for this cause, he had commanded his friends to slay the said admiral and all his confederates, and so to prevent the reason of his enemies.

This his testification and declaration the King commanded to be

written and entered in the records of parliament, and that it should be proclaimed by the heralds, and published by printers: And he willed a book to be set forth to this effect, That the slaughter of the admiral, and his adherents, was done by the King's commandment (for so was his Majesty's express pleasure) because they had conspired to kill him and his brethren, and the Queen his mother, and the King of Navarre; and further, that the King did forbid, That, from thenceforth, there should be any more assemblies holden, or preachings used of the religion.

After the King's oration ended, Christopher Thuane, president of that parliament, a man very notable for his light brain and his cruel heart, did, with very large words, congratulate the King, that he had now, with guile and subtlety, overcome these his enemies, whom he could never vanquish by arms and battle; saying, That therein the King had most fully verified the old saying of Lewis the Eleventh, his progenitor, King of France, who was wont to say, that he knew never a Latin sentence, but this one: *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*: 'He, that cannot skill to dissemble, cannot skill to be a King.' But Pibrace, the advocate of the finances, made a short oration, the sum whereof was to this effect: That, although the King had just and great cause to be displeased, yet he thought it more agreeable with his Majesty's clemency and goodness to make an end of the slaughters and common spoil, and not to suffer such outrages to be any longer committed, without judicial proceeding in the cause; and besought his Majesty, that from thenceforth it would please him to use the law, which is well known to be the only establishment of kingdoms and empires; and that there had been already given to the commonalty too perilous an example to follow. An arret of parliament, with the King's royal assent, being made to that effect, there were immediately heralds and trumpeters sent round about all the town, and an edict proclaimed, in the King's name, That, from thenceforth, the slaughters and common butcherly murderings should cease, and that all persons should abstain from pillage and robbery.

This being known, there were divers speeches used of this matter throughout the town, and especially of learned men; the most part said, That they had read many histories, but, in the memory of all ages, they never heard of any such thing as this. They compared this case with the horrible doings of King Mithridates, who, with one messenger, and with the advertisement of one letter, caused an hundred and fifty thousand Romans to be slain. Some compared it with the doing of Peter of Arragon, who slew eight thousand Frenchmen in Sicily, which tale they had surprised in his absence. But yet this difference appeared between those cases and this, That those Kings had exercised their cruelty upon foreigners and strangers, but this King had done his outrage upon his own subjects, being yielded not so much to his power, as to his faith and credit. Those Kings were bound by no promise, but such as was given to the strangers themselves; this King was, with a new-made league, bound to the Kings and Princes his neighbours, to keep the peace that he had sworn. Those Kings used no guileful means, unworthy of the Majesty of a King, to deceive; this King, for a bait and allurement, abused the marriage of his own sister, and, in a manner,

besprinkled her wedding robe with blood; which dishonour and indignity no posterity of all ages can forget. Some, again, discoursed, That, though this cruel advice seemed to many courtiers to have been profitable, yet not only the honour of a King, but also the estimation and good fame of the whole nation was against that shew of profit. They alledged, how Aristides did openly, in the audience of all the people, reject the council of Themistocles, concerning the burning of the Lacedemonians navy, although it must needs have followed, that the power of the Lacedemonians, their enemies, should thereby have been utterly weakened. Furius Camillus received not the children of the chief lords of the Phalisci, betrayed to him by their schoolmaster, but stripped him naked, and delivered him to be whipped home with rods by the same children. Pausanias hath left it reported, that the posterity of Philip of Macedonia fell into most great calamities for this cause, that he was wont to set light by the reverend conscience of an oath, and his faith given in leagues. Some cited the law of the twelve tables: *Si patronus clienti fraudem facit, sacer esto*: 'If the patron or Sovereign defraud his client or vassal, be he out of protection.' They disputed also, that like faith, as the vassal oweth to his lord, the lord oweth also to his vassal; and for what causes, and for what felonies, the vassal loseth his tenancy, for the same causes and felonies, the lord loseth his seigniory. Some said, that the right-hand, in ancient time, was called the pledge of the faith of a King, and that, this if a King shall despise, there is no communion of right with him, and he is no more to be accounted a King, neither of his own subjects, nor of strangers. Kingly virtues, in times past, have been reported to be these, justice, gentleness, and clemency; but cruelty and outrage have ever been dispraised, both in all persons, and especially in princes. Scipio hath, in all ages, been praised, who was wont to say, that he had rather save one citizen, than kill a thousand enemies; which sentence Antoninus the Emperor, surnamed Pius, the Kind, or Virtuous, did often repeat. It was a most shameful by-word of young Tiberius to be called Clay tempered with blood. They said also, that kings have power of life and death over their subjects, but not without hearing the cause, and judicial proceeding; that there cannot be alledged a greater authority, than the dictators had at Rome, in whom was the sovereign power of peace and war, of life and death, and without appeal; yet was it not lawful for them to execute a citizen, his cause unheard. Only thieves and murderers take away men's lives without order of law, and hearing their cause. Who can doubt, said they, but that this so great outrage, and so great shedding of Christian blood, is the fruit of the cursed life of the courtiers? For, said they, now, throughout all France, whoredom and loose lewdness of life are so free and usual, that the most part of the women of France seem to be in a manner common; and the wicked blasphemies, and continual execrations and dishonourings of God's most holy name and Majesty are such, as God cannot longer bear: and true it is, though incredible among foreign nations, that the Catholicks of France have prescribed themselves this for a special mark to be known from other men, that, at every third word, they blasphemously swear by the head,

death, blood, and belly of God: and wonderful it is, that the King himself is so much delighted in this custom of swearing and blaspheming; and this, as it were a pestilent infection, is spread abroad and common among the very ploughmen and peasants, so that none among them now speaketh three words, without most filthy blaspheming, and horrible execration of God. Who can longer bear the vile unchastities, the bawds, and ruffians of the court? Finally, Very nature itself doth now, as it were, expostulate with God for his so long sufferance and forbearing, and the very earth can no longer bear these monsters.

Now as touching the admiral's supposed conspiracy, Who can think it likely, that he should enterprise any such thing within the walls of Paris? For, in the court, there is continually watching and warding a garrison of the King's: and, at the entry of his castle, the guards of Gascoigne, Scots, and Switzers, are continually attending; and the King himself, both always before, and especially at that time, by reason of his sister's marriage, had a great train of princes, great lords, noblemen and gentlemen about him. Moreover, it was well known, that in Paris, within three hours space, might be assembled and put in armour, threescore-thousand chosen armed men, especially against the admiral, whom no man is ignorant that the Parisians most deadly hated: besides that, the noble young men that came thither with the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Conde, by reason of the marriage, and brought with them their wives, their sisters, and their kinswomen, thought, at that time, upon nothing but triumph and exercises of pastime, and gay furniture of apparel and ornaments: finally, at which of these two times can it be likely that the admiral attempted this conspiracy? Was it before he was hurt? Why? at that time he found the King his most loving, or, at least, his most liberal and bountiful good lord, neither could he hope ever to have a more favourable Sovereign in France. Was it then after he was hurt, as though, forsooth, he, lying sore of two so great wounds, aged, maimed of both arms, the one whereof the physicians consulted whether it were to be cut off, accompanied by three hundred young men, would set upon threescore-thousand armed men, or in so small a time could lay the plot for so great, and so long, and so heinous a fact, for he lived scarce forty hours after his hurt, in which time he was enjoined by the physicians to forbear talk. Again, if he had been detected of any such crime, was he not committed to Cossin, and to his keeping, and so environed, all the ways beset about him, and so in the King's power, that, if it had pleased the King, he might at all times, in a moment, be carried to prison? Why was not orderly inquiry, and judicial proceeding used, according to the custom, and laws, and general right of nations, and witnesses produced, according to the form of law? But be it, that the admiral, and a few others of his confederates and followers, had conspired; why yet proceeded the outrageous cruelty upon the rest that were innocent? why upon ancient matrons, why upon noble ladies, and young gentlewomen, and virgins that came thither for the honour of the wedding? Why were so many women great with child, against the laws of all nations and of nature, before their delivery, thrown into

the river? Why were so many aged persons, many that lay sick in their beds, many gowmen, many counsellors, advocates, proctors, physicians, many singularly learned professors and teachers of good arts, and among the rest Petrus Ramus, that renowned man throughout the world; many young students, executed without hearing, without pleading their cause, without sentence of condemnation? Moreover, if the admiral had slain the three brethren, who doubteth, but that all countries, all cities, all parliaments, finally, all sorts and degrees of men would have speedily taken armour, and easily have destroyed all of the religion, having them inclosed within their towns, and having just cause to render to all foreign nations for their common slaughters, and killing of them? As to that which toucheth the King of Navarre, What can be imagined more absurd and unlikely? Had not the admiral him four years in his power? Did not he profess the same religion that the admiral did? Which of these of the religion, which of them, I say, (as Cassius was wont to reason) should have gained, or received profit, by the killing of the King of Navarre? Did not the Catholics hate him? And the admiral could not hope to have any man more friendly to him, nor by any other man's means to have revenge of his injury. Lastly, in their houses that were slain, what armour, what weapons were found, by which conjectures judges use to be led to trace out a fact? These matters wise men, throughout the town of Paris, commonly muttered.

But now to return to our purpose: at such time as the King's prohibition abovesaid was proclaimed at Paris, not only in other towns, as at Orleans, Angiers, Viarod, Troyes, and Auxerre, the like butcheries and slaughters were used, but also in the town of Paris itself. In the very jails, that are ordained for the keeping of prisoners, if any had escaped the cruelty of the day before, they were now tumultuously slain by the raging and outraging multitude; in which number were three gentlemen of great reputation; Captain Monins, a man very famous in martial prowess; Lomen, the King's secretary, a man of great estimation for his long service in the court; and Chappes, a lawyer, near fourscore years old, a man of great renown in the court of Paris. And, because we have made mention of Angiers, we think it good not to omit the case of Masson de Rivers: this man was a pastor of the church, and esteemed a singular man, both in virtuousness of life, and in excellence of wit and learning, and was the first that had laid the foundation of the church at Paris. As soon as the slaughter was begun at Paris, Monsorel, a most cruel enemy of the religion, was sent to Angiers in post, to prevent all others, that might carry tidings of the murdering. As soon as he came into the town, he caused himself to be brought to Masson's house; there he met Masson's wife in the entry, and gently saluted her, and, after the manner of France, especially of the court, he kissed her, and asked her, Where her husband was? She answered, That he was walking in the garden; and by and by she brought Monsorel to her husband, who gently embraced Masson, and said unto him, Canst thou tell why I am come hither? It is to kill thee, by the King's commandment, at this very instant time, for so hath the King commanded, as thou mayest perceive by these

letters; and therewith he shewed his dag ready charged. Masson answered, That he was not guilty of any crime; howbeit, this one thing only he besought him, To give him space to call to the mercy of God, and to commend his spirit into God's hand. Which prayer as soon as he had ended in a few words, he meekly received the death offered by the other, and was shot through with a pellet, and died.

Now to return to Paris: the admiral's body being hanged up by the heels upon the common gallows of Paris, as is aforesaid, the Parisians went thither by heaps to see it; and the Queen-mother, to feed her eyes with that spectacle, had a mind also to go thither; and she carried with her the King, and both her other sons; but, the next night following, the body was conveyed away, and, as it is thought, buried. About that time, whereas many of the court secretly muttered, that the King should, by this fact, incur dishonour, not only among foreign nations, but also with all posterity in time to come for ever, Morvillier, of whom we have made mention before, one that is accounted the principal lewd practiser and wicked sycophant of all France, and the first author and chief means of bringing the Jesuits into France, came to the Queen-mother and told her, that it was best that some of those that were lately taken fleeing and hiding themselves, should, for form's sake, be brought to open judgment, and, after the accustomed manner, should be inquired into, that they might be condemned by certain judges picked out for that purpose, and so openly executed in the sight of the people. There were called to council hereupon, Birage, Limege, Thuane, and Belleure: they not only allowed Morvillier's opinion, but also gave advice, that a man of hay, made in figure of the admiral (for his body, as we have said, could not be found) should be dragged by the boureau through the streets, his arms and ensigns of honour broken, his memory condemned, his castles and farms razed, his children pronounced infamous, ignoble, and detestable, and all the trees in his woods to be hewn down, to the height of six feet. There was, among those that were apprehended, one Cavaignes, master of requests to the King, and Briquemault, of whom we have before spoken. This Briquemault had spent his time in service in the old wars in the time of King Francis and King Henry, and was, for the war, accounted a man of great experience among the best now living, and was near about threescore and ten years old. As soon as they were carried into prison, there were presented unto them all the tormentor and the hangman, and they were threatened with torture and tearing their bodies in pieces, unless they would presently subscribe with their own hand, That they were of council with the admiral to kill the King and his brethren, and the Queen-mother, and the King of Navarre. They all cried out, That they were ready to suffer death most willingly, soasmuch as the King's pleasure was it should be so; but so great torture they could not bear, and therefore humbly besought his Royal goodness and clemency to pardon them that torment; and yet, trusting unto the mercy of God, they hoped, that they should suffer exceeding great pains, rather than stain themselves with so great shame, or confess an untrue crime against themselves. They, that were first assigned their judges, hearing their cries and de-

fences, and fearing the judgment of the world, said plainly, That they would not draw upon themselves most assured infamy for condemning them; therefore there were new judges appointed in their places: to whom were adjoined such a tormentor and notary, as were thought fittest for the purpose; and so Briquemault and Cavaignes were quickly condemned by a shadowed form of law, and led to the gibbet, standing in the principal street of the town, and in sight of many thousands of men gazing at them. To this spectacle the Queen-mother led the King, and her other sons, and her son-in-law, the King of Navarre.

It was thought commodious, for playing of this last act, that Briquemault should, in hearing of all the people, ask pardon of the King; and, for that purpose, there were some suborned to put him in mind, that, if he would, he might easily purchase his life, for the King was by nature full of clemency and mercy; and, if he would ask pardon of his Majesty, with confessing his offence, he should easily obtain it. He answered, with a valiant and bold courage, that it was not his part but the King's, to ask pardon of God for this fault; and that he would never crave forgiveness of that offence whereof he well knew himself, and had God to witness, that he was clear and innocent: nevertheless, he besought God to forgive the King this fault. So were these two excellent and famous men, with halters fastened about their necks, thrown by the hangman from the ladder and hanged; and therewithal also the man of straw, made in figure of the admiral, was tied fast and hanged with them, after a preposterous order of law, whereby the admiral was first slain, and then condemned.

But whereas, in a manner, in all towns there were great slaughters committed, yet was there none more horrible nor more outrageous than the butcherly murder at Lyons. So soon as the letters from the court were brought to Mandelot, governor of the town, first by a cryer and trumpet he caused to be proclaimed, that all the professors of the religion should appear presently before him at his house. They, without any delay, repaired to him: as soon as they were come, he commanded them all to suffer themselves to be led to prison by such officers as should be assigned them: they obeyed his word, and followed the officers that led them. By reason of the great multitude, they sorted them into sundry prisons: then Mandelot willed the common executioner to be commanded in his name, to take some to help him, and to kill those that were in prison. The executioner answered, that he used not to execute the law upon any but such as were condemned, and in publick and open places, and therefore willed him to seek another slaughterman, if he would. Mandelot, thus refused by the executioner, commanded the garrison soldiers of the castle to do it: The soldiers answered, that it was against their honour, to use weapons upon men bound, and lying suppliant before them: if they had raised any rebellion, or had offended or provoked them, they said they would most readily have fought with them. Being thus refused by them also, at last he committed the matter to the watermen, and butchers. These fellows, being let into the prisons, went to it with chopping knives and butchers axes: such as they found prostrate at their feet, piteously holding up their hands to Heaven, crying upon the mercy of God and

men, they did, for sport, cut off their fingers and the tops of their hands; and throughout the whole town was heard such a cry, and lamentable howling, of women and children, that innumerable people, even such as were zealously given to the Popish religion, did detest that cruelty, and judged, that not men, but outrageous savage beasts, in the shape of man, were entered into the prisons. It is well known, that a great number of honest women in this town, great with child, were so frightened with the horror of it, that they were delivered before their time. And, out of the court of the gaol, called the Archbishop's Prison, the blood was seen in the broad day-light, to the great abhorring and fear of many that beheld it, run warm and smoking into the next streets of the town, and so down into the river Seine. There was, in that same archbishop's prison, an aged man called Francis Collut, a merchant of caps, and two young men his sons, whom he had ever caused diligently to be taught and instructed in religion: when he saw the butchers come towards him with their axes, he began to exhort his children not to refuse the death offered by God; for, said he, it is the perpetual destiny of religion, and that often such sacrifices do happen in Christian churches, and Christians in all ages have ever been, and, for ever to the world's end so, shall be as sheep among wolves, doves among hawks, and sacrifices among priests. Then the old father embraced his two young sons, and lying flat on the ground with them, crying aloud upon the mercy of God, was, with many wounds, both he and his sons, slaughtered by those butchers; and long time afterwards their three bodies laid, knit together, yielded a piteous spectacle to many that beheld them. In the mean time Mandelot, in jest and scorn, as it seemed, caused to be proclaimed by the cryer, that no man should commit any slaughter in the town; and that, if any would detect the doers of any such slaughter, he would give him an hundred crowns in reward for his information; and from that time they ceased not to kill, to rob, and to spoil. The next day after, which was the first day of September, the greatest part of the dead bodies were thrown into the river Seine; and the rest of them Mandelot, to feed and glut his eyes and heart with blood, caused to be carried by boat to the other side of the water, and there to be thrown down upon the green grass, near unto the abbey called Eane. There the people of Lyons, especially the Italians, of whom, by reason of the mart, there is great store in the town, satisfied their eyes a while; and did such spights as they could to these heaps of carcases, and so exercised their cruelty not upon the living only, but also upon the dead. And there happened one thing, which, for the abominable cruelty, is not to be omitted: there came to that spectacle certain apothecaries, and among those bodies they perceived some very fat ones; whereupon they went to the butchers, and told them, that they did use to make certain special medicines of man's grease, and that they might make some profit thereof; which, as soon as the butchers understood, they ran to the heaps, and chose out the fattest, and lanced them with their knives, and pulled out the fat, and sold it for money to the apothecaries.

While these things were doing at Lyons, the King being informed,

that divers of the religion had left their wives and children, and were fled out of the other towns, and lurked some in the woods, and some among their friends, such as took pity on them, he practised with fair words, to allure and call them home again. He sent to every part messengers and letters, affirming, that he was highly displeased with those slaughters, and horrible butcheries, and that he would that such cruelty should be severely punished; and, if the admiral, with a few of his confederates, had entered into any secret practice, it was no reason, that so many innocents should bear the punishment due to a few. Many, sweetly beguiled with these words of the King, and with the letters of the governors, retired home again to their dwellings and houses, especially they of Roan, Dieppe, and Tholouse. There were scarcely two days past, when they were again commanded to prison, where they were all shut up. Then were murderers a-new appointed of the most base and rascally of the people, to torment them with all kinds of torture, and then to slay them. And throughout the whole realm of France, for thirty days together, there was no end of killing, slaying, and robbing; so that, at this day, there are about a hundred thousand little babes, widows and children, that were well born, that are now fatherless and motherless, live wandering, and in beggary. About this time, the King caused to be proclaimed, that such as had any office or place of charge, unless they would speedily return to the Catholick, Apostolick and Romish church, should give over those their temporal rooms. There was no town, nor any so small a village or hamlet, wherein all the professors of the religion were not compelled either to go to mass, or presently to take the sword into their bosoms; and, in many places, it happened that such as, being amazed with the suddenness of the matter, had abjured their religion, yet, notwithstanding, were afterwards slain.

And, while these things were still doing, yet the King, in the mean while, sent abroad his letters and messages into all parts, and caused to be proclaimed with trumpet, that his pleasure was, that the edicts of pacification should be observed; and, although they could not have freedom to use and exercise their religion in open places, yet they should have liberty permitted them to retain and profess it within their own houses, and that no man should meddle with, or disturb the goods and possessions of those of the religion.

And the same King, who, but few days before, had, by letters directed to all the governors of his provinces, signified, that his cousin, the admiral, was slain by the Duke of Guise, to his great sorrow, and that himself was in great danger; the same King, I say, now caused it, with sound of trumpet, to be proclaimed, that the traitorous and wicked admiral was slain by his will and commandment. He, that, a few days before, had, by new authority, confirmed the liberty of religion, permitted by his edicts of pacification, the same King did now not only take, from the professors thereof, their offices and honours, but also prescribed them, in a precise form of words, a form of abjuring and detesting their religion: which things, lest any man should doubt of, we shall hereafter set down the very true copies of the said letters, edicts, and abjuration.

The King's Letters to the Governors of Burgundy, whereby he chargeth those of the House of Guise, for the murder committed upon the Admiral's Person, and for the sedition which happened at Paris, and commandeth, that the Edict of Pacification should be kept and retained.

COUSIN,

YOU have perceived what I wrote unto you yesterday, concerning my cousin the admiral's wounding, and how ready I was to do my endeavour to search out the truth of the deed, and to punish it, wherein nothing was left undone or forgotten. But it happened since, that they of the house of Guise and other lords and gentlemen, their adherents, whereof there is no small number in this city, when they certainly knew, that the admiral's friends would proceed to the revenge of his hurt, and because they were suspected to have been the authors thereof, were so stirred up this last night, that a great and lamentable sedition arose thereon, insomuch that the guard by me appointed for his defence, about his house, was set upon, and he himself, with certain of his gentlemen slain, and havock of others made in divers places of the city; which was handled with such a rage, that I could not use the remedy, that I would, but had much ado to employ my guards, and other defence, for the safety of myself and my brethren, within the castle of Louvre, to give order hereafter for the appeasing of this sedition, which is, at this hour, well appeased, thanks be to God; and it came to pass, by a particular and private quarrel, of long time fostered betwixt those two houses; whereof, when I foresaw, that there would succeed some mischievous purpose, I did what I could possibly to appease it, as all men know. And yet, hereby, the edict of pacification is not broken, which I will to be kept as streightly as ever it was, as I have given to understand in all places, throughout my realm. And, because it is greatly to be feared, that such an execution might stir up my subjects, one against another, and cause great murders through the cities of my realm, whereby I should be greatly grieved, I pray you cause to be published and understood in all places of your government, that every person abide and continue in the safe-guard of his own house, and to take no weapons in hand, nor one to hurt another, upon pain of death; commanding them to keep and diligently to observe our edict of pacification. And, to make the offenders and resisters, and such as would disobey and break our will, to be punished, you shall assemble out of hand as great force, as you can, as well of your friends, as of them that be appointed by me and of others, advertising the captains of castles and cities in your government, to take heed to the safe-guard and preservation of the said places, so that no fault ensue on their behalf, advertising me also, as soon as you can, what order you have given herein, and how all things have passed within the circuit of your government. Hereupon, I pray God to keep you, cousin, in his holy safe-guard. At Paris, the twenty-fourth of August.

Signed CHARLES, and underneath, BRULARD.

Another Letter from the King to the Lord of Prie, his Lieutenant-General in Touraine, upon the same Matter that the former Letter was.

MONSIEUR DE PRIE,

YOU have understood how my cousin the admiral was hurt the last day, and in what readiness I was to do as much, as in me lay, for the trial of the fact, and to cause so great and speedy justice to be done, as should be an example throughout all my realm, wherein nothing was omitted. Since it is so happened, that my cousins of the house of Guise, and other lords and gentlemen, their adherents, which are no small party in this town, as all men know, having gotten certain intelligence, that the friends of my said cousin, the admiral, intended to pursue and execute upon them the revenge of this hurt, for that they had them in suspicion to be the cause and occasion thereof, have made such a stir this night past, that, among them on both parts, hath been raised a great and lamentable tumult; the guard that was set about the lord admiral's house was distressed, himself slain in his house, with divers other gentlemen; as also great slaughter hath been made of others in sundry places and quarters of this town; which hath been done with such fury, that it was impossible for me to give such remedy as was to be wished, I having enough to do to employ my guard and other forces, to keep myself in safety, in the castle of Louvre, to the end to give order for the appeasing of the whole uproar, which, at this hour (thanks be to God) is well quenched, for that the same happened by the particular quarrel that hath of long time been between those two houses; whereof always having some doubt, that some unhappy effect would ensue, I have (as is well known to all men) before this time done all that I could to appease it, nothing in the last fact tending to the breach of my edict of pacification, which contrawise I will in all things to be maintained, as at any time heretofore, as I do give it to understand throughout my realm. And, forasmuch as it is greatly to be feared, that this may stir up and cause my subjects to rise one against another, and to commit great slaughters in the towns of my realm, whereof I would be marvellously sorry, I pray you, that, immediately upon the receipt thereof, you cause to be published and done to understand in all places of your charge, that every man, as well in town as in country, remain in rest and surety in his house, and do not take arms one against another, on pain of death: and that, more diligently than at any time heretofore, you cause the last edict of pacification to be kept and carefully maintained and observed. To the intent abovesaid, and to punish such as shall do the contrary, and to distress all such as shall rise and disobey our pleasure, ye shall immediately assemble all the strength that you are able, as well of your friends being of our allowance as others, advertising the governors and captains of towns and castles within your charge, that they take good heed to the surety and safekeeping of their places, in such sort as there insueth no default, informing me with speed of such order as you shall take therein, and

how all things shall proceed within the compass of your authority. I have here with me my brother, the King of Navarre, and my cousin the prince of Conde, to take such chance as myself. I pray the Creator, Monsieur de Prye, to hold you in his holy safeguard. From Paris, this twenty-fourth of August. Thus signed, CHARLES, and underneath, PINART. These letters are all of one argument as the former, and written all in one form, and all one day, to Monsieur de Prye, lieutenant of Touraine.

The King's Letters to the Officers of Bourges, upon the same Matter that the former were.

OUR loving and faithful, we doubt not but by this time you know of the sedition, which, to our great grief, happened in Paris, a few days since, wherein my cousin, the admiral, and certain others of his side were slain, and a great murder committed upon divers, in many places of this city. And, lest the news thereof should change the quiet estate, wherein Bourges hath hitherto been maintained since the edict of pacification, if remedy were not foreseen, it is the cause that we writ this letter presently unto you, whereby we command and expressly ordain, that every one of you, according to his charge, do see that no commotion or insurrection be against the inhabitants of the said city, nor that no murder be committed, as it is to be feared, by those which pretend to break the edict of pacification, and thereby would execute a revenge of their long and private grudge, to our incredible vexation and anguish of mind. For this cause it is your part to give to understand and publish throughout that city of ours, and other places pertaining to it, that every one should quietly and peaceably keep their houses, without taking weapons in hand, and offending one another, upon pain of death, and well and diligently to keep our edict of pacification. And, if any go about to contradict this our intent and mind, to cause them to be punished, and rigorously chastised by penalties imposed on such offenders in our ordinances, having a watchful and diligent eye to the safeguard of that our city, in such sort, that no inconvenience arise in your service towards us, as you would have us to know, that you are our loyal and obedient subjects. Given at Paris, the twenty-seventh day of August, 1572. Thus signed, CHARLES, and below, DE NEUFVILLE.

A Letter of the Treasurer of the Leagues of the Swissers, written by the King's Commandment unto the said Leagues, of the same Argument that the former Letters were.

NOBLE seignours, Monsieur de la Fontaine, ambassador for the King, your assured and perfect friend and confederate, and I, his

treasurer in this country, having commandment of his Majesty to communicate with you, as with them whom he accounteth his chief and sure friends, of a chance which lately happened in the city of Paris, his own person and court then being there, whereof he received so much more grief and displeasure, because it befel on such a time as he least feared, or looked for such a thing. The matter is this: On the twenty seventh day of August last, the admiral, as he went from Louvre, was, with an harquebuz shot, hurt in the hand and arm, whereof, when his majesty was advertised, he commanded forthwith, that search and punishment were had of the offender, and the authors of such a mischief; whereinto, when he had readily laid his hand by his officers, and committed the inhabitants of the house, where the harquebuz was shot, to prison, they which were the cause first of the mischief (as it may easily be presupposed) because they would prevent the inquisition thereof, heaping one transgression upon another, on the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of the said month, assembled a great troop of people in the night, and moved the people of Paris to a very great sedition, who, in a rage, set upon the admiral's lodging, and, forcing the guard which his Majesty had set for the admiral's surety and keeping, slew him, with other certain gentlemen in his company, as the like also was committed upon others in the city; the matter growing, in the very same instant, to such an outrage and commotion, that, whereas his Majesty had thought to provide remedy for appeasing thereof, he had much ado, with all his guards, to keep his house at Louvre, where he lodged with the two queens, his mother and the spouse, the lords, his brethren, the King of Navarre, and other princes. Think therefore, ye noble seignours, in what a perplexity this young and courageous king now standeth, who, as a man may say, hath held in his hands thorns, instead of a scepter, ever since his coming to the crown, for the great troubles which have almost ever since been in his realm; and therefore, by the good and wise counsel and assistance of the Queen his mother, and the lords his brethren, thought to enjoy and establish a more sure repose in his realm, and a more happy government for himself and his subjects, after he had taken away (as he thought) all occasions of dissensions amongst his subjects, by the means of his edicts of pacification, and of the marriage of the King of Navarre to the lady his sister, and the Prince of Conde to Madam de Nevers: besides all this, to the intent nothing should be left undone that might serve for the quieting of all things, and especially for the admiral's safeguard, his Majesty, as every man knoweth, hath done his endeavour to the uttermost, to appease and reconcile his principal and most dangerous enemies unto him. And so God, the true judge of the King's Majesty's good and pure intent, brought to pass, that, the people's rage being quieted within a few hours, every one went home to his house, and the king had special regard to nothing more than to see nothing attempted or innovated contrary to his edicts of pacification, and the repose of his subjects, as well of the one religion as of the other. And for that purpose hath sent to divers of his governors and officers in his provinces, to look diligently to the observing of his edicts, with express commandment to hold their hands there, that

every one might perceive that the chance at Paris happened for some private quarrel, and not for any purpose to alter his edicts, which his Majesty will in no respect suffer: Which is the principal thing, noble seignours, that his Majesty hath demanded us, on his part, to assure you, and to let you understand the dangers that depend over him and his neighbours, not so much for this sedition, for he trusteth in God, that it shall grow no further, and his Majesty will keep his realm in as good repose as it hath been since his last edict of pacification, but for the great mustering and assembling men of war in many places, especially in the Low-Countries, where it is yet uncertain on which side God will give the victory, nor whither the conqueror will employ his force after his conquest. Wherefore his Majesty prayeth you, continuing the good love and intelligence which hath always been between the crown of France and his allied and confederate friends, the seignours of the Leagues, to have good regard to him and his realm, in case that need shall require, as he will have to you and your prosperous estate, if it be requisite, employing, in the mean while, your great and singular wisdom to the preservation of the union of the nation in league, which is the only cause to make you not only able to send succour to your friends, but also maintain yourselves in estimation, that you may be a terror to your neighbours, how great soever they be, his Majesty promising you, in all occurrences, as much friendship, favour, and assistance, as you can desire, and to be as intire and perfect a friend as ever your nation had.

A Declaration of the King, concerning the Occasion of the Admirall's Death, and his Adherents and Accomplices, happened in the City of Paris, the twenty-fourth of August, 1572.

Printed at Paris, by John Dallier, Stationer, dwelling upon St. Michael's Bridge, at the Sign of the White Rose; by the King's Licence.

BY THE KING.

HIS Majesty desiring to have all seignours, gentlemen, and other his subjects, understand the cause of the murder of the admirall, and his adherents and accomplices, which lately happened in this city of Paris, the twenty-fourth day of this present month of August, lest the said deed should be otherwise disguised and reported than it was in deed: his Majesty therefore declareth, that which was done was by his express command, and for no cause of religion, nor breaking his edicts of pacification, which he always intended, and still mindeth and intendeth to observe and keep; yea, it was rather done to withstand and prevent a most detestable and cursed conspiracy begun by the said admirall, the chief captain thereof, and his said adherents and accomplices, against the King's person, his estate, the queen his mother, and the princes, his brethren, the King of Navarre, and other lords about him. Wherefore his Majesty, by this declaration and ordinance, giveth to understand to all gentlemen, and others of the religion which they

pretend reformed, that he mindeth and purposeth that they shall live under his protection, with their wives and children in their houses, in as much safeguard as they did before, following the benefit of the former edicts of pacification, most expresly commanding and ordaining, that all governors and lieutenants-general, in every of his countries and provinces, and other justices and officers to whom it appertaineth, do not attempt, nor suffer to be attempted, any thing in what sort soever, upon the persons and goods of them of the religion, their wives, children, and families, on pain of death, against the faulty and culpable in this behalf. And nevertheless, to withstand the troubles, slanders, suspicions, and defiances, that may come by sermons and assemblies, as well in the houses of the said gentlemen, as in other places, as it is suffered by the said edicts of pacification; it is expresly forbidden and inhibited by his Majesty, to all gentlemen, and others, of the said religion, to have no assemblies for any cause at all, until his Majesty hath provided and appointed otherwise, for the tranquillity of his realm, upon pain of disobedience, and confiscation of body and goods. It is also expresly forbidden, under the pain aforesaid, that, for the foresaid occasions, none shall take or retain any prisoners, or take ransom of them, and that immediately they certify the governors of every province, and the lieutenants-general, of the name and quality of every such prisoner, whom his Majesty hath appointed shall be released and set at liberty, except they be of the chief of the late conspiracy, or such as have made some practice or device for them, or had intelligence thereof: And they shall advertise his Majesty of such, to know his further pleasure. It is also ordained, that from henceforth none shall take or arrest any prisoner for that cause, without his Majesty's command, or his officers, nor that none be suffered to roam abroad in the fields, to take up dogs, cuttle, beef, kine, or other beasts, goods, fruits, grains, nor any thing else, nor to hurt the labourers, by word or deed, but to let them alone about their work and calling, in peace and safety. At Paris the twenty-eighth of August, 1572. Signed CHARLES, and underneath, FIZES.

The King's Letters to the Officers of Bourges, of the same Argument that the former Declaration was.

OUR trusty and well-beloved: We considering, that, under the colour of the death of the admiral, and his adherents and accomplices, certain gentlemen, and others our subjects, professing the religion called reformed, might rise and assemble together to the prejudice and hinderance of the tranquillity which we have always desired should be in our realm, the doing of the said murder being counterfeited, and given out otherwise than it was: we have, therefore, made a declaration and ordinance, which we send you, willing you to publish the same forthwith by sound of trumpet, and set the same up in such places of your jurisdiction, where cries and proclamations are usually made, to the end, that every one might know it. And, although we have always

been diligent observers of our edicts of pacification, yet, seeing the troubles and seditions which might arise amongst our subjects, by the occasion of the said murder, as well of the admiral, as of his companions, we command you, and ordain, that you particularly forbid the principals of the religion, pretended reformed, within your jurisdiction, that they have no sermons, nor assemblies, either in their houses, or in any other places, to take away all doubt and suspicion which might be conceived against them. And likewise, that you advertise such as dwell in the cities of your jurisdiction, what you judge meet to be done, to the intent they might, in this point, follow our mind, and keep them quiet in their houses, as they may do by the benefit of our edict of pacification, and there they shall be under our protection and safeguard; but, if they will not so retire themselves, after you have given them warning, then shall you set on them with all strength and force, as well by the provosts of the marshals, and their archers, as others which you can gather together by bell-ringing, or otherwise, so that you hew them all to pieces, as enemies to our crown. Besides, what commandments soever we have sent by word of mouth, either to you or others, in our realm, when we were in fear, upon just occasion, knowing the conspiracy that the admiral had begun of some mischance that might fall unto us, we have and do revoke, willing you and others that no such thing be executed, for such is our pleasure. Given at Paris, the thirtieth of August, 1572. Thus signed, CHARLES; and underneath, DE NAUFVILLE. Published in judgment.

Remembrances and Instructions sent by the King to the Count of Charneye, his General Lieutenant in Burgundy, on the same Argument.

THE King, considering the commotion lately happened in Paris, wherein the Lord Admiral Chastillon, with other gentlemen of his side, were slain, because they had mischievously conspired to set upon the King's Majesty's person, the Queen his mother, the Prince his brethren, the King of Navarre, and other princes and lords near about them, and upon his estate; and, lest they of the religion called reformed, not knowing the true causes of the said rebellion, should arise and put themselves in arms, as they have done in the troubles that are passed, and devise new practices and fetches against the weal of his Majesty, and tranquillity of his realm, if he should not cause the truth of the matter to be known to all gentlemen, and others, his subjects of the same religion, how it passed, and what his pleasure and mind is in their behalfs. And thinking, that, for remedy hereof, it is very needful for the governors of the provinces in his realm to go round about their governments; for this occasion, he willeth that the count of Charneye, great Esquire of France, and his Majesty's lieutenant-general for the government of Burgundy, shall go diligently through all cities and places of the said government; and, as he arriveth in every place, he shall devise the best ways that he can to make peace, union, and quietness, amongst the King's subjects, as well of the one religion, as of the other. And, to bring it the better about, he shall gently call before him, in an

open or private place, as he shall see best cause for his Majesty's service herein, the gentlemen of the places, and the burgesses of the cities of his government that be of the religion, and shall declare unto them, and cause them to understand the truth of the said commotion, lest any have misreported it unto them, otherwise than it was in deed; and shall tell them, that, under the colour of the lord admiral's hurt, whereof his Majesty would have caused justice to be done, according to the good order that he had appointed, the said admiral, and gentlemen of his religion which were in the city with him, without looking for the execution of the said justice, had made a mischievous, unhappy, and detestable conspiracy against the King's Majesty's person, the Queen his mother, the lords his brethren, the King of Navarre, and other princes and lords with them, and against the whole estate, even as certain of the chief and adherents of the said conspiracy, acknowledging their fault, have confessed. Wherefore his Majesty was constrained, to his great grief, to resist and prevent so mischievous, pernicious, and abominable a purpose. And that which he suffered to be done on Sunday, the twenty-fourth of August, upon the admiral and his accomplices, was not for any religion, nor to go against the edict of pacification; he intended, nevertheless, that they of the religion should still live and abide in all liberty and safety, with their wives, children, and families, in their houses, as he hath, and will maintain them; if they be content to live quietly under his obedience as he desireth. For the which cause he willeth, that the Count of Charnye shall offer and give to them his letters of safeguard in good and authentick form, which shall be of as good force and vertue, as if they should come or be taken from his own Majesty; and, by the authority of them, they shall be preserved from all wrongs, violences, and oppressions; enjoining and forbidding most expressly all his catholick subjects whatsoever they are, to attempt nothing upon the persons, goods, or families of any of the religion which keep themselves quietly in their houses, on pain of death. And if any be so rash, or evil advised, to act against this injunction, or to violate the safeguard promised, his Majesty willeth, that ready and rigorous punishment be done, to the intent, that their example may serve to hold in others not to do the like; which is the true and only means of assurance that his Majesty can give to them of the religion, with his word and promise, which he giveth them, to be their good and benign prince, protector and preserver of them, and of all that toucheth them; so long as they live and continue under his obedience, without doing or enterprising any thing against his will and service. And, because his Majesty hath often known that the enterprises and consultations; taken in hand by them of the religion against his service, have been concluded amongst them at assemblies at sermons, which gentlemen had liberty to cause to be made in their houses and lordships, therefore my lord of Charnye shall particularly give to understand to gentlemen, which were wout to have such sermons, that his Majesty, in consideration that nothing hath more moved, and set on the catholicks against those of the religion, than such preachings and assemblies; and, if they continue, it is certain, that it will be a cause to increase and maintain the said commotions; desireth, that they should cause them to cease,

until he hath otherwise provided and appointed, and that they apply themselves hereunto as a thing greatly serving the effect of his intention, which is, gently to bring his said subjects to a true and perfect amity, union, and concord one with another, committing all divisions and partialities to oblivion. And, because this may seem hard at the beginning, my lord of Charnye shall cause it to be fair and gently spoken to them, lest they enter into some strange conjecture or suspicion. For so his said Majesty would proceed in all true sincerity towards them which conform themselves to his will and obedience, wherein he exhorteth them to live, with all the best persuasions that he can, and shall assure them, in so doing, to be surely maintained and preserved as his other subjects, the catholicks, as his Majesty would that he should do. And, to the intent his said subjects, the catholicks, should know how to use and behave themselves herein, my lord of Charnye shall tell them, that his Majesty's pleasure neither is, nor hath been, that any wrong or oppression should be done to them of the said religion, which, like good and loyal subjects, will gently keep themselves under his obedience: declaring unto the said catholicks, that, if they forget themselves, and hurt those of the religion, who, in such sort, behave themselves towards his Majesty, and those also, which, for that end, have received of his Majesty, or of my lord of Charnye, letters of safe-conduct, he will cause them to be punished and chastised in the field, as transgressors of his commandments, without any hope of grace, pardon, or remission; which the said lord of Charnye shall express and declare unto them, with as plain words as is possible, and cause it also to be as strictly executed. And, after that, following his Majesty's intent, he hath pacified them by this means, which is the way that his Majesty best liketh of, and searched the direction to assure a tranquillity betwixt the subjects, and to set some assurance betwixt the one and the other, such, as shall conform themselves herein to his said Majesty's will, he will comfort, and make them the best and most gentle entertainment that he possibly can. But, if any of the religion become self-willed and stubborn to his Majesty, without having regard to his said warnings, and shall assemble in arms together, making practices and devices against the weal of his service, then the lord of Charnye shall run upon them, and hew them in pieces, before they have power to fortify themselves and join together: and therefore he shall assemble as much force as he can, as well of the ordinary, as of other men of war, soldiers, footmen of the garisons, and inhabitants of the catholicks within the cities of his government, and shall besiege them which hold and make themselves strong in cities about of his government, so that the victory and authority may remain in his Majesty. At Paris, the thirtieth of August, 1572. Signed CHARLES; and underneath, BRULARD.

The King's Letters to the Lord of Gwiche, whereby it may plainly be perceiv'd, how they would search out all them of the Religion which had any charge in Hand during the Troubles.

MY Lord of Gwiche, I understand that the three brethren Daggonels, and one Porcher the host at the sign of the Adventure, Mossouer, Crispin, and Captain Grise, which were the principal of the faction in Burgundy, and were the cause of the taking and recovering of the city of Mascon in the late troubles, and of all the decay which happened in that country, be kept prisoners in Mascon. And, because I understand that they hope to escape out by ransom, which I would in no wise should be done, I ordain and command that you keep them safe, forasmuch as I hope by their means to discover a great many things, which greatly touch the weal of my service. And if there be any other prisoners of the new religion in Mascon, which have been factious, you shall likewise keep them, so that they escape not by paying ransom, for I would not, for any thing in the world, that there should be taking of ransom among my subjects. And thus, my lord of Gwiche, I pray God keep you in his holy tuition. Written at Paris, the 14th of September, 1572. signed, CHARLES, and underneath, BRULARD.

The King's Letters to Monsieur de Gordes, his Lieutenant-General in Daulphine, wherein he sendeth him word, that the best proof of his Doings is the Accusations and Complaints of them of the Religion against him, whereunto he should have Care to answer.

M. DE Gordes, by your letters of the first of this month, I perceived the order which you appointed in your government, since the advertisement which you had of the execution of the admiral and his adherents: and since I am sure you forgot nothing, which you thought might serve for your assurance of those places whereof you had occasion to doubt. And, to the intent you should have the more means to make yourself known, I have prepared that the soldiers of Corsica, which I had appointed to go into Provence, should return to you, and thereupon have written to my cousin the count of Tende, who will not fail to send them unto you, forasmuch as there is no need of them now in that country. He should also send you word of the time of their departing, to the end that you might have leisure to provide to receive them, and appoint their places, where they should be in garison. I have seen that which you writ to me concerning the continual payment in Daulphine, what is due for the last year, whereupon, I will advise of the state of my fines the means that may be, and according thereunto there shall be no fault, but they shall be provided for. For the reparation of the bridge of Grenoble, they of the same place must devise the means wherein they should best help themselves therein, and, when they have advertised me, I will appoint them necessary provision. Touching the soldiers appointed for the baron of Adresse, because the

occasion why I appointed them to be levied now ceaseth, I have written to him to send them back and dismiss them again: wherefore there is no need to make provision for their maintenance, nor likewise to tell you any thing else, concerning the answers which you have made to the remembrances, which they of the religion have presented against you. For your doings are well known, and plain unto me, and thereupon I will take no better proof than their accusation. Wherefore, you shall put yourself to no more pain on that side. Moreover, I have herewith sent you a copy of the declaration which I made of the admiral's death and his adherents, and made to be understood, that it should be observed and followed, and that all murders, sackings, and violences should cease. Nevertheless, I have heard complaints of divers places, that such extraordinary ways continué, which is a thing that doth much displease me. By the means whereof I advise you, in doing this charge once again put unto you, that you give order throughout your government to cause all hostility, force, and violence to cease, and that the said declaration be streightly observed and kept, with punishing those that withstand, so rigorously, that the demonstration thereof may serve for an example, seeing my intent is, that they should be punished as behoveth, and to mark them which wink or dissemble thereat. This present letter shall serve also for an advice of the receipt of those letters which you wrote the fifth of this present, whereby you send me word, that you received no message by word of mouth from me, but only letters of the twenty-second, twenty-fourth, and twenty-eighth of the month passed, whereof put yourself to no further pain, for that charge was only for such as then were near about me, which is all that I have at this time to say unto you. Praying hereupon the Creator to keep you in his holy and worthy tuition. Written at Paris, the fourth day of September. Signed CHARLES, and beneath, FIZES. And above. To M. de Gordes, Knight,

The King's Letters to the Duke of Guise, his Lieutenant-General in Champagne and in Prge.

COUSIN, although in my former letters I have given you to understand well enough how much I desire all my subjects, as well of the nobility, as others which profess the new religion, and quietly use themselves in your government, should by you be maintained and preserved in all surty, under my protection and safeguard, without giving them any hinderance by trouble in their persons, goods, and families: yet, nevertheless, I have been advertised that, in certain places of my realm, there have been many sackings and pillagings done by such as dwell in the houses of them of the said new religion, as well in the fields as in the cities, under colour of the commotion, which happened in my city of Paris the twenty-fourth day of August last; a thing beyond all measure unpleasant and disagreeable unto me, and, for the which, I would have provision and remedy. Wherefore, I pray

you, cousin, that above all things as you desire, that I should know the good affection you bear to the good weal of my service, you take that matter next your heart to preserve and maintain within your government, according to that which I have so plainly told and written to you heretofore, that all such of the new religion, who behave themselves quietly, take no wrong or violence, whether it be for the preservation of their goods or persons, no more than to my Catholick subjects. And, where any wrong or outrage shall be offered them against my will, as I have before declared, so do I now by these presents declare, I will and intend that you shall make some evident and notorious punishment of such as are herein culpable, so that their correction may serve for an example of all others, that I may see myself thoroughly obeyed herein as I would be, and my commandments received amongst all my subjects in another sort than they have been heretofore: assuring you, cousin, that the best news, that I shall receive from you, shall be to hear say that you chastise those well, of whom I am disobeyed. And thus, cousin, I pray God to keep you in his holy tuition. Written from Paris, the 28th of September, 1572. Signed CHARLES, and underneath, BRULARD.

Remembrances sent by the King to all Governors, and Lieutenants of his Provinces, to put out and remove all those of the Religion from their Estates and Charges, although they would abjure the same; saving such as have but small Estates and Offices, to whom his Majesty permitteth Continuance, on Condition that they abjure the said Religion, according to the Form of Abjuration sent for that Purpose.

THE King, considering how much his officers and magistrates of justice, and such as have the administration and dealing of his fines and payments, which be of the new religion, are suspected and hated, and put his catholick subjects in great mistrust, if they should presently exercise their offices after these fresh commotions, because that the said offices are in their hands that now keep them: therefore, lest the people should thereby be brought to a new occasion of stir, and they of the new religion be in danger or hazard of their own persons, although they would abjure their said new religion, and profess the holy faith and catholick religion of Rome: His Majesty, desiring to avoid the new mischiefs and troubles which may come, hath advised to discharge the said officers from the exercise of the said offices, until he shall otherwise appoint. And yet, nevertheless, in the mean while, if the said officers be obedient unto his will, and live quietly in their houses, without attempting, practising, or taking any thing in hand against his service, they shall receive their wages; and they that will resign their said offices to catholick persons, and come to his Majesty, shall be very honourably provided for. And as touching other small offices without wages, which cannot be troublesome, as notaries, serjeants, and such where the officers have no authority, which cannot be

so odious nor mistrustful to the people, as the others; his Majesty is advised, that such small officers, which will abjure the said new religion, and profess the faith catholick, apostolick, and Romish, and therein live continually hereafter, shall continue in the exercise and enjoying of their estates: but they, that will continue in their new opinion, shall depart from their offices, until his Majesty hath otherwise provided. And this is for the great mischief and inconvenience that may befall them, if they should encrease their said estates, because of the great mistrust and suspicion which the catholicks have conceived of them of the new religion. Nevertheless, his Majesty well considering that the most part of the said officers have no other way to live, but the exercise of their said offices, willeth that they shall be in choice to resign to catholick and capable persons, and then to come to him for that effect, and he will grant them the greatest favour and moderation of his treasure that is possible. The which resolution and pleasure of his Majesty he willeth to be declared to the said officers of the new pretended opinion, as well by governors and lieutenants-general of his provinces, as by them of his courts of parliament, of the chamber of his accounts, of the court of his aids, them of his great council, of the treasury of France, the generals of his fines, his bailiffs, seneschals, provosts, judges, or their lieutenants, and every one of them, as shall appertain. And, to this intent, his Majesty willeth and intendeth, that every one of them, in their calling, shall send, particularly and apart, for every one of the said officers of the new religion, which be of their incorporation, charge, and jurisdiction, and shall admonish them, in this behalf, to conform themselves to his Majesty's mind: and, if any of them in authority, because of their said estates, will return to the bosom of the catholick and Romish church, it shall be said to them, that his Majesty liketh very well of it, and that he taketh a great and singular affection therein, and that it shall give him the greater assurance and credit of their good will; and that his Majesty will not bar them from his service hereafter, but will provide for them as their behaviour shall deserve: and, notwithstanding, for the reasons abovesaid, he willeth that they shall cease from the exercise of their estates and offices, until he otherwise appointeth. And because that, in many places of the realm, they have proceeded by way of seizing the goods of them of the new religion which be dead or absent, and hide themselves, and sometimes of those which be in their own houses, although his Majesty gave to understand, by his declaration of the twenty eighth of August last, that he would and intended that they of the new religion should enjoy their goods; nevertheless, to the intent there should be no doubt of his purpose, and that no mistrust might arise thereupon, he declareth, willeth, and intendeth again, that, according to his declaration of the twenty-eighth of August, they of the new religion which be living, whether they be present or absent, and be not culpable or charged with the last conspiracy, or to have attempted against his Majesty, or his estate, since his edict of pacification, shall be restored to their houses, and put in possession of all and singular their goods, moveable and unmoveable. And that the widows and heirs of them, that be dead, may and shall succeed them, and apprehend all and singular their goods,

and that they shall be maintained in them, and kept under the protection and safeguard of his Majesty, so that no hurt shall be done or said unto them in any manner, wise, or sort: willing, for this purpose, that all necessary surety shall be given them, and that all officers, magistrates, mayors, and others, which have publick charge, shall maintain them in all safety, forbidding all persons, of what estate, quality, or condition soever they be, not to hurt them in person or goods, upon pain of death. And, nevertheless, his Majesty willet, that they of the new opinion shall submit themselves, and promise, upon pain to be declared rebels and traitors to his Majesty, that they shall hereafter live under his obedience, without attempting any thing to the contrary, or taking their parts that do attempt against his Majesty and estate, or things against his ordinances, and to acknowledge none but his Majesty, or such as he shall appoint under him, to have authority to command them. And, if they know any that shall enterprise against his Majesty and service, to reveal them immediately to him and his officers, as good and faithful subjects. And to take away all doubt and suspicion, as well from the nobility, as others, because that, in the declaration of the twenty-fourth of the last month, these words are contained: 'Except they be those of the chief, which had commandment for those of the new opinion, or those which made practices and devices for them, or those which might have had intelligence of the said conspiracy.' His Majesty declareth, that he meaneth not of things done and past during the troubles which were before the edict of pacification, in August, 1570, and that there shall be no inquisition thereof, and none shall be troubled in goods or person therefore, but, for that respect, they shall enjoy the benefit of the edict of pacification; but that the said words extend only to those which be found to be guilty or accessory to the last conspiracy done against his Majesty and estate, and that others, who are imprisoned, shall be set at liberty. And as touching them which will make profession of their faith, and return to the catholick religion, his Majesty desireth that his governors and officers shall excite and comfort them as much as they can, to that effect, and execution of that good-will: and that their friends and kinsfolks should be also exhorted to do the like for their part. And, if any should hurt them in goods or body, his Majesty willet ready and speedy execution to be done on them. And to the intent that they may follow the form which hath been kept, in professing the faith which they do make, that return to the apostolick and Romish church, there is sent herewith a memory thereof. From Paris, the twenty-second day of September, 1572. Signed CHARLES, and underneath, PINART.

The Form of Abjuration of Heresy, and Confession of Faith, which they which have swerved from the Faith, and pretend to be received into the Church, ought to make.

This is the Abjuration which they caused all of the Religion to make in France, so save their Lives. Printed at Paris, by Nicholas Rosset, dwelling in the New Street of our Lady, at the Sign of the Mower. With the King's Privilege.

FIRST, They which have swerved from the faith, and desire to return into the compass of our holy mother-church, ought to present themselves to their curates or vicars, to be instructed of that which they ought to do: that done, they shall be sent unto the reverend bishop of the diocese, or his chancellor, or official, to make the said abjuration and confession in manner and form following:

I, N. born at, &c. in the diocese of, &c. and dwelling, &c. acknowledging, by the grace of God, the true faith, Catholick and Apostolick, from which I have, through my own fault, gone astray, and separated myself since, &c. and desirous to return to the flock of Christ's true sheepfold, which is the Catholick, Apostolick, and Romish church, confess to have abjured and cursed all the errors and heresy of the Lutherans, Calvinists, and Hugonots, and all other heresy whatsoever, wherewith I have heretofore been defamed or touched; and I agree to the faith of our holy mother the church, and desire you, in the name of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, and of the glorious Virgin, his Mother Mary, and of all the saints in paradise, that it would please you to receive me into the flock and sheepfold of God's people, which live under the obedience of the Pope, ordained our Saviour Jesus Christ's vicar in the said church, submitting myself patiently to abide, and willingly to do the penance which it shall please you to enjoin me for the absolution of the faults committed, whilst I was in the foresaid sects, whereof I ask and require pardon of God, and of his said church, and of you (that be appointed my pastor by God the Creator) absolution, with such penance as you shall judge to be wholesome for the satisfaction of my sins and offences. And, to the intent you should know that I have and do make this abjuration from my heart, I confess, moreover, before God and you, that I believe that which is contained in the symbol or creed of the apostles, and Athanasius, and other confessions of faith made and approved by the whole councils of the Catholick, Apostolick, and Romish Church; that is, I believe in one only God, the Father Almighty, creator of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible, and in one Lord, our Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son, ingendered by God the Father, before the constitution of the world, God of God, light of light, true God of true God, ingendered, not created, consubstantial with the Father, by whom all things were made, who for us men, and for our salvation, descended from heaven, &c. as in the Belief of Morning Prayer. I believe likewise, acknowledge and confess, all that which is contained in the books as well of the Old, as of the New Testament, approved by the said holy and apostolick church of Rome,

according to the sense and interpretation of the holy doctors, received by the same, rejecting all other interpretations as false and erroneous. I acknowledge the seven sacraments of the said Catholick, Apostolick, and Romish Church, that they were instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, and that they be necessary for the salvation of mankind, although that all of them are not of necessity to be conferred to all; that is to say, I confess that the said seven sacraments are these, baptism, confirmation, eucharist, which is the sacrament of the altar, penance, extreme unction, orders, and marriage; and that the said sacraments confer grace, and that, of them, baptism, confirmation, and orders, cannot be reiterated without sacrilege. That the said sacraments have the effect which the said church teacheth, and that the form and usage, wherewith they be ministred to Christians, is holy and necessary. I acknowledge also, that the holy mass is a sacrifice and oblation of the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, under the form of bread and wine mingled with water, which substances of bread and wine under the said forms are in the mass, by the words which serve for consecration, said and pronounced by the priest, transubstantiated and transformed into the substance of the said body and blood of Jesus Christ, notwithstanding that the qualities and accidents remain in the said forms after the said consecration, and that the mass is wholesome and profitable, as well for the quick as the dead. I acknowledge and confess the concomitance, that is to say, that, in receiving the body of Jesus Christ under the form of bread alone, I likewise receive the blood of Jesus Christ. I confess, that prayer and intercession of saints for the quick and the dead is holy, good, and healthful for Christians, and is not contrary, in any respect, to the glory of God. That prayers made in the church for the faithful, which are dead, do profit them for the remission of their sins, and lessening of their pains incurred for the same. That there is a purgatory, where the souls abiding are succoured by the prayers of the faithful. I confess that we must honour and call upon the saints which reign with Jesus Christ, and that they make intercession for us to God, and that their reliques are to be worshiped. That the commandments and traditions of the Catholick, Apostolick, and Romish Church, as well they which pertain to the form and ceremonies of divine service, and to assist the same, which, I think, are to draw Christian people to piety, and turning to their God, as fasting, abstaining from meats, observation of holy days, and ecclesiastical policy, according to the tradition of the apostles and holy fathers, continued since the primitive church till this time, and afterwards brought into the church by the ordinances of councils received in the same of long and ancient time, or of late, be good and holy, to the which I will and ought to obey, as prescribed and appointed by the Holy Ghost, the author and director of that which serveth for the keeping of the Christian religion, and of the Catholick, Apostolick, and Roman Church. I believe also, and accept, all the articles of original sin, and of justification. I affirm, assuredly, that we ought to have and keep the images of Jesus Christ, of his holy Mother, and all other saints, and do honour and reverence unto them. I confess the power of indulgence and pardons

to be left in the church by Jesus Christ, and the use of them to be very healthful; as also, I acknowledge and confess the church of Rome to be the mother and chief of all churches, and conducted by the Holy Ghost, and that other pretended particular inspirations, against the same, come of the suggestion of the Devil, the prince of dissension, which would separate the union of the mystical body of the Saviour of the world. Finally, I promise straightly to keep all that was ordained at the last general council of Trent, and promise to God and you, never more to depart from the Catholick, Apostolick, and Roman Church; and if I do, which God forbid, I submit myself to the penalties of the canons of the said church, made, ordained, and appointed against them which fall back into apostasy. The which abjuration and confession I have subscribed.

The King's Letter to Monsicur de Guise, and other Lieutenants and Governors of his Provinces, by which he wholly abolisheth and subverteth all the Edicts of Pacification, and willett that only the Romish Religion should take Place in his Realm.

THE King, knowing that the declaration which he made upon the occasions which lately chanced in the city of Paris, the remembrances and instructions of his will, which he sent round about to all governors of his provinces, and lieutenants-general therein, and particular letters to the seneschals, and his courts of parliament, and other officers and ministers of justice, cannot hitherto stay the course of murders and robberies done in the most part of the cities of this realm, to his Majesty's great displeasure, hath advised, for a more singular remedy, to send all the said governors into every of their charges and governments, assuring himself, that, according to the quality and power which they have of his Majesty, they can well follow and observe his intent, the which more fully to declare, his Majesty hath caused his letters patents to be dispatched, which shall be delivered them. Besides the contents thereof, M. de Guise, the governor, and lieutenant-general for his Majesty in Champaigne and Brye, shall call before him the gentlemen of the new religion, abiding within his government, and shall tell them that the King's will and intent is to preserve them, their wives, children, and families, and to maintain them in possession of their goods, so that, on their part, they live quietly, and render to his Majesty obedience and fidelity as they ought; in which doing the King also will defend them, that they shall not be molested or troubled by way of justice, or otherwise, in their persons and goods, by reason of things done during the troubles, and before the edict of pacification of August, 1570. And afterwards he shall lovingly admonish them to continue no longer in the error of the new opinion, and to return to the Catholick religion, reconciling themselves to the Catholick Romish church, under the doctrine and obedience whereof Kings, his predecessors, and their subjects, have always holily lived, and this realm hath been carefully conducted and maintained;

shewing to them the mischiefs and calamities which have happened in this realm, since these new opinions have entered into men's spirits: how many murders have been caused by such which have fallen from the right way holden by their ancestors. First, they made them separate themselves from the church, then from their next of kindred, and also to be estranged from the service of their King, as a man may see since his reign. And, although the authors and heads of that side would have covered their doings under the title of religion and conscience, yet their deeds and works have shewn well enough, that the name of religion was but a vizard to cover their drifts and disobedience, and under that pretence to assemble and suborn people, and to make and compel them to swear in the cause, under the title of disobedience, and by such ways to turn them from the natural affection which they owe to the King, and consequently from his obedience, it being notorious that, what commandment so ever the King could make to them of the new religion, they have not since his reign obeyed him otherwise than pleased their heads. And contrariwise, when their said heads commanded them to arise and take to their weapons, to set upon cities, to burn churches, to sack and pillage, to trouble the realm, and fill it with blood and fire, they, which went so astray to follow them, forgot all trust and duty of good subjects, to execute and obey their commandments: which things, if the gentlemen will well consider, they shall easily judge how unhappy and miserable their condition shall be, if they continue longer therein. For they may well think of themselves that the King, being taught by experience of so great a danger, from which it hath pleased God to preserve him and his estate, and having proved the mischiefs and calamities which this realm hath suffered by the enterprises of the heads of this cause, their adherents and accomplices, that he will never willingly be served with any gentlemen of his subjects, that be of any other religion than the Catholick, in which also the King, following his predecessors, will live and die. He willet also to take away all mistrust amongst his subjects, and to quench the rising of discords and seditions, that all they of whom he is served in honourable places, and especially the gentlemen which desire to be accounted his good and lawful subjects, and would obtain his favour, and be employed in charges of his service, according to their degrees and qualities, do make profession hereafter to live in the same religion that he doth, having tried that discords and civil wars will not cease in a state where there be many religions, and that it is not possible for a King to maintain in his realm diversities in religion, but that he shall lose the good-will and benevolence of his subjects, yea, and they, who are of a contrary religion to his, desire nothing in their heart more than the change of the King and his estate. For the reason abovesaid, the Duke of Guise, to bring the matter to this pass, shall take pains to persuade the nobility, and others, infected with the said new opinion, to return of themselves, and of their own free will, to the Catholick religion, and to abjure and renounce the new, without any more express command from the King. For, howsoever it be, his Majesty is resolved to make his subjects live

in his religion, and never to suffer, whatsoever may befall, that there shall be any other form or exercise of religion in his realm than the Catholick. The said Duke of Guise shall communicate with the principal officers and magistrates, having the principal charge and administration of justice in cities of his government, his Majesty's declaration, to the intent they should know his mind, and the good end whereunto he tendeth for the uniting and quietness of his subjects, to the intent the said Monsieur de Guise, and the said officers and magistrates, should, with one accord, intelligence, and correspondence, proceed to the effect abovesaid, so that fruit and quietness may thereof issue, such as his Majesty desireth, not only for himself, but for the whole realm. The bailiffs and stewards, which are not in religion accordingly qualified, shall, within one month, resign their offices to gentlemen capable, and of the quality required by the edict, which may keep and exercise the same. And to the intent this shall be done, his Majesty doth now presently declare them deprived after the said month, if they do not then resign, that they shall have no occasion or colour of excuse to delay their resignations, and yet permitteth them, in the mean while, to resign without paying any fine. All bailiffs and stewards shall be resident at their offices, upon pain of loss of the same; and, if they cannot so be, then they shall be bound to resign. All archbishops and bishops shall likewise be resident in their diocese, and such as for age and other disposition of person cannot preach the word of God, nor edify the people, and do other functions appertaining to their charge and dignity, shall be bound to take a conductor to comfort them, and to employ themselves in the duty of their charge. To which conductor they shall appoint an honest and reasonable pension, according to the fruits and revenue of their living. Also parsons and vicars shall be resident at their benefices, or else shall be admonished to resign them to such as will be resident, and do their duty. Archbishops and bishops shall take information of them which hold abbacies, priories, and other benefices in their diocese, of what quality soever they are, and how they do their duty in the administration of them, whereupon they shall make process by word unto the governors, which shall send them to the King to provide therein as reason shall move them. They shall compel the curates actually to abide at the places of their benefices, or else shall appoint others in their stead, according to the disposition of the canons. At Paris, the third day of November, 1572.

Signed,

CHARLES.

Letters of Monsieur De Gordes, the King's Lieutenant in Dauphiny, to certain of the Religion in his Government; whereby he exhorteth them to come back again to the Religion of Rome; and how the King is determined to suffer no other.

S I R,

I AM sufficiently advertised of your behaviour. but you should remember what advertisements I have before sent you to return to the

Catholick religion of yourself, which is the best hold and stay that you can chuse for your preservation and health, putting from you all those which persuade you to the contrary, who would abide to see any commotion or disorder, rather than abate any point of their opinion; and, by this means, you shall make evident to the King the will which, you say, you have to obey his Majesty; counselling you, forasmuch as I desire your well-doing, that this is the best for you to do, without looking for any more open commandment; otherwise, assure yourself, there can but evil come of it, and that his Majesty would be obeyed: and thus I pray God to advise you, and give you his holy grace.

Your intire good friend,

GORDES.

From Grenoble, December 6, 1579.

The Answer of the Gentlemen, Captains, Burgesses, and others, being in the Town of Rochelle, to the Commandments, that have been given them in the Name of the King, to receive Garisons.

WE the gentlemen, captains, burgesses, and others, now being in this town of Rochelle, do give answer to you, Monsieur N. and to such commandments, as you give us in the name of his Majesty, that we cannot acknowledge, that that which is signified unto us, and the proclamation, which you require that we should cause to be published, do proceed from his Majesty; and thereof we call to witness his Majesty himself, his letters of the twenty-second and twenty-fourth of August, his own signet, and the publishing of the same letters, by the which his said Majesty layeth all the fault of all the trouble lately happened, and of the cruel slaughter done at Paris, upon those of the house of Guise, protesting, that he had enough to do to keep himself safe within his castle of Louvre with those of his guard. And we shall never suffer ourselves to be persuaded, that so foul an enterprise, and so barbarous a slaughter, hath at any time entered into the mind of his Majesty; much less, that the same hath been done by his express commandment, as the paper importeth, which you have exhibited unto us; nor that his Majesty hath been so ill advised, as himself to cut off his own arms, or to defile the sacred wedding of Madame, his own sister, with the shedding of so much noble and innocent blood, and with the shame of so cruel a fact to stain the nation of France, and the blood royal, which hath heretofore ever, among all nations, borne the name of Frank and Courteous; nor that he hath had a mind to deliver matter to writers to set forth a tragical history, such as antiquity hath never heard speak of the like, and such as posterity cannot report without horror; but that it was first laid at Rome, and afterwards hatched at Paris, by the authors of all the troubles of France. And, howsoever it be, we are ready to maintain, That out of the mouth of his Majesty doth not proceed hot and cold, white and black; and that he doth not now say one thing, and by and by another, as he should do, if the paper, that you present unto us, had passed from him; protesting, that he will inviolably keep his edict;

and immediately breaking the same, in declaring, that he commanded those murders to be committed; having also made protestation before, that it is to his great grief, and done by the outrage and violence of those of Guise, against whom he was not able to make speedy resistance in time, as his Majesty desired. And, in this quarrel, we the gentlemen, captains, and others, that make you this answer, are ready to try it by combat, man to man, or, otherwise, to maintain the honour of our King against all those that so profane holy things, and, as much as in them lieth, do, by such words and titles, villainously defile the excellence of his Majesty, and of the noble Princes of his blood; Which we may right well conjecture and estimate by the slaughters, that are yet doing, as well in the town of Paris, as elsewhere, upon so many noblemen, gentlemen, and others, men, women, and children; and upon a great number of young scholars, the maintenance, under God, of realms and commonwealths in time to come; and by many other barbarous, unnatural, and unmanly acts, generally committed. We think, therefore, and judge, that herein treason is enterprised against the person of his Majesty, and of my Lords his brethren, and that the Guisians mean to invade the crown of the realm, as they have of a long time practised; and, howsoever it be, we say, that his Majesty is forced by the power, that they have taken upon them, and usurped, by means of the rebellious stir of the commons of Paris. As for that which they say, That the admiral, and those of the religion, had conspired against the King's Majesty and his brethren, these are allegations of as great truth, and of as good likelihood, as their manner of proceeding in justice hath been orderly beginning at execution before examination of the fact. But there is now no need to tarry for time to discover it, for the matter is plain to be seen with eye, and groped with hand; and all those of the Romish religion, that have any drop of the nature of man remaining, do confess it, and hold down their heads for shame, cursing, both with heart and mouth, the cruel executors of this abominable enterprise, and the wicked disturbers of common quiet; which can yet no more suffer, than they hitherto have done, that this poor realm should long enjoy the benefit of that peace, which the King alone, next under God, had wisely caused to be made, and to be accordingly observed; whereof this realm began to feel the good taste, to the great contentment of all persons, except the enemies of peace and of this realm, namely, the Guisians. Finally, when his Majesty, being out of their hands and power, shall declare what is his pleasure, we will endeavour to obey him in all things, wherein our consciences, which are dedicated to God alone, shall not be wounded: In which case, we will rather forsake the earth, than heaven, and our frail and transitory houses, rather than the heavenly mansions. But hitherto the law of nature, and the duty that we owe to our natural prince, to the preservation of his crown, and to the safety of our lives, our wives, and children, doth command us to stand upon our guard, and not to put us at the mercy of those that have received the same bloody commission from the Guisians, under the pretended name of the King, to use us in the same manner, as they have wickedly, traiterously, and unnaturally done to those about his Majesty, and, as it were, under his wings, and under the skirts of his robe, which the traitors strangers have stained

with the true French blood, without his Majesty's being able to remedy it, nor to stay their cursed attempts; so much less is he able, now so far off, to defend us as he would: Which his Majesty's goodwill, being known unto us, doth arm us for our defence, and for the safeguard of our lives, and of the privileges which he hath given us, until such time as he shall be able by himself to defend us against his enemies and ours.

A DISCLOSING OF
 THE GREAT BULL,
 AND CERTAIN
 CALVES THAT HE HATH GOTTEN,
 AND ESPECIALLY THE
 MONSTER BULL,

That roared at my Lord Bishops Gate.

Imprinted at London, by John Daye, dwelling ouer Aldersgate. Black Letter, Octavo, containing twenty Pages.

EXPERIENCE of the leud lustiness and unchastitie of popishe clergie hath long agoe ministred an olde tale, how a person of a towne hauing the lordship annexed to hys personage, as many haue, by reason thereof, was by speciall custome charged, as in many places there be, to keepe a common bull for the towne, whereby theyr cattle, and hys tithe, might be encreased, which bull had great libertie, and is, by custome, not poundable. It happened, that complaint was brought to hym by hys neighbors, of the insufficiencie of hys bull, that he dyd not get calues so plentifully as in tyme past they were wont to haue. The person, a wise man of good skill as it should seme, caused hys bull to be tyed fast, and hys crowne to be shauen, and then let him goe, saying, Now go thy way, there was neuer any bad of thys marke, he will get calues I warrant hym. So is it happened, that of late a holy bull, I thinke some Jupiter, is come for loue of hys lo, or rather, for lust, to some leud Pasiphae arriued in thys land.

It is the great persons bull, which person was wont, by custome, to finde common bulls for all England, when he claimed or vsurped the lordship of England, as annexed to hys personage. It is the same bull that begat the famous Monecalfe, that, of late years, made the terrible expectation. Of late, being against custome empounded, or kept from breaking of hedges as he was wont to do, and from spoyling of severall pastures, he grew to some faintnesse. But now hath hys

owner new shaven hys crowne, and sent hym to get calues agayne, for encrease of the towne hearde, and the persons tithe.

And, surely, the experience is notable, for, since he came ouer so lately disguised, he hath light vpon certain rank kye, who, I thinke, by their long forbearing, are become the lustier, that is, treason, superstition, rebellion, and such other; and with them he hath so bestirred hym, that, by the helpe of maister Doctor Harding, Sanders, and other, some there, some here, iolly cowkeepers and heardemen of popish clergie, which sent and brought hym ouer, and brake open for hym the severall hedges and fences of true religion, obedience, allegiance, fayth, and honestie, he hath begotten a maruellous number of calues in few yeares; that is, since the yeare 1567, he hath begotten multitudes of all the formes of calues hereafter mentioned, beside other in the wilde woodes not yet knownen; and lastly, he hath begotten a most horrible monster, of whom shall hereafter be entreated.

He hath begotten some traitorous calues, as the practisers and vnderminers of the state. Some rebellious calues, as those that haue combed the realme with vnhappy sedition. Some deinty calues with white faces, as dissembling hypocrites that watch theyr time. Some calues with blacke faces, as blacke soule and hys fellowes common bleaters, and railers at true religion. Some apostaticall calues, that haue forsaken fayth, and do impugne the knownen truth. Some tame drouy calues, that, with theyr brutiske superstition, can not raise vp their heades from ground, nor their eyes to heauen. Some mad wild calues, as roges and rumor spreaders. Some running and gadding calues, wiser than Walthams calfe, that ranne nine miles to sucke a bull, for these runne aboue nine hundred miles. And no maruell, for they desire not to sucke milke, but bloud. Some calues with hornes, and some without; some with power, running fiercely; some, pushing with theyr vnarmed heades as eluishly as they be able. Some doctor calues, some proctor calues, and some of other degrees. Some weyward calues, euer running backward and athwart, without regard of ditch behinde them, or hedge before them. Some calues, whom no fence will hold, no, not the brode sea. Some cow calues, some bull calues. Some calues, that neuer wil be but calues, though they liue these hundred yeares. Some winking calues. Some suttile vndermining calues; and some fonde licking calues there be, that be none of the same bulles calues, but calues out of Gods own hearde, seduced by leude companie of other stray calues. These, in seeking to licke woundes whole, do not onely licke poyson into theyr owne bodies, but also enuenime other therby, and specially the good damme, with whose wholesome milke them selues be fedde. Thys bulles calues, since they receaued theyr sires blessing, are waxen wilder then they were, no heardeman can rule them; but, as if the gad flye were in theyr tailes, they runne whisking about, or, of mere eluishnishe, will taste no wholesome and naturall foode.

The monster, of whom I tolde you, is no way so fitly to be described, as by the olde tale of the ancient poetes; that seme, as it were, to haue forshewed hym in figure, as followeth: Pasiphae, Queene of Creta,

not sufficed with men, conceiued inordinate, vnnaturall, and therewith vntemperable lust to engender with a bull. Neither regard of vertue, honor, kindnesse, nature, or shame, in respect of God, her husband, her countrey, her selfe, or the whole world, could restrayne her violent rage of vncleane affection: yet wist she neither how to wooe the bull, nor how to apply her selfe vnto him. A meane, at length, was found to make thys vnkindly coupling.

There liued then a cunning craftesman Dædalus, the selfe same Dædalus, of whom it is famous how he made hym winges, wherewith, by cunning guiding hym selfe, he passed seas and countries at hys pleasure. And winges he made also for Icarus hys sonne to fly with hym; but, the vncunning Icarus climbing to neare the sonnes heate, hys winges, melting, fell into the water, and gave name to the sea.

Thys fine Dædalus, to satisfie the wicked queenes feruor of lust, and to match her and the bull in abhominable copulation, framed a cowe, and so made couered and vsed it with leud deuises, and therein so inclosed and placed the good, innocent, and vertuous lady, that, of the bull, she conceiued the abhomination of the world, and, in time, brought forth the monster Minotaurus, halfe a bull and halfe a man, fierce, brutish, mischieuous, cruell, deformed, and odious.

To shroud thys monster from common wonder, and yet therewithall to deliuer hym the foode and contentment of hys crueltie, the destruction of men, a labyrinth, or maze, was builded by the same cunning Dædalus, wherein Minotaurus, the man bull, or bull man lurked, and men passing in thether to hym, by entanglement of the maze, and vncertayne error of wayes, were brought to a miserable end; till at length valiant Theseus, furnished with the policy of wise Ariadne, receaued of her a clew of thred, by which, leauing the one end at the entrie, he was continually guyded and preserued from the deceauing maze, and hauing slayne the monster, by conduct of the same thred, safely returned.

The appliance hereof to the experience of our times hath an apt resemblance, not to proue, but to shew them the image of some doinges at these dayes, and therewith, by conference, not onely to sharpen an intenuie sight of that which we winck at, but also to rayse a iust lothing of that, whereof, by some hurtfull impedimentes, we haue not discerned, or rather not marked the horror.

Lecherous Pasiphae may well be applyed to treason in hye estates addicted to papistrie, forsaking gods ordinance of humane royall gouernement; which when so euer it happeneth (for happe it may, and hath oft so chaunced) such treason destroyeth good and naturall affection; it kindleth vile and beastly desires, and, among all other, none comparable in filthinesse to the lust of yielding them selues to beare the engendering of the great bull of Basan, or rather of Babylon, the oppression, incumbrance, and tyranny of Rome, the vsurpation of the Romaine siege, the siege of all abhominacion. Thys principall traitorous lust, that throweth downe the person vnder this vncleane desire, throweth away vertue and respect of God; for Romaine pride hath climbed into the seate of God, and shooed to shoulder hym out, and banished vertue by open dispensing with vice. It expelleth remem-

brance of honor and kindnesse in regard of husband, for fayth of wedlocke hath no place in adulterers; and, by Romaine practises, neither doth superstition permit the soule to keepe her chasticke from idolatries, and from forsaking Gods rules of religion; nor the wife her due fayth from wandering lust, nor the husband hys safetie from traitorous violence. It driueth out naturall loue of countrey; for it prostituteth all dominions to the common adulterer, vnderminer, and forcer of kingdomes, the bull of Rome. It banisheth shame; for it boasteth her filthinesse to the worldes sight, soliciteth it publicly, practiseth it openly, defendeth it impudently, and carieth in glorious pompe and triumph, not, as Io, ryding on a bulles backe through the water, but, as it were, carnally wallowing with a beast on the toppes of Traians pillar. And, surely, no more sodomitically is, in nature, the vnnaturall mixture of a bull and a woman, than is sodomitically, in policie and religion, the intermedling of the popish vsurpation of Rome with a temporall prince, yelding hys or her realme to popish iurisdiction; or with the spouse of Christ, the vniuersall church, rauished by that bulles force, or defyled by hys abuses: but, as in Pasiphae, so, where such rage of traitorous and superstitious desire entreth, Gods grace forsaketh, honest feare departeth, shame flyeth, and the lust is vntemperable.

The Dædalus, that must bryng the enioyng of thys horrible lust to effect, is the treason of popish clergie, full of cunning workmanshype, as the world hath long had great experience; euen the same popish clergie, that hath framed to hym selfe wynges, not naturally by Gods ordinance growyng to the body therof, but made of fethers pulled from temporall princes, and from byshops in theyr owne dioceses, by vsurpation; fastened together by art of symoniac, and ioyned to thei bodies with the glew of superstitious credulitie. With these haue they passed landes, and seas, clymbyng and flyeng in ayre, that is, vpon no stedfast groun, aboue mountaines, trees, and countries, that is, aboue emperours, kings, iust prelates, and common weales.

The sonne of this Dædalus, that is, of treason of popish clergie, is Icarus, that is, aspiring treason of subiectes; which following his father and guide, popish treason, but not so well guiding hymselfe, for lacke of experience, and desiring to sodenly to climbe to nere the sunne, or, perhappes, mounting with more hast than good speede, before his winges were well fastened, or while hymselfe could but yet flutter with them, and not perfectly flie, as God would, his glew melting, and his winges dropping away, fell downe in his climbing, and, no doubt, will geue name to the place where he lighteth, for perpetuall memorie of his vndue presumption, surely yet piteously bewayled of papistes, as Icarus was of Dædalus his father.

This cunning Dædalus, popish treason, to bryng thys copulation to contentment of the vnchast Pasiphae, encloseth her in a counterfeit cow; that is, such princes, or great estates, as desire to lie vnder the bull of Rome, popish clergie turneth into brutish shape, to serue brutish lust; maketh them beastly, forsakyng the dignitie of man and womans shape, whom God made vpriight, to looke to God and Gods seate the heauen; and it maketh them cowishly stoupe to earthward, without

regard of the nature of man, the dignitie of kyngdomes, the reuerent aspect to diuinitie, or any other manly and reasonable consideration, without any more vigor, agilitie of soule, and industrie to do nobely, than is in a cowe: a beast, in deede, profitable for worldly fode, as papistrie is, but (as most part of beastes be) redy to promiscuous and vnchosen copulations, and specially meete for a bull; and, among other prety qualities, hauyng one speciall grace (as one of theyr owne popish doctours preached) to swynge away flyes with her tayle wett in the water, as foolish papistes swynge away sinnes and temptations with a holy water sprinkle.

In thys beastly likenesse, degenerating from manly forme, and maiestic of gouernance, by Dædalus workmanship, that is, by popish clergies traitorous practise, ensued the copulation of a bull and a queene, in a cowishe shape, that is, sodomiticall and vnnaturall mixture of popish vsurpation with, and vpon, royall gouernance, in brutish and reasonlesse forme.

Of this ingendring is begotten Minotaurus, a compounded monster, halfe a bull, and halfe a man, a beastly cruell bodie, roaring out with the voyce or sound of a bull, and wordes of a man, the sense of a deuill. The selfe same monster bull is he that lately roared out at the Bysshops palace gate, in the greatest citie of England, horrible blasphemies agaynst God, and villanous dishonors agaynst the noblest queene in the world, Elizabeth, the lawfull Queene of England; he stamped and scraped on the ground, flong dust of spitefull speches and vaine curses about hym, pushed with hys hornes at her noble counsellors, and true subiectes, and, for pure anger, all to berayed the place where he stoode; and all thys stirre he kept, to make a prooue of hys horned armye of calues would, or durst, come flyngyng about hym toward Midsommer moone.

But he looked so beastly, and he raged so vaynely, that, though the whole wood rang of hys noyse, yet hys syre, the great bull, hys damme, the prostitute cowe, and hys children, the foolish calues, were more ashamed of hym, than the noble lion was afraide of him; and, therefore, the bull, hys sire, the cowe, hys damme, and the wysest of hys calues, fled once agayne to Dædalus, the treason of popish clergie, for succour and good counsell, by whose good workmanship thys myngled monster is closed vp in a maze, that is, in vncertainetie of vayne and false reportes, and (as it happeneth in a maze) by wayes leadyng to other places than they seme to tend vnto, by crokednesse of deuises, by spredyng into sondry creekes of rumors, to hyde whence the bull came, or where he lurketh, euon as in the maze of Dædalus it happened; so it commeth to passe, that the Minotaure is not found out, and such as enter into the maze, that is, into followyng of popish reports and deuises, entangle them selues so, that, wanderyng vncertainely, at length they may hap to perish in Dædalus engyne. And iudgement they lacke (the euident proues considered, that are in that behalfe to be ministred) that beleue the report to be true, of inferring that bull to protestantes deuises. But I feare a worse thing; for, if they haue no wisdom that say so, wise great persons can not beleue them,

and, if they lacke not witte, then can not them selues beleue it; and so is their truth to the Prince to be perillously suspected.

The remedie resteth, that some Theseus, some noble and valiant counsellor, or rather one bodie, and consent of all true and good nobilitie and counsellors, follow the good guiding thred, that is, godly policie, deliuered them by the virgine whom they serue, and, conducted thereby, not onely may passe, without error, through the maze, and finde out the monster, Minotaure, that roared so rudely, but also destroy hym, and settle theyr prince and them selues in safetie; so as (Pasiphae dueley and deseruedly ordered, Dædalus vnynged and banished, hys fethers ryghtly restored, Icarus fayre drowned, the cowe transformed, the maze dissolued and razed, the monster destroyed, the calues, after the cowe perished, sent, with Walthams calfe, to sucke theyr bull) Theseus may be victorious, the virgine ladie most honorable, the land quyet, the subiectes safe, and Gods providence euer iustly prayed, not vayneely tempted; hys kyndnesse thankfully embraced, his name louyngly magnified, hys policies wisely followed, and hys religion zelously mainteyned.

But, till these noble enterprises be achieued, it is not good to be hedelesse; the monster may be let out of the maze, when it pleaseth Pasiphae and Dædalus.

It is good to be awake. Some men be wakened with tickelyng, and some with pinchyng, or pullyng by the eare; that is, some with mery resemblances, and some with earnest admonitions. Some be raysed out of sleepe with noyse, as by the speech, or calling of men, or by brute voyces, as the roaring of bulles, and noyse of beastes; that is, either by aduises of them that warne with reason, or with the bragges and threateninges of the enemies, or inklinges slipped out of uncircumspect aduersaries mouthes. Some be wakened with very whisperinges, as with secret rumors and intelligences. Some agayne are so vigilant and carefull, that the very weight of the cause, and pensiuue thinking of it, wil scarcely let them sleepe at all. But most miserable is theyr drowsinesse, or, rather, fatall semeth their sleepinesse, thar, for all the meanes aforesayd, and specially so leude and loued roaring of so rude and terrible a bull, can not be wakened, or made to arme and bestirre them, till the tumult and alarme in the campe, the clinking of armour, the sounde of shotte and strokes, the tumbling downe of tentes round about them, the groning of wounded men dying on euery side of them, treason, force, and hostilitie triumphing in theyr lustiest rage, and Sinon, that perswaded the safetie of the traitorous horse, insulting among them, yea, till the very enemies weapon in theyr body awake them. Such may happe so to sleepe, as they may neuer wake.

Let vs all wake in prayer to God. Let vs cry louder, in sinceritie and deuotion, than the bull is able to roare in treason and blasphemie. Let vs pray God to arme our queene and counsell with all wisdom and fortitude, and our selues with all fidelitie and manhoode, and to repose our selues vpon confidence of theyr most blessed gouernance, and redy, with our liues and all that we haue, to follow and serue them.

Let vs dayly and nightly pray God to send a curst cow and a curst bull short hornes, or to be well capped, or well sawed of, that they budde no more; for els it were better to take away head and all to be sure, least honeste than these calves be made calves, or knocked on the head, as though they were calves. Surely, as of a body, there is but one head that can not be spared, so, in a body, may be many heads that must needes be spared, as, perhappes twenty byles, and euery one hath a head, in which case there is no perill, but least they goe into the body agayne, and then, perchance, infect the hart bloud, and put the body in danger; and the onely perill of driuing them in agayne, you wote, is colde, and colde handling. Some of our botches be runne already, of some they heads be broken, some ryping, and, I trust, shall be well launced, or cleane drawne out in time. In the meane time beware cold, and God send and maintayne the warmth of his grace. *Amen.*

THE

EXECUTION OF IUSTICE IN ENGLAND,

FOR MAINTENAUNCE OF

PUBLIQUE AND CHRISTIAN PEACE,

AGAINST

CERTEINE STIRRERS OF SEDITION,

And Adherents to the Traytours and Enemies of the Realme,

Without any Persecution of them for Questions of Religion*,

As is falsly reported and published by the Fautors and Fosterers of their Treasons; xvii December, 1583.

Imprinted at London, 1583, quarto, containing 5 sheets, black letter, the first edition; though, as it appears from some manuscript additions and alterations on the title, and in other parts of the book, prepared a second time for the press, by the Author, on the 14th of January, 1583.

After the Pope and his party had tried all means to soften Queen Elisabeth, and draw her council into their snare, to submit the church of England, as in times past, to the church of Rome, and had even condescended so far as to offer to reverse the sentence pronounced against the legality of her mother's marriage; to consent to the Common-Prayer-Book's being used in English; and that the laity might receive the communion in both kinds; for the treating about which, Pope Pius had sent a nuncio as far as Flanders; but perceiving that these were insufficient baits to allure a Queen, who, in her minority, had postponed her

* See the letter to Don Bernardin Mendosa, to begin vol. II, of this Miscellany.

liberty to her religion, and was too well instructed in the Christian faith, to yield up the essentials for a few externals of religion; resolved at all adventures to crush her, and consequently not only raised her up enemies abroad, but exerted his power among his deceived Zealots in England and Ireland, to try, if under the form of religious obedience, he could persuade the Queen's subjects to take up arms against their lawful Sovereign, and deprive her of her crown and life. Thus, in the year 1570, Pope Pius engaged one Felton, to fix a bull on the Bishop of London's palace, declaring her subjects absolved from their allegiance, and commanding them to take arms, and dethrone her, on pain of damnation. Then he sent many priests, both secular, regular, and Jesuits, from time to time, out of their seminaries, to corrupt the people and propagate the doctrine of his bull; and, therefore, the Queen, in just regard to our holy religion, the laws and liberties of the people, and to her own welfare, looked no longer upon those that usurped the name Catholick, to be only distinct members of the Christian church, but, in her dominions, as so many rebels; and, consequently, provided laws for her own and the nation's security, in church and state, against such traitors, as, under the form and name of religion, maintained the rebellious doctrine of the forementioned bull, would take away her crown and life, and subject the nation to a foreign yoke. This brought on those penal laws, which the Papists complained of, and would persuade the world were enacted against them as Papists, and not as rebels, and in defence of which this treatise is written.

IT hath bene, in all ages and in all countries, a common vsage of all offenders for the most part, both great and small, to make defence of their lewd and unlawfull facts by vntruthes and by colouring and couering their deedes (were they neuer so vile) with pretences of some other causes of contrarie operations or effectes; to the intent not only to auoid punishment or shame, but to continue, vphold, and prosecute their wicked attempts, to the full satisfaction of their disordered and malicious appetites. And though such hath bene the vse of all offenders, yet of none with more danger than of rebels and traitours to their lawfull princes, kinges, and countries. Of which sort, of late yeeres, are specially to be noted certeine persons naturally born subiectes in the realmes of England and Ireland, who, hauing for some good time* professed outwardly their obedience to their Soueraigne Lady, Queene Elizabeth, haue, neuerthelesse, afterward bene stirred vp and seduced by wicked spiritest†, first in England, sundry yeeres past, and secondly and of later times in Ireland, to enter into open rebellion, taking arms and coming into the field, against her Maiestie and her lieutenants, with their forces under banners displayed, inducing by notable vntruthes many simple people to followe and assist them in their traiterous actions. And, though it is very well knownen, that both their intentions and manifest actions were bent, to haue deposed the Queenes Maiestie from her crowne, and to haue traiterously set in her place some other whom they liked, whereby, if they had not been speedily resisted, they would haue committed great bloodsheddesh and slaughters of her Maiesties faithful subiectes, and ruined their natie countrey; yet, by Gods

* For the space of ten years, after Queen Elizabeth had established the reformed church, those, that yet adhered to the supremacy of the church of Rome, continued to communicate with the church of England as by law established.

† Authorised by the Pope's bull to take up arms against their lawful sovereign.

power giuen vnto her Maiestie, they were so speedily vanquished, as some few of them suffered by order of lawe, according to their deserts; many and the greatest part, vpon confession of their faultes, were pardoned; the rest (but they not many) of the principall, escaped into forreine countries, and there, because in none or few places, rebels and traitours to their naturall princes and countries dare, for their treasons, challenge, at their first muster, open comfort or succour, these notable traitours and rebels haue falsely informed many kinges, princes, and states, and specially the Bishoppe of Rome, commonly called the Pope (from whom they all had secretly their first comfort to rebell) that the cause of their fleeing from their countries was for the religion of Rome, and for maintenauce of the said Popes authoritie. Whereas diuers of them, before their rebellion, liued so notoriously, the most part of their liues, out of all good rule, either for honest maners, or for any sense in religion, as they might haue been rather familiar with Catalyn, or fauourers of Sardanapalus, then accompted good subiectes vnder any Christian princes. As for some examples of the heads of these rebellions, out of England fled Charles Neuill, Earl of Westmerland, a person vtterly wasted by looseness of life, and by Gods punishment, euen in the time of his rebellion, bereaued of his children, that should haue succeeded him in the earldome, and his bodie nowe eaten with vlcers of lewde causes, as his companions do saye, that no enemy he hath can wish him a viler punishment; a pitiful losse to the realme of so noble a house, never before in any age attained for disloyaltie; and out of Ireland ranne away one Tho. Stukeley*. a defamed person almost through all Christendome, and a faithlesse beast rather then a man, fleeing first out of England, for notable piracies, and out of Ireland, for trecheries not pardonable, which two were the first ring-leaders of the rest of the rebelles; the one for England, the other for Ireland. But notwithstanding the notorious euill and wicked liues of these and other their confederates, voide of all Christian religion; it liked the bishop of Rome, as in fauour of their treasons, not to colour their offences, as themselves openly pretend to do, for auoyding of common shame of the world, but flatly to animate them to continue their former wicked purposes, that is, to take armes against their lawful Queene, to inuade her realm with forreine forces, to pursue all her good subiectes and their natiue countries with fire and sworde: for maintenance whereof there had some yeres before, at sundrie times, proceeded, in a thundring sort, *bulles*, excommunications, and other publique writtings, denouncing her Maiestie, being the lawful Queene, and Gods anoynted servant, not to be the Queene of the realm, charging, and vpon paines of excommunication, commanding all her subiectes, to depart from their natural alleageances, whereto by birth and by othe they were bounde. Prouoking also and authorising all persons of

* This man, having spent his estate profusely in England, fled into Ireland; and, because the Queen would not trust him with the stewardship of Wexford, he first vented several scurrilous things against her Majesty, and then fled to Italy; where, after some time, Gregory the Thirteenth, allured with the hopes of obtaining the crown of Ireland for his bastard son, gave him the command of several ships and eight hundred Italian soldiers, and ennobled him with the titles of Marquis de Lemster, Earl of Wexford and Caterlaugh, Viscount Morough, and Baron of Rose, in the kingdom of Ireland, as if he, the Pope, had been the sovereign thereof.

all degrees within both the realmes to rebell, and upon this antichristian warrant, being contrarie to all the lawes of God and man, and nothing agreeable to a pasturall officer, not onely all the rabble of the foresaid traitors that were before fled, but also all other persons that had forsaken their native countries, being of diuers conditions and qualities, some not able to liue at home but in beggerie, some discontented for lacke of preferments, which they gaped for vnworthily in vniversities and other places; some banckerupt marchants, some in a sort learned to contentions, being not contented to learne to obey the lawes of the lande, haue many yeres running up and downe, from countrey to countrey, practised some in one corner, some in an other, some with seeking to gather forces and money for forces, some with instigation of princes, by vntruethes, to make warre upon their natural countrey, some with inwarde practises to murder the GREATEST, some with seditious writings, and very many of late with publique infamous libels, ful of spiteful vile termes and poisoned lyes, altogether to vpholde the foresaide antichristian and tyrannous warrant of the Popes Bull. And yet also by some other meanes, to furder these intentions, because they could not readily preuayle by way of force, finding forreine princes of better consideration and not readily inclined to their wicked purposes, it was deuised to erect vp certeine schooles which they called seminaries*, to nourish and bring vp persons disposed naturally to sedition, to continue their race and trade, and to become seedemen in their tillage of sedition, and them to send secretly into these the Queene Maiesties realmes of England and Ireland, vnder secret maskes, some of priesthood, some of other inferior orders, with titles of seminaries; for some of the mearer sort, and of Jesuites, for the stagers and ranker sort, and such like, but yet so warely they crept into the land, as none brought the marks of their priesthoode with them; but in diuers corners of her Maiesties dominions these seminaries, or seedemen, and Jesuites, bringing with them certeine Romish trash, as of their hallowed waxe, their *Agnus Dei*, many kinde of beades, and such like, haue as tillage-men laboured secretly to perswade the people to allowe of the Popes foresaid bulles and warrantes, and of his absolute authoritie ouer all princes and countries, and striking many with prickes of conscience to obey the same, whereby in proces of small time, if this wicked and dangerous, traitorous and craftie course had not bene by God's goodnes espied and staied, there had followed imminent danger of horrible vprores in the realmes, and a manifest bloody destruction of great multitudes of Christians. For it cannot be denied but that so many as shoulde haue bene induced and thoroughly perswaded to haue obeyed that wicked warrant of the Popes, and the contents thereof, should haue bene forthwith in their hearts and consciences secret traitours; and for to be in deede errant and open traitours, there shoulde haue wanted nothing but opportunitie

* See an account of these seminaries in a subsequent volume.

† The *Agnus Dei* is a composition of white wax and the powder of human bones, dug out of the Caluoties, or ancient burial places of the Christians at Rome. It is of the form of an oval medal with the representation of the Holy Lamb and Jesus Christ, who is stiled *Agnus Dei*, or the Lamb of God, on the one side, and the Pope's effigy, who consecrated it, on the reverse. The Church of Rome ascribes many vertues to this sort of relique, and confines the touch of it to persons in orders.

to feele their strength, and to assemble themselves in such numbers with armour and weapons, as they might haue presumed to haue been the greater part, and so by open ciuill warre, to haue come to their wicked purposes. But God's goodness, by whom kinges doe rule, and by whose blast traitours are commonly wasted and confounded, hath otherwise giuen to her Maiestie, as to his handmayde and deare seruant, ruling vnder him, the spirit of wisdom and power, whereby she hath caused some of these seditious seedemen and sowers of rebellion, to be discovered for all their secret lurkings, and to be taken and charged with these former poyntes of high treason, not being delt withall upon questions of religion, but iustly, by order of lawes, openly condemned as traitours. At which times, notwithstanding al maner of gentle ways of persuasions vsed, to moue them to desist from such manifest traitorous courses and opinions, with offer of mercy; yet was the canker of their rebellious humors so deeply entred and grauen into the hearts of many of them, as they woulde not be remooued from their traitorous determinations. And, therefore, as manifest traitours in maintayning and adhearing to the * capitall enemy of her Maiestie and her crowne, who hath not only bene the cause of two rebellions already passed in England and Ireland, but in that of Ireland did manifestly wage and maintaine his owne people, captaines and soldiours, under the banner of Rome, against her Maiestie, so as no enemy coulde doe more: these, I say, have iustly suffered death, not by force or forme of any newe lawes established, either for religion or against the Pope's supremacie, as the slaundersous libellers would haue it seeme to be, but by the auncient temporall lawes of the realme, and namely by the lawes of parliament made in † King Edward the Thirds time, about the yere of our Lord, 1330, which is about two-hundred yeres and moe past, when the Bishops of Rome and Popes were suffered to haue their authoritie ecclesiastical in this realme, as they had in many other countries. But yet of this kind of offenders, as many of them, as after their condemnations were contented to renounce their former traitorous assertions, so many were spared from execution ‡, and doe liue still at this day, such was the vnwillingnes in her Maiestie to haue any blood spilt, without this verie vrgent iust and necessary cause, proceeding from themselves ||. And yet, neuerthelesse, such of the rest of the traitours as remayne in forreyne partes, continuing still their rebellious myndes, and craftily keeping themselves aloofe off from dangers, cease not to prouoke sundry other inferiour seditious persons, newly § to steale secretly into the realme, to reuiue the former seditious practises, to the execution of the Popes foresaid bulles against her Maiestie and the realme, pretending, when they are apprehended, that they came onely into the realme by the commandement of their superiours, the heads of the Jesuites, to whom they are bound (as they say) by othe against either king or countrie, and here to informe or reforme mens consciences

* Pope of Rome and King of Spain.

† 25 Edward III.

‡ There were only four put to death, viz. Hanse, Nelson, Maine, and Sherwood; who were condemned and executed for publicly maintaining, that the Queen was lawfully deposed by the Pope's bull. Stew, pag. 682, 684, 685, and Camden, p. 476.

§ See the Letter to Don Bernardin Mendoza.

|| This refers us to Father Parsons and Edm. Campian, the two first Jesuits employed in England, to preach rebellion against the Queen. Camden.

from errors in ~~some~~ poynts of religion, as they shal thinke meete; but yet, in very trueth, the whole scope of their secret labours is manifestly proued, to be secretly to winne all people with whom they dare deale, so to allow of the Popes said bulles, and of his authoritie without exception, as, in obeying thereof, they take themselves fully discharged of their allegiance, and obedience to their lawfull prince and country; yea, and to be well warranted to take armes to rebell against her Maiestie when they shall be thereunto called, and to be ready secretly to ioyne with any forreine force that can be procured to inuade the realme, whereof also they have a long time giuen, and yet do for their aduantage, no small comfort of successe; and so consequently the effect of their labours is to bring the realme not onely into a dangerous warre against the forces of strangers (from which it hath bene free aboue twenty-three or twenty-four yeres, a case very memorable and hard to be matched with an example of the like :) But into a warre domesticall and ciuill, wherein no blood is vsually spared, nor mercy yielded, and wherein neither the vanquoror nor vanquished can haue iust cause of triumph.

And, forasmuch as these are the most euident perils that necessarily should follow, if these kind of vermin were suffered to creepe by stealth into the realme, and to spreade their poyson within the same; howsoeuer, when they are taken, like hipocrites, they couloure and counterfeite the same, with profession of deuotion in religion: It is of all persons to be yeilded in reason, that her Maiestie, and all her gouernours and magistrates of iustice, hauing care to maintaine the peace of the realme (which God hath giuen, in her time, to continue longer than euer in any time of her progenitors) ought of duefie to Almighty God, the author of peace, and according to the natural loue and charge due to their countrie, and for auoiding of the floods of blood, which, in ciuill warres, are scene to runne and flowe, by all lawful meanes possible, aswell by the sword as by lawe, in their seuerall seasons, to impeache and repell these so manifest, and dangerous coulourable practises, and workes of sedition and rebellion. And though there are many subiectes knowne in the realme, that differ in some opinions of religion from the church of England, and that doe also not forbear to professe the same; yet, in that they doe also professe loyaltie and obedience to her Maiestie, and offer readily, in her Maiesties defence, to impugne and resist any forreine force, though it should come, or be procured, from the Pope himself: None of these sort are, for their contrary opinions in religion, prosecuted, or charged with any crymes or paines of treason, nor yet willingly searched in their consciences for their contrarie opinions, that saour not of treason. And, of these sorts, there haue been, and are, a number of persons, not of such base and vulgare note as those were, which of late haue bene executed, as, in particular, some by name are well knowne, and not vnfit to bee remembered. The first, and chiefe, by office, was D. Heth, that was Archbishop of Yorke, and Lord Chaunceler of England in Queene Maries time, who, at the first coming of her Maiestie to the crowne, shewing himself a faithfull and quiet subiect, continued in both the sayde offices, though in religion then manifestly differing; and yet was he not restrayned of his liberty, nor depriued of his proper lands and goods, but, leauing willingly both

his offices, liued in his owne house very discretely, and inioyed all his purchased lands during all his naturall life, vntill, by verie age, he departed this world, and then left his house and liuing to his friends: An example of gentleness, neuer matched in- Queene Maries time. The like did one D. Poole, that had bene Bishop of Peterborough, an auncient graue person, and a verie quiet subiect. There were also others that had bene Bishoppes, and in great estimation, as D. Tunstall, Bishop of Duresme *, a person of great reputation, and also, whilst he liued, of verie quiet behauiour. There were also others, D. White and D. Oglethorpe, one of Winchester, the other of Carlisle, Bishoppes, persons of a courteous nature; and he of Carlisle, so inclined to dutifulnes to the Queenes Maiestie, as he did the office at the consecration and coronation of hir Maiestie, in the church of Westminster; and D. Thurleby, and D. Watson, yet liuing, one of Ely, the other of Lincolne, Bishoppes, not pressed with any capitall payne, though they maintayned the Popes authoritie against the lawes of the realme: And some abbots, as M. Feckman, yet liuing, a person also of quiet and courteous behauiour for a great time. Some also were deanes, as D. Boxall, Deane of Windsore, a person of great modestie, lerning, and knowledge; D. Cole, Deane of Paules, a person more earnest then discrete; D. Reynolds, Dean of Exceter, and not vnlearned; and many such others, hauing borne office and dignities in the church, and that made profession against the Pope, which they only began in Queen Maries time to change; yet were these neuer, to this day, burdened with capitall peanes, nor yet deprived of any their goods, or proper liueloods, but only remoued from their ecclesiasticall offices, which they would not exercise according to the lawes. And most of them, and many other of their sort, for a great time, were retayned in bishoppes houses in very ciuill and courteous maner, without charge to themselves or their friends, vntill the time that the Pope began, by his bulles and messages, to offer trouble to the realme, by stirring of rebellion: About which time onely, some of these aforementioned, being found busier in matters of state, tending to stirre troubles, then was meete for the common quiet of the realme, were remoued to other more priuate places, where such other wanderers, as were men known to moue sedition, might be restrained from common resorting to them, to increase trouble, as the Popes bull gaue manifest occasion to doubt; and yet, without charging them in their consciences, or otherwise, by any inquisition, to bring them into danger of any capital law, so as no one was called to any capital or bloody question, vpon matters of religion, but have all inioyed their life, as the course of nature woulde: And such of them as yet remayne, may, if they will not be authors or instruments of rebellion or sedition, inioye the time that God and nature shall yelde them, without danger of life or member. And yet it is worthy to be well marked, that the chiefe of all these, and the most of them, had, in the time of King Henrie the Eight, and King Edward the Sixt, either by preaching, writing, reading or arguing, taught all people to condemne, yea, to abhorre the authoritie of the Pope: For which purpose, they had many times giuen their othes pub-

* Al. Durham.

liquely, against the Popes authoritie, and had also yelded to both the said Kinges the title of Supreame Head of the Church of England, next under Christ; which title, the aduersaries doe most falsly write and affirm, that the Queenes Maiestie doeth nowe use: A manifest lie and vntrueth, to be sene by the verie acts of parliament; and, at the beginning of her raigne, omitted in her style. And, for prooffe that these foresaide bishoppes and lerned men had so long time disauowed the Pope's authoritie, many of their bookes and sermons, against the Pope's authoritie remayne printed, both in English and Latine, to be seene in these times, to their great shame and reprooffe, to change so often, but specially in persecuting such as themselves had taught and stablished to hold the contrary, a sinne nere to the sinne against the Holy Ghost.

There were also, and yet be, a great number of others, being laymen of good possessions and lands, men of good credite in their countries, manifestly of late time, seduced, to hold contrary opinions in religion, for the Popes authoritie; and yet none of them haue bene sought hitherto, to be impeached in any poynt, or quarrel of treason, or of losse of life, member, or inheritance; so as it may plainly appear, that it is not, nor hath bene, for contrarious opinions in religion, or for the Popes authoritie alone, as the aduersaries doe boldely and falsly publish, that any persons haue suffered death since her Maiesties reigne; and yet some of these sort are well knowen to holde opinion, that the Pope ought, by authoritie of Gods worde, to be supreame and onely head of the Catholique Church, through the whole world, and onely to rule in al causes ecclesiasticall; and that the Queenes Maiestie ought not to be the gouernour ouer any of her subiectes in her realme, being persons ecclesiasticall: Which opinions are, neuerthelesse, in some part, by the lawes of the realme, punishable in these degrees; and yet, for none of these poyntes, haue any persons bene prosecuted with the charge of treason, or in danger of life. And if then it be inquired, for what cause these others haue of late suffered death, it is truely to be answered, as afore is often remembred, that none at all were impeached for treason, to the danger of their life, but such as did obstinately maintaine the contents^a of the Popes bull, aforementioned, which do import,

1. That her Maiestie is not the lawfull Queene of England, the first and highest poynt of treason: And,

2. That al her subiectes are discharged of their othes and obedience, another high poynt of treason: And,

3. All warranted to disobey her and her lawes, a third and a very large poynt of treason. And thereto is to be added,

4. A fourth poynt most manifest, in that they would not disallow the Popes hostile proceedings in open warres against her Maiestie in her realme of Ireland; where one of their companie, D. Sanders, a lewde scholler, and subiect of England, a fugitiue, and a principall companion and conspirator with the traitours and rebels at Rome, was, by the Popes speciall commission, a commaunder, as in forme of a legat, and sometime a treasurer or paymaster for those warres; which D. Sanders, in his book of his Church monarchie, did, afore his passing into Ireland,

^a Four points of treason.

openly, by writing, gloriously avowe the foresaid bull of *Pius Quintus*, against her Maiestie, to be lawfull; and affirmeth, that, by vertue thereof, one D. Mooreton, an olde English fugitiue and conspirator, was sent from Rome, into the North Parts of England, to stirre up the first rebellion there, whereof Charles Neuill, the late Earle of Westmerland, was a head captaine. And thereby it may manifestly appeare to all men, howe this bull was the grounde of the rebellions both in England and Ireland; and howe, for maintenaunce thereof, and for sowing of sedition by warrant, and allowance of the same, these persons were iustly condemned of treason, and lawfully executed by the auncient lawes temporall of the realme, without charging them for any other matter, than for their practizes and conspiracies, both abroad and at home, against the Queen and the realme, and for maintaining of the Popes foresaid authoritie and bull, published to depriue her Maiestie of her crowne, and for withdrawing and reconciling of her subiectes from their natural allegiance due to her Maiestie and their countrie, and for mouing them to sedition: And, for no other causes, or questions of religion, were these persons condemned; although true it is, that when they were charged and conuincd of these poynts of conspiracies and treasons, they woulde still, in their answeres, colourably pretend their actions to haue bene for religion: But, in deede and trueth, they were manifested to be for the procurement and maintenaunce of the rebellions and warres against her Maiestie and her realme.

And herein is nowe the manifest diuersitie to be seene, and well considered, betwixt the trueth of her Maiesties actions, and the falshood of the blasphemous aduersaries: That where the factious partie of the Pope, the principall author of the inuasions of her Maiesties dominions, doe falsely alleadge, that a number of persons, whome they terme as martyrs, haue dyed for defence of the Catholique Religion, the same in very trueth may manifestly appeare to haue died (if they so wil haue it) as martyrs for the Pope, but yet as traitours to their Soueraigne and Queene, in adhearing to him, being the notable, and onely open, hostile enemy in all actions of warre against her Maiestie, her kingdomes, and people: And that this is the meaning of all these that haue so obstinately mantayned the authoritie and contents of this bull, the very wordes of the bull do declare in this sort, as Dr. Sanders reporteth them.

Pius Quintus Pontifex Maximus, de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, declarauit Elizabetham prætenso regni iure, necnon omni & quocunque dominio, dignitate, priuilegiisq; priuatam: Itemq; Proceres, subditos & populos dicti regni, ac ceteros omnes qui illi quomodocunque iurauerunt, a iuramento huiusmodi ac omni fidelitatis debito, perpetuo absolutos. That is to say, 'Pius Quintus, the greatest Bishop, of the fulnesse of the apostolique power, declareth Elizabeth to be bereued or depriued of her pretended right of her kingdome, and also of all and whatsoeuer dominion, dignitie and priuilege; and also the nobles, subiectes, and people of the saide kingdome, and all others, which had sworne to her any manner of wayes, to be absolved for euer from such othe, and from all debt or duetie of fealtie, and so forth;' with many threatning cursings,

to all that durst obey her, or her lawes. And for the execution hereof, to proue, that the effect of the Popes bull and message was a flat rebellion, it is not amisse to heare what the same D. Sanders, the Popes firebrand in Ireland, also writeth in his visible Church-Monarchie, which is thus:

Pius Quintus, Pontifex Maximus, Anno Dom. 1569, reuerendum presbyterum Nicolaum Mortonum Anglum in Angliam misit, vt certis illustribus viris autoritate apostolica denunciaret, Elizabetham, quæ tunc rerum potiebatur, hæreticam esse; ob eamq; causam omni dominio & potestate excedisse, impuneq; ab illis velut ethnicam haberi posse, nec eos illius legibus aut mandatis princeps obedire cogi. That is to say, 'Pius Quintus, the greatest Bishop, in the yere of our Lord, 1569, sent the reuerend priest Nicholas Morton, an Englishman, into England, that he should denounce or declare by the apostolique authoritie to certaine noblemen, Elizabeth, who then was in possession of the crown, to be an heretike; And for that cause, to haue fallen from all dominion and power, and that she may be had or reputed of them as an ethnike*, and that they are not to be compelled to obey her lawes or commandements, &c.'

Thus you see an ambassade of rebellion from the Popes Holines, the ambassadour, an old doting English priest, a fugitiue and conspirator, sent, as he saith, to some noblemen, and those were the two Earles of Northumberland, and Westmerland, heads of the rebellion.

And, after this, he followeth to declare the successe thereof, which I dare say he was sory it was so euil, with these words:

Qua denunciatione multi nobiles viri adducti sunt, vt de fratribus liberandis cogitare auderent, ac sperabant illi quidem Catholicos omnes summis viribus affuturos esse: verum etsi aliter quam illi expectabant res euenit, quia Catholici omnes nondum probe cognouerunt, Elizabetham hæreticam esse declaratam, tamen laudanda illorum nobilium consilia erant: That is, 'By which denunciation, many noblemen were inducd or ledde, that they were boldened to thinke of the freeing of their brethren, and they hoped certainly that all the Catholiques would haue assisted them with all their strength: But although the matter happened otherwise then they hoped for, because all the Catholiques knewe not that Elizabeth was declared to be an Heretike, yet the counsels and intentes of those noblemen were to be praysed.' A rebellion and a vanquishing of rebels very smoothly described.

This noble fact here mentioned was the rebellion in the north; The noblemen were the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland: The lacke of the euent or success was that the traitours were vanquished, and the Queenes Maiestie and her subiectes had by Gods ordinance the victorie: And the cause, why the rebels preuayled not, was, because all the Catholiques had not bene duely informed that the Queenes Maiestie was declared to be (as they terme it) an Heretike: Which want of in-

* Or Heathen.

formation, to the intent to make the rebels mightier in number and power, was diligently and cunningly supplied, by sending into the realme of a great multitude of the Seminaries* and Iesuites, whose special charge was to informe the people thereof, as by their actions hath manifestly appeared.

And though D. Sanders hath thus written, yet it may be said by such as fauoured the two notable Iesuites, one named Robert Persons, (who yet hideth himself in corners to continue his traitorous practise) the other named Edmond Campion (that was found out, being disguised like a roister, and suffered for his treasons) that D. Sanders's treason is his proper treason in allowing of the sayde bull, and not to be imputed to Persons and Campion. Therefore, to make it plaine that these two, by speciall authoritie, had charge to execute the sentence of this bull, these actes in writing following shall make manifest, which are not fayned or imagined, but are verie writings taken about one of their complices, immediatly after Campions death, although Campion, before his death †, would not be knowne of any such matter; whereby it may appeare what trust is to be giuen to the wordes of such Pseudo-martyrs.

Facultates concessæ pp. Roberto Personio & Edmundo Campiano, pro Anglia, die 14 Aprilis, 1580.

PETATUR, a summo Domino nostro, explicatio bullæ declaratorię per Pium Quintum, contra Elizabetham, & ei adhærentes, quam Catholici cupiunt intelligi hoc modo, ut obliget semper illam et hæreticos, Catholicos vero nullo modo obliget rebus sic stantibus, sed tum demum quando publica ejusdem bullæ executio fieri poterit.

Then followed manie other petitions of faculties for their further authoritie, which are not needefull for this purpose to be recited: But, in the end, followeth this sentence, as an answer of the Popes, *Has prædictas gratias concessit summus Pontifex patri Roberto Personio, & Edmundo Campiano, in Angliam profecturis, die 14. Aprilis, 1580. Præsentente patre Oliuero Manarco assistente.*

The English of which Latten sentences is, as followeth,

Faculties graunted to the two Fathers Robert Persons and Edmund Campion, for England, the 14. Day of April, 1580.

‘LET it be asked, or required, of our most holy Lorde, the explication or meaning, of the bull declaratory made by Pius the Fifth, against Elizabeth, and such as do adheare or obey her, which bull the Catholiques desire to be vnderstood in this manner, that the same bull shall alwayes binde her and the heretikes, but the Catholiques it shall

* When put with Jesuits, properly signifies Secular Priests, in opposition to Jesuits.

† He was tried upon the Treason-Act, 25 Edward the Third, and convicted of endeavouring to stir up rebellion, and of obstinately maintaining, that the Queen was lawfully deposed; and, at the same time, for the same crime, Ralph Sherwin, Luke Kirby, and Alexander Brian, were executed: Before which time, (1561) no more than five Papists had been put to death in this reign. Camden.

by noe meanes bind, as matters or thinges doe now stande or be, but hereafter, when the publike execution of that bull may be had or made.'

Then in the end, the conclusion was thus added :

' The highest Pontiffe, or Bishoppe, graunted these foresaid graces to Father Robert Persons and Edmonde Campion, who are now to take their journeyes into England, the fourteenth day of Aprill, in the yere of our Lorde 1580. Being present, the Father Oliuerius Manarke assistant.'

Hereby it is manifest, what authoritie Campion had to impart the contents of the bull against the Queenes Maiestie, howsoever he himselfe denied the same, for this was his errand.

And though it be manifest that these two Iesuites, Persons and Campion, not onely required to haue the Popes minde declared for the bull, but also, in their own petitions, shewed howe they and other Catholiques did desire to haue the sayd bull to be vnderstood against the Queene of Englande: Yet, to make the matter more plaine; howe all other Iesuites and Seminaries, yea, howe al other Papists, naming themselues Catholiques, doe, or are warranted to interpret the saide bull against her Maiestie, and her good subiectes, howsoever they will disguise it, you shall see what one of their fellowes, named Hart, who was condemned with Campion, and yet lyveth, did, amongst many other thinges, declare his knowledge thereof, the last of December, in the same yere, 1580, in these wordes following.

' The bull of Pius Quintus, for so much as it is against the Queene, is holden among the English Catholiques for a lawful sentence, and a sufficient discharge of her subiectes fidelity, and so remayneth in force ; but, in some poynts touching the subiectes, it is altered by the present Pope. For, where in that bull all her subiectes are commanded not to obey her, and shce being excommunicate and deposed, all that doe obey her are likewise innodate and accursed, which poynt is perillous to the Catholiques ; For, if they obey her, they be in the Popes curse ; and if they disobey her, they are in the Queenes danger : therefore, the present Pope, to relieue them, hath altered that part of the bull, and dispenced with them to obey and serue her, without perill of excommunication ; which dispensation is to endure, but till it please the Pope otherwise to determine.'

Wherefore, to make some conclusion of the matters before mencioned, al persons, both within the realme, and abroade, may playnely perceiue, that all the infamous libels lately published abroade in sundrie languages, and the slanderous reportes made in other princes courtes of a multitude of persons, to haue bene of late put to torments and death, onely for professing of the Catholique religion, and not for matters of state against the Queenes Maiestie, are false and shameles, and published to the maintenaunce of traitours and rebelles. And to make the

matter seeme more horrible or lamentable, they recite the particular names of all the persons, which, by their own catalogue, exceed not for these twenty five yeeres space, about the number of threescore, forgetting, or rather, with their stonie and senseles heartes, not regarding, in what cruel sort, in the tyme of Queene Marie, which little exceeded the space of five yeeres, the Queenes Maiesties raigne being five times as many*, there were by imprisonment, torments, famyne and fire, of men, women, maidens and children, almost the number of foure hundred, beside such as were secretly murdered in prisons; and of that number, above twenty that had bene archbishoppes, bishoppes, and principal prelates or officers in the church, lamentably destroyed; and of women about threescore, and of children about fourtie, and amongst the women some great with child, and one out of whose bodye the child by fire was expelled aliue, and yet also cruelly burned: Examples beyond all heathen cruelty†. And most of the youth that then suffered cruel death, both men, women, and children (which is to be noted) were such, as had peuer by the sacrament of baptisme, or by confirmation, professed, nor was euer taught or instructed, or euer had hearde of any other kinde of religion, but onely of that which by their blood and death, in the fire, they did as true martyrs testifie. A matter of another sort to be lamented, in Christian charity, with simplicity of words, and not with puffed eloquence, then the execution in this time of a very few traytors, who also, in their time, if they exceeded thirtie yerres of age, had in their baptisme professed, and in their youth had learned the same religion which they now so bitterly oppugned. And, beside that, in their opinions they differ much from the martyrs of Queene Maries time: For though they which suffered in Queene Maries time continued in the profession of the religion wherein they were christened, and as they were perpetually taught, yet they never at their death denied their lawful Queene, nor maintained any of her open and forreine enemies, nor procured any rebellion, or ciuill warre, nor did sowe any sedition in secret corners, nor withdrew any subiectes from their obedience, as these sworne seruants of the Pope have continually done.

And therefore, all these thinges well considered, there is no doubt, but all good subiectes within the realme doe manifestly see, and all wauering persons (not being led cleane out of the way by the seditious) will hereafter perceiue, how they haue bene abused to go astray. And all strangers, but specially all Christian potentates, as emperours, kinges, princes, and such like, hauing their souereign estates, either in succession hereditarie, or by consent of their people, being acquainted with the very truth of these her Maiesties late iust and necessarie actions,

* In the two first years only of her persecution, which began in 1555, eight-hundred were put to death, Rapin, Vol. II. p. 48. Fol. And it is generally acknowledged, that she burnt at the stake five bishops, twenty-one divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, one hundred husbandmen, servants and labourers, twenty-six wives, twenty-widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants, besides sixty-four more, who being persecuted for their religion, seven of them were whipt, sixteen perished in prison, and twelve more buried in dunghills. Burnet, Strype, Heylin. Speed, p. 880.

† Especially if we recollect, that, by proclamation, she declared them rebels, and ordered them to be executed, without delay, by martial law, whoever were found reading an heretical book, and would not burn it. And she expressly forbid to pray for those who were executed, or even to say, God help them; which shewed, that it was not the conversion, but the destruction, of these she called hereticks she desired.

only for defence of herselfe, her crowne, and people, against open inuaders, and for eschewing of ciuill warres, stirred up by rebellion, will allow in their owne like cases, for a trueth and rule (as is not to be doubted but they will) that it belongeth not to a Bishoppe of Rome, as successour to Saint Peter, and therein a pastor spiritual; or if hee were the Bishoppe of all Christendome, as by the name of Pope he claymeth, first by his bulles or excommunications, in this sort at his will, in fauour of traytours and rebels, to depose any soueraigne princes, being lawfully inuested in their crownes by succession in blood, or by lawfull election, and then to arme subiectes against their naturall lordes, to make warres, and to dispense with them for their othes in so doing, or to excommunicate faithfull subiectes, for obeying of their natural princes, and lastly himselfe to make open warre, with his owne soldiours, against Princes mouing no force against him.

For, if these high tragicall powers shoulde be permitted to him to exercise, then shoulde no empire, no kingdome, no countrey, no citie, or towne, be possessed by any lawfull title, longer then one such onely an earthly man, sitting, as he saith, in St. Peters chaire at Rome, shoulde for his will and appetite, without any warrant from God or man, thinke meete and determine: An authoritie neuer challenged by the Lorde of Lordes, the Sonne of God, Iesus Christ, our onely Lord and Sauour, and the onely head of his church, whilest he was in his humanitie upon the earth; nor yet deliuered by any writing, or certaine tradition from Saint Peter, from whome the Pope pretendeth to derive all his authoritie; nor yet from St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles; but, contrariwise, by all preachings, preceptes, and writings, contained in the gospel, and other scriptures of the apostles, obedience is expresly commaunded to all earthly princes, yea, euen to kings by speciall name, and that so generally, as no person is excepted from such duetie of obedience, as by the sentence of Saint Paul, euen to the Romanes, appeareth, *Omnis anima sublinioribus potestatibus sit subdita*; that is, 'Let every soul be subiect to the higher powers*.' Within the compasse of which law, or precept, Saint Chrisostome, being Bishoppe of Constantinople, writeth, that euen apostles, prophets, euangelists, and monkes are comprehended. And for proole of Saint Peters winde herein, from whome these Popes claime their authoritie, it cannot be plainly expressed, then when he writeth † thus: *Proinde subiecti estote cuius humana ordinationi, propter Dominum, siue regi, ut qui supereminet, siue præsidentibus ab eo missis*: That is, 'Therefore be ye subiect to euery humane ordinance or creature, for the Lorde, whether it be to the King, as to him that is supereminent, or aboue the rest, or to his presidents sent by him.' By which two principal apostles of Christ, these Popes the pretended successours, but chiefly by that which Christ, the Sonne of God, the onely master of trueth, sayde to Peter and his fellow apostles, *Reges gentium dominantur, vos autem non sic*: That is, 'The Kings of the Gentiles haue rule ouer them, but you not so;' may learn to forsake their arrogant and tyrannous authorities in earthly and temporal causes ouer kings and princes, and exercise their pastorall office, as Saint

* Rom. xiii. 1.

† 1 Peter ii. 13, 14.

Peter was charged thrise at one time by his Lorde and Master, *pasce oues meas*, 'Feed my sheepe,' and peremptorily forbidden to use a sworde, in saying to him, *Conuertere gladium tuum in locum suum*, or, *mitte gladium tuum in vaginam*: that is, 'turne thy sword into his place; or, put thy sworde into the scabbard.' All which preceptes of Christ and his apostles were duely followed and obserued many hundred yeres after their death, by the faithfull and godly bishoppes of Rome, that duely followed the doctrine and humilitie of the apostles, and the doctrine of Christ, and were holy martyrs, and thereby dilated the limittes of Christs church, and the sayth, more in the compasse of an hundred yeres, then the latter Popes haue done with their swordes and curses these 500 yeres, and so continued until the time of one Pope Hildebrand, otherwise called Gregory the Seuenth, about the yere of our Lorde 1074; who first beganne to vsurpe that kinde of tyrannie, which of late the Pope, called Pius Quintus, and since that time, Gregory, now the Thirteenth, hath followed, for some example, as it seemeth: That is, where Gregory the Seuenth, in the yere of our Lord 1074, or thereabout, presumed to depose Henry the Fourth, a noble emperour, then being, Gregory the Thirteenth, nowe at this time, would attempt the like against King Henry the Eightes daughter and heire, Queene Elizabeth, a soueraigne and a maiden queene, holding her crowne immediatly of God. And to the ende it may appeare to princes, or to their good counsellours, in one example, what was the fortunate successe that God gaue to this good Christian Emperour Henry against the proud Pope Hildebrand, it is to be noted, that, when the Pope Gregory attempted to depose this noble Emperour Henry, there was one Rodulphe, a nobleman, by some named the Count of Reenfield, that, by the Popes procurement, vsurped the name of the Emperour, who was ouercome by the sayde Henry the lawfull Emperour, and in fight having lost his right-hand, he, the said Rodulphe, lamented his case to certayne bishoppes, who, in the Popes name, had erected him vp, and to them he said, that the selfe same right-hand, which he had lost, was the same hande wherewith he had before sworne obedience to his lorde and master the Emperour Henry, and that, in following their ungodly counselles, he had brought upon him Gods heavy and iust iudgements. And so Henry the Emperour, preuailing by Gods power, caused Gregory the Pope, by a synode in Italy, to be deposed, as in like times before him his predecessour Otho, the Emperour, had deposed one Pope Iohn, for many heynous crimes: and so were also, within a short time, three other Popes, namely, Siluester; Bennet, and Gregory the Sixt, vied by the Emperour Henry the Third, about the yere of our Lord 1047, for their like presumptuous attemptes in temporall actions against the said emperours. Many other examples might be shewed to the Emperours Maiestie, and the princes of the Holy Empire nowe being, after the time of Henry the Fourth; as of Henry the Fifth, and after him of Frdericke the First, and Fredericke the Second, and then of Lewis of Bauar, all emperours, cruelly and tyrannously persecuted by the Popes, and by their bulles, curses, and by open warres, and likewise to many other the great kinges and monarches of Christendome, of their noble progenitors,

kinges of their seuerall dominions; whereby they may see how this kind of tyrannous authoritie in popes to make warres upon emperours and kinges, and to commaund them to be depriued, toke holde at the first by Pope Hildebrande, though the same neuer had any lawefull example or warrant from the lawes of God of the Olde or Newe Testament, but yet the successes of their tyrannies were by Gods goodnesse for the most parte made frustrate, as by Gods goodnesse there is no doubt; but the like will followe to their confusions at all times to come.

And therefore, as there is no doubt but the like violent tyrannous proceedings by any Pope in maintenaunce of traitours and rebells, would be withstoode by euery soueraigne prince in Christendome in defence of their persons and crownes, and maintenaunce of their subiectes in peace; so is there at this present a like iust cause that the Emperours Maiestie, with the princes of the holy empire, and all other soueraigne kinges and princes in Christendome, should iudge the same to be lawfull for her Maiestie being a Queene, and holding the very place of a king and and a prince soueraigne ouer diuers kingdomes and nations, she being also most lawfully inuested in her crowne, and as for good gouerning of her people, with such applause and generall allowance, loued, and obeyed of them, sauing a few ragged traitours or rebells, or persons discontented, wherof no other realme is free as continually for these twenty-five yeres past hath bene notably seene and so publicly marked, euen by strangers repairing into this realme, as it were no cause of disgrace to any monarchie and king in Christendome, to haue her Maiesties felicitie compared with any of theirs whatsoever: and it may be, there are many kinges and princes coulde be well contented with the fruition of some proportion of her felicitie. And though the Popes be nowe suffered by the Emperour, in the landes of his owne peculiar patrimonie, and by the two great monarches, the French King and the King of Spaine, in their dominions and territories (although by many other kinges not so allowed) to continue his authoritie in sundrie cases, and his glorious title to be the vniuersall bishop of the worlde, which title Gregorie the Great, aboue nine hundred yeres past, called a prophane title, full of sacrilege, and a preamble of Antichrist; yet in all their dominions and kingdomes, as also in the realme of Englande, most notably by many auncient lawes it is well knownen, how many wayes the tyrannous power of this his excessive authoritie hath bene and still is restrained, checked, and limited by lawes and pragmatiques, both auncient and newe, both in Fraunce, Spaine, and other dominions; a very large felde for the lawyers of those countries to walke in and discourse. And howsoever the Popes canonistes, being as his bombardiers, doe make his excommunications and curses appeare fearefull to the multitude and simple people yet all great emperours and kinges aforetime, in their owne cases, of their rightes and royall preeminences, though the same concerned but a citie or a poore towne, and sometime but the not allowance of some unworthie person to a bishopricke or to an abbey, neuer refrayned to despise all Popes curses or forces, but attempted alwayes, eyther by their swordes to compell them to desist from their furious actions, or without

any fear of themselves, in body, soule, or conscience, stoutly to withstande their curses, and that sometye by force, sometye by ordinances and lawes; the auncient histories whereof are too many to be repeated, and of none more frequent and effectual then of the Kings of Fraunce; and, in the records of England doth appear, how stoutly the kinges and the baronage of England from age to age, by extreme penall lawes, haue so repelled the Popes vsurations, as, with the very name of premunires, his proctors haue bene terrified, and his clergy haue quaked, as of late Cardinall Wolsey did proue. But, leauing those that are auncient, we may remember howe, in this our owne present or late age, it hath bene manifestly seene, howe the army of the late noble Emperour Charles the Fifth, father of King Philippe, that nowe reigneth, was not asfayde of his curses, when, in the yere of our Lorde 1527, Rome itselfe was besieged and sacked, and the Pope then called Clement, and his cardinals, to the number of about thirty-three, in his Mount Adrian, or Castell S. Angelo, taken prisoners and detained seuen moneths or more, and after ransomed by Don Vgo di Moncada, a Spaniarde, and the Marques of Guasto, at about four hundred million of ducates, besides the ransomes of his cardinals which was much greater, having not long before time bene also, notwithstanding his curses, besieged in the same castell by the familie of the Colonies and their fautors, his next neighbours being then Imperialistes, and forced to yeelde to all their demaunds. Neither did King Henry the Seconde of Fraunce, father to Henry nowe King of France, about the yeere 1550, feare or regard the Pope or his court of Rome, when he made several straight edictes against many partes of the Popes claymes in prejudice of the crowne and clergie of Fraunce, retracting the authoritie of the court of Rome, greatly to the hinderance of the Popes former profites. Neither was the army of King Philip nowe of Spaine, whereof the Duke of Alua was generall, stricken with any feare of cursing, when it was brought afore Rome against the Pope, in the yere of our Lord 1555, where great destruction was made by the said army, and al the delicate buyldings, gardens, and orchardes next to Roine, walles overthrown, wherewith his holinesse was mere terrified, then he was able to remoue with any of his curses. Neither was Queene Mary, the Queenes Maiesties late sister, a person not a little devoted to the Romane religion, so afraid of the Popes cursings, but that both she and her whole counsel, and that with the assent of all the iudges of the realme, according to the auncient lawes, in fauour of Cardinall Poole her kinsman, did most straightly forbid the entrie of his bulles, and of a cardinall hatte at Callis, that was sent from the Pope for one frier Peyto, an observant pleasant frier, whom the Pope had assigned to bee a cardinall in disgrace of Cardinall Poole*; neither did Cardinall Poole himselfe at the same time obey the Popes commandements, nor shewed himselfe afraid, being assisted by the Queene, when the Pope did threaten him with paine of curses and excommunication, but did still oppose himselfe against the Popes commandement

* Because Queen Mary had declared war against France, which the Pope thought Poole might have prevented.

for the saide protended Cardinall Peyto; who, notwithstanding all the threatenings of the Pope, was forced to goe vp and downe in the streets of London like a begging frier^e, without his red hatt; a stout resistance in a queene for a poore cardinalls hatte, wherein she followed the example of her grandfather King Henrie the Seventh, for a matter of allum, wherein the King vsed very great severitie against the Pope. So as howsoever the Christian kinges, for some respects in pollicie, can endure the Pope to commaunde where no harm nor disadvantage groweth to themselves, yet sure it is, and the popes are not ignorant, but where they shall in any sort attempt to take from Christian princes any part of their dominions, or shall giue ayde to their enemies, or to any other their rebels, in those cases, their bulles, their curses, their excommunications, their sentences, and most solemne anathematicals, no, nor their crosse keys, or double edged sword, will serve their turnes to compasse their intentions.

And now, where the Pope hath manifestly by his bulles and excommunications attempted as much as he could, to deprive her Maiestie of her kingdome, to withdrawe from her the obedience of her subiectes, to procure rebellions in her realmes, yea, to make both rebellions and open warres with his owne captaines, soldiours, banners, ensignes, and all other things belonging to warre: shall this Pope Gregory, or any other pope after him, think that a soueraigne Queene, possessed of the two realmes of England and Ireland, stablished so many yeres in her kingdome as thre or foure popes have sit in their chayre at Rome, fortyfied with so much dutie, loue, and strength of her subiects, acknowledging no superior ouer her realmes, but the mightie hand of God: shall she forbear, or feare to withstand and make frustrate his vnlawful attempts, eyther by her sword, or by her lawes, or to put his souldiers invadours of her realme to the sword martially; or to execute her lawes upon her owne rebellious subjectes ciuilly, that are proved to be his chiefe instruments for rebellion, and for his open warre? This is sure, that whosoever either be sitting in his chaire, with a triple crowne at Rome, or any other his proctors in any part of Christendome, shall renewe these vnlawfull attempts, Almighty God, the King of Kinges, whome her Maiestie onely honoureth and acknowledgeth to be her onely Soueraigne Lord and Protector, and whose lawes and gospel of his Sonne Iesus Christ she seeketh to defend, will no doubt, but deliver sufficient power into his maydens hand, his seruant Queene Elizabeth, to with stand and confound them all.

And where the seditious trumpetters of infamies and lies haue sounded forth and entituled certaine that haue suffered for treason, to be martyrs for religion; so may they also at this time, if they list, adde to their forged catalogue the headless bodie of the late miserable Earl of Desmonde, the head of the Irish rebellion, who of late, secretly wandering without succour. as a miserable begger, was taken by one of the Irishry in his caben, and, in an Irish sort after his owne accustomed savage maner, his head cut off from his bodie; an end due to

* For the Queen let him know, that if he accepted thereof, without her leave, or pretended to exercise any Papal jurisdiction in her dominions, without her permission, she would bring him within the statute of premunire; so that he never went to Calais to fetch his bulls and his hat. See *Barnet*, Tom 3, p. 411. Collect.

such an arch rebell. And, herewith to remember the ende of his chiefe confederates, may be noted, for example to others, the strange manner of the death of D. Sanders, the Popes Irish legat, who also, wandering in the mountaines in Ireland without succour, died raving in a phrensey. And before him one James Fitz-Morice, the first traitour of Ireland next to Stukely the rakehel, a man not vnknownen in the Popes palace for a wicked crafty traytour, was slaine at one blow by an Irish noble yong gentleman, in defence of his fathers country seat, which the traitour sought to burn. A fourth man of singular note was Iohn Desmonde, brother to the Earl, a very bloody and faithles traitour, and a notable murderer of his familiar friendes, who also, wandering to seeke some pray like a wolfe in the woods, was taken and beheaded after his own usage, being as he thought sufficiently armed with the Popes bulles and certaine *agnus dei*, and one notable ring with a precious stone about his necke sent from the Popes finger (as it was said) but these he saw saued not his life. And such were the fatal ends of al these, being the principal heads of the Irish war and rebellion, so as no one person remaineth at this day in Ireland a known traitour; a work of God and not of man! To this number, they may if they seek number, also adde a furious yong man of Warwickshire, by name Someruille, to increase their kalender of the Popes martyrs, who of late was discouered and taken in his way, coming with a full intent to haue killed her Maiestie (whose life God always haue in his custodie.) The attempt not denied by the traitour himselfe, but confessed, and that he was moued thereto in his wicked spirit, by inticements of certaine seditious and traiterous persons his kinsmen and allyes, and also by often reading of sundrie seditious vile books lately published against her Maiestie, and his end was in desperation to strangle himself to death; an example of Gods severitie against such as presume to offer violence to his annoynted! But as God of his goodnes bath of long time hitherto preserued her Maiestie from these and the like trecheries; so hath she no cause to feare being vnder his protection, she saying with King David in the Psalme, 'My God is my helper, and I will trust in him; he is my protection, and the strength, or the power of my saluation.' And for the more comfort of al good subiectes against the shadowes of the Popes bulles, it is manifest to the world, that, from the beginning of her Maiesties reigne, by Gods singular goodnes, her kingdome hath enioyed more vniuersall peace, her people increased in more numbers, in more strength, and with greater riches; the earth of her kingdomes hath yeelded more fruits, and generally all kind of worldly felicitie hath more abounded since and during the time of the Popes thunders, bulles, curses, and maledictions, then in any other long times before, when the Popes pardons and blessings came yerely into the realme; so as his curses and maledictions haue turned backe to himselfe and his fautors, that it may be said to the blessed Queens of England, Elizabeth, and her people, as was said in Deuteronomy of Balaam. 'The Lord thy God would not heare Balaam, but did turn his maledictions or curses into benedictions or blessings; the reason is, for because thy God loved thee.'

Although these former reasons are sufficient to perswade all kind of reasonable persons to allow of her Maiesties actions to be good, reasonable, lawfull, and necessarie; yet because it may be, that such as have by frequent reading of false artificiall libels, and by giuing credite to them, vpon a preiudice or foreiudgement afore grounded, by their rooted opinions in fauour of the Pope, will rest vnsatisfied; therefore, as much as may be, to satisfie al persons as far fourth as common reason may warrant, that her Maiesties late action, in executing of certain seditious traitours, hath not proceeded for the holding of opinions, either for the Popes supremacie, or against her Maiesties regalitie, but for the very crymes of sedition and treason, it shall suffice briefly, in a manner of a repetition of the former reasons, to remember these things following:

First, It cannot be denied, but that her Maiestie did, for many yeres, suffer quietly the Popes bulls and excommunications without punishment of the fautors thereof, accompting of them but as words or winde, or of wrifings in parchment wayed downe with leade, or as of water bubbles, commonly called in Latine, Bullæ, and such like; but yet after some prooffe, that courage was taken thereof by some bolde and bad subiectes, she coulde not but then esteeme them to be verie preambles, or as forerunners of greater danger; and, therefore, with what reason coulde any mislike, that her Maiestie did, for a bare defence against them, without other action or force, vse the helpe of reuiving of former lawes, to prohibit the publication or execution of such kinde of bulles within her realme.

Secondly, When notwithstanding the prohibition by her lawes, the same bulles were plentifully (but in secret sort) brought into the realme, and at length arrogantly set upon the gates of the Bishop of Londons Pallace, neere to the cathedrall church of Pauls, the principal-citie of the realme, by a lewd person, vsing the same like a herald sent from the Pope; who can in any common reason mislike, that her Maiestie, finding this kinde of denunciation of warre, as a defiance to be made in her principal citie by one of her subiectes, auowing and obstinately maintaining the same, should, according to iustice, cause the offender to haue the reward due to such a fact? And this was the first action of any capitall punishment inflicted for matter sent from Rome to moue rebellion, which was after her Maiestie had reigned about the space of twelve yeres or more: a time sufficient to prove her maiesties patience.

Thirdly, When the Pope had risen vp out of his chaire in his wrath, from words and wrifings to actions, and had contrary to the aduise giuen by St. Barnard, to one of his predecessors, that is, when by his messages he left Verbum, and took Ferrum, that is, left to feede by the word, which was his office; and began to strike with the sword, which was forbidden him, and stirred her noblemen and people directly to disobedience and to open rebellion, which was the office of Dathan and Abdeon; and that her lewde subiectes by his commaundement

had executed the same with al the forces which they could make or bring into the field ; who with common reason can disallow that her Maiestie vsed her royall lawfull authoritie, and by her forces lawfull subdued rebelles forces vnlawfull, and punished the authours thereof no otherwise than the Pope himselfe vseth to do with his owne rebellious subiectes, in the patrimonie of his church, as not many monthes sithens he had been forced to intend. And, if any prince of people in the world would otherwise neglect his office, and suffer his rebelles to haue their wills, none ought to pitie him, if, for want of resistance and courage, he lost both his crowne, his head, his life. and his kingdome.

Fourthly, When her Maiestie beheld a further increase of the Popes malice, notwithstanding that the first rebellion was in her North parts vanquished, in that he interteined abroad out of this realme the traitours and rebelles that fledde for the rebellion, and all the rabble of other the fugitiues of the realme, and that he sent a number of the same in sorts disguised, into both the realmes of England and Ireland, who there secretly allured her people to newe rebellions, and at the same time spared not his charges to sende also, out of Italy, by sea *, certain shippes with captaines of his own, with their bands of soldiours, furnished with treasure, munition, victuals, ensignes, banners, and all other things requisite to the warre, into her realme of Ireland, where the same forces, with other auxiliar companies out of Spaine landed, and fortified themselves verie strongly on the seaside, and proclaimed open warre, erecting the Popes banner against her Maiestie ; may it be now asked of these persons, fauourers of the Romish authoritie, what in reason should haue bene done by her Maiestie otherwise, then first to apprehend all such fugitiues so stolne into the realme, and dispersed in disguising habites to sow sedition, as some priestes in their secreete profession, but in all their apparell, as roisters or ruffins, some schollars, like to the basest common people, and them to committe to prisons, and, vpon their examinations of their trades and haunts, to conuince them of their conspiracies abroad, by testimonies of their owne companions, and of sowing sedition secretly at home in the realme? What may be reasonable thought was meete to be done with such seditious persons, but by the lawes of the realme to try, condemn, and execute them? and specially hauing regard to the dangerous time, when the Popes forces in her realme of Ireland, and more in preparation to followe as well into England as into Ireland, to the resistance whereof, her Maiestie and her realme was forced to be at greater charges, then euer she had bene, since shée was Queene thereof. And so by Gods power, which hee gaue to her on the one part, she did by her lawes suppress the seditious stirrers of rebellion in her realme of England, and by her sworde vanquished all the Popes forces in her realme of Ireland, excepting certaine captaines of marke that were saued from

* This was a second Embarkation in 1580, under the command of San Josephpo, an Italian; who landed without opposition, and built a fort, called Fort del Oro, and garrisoned it with 700 Men, and arms for five or six-thousand more ; which, after a siege of six days, was forced to surrender to Arthur the Lord Grey, Deputy of the Island, and to the Earl of Ormond; when all the Spaniards were put to the sword, and the Irish, that had joined with them, were hanged. Camden. Stew.

the sword, as persons that did renounce their quarrel, and seemed to curse or to blame such as sent them to so vnfortunate and desperate a voyage.

But though these reasons, grounded vpon rules of naturall reason, shall satisfie a great number of the aduersaries (who will yeelde that, by good order of ciuill and christian policie and government, her Maiestie could nor can do no lesse than she hath done, first to subdue with her forces her rebelles and traitours, and nexte by order of her lawes to correct the ayders and abettors, and, lastly, to put also to the sword such forces as the Pope sent into her dominions) yet there are certaine other persons, more nисely addicted to the Pope, that will yet seeme to be vsatisfied, for that, as they will terme the matter, a number of sillie poore wretches were put to death as traitours, being but in profesion schollars or priestes, by the names of Seminaries, Iesuites, or simple scholemasters, that came not into the realme with any armour or weapon, by force to aide the rebelles and traitours, either in England or in Ireland, in their rebellions or warrs; of which sort of wretches that comisseration is made, as though for their contrary opinions in religion, or for teaching of the people to disobey the lawes of the realme, they might haue bene otherwise punished and corrected, but yet not with capitall payne. These kinds of defences tend only to find fault rather with the severitye of their punishments, then to acquite them as innocentes or quiet subiectes. But, for answer to the better satisfaction of these nyse and scrupulous fauourers and traitours, it must be with reason demaunded of them (if at least they will open their cares to reason) whether they thinke that when a king, beeing established in his realme, hath a rebellion first secretly practised, and afterwards openly raysed in his realme by his own seditious subiectes, and when, by a forreine potentate or enemie, the same rebellion is mainteyned, and the rebelles by messages and promises comforted to continue, and their treasons against their naturall prince auowed, and consequently when the same potentate and enemie, beeing author of the said rebellion, shall with his owne proper forces inuade the realme and subiectes of the prince that is so lawefully and peaccably possessed; in these cases, shall no subiect, fawouring these rebelles, and yeelding obedience to the enemie the inuador, be committed or punished as a traitour, but onely such of them, as shall be found openly to carrie armour and weapon? shall no subiect, that is a spia and an explorer for the rebel or enemie, against his naturall prince, be taken and punished as a traitour, because he is not found with armour or weapon, but yet is taken in his disguised apparell, with scrolles and writings, or other manifest tokens, to proue him a spie for traitours, after he hath wandered secretly in his soueraignes camp, region, court, or citie? shall no subiect be counted a traitour, that will secretly giue earnest and preat money to persons to be rebelles or enemies, or that will attempt to poison the victual, or the fountaines, or secretly set on fire the ships or munition, or that will secretly search and sound the hauens and creekes for landing, or measure the depth of ditches, or height of bulwarkes and walles, because these offenders are not founde with armour or weapon; the answer, I thinke, must needes be yeelded

(if reason and experience shall have rule with these aduersaries) that all these and such like are to be punished as traitours; and the principall reason is, because it cannot be denied but that the actions of all these are necessarie accessaries, and adherents proper, to further and continue all rebellions and warres. But if they wil denie, that none are traitours that are not armed, they will make Iudas no traitour, that came to Christ without armour, colouring his treason with a kisse.

Now therefore it resteth to applie the factes of these late malefactours, that are pretended to haue offended but as schollars, or bookemen, or, at the most, but as persons, that, onely in wordes and doctrine, and not with armour, did fauour and helpe the rebelles and the enemies, For which purpose, let these persons be termed, as they list, schollars, schoolmasters, bookemen, seminaries, priestes, iesuites, fryers, beademmen, romanistes, pardoners, or what else you will, neyther their tytles, nor their apparel hath made them traitours, but their traiterous, secret motions and practises: their persons haue not made the warre, but their directions and counsels haue set vp the rebellions. The very causes final of these rebellions and warres haue bene to depose her Maiestie from her Crowne: The Popes bull hath roared it so to be; the causes instrumentall are these kinde of seminaries and seedemen of sedition: their secret teachings and reconciliations haue confirmed it: the fruites and effectes thereof are, by rebellion, to shedde the blood of all her faithfull subiectes: the rewardes of the inuadours (if they could preuaile) should be the disinheriting of al the nobilitie, the clergie, and the whole comminaltie, that would (as they are bounde by the lawes of God, by their birthe, and othes) defend their naturall gracious Queene, their natue country, their wiues, their children, their family, and their houscs. And now examiue these, which you cal your vnarmed schollars and priestes, wherefore they first fled beyond sea out of the realme, and why they liued and were conuersant in companie of the principall rebelles and traitours at Rome, and in other places, where, it is proued, that they were partakers of their conspiracies: Let it be answered, why they came thus by stealth into the realme; why they haue wandered vp and down in corners, in disguised sort, changing their tytles, names, and maner of apparel; why they haue intised and sought to perswade, by their secreete false reasons, the people to allowe and belceue all the actions and attempts, whatsoeuer the Pope hath done, or shall do, to be lawfull; why they haue reconciled and withdrawn so manie people in corners, from the lawes of the realme, to the obedience of the Pope, a forreyne potentate and open enemy to the establisht religion and lawes of England, whom they know to have already declared the Queene to be no lawfull Queene; to haue mayntayned the knowne rebelles and traitours: to haue inuaded her Maiesties dominions with open warre. Examine, further, how these vagarant, disguised, vnarmed spies haue answered, when they were taken and demanded, what they thought of the bull of Pope Pius Quintus, which was published to depriue the Queenes Maiestie, and to warrant her subiectes to disobey her: whether they thought, that all subiectes ought to obey the same bull, and so to rebull?

Secondly, Whether they thought her Maiestie to be the lawfull *Queen* of the realme, notwithstanding the said bull, or any other bull of the Pope? Thirdly, Whether the Pope might giue such licence, as he did, to the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, and other her Maiesties subiectes, to rebell, as they did; or giue power to D. Sanders, a naturall borne snbiect, but an vnnaturall worne priest, to take armes, and moue warres, as he did in Ireland? Fourthly, Whether the Pope may discharge the subiectes of her Maiestie, or of any other princes christened, of their othes of obedience? Fifthly, whether the sayd traiterous priest, D. Sanders, or one Bristowe, a rebellious fugitiue, did, in their bookes, write truely or falsly, in approuing the sayd bull of Pius Quintus, and the contentes thereof? Lastly, What were to be done, if the Pope, or any other assigned by him, would inuade the realme of England: and what part they would take, or what part any faithfull subiect of her Maiesties ought to take? To these fewe questions, very apt to trie the trueth, or falshood, of any such seditious persons, being iustly before condemned for their disloyaltie; these lewde, vnarmed traitours, I say, would no wise answere directly hereto, as all other faithfull subiectes to any prince christian ought to doe. And, as they, upon refusall to answere directly to these questions onely, might haue been iustly conuincid, as guiltie of treason; so yet were they not thereupon condemned, but vpon all their other former actions, committed both abroad, and in the realme, which were no lesse traiterous than the actions of all other the spies and traitours, and of Iudas himselfe afore remembred, which had no armour nor weapon, and yet at all times ought to be adiudged traitours. For these disguised persons (called schollars, or priestes) hauing bene first conuersant of long time with the traitours beyonde the sea in all their conspiracies, came hither by stealth in time of warre and rebellion, by commaundement of the capitall enemie, the Pope, or his legates, to be secret espialles and explorers in the realme for the Pope, to deliver, by secret Romish tokens, as it were an earnest, or prest, to them that shoulde be in readines to ioine with rebelles, or open enemies, and in like sort, with their hallowed baggages from Rome, to poyson the senses of the subiectes, powring into their heartes malicious and pestilent opinions against her Maiestie and the lawes of the realme; and also to kindle and set on fire the heartes of discontented subiectes with the flames of rebellion, and to search and sound the depthes and secretes of all mens inwarde intentions, either against her Maiestie, or for her: and, finally, to bring into a beadroll, or, as it were, into a muster-roll, the names and powers, with the dwellings, of all those that shoulde be readie to rebelle, and to ayd the forrein inuasion. These kinds of seditious actions for the seruice of the Pope, and the traitours and rebelles abroad, haue made them traitours; not their bookes nor their beades, no not their cakes of waxe, which they call *Agnus Dei*, nor other their reliques, nor yet their opinions for the ceremonies or rites of the church of Rome; and therefore it is to be certainly concluded, that these did iustly deserue their capitall punishments, as traitours, though they were not apprehended with open armour or weapon.

Nowe if this latter repetition, as it were, of all the former causes and reasons afore recited may not serue to stop the boisterous mouthes, and the pestiferous tongues, and venomous breathes of these, that are infected with so grosse errors, as to defende seditious subiectes, stirrers of rebellion against their naturall prince and countrey; then are they to be left, without any further argument, to the iudgement of the Almighty God, as persons that haue couered their eyes against the sunnes light, stopp'd their eares against the sound of iustice, and oppressed their heartes against the force of reason; and, as the psalmist saith, 'They speake lyes, they are as venomous as the poison of a serpent, euen like the deafe adder that stoppeth his eares.'

Wherefore, with christian charitie to conclude, If these rebels and traitours, and their fautors, woulde yet take some remorse and compassion of their naturall countrey, and woulde consider, how vaine their attempts haue bene so many yeres, and how many of their confederates are wasted by miseries and calamities, and how none of all their attempts, or plotts, haue prospered; and therefore would desist from their vnnatural practises abroad: and, if these seminaries, secret wanderers, and explorators in the darke woulde employ their traueiles in the workes of light and doctrine, according to the vantage of their schooles, and content themselues with their profession and deuotion; and that the remnant of the wicked flocke of the seedemen of sedition would cease from their rebellious, false, and infamous railings and libellings, altogether contrary to christian charitie: there is no doubt, by Gods grace (her Maiestie being so much giuen to mercie, and deuoted to peace) but al colour and occasion of shedding the blood of any more of her naturall subiectes of this land, yea, all furdur bodely punishments should vtterly cease. Against whose malices, if they should not desiste, Almighty God continue her Maiestie, with his spirit and power, long to reigne, and liue in his feare, and to be able to vanquish all Gods enemies, and especially her rebelles and traitours, both at home and abroad, and to maintaine and preserue al her naturall good louing subiectes, to the true seruice of the same Almighty God, according to his holy worde and will,

Many other things might be remembred for defence of other her Maiesties princely, honourable, and godly actions in sundrie other things, wherein also these and the like seditious railors haue of late time, without all shame, by fained and false libels, sought to discredit her Maiestie and her gouernement; but, at this time, these former causes and reasons, alleadged by way of aduertisements, onely for mayntenance of truoth, are sufficient to iustifie her Maiesties actions to the whole worlde.

2 Esdr. iv.

Magna est Veritas, & preualet.

Great is the truth, and she overcometh.

A DECLARATION*
OF THE
FAVOURABLE DEALING OF
HER MAIESTIES COMMISSIONERS,

APPOINTED FOR THE
EXAMINATION OF CERTAINE TRAITOURS,

And of Tortures vniustly reported to be done vpon them for matters of Religion.

1583. In black Letter, Quarto, containing six pages.

TO THE READER.

GOOD Reader, although her Maiesties most milde and gracious Gouernement bee sufficient to defende it selfe against those most slaunderous reportes of heathenish and vnnaturall Tyrannie, and cruell tortures, pretended to haue bene executed vpon certaine traitours, who lately suffred for their treason, and others; aswell spread abroad by Runnagate Jesuites and Seminary men, in their seditious Bookes, Letters, and Libels, in forreine Countries and Princes Countes, as also insinuated into the Heartes of some of our own Countrie Men and her Maiesties Subiectes: Yet, for thy better satisfaction, I haue conferred with a very honest Gentleman, whom I know to haue good and sufficient meanes to deliuer the Trueth against such forgers of Lyes and shameles Slaunders in that behalfe, which he, and other, that do know, and haue affirmed the same, will at all times iustifie: And, for thy further Assurance and Satisfaction herein, he hath set downe, to the Vewe of all Men, these Notes following.

TOUCHING the racke and torments, vsed to such traitours, as pretended them selues to bee catholiques, vpon whom the same haue bene exercised, it is affirmed for trueth, and is offered, vpon due examination, so to be proued, to bee as followeth: First, That the formes of torture, in their seueritie, or rigour of execution, haue not bene such, and in such maner performed, as the slaunderers and seditious libellers haue slaunderously and maliciously published; and that euen the principall offender, Campion him selfe, who was sent and came from Rome, and continued here in sundrie corners of the realme, hauing secretly wandered in the greatest part of the shieres of Englande in a disguised sort, to the intent to make speciall preparation of treasons; and to that ende, and for the furtherance of those his labors, sent ouer for more helpe and assistance, and cunningly and traiterously at Rome, before he came from thence,

* See No. 44. in the Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets.

procured tolleration for such prepared rebels to keepe them selues couert, vnder pretence of temporarie and permissiue obedience to her Maiestie, the state standing as it doth; but, so soone as there were sufficient force, whereby the bull of her maiesties deprivation might bee publickly executed, they shoulde then ioyne altogether with that force, vpon peine of curse and damnation: that very Campion, I say, before the conference had with him by learned men in the Tower, wherein he was charitably vsed, was neuer so racked, but that he was presently able to walke, and to write, and did presently write and subscribe all his confessions, as by the originals thereof may appeare. A horrible matter is also made of the staruing of one Alexander Briant; how he should eat clay out of the walles, gathered water to drinke from the droppings of houses, with such other false ostentations of immanitie: where the trueth is this: that, whatsoeuer Briant suffered, in want of foode, he suffered the same wilfully, and of extreme impudent obstinacie, against the minde and liking of those that dealt with him. For, certaine traiterous writings being founde about him, it was thought conuenient, by conference of hands, to vnderstand whose writing they were; and thereupon, he being, in her Maiesties name, commaunded to write, which he coulde very well doe, and being permitted to him to write what he woulde him selfe, in these termes: that, if he liked not to write one thing, he might write another, or what he lysted (which to doe, being charged in her Maiesties name, was his dutie, and to refuse was disloyall and vndutifull) yet the man woulde by no meanes be induced to write any thing at all. Then was it commaunded to his keeper to giue vnto him such meate, drinke, and other conuenient necessities, as he woulde write for; and to forbear to giue him any thing, for which he woulde not write. But Briant, being thereof aduertised, and oft moued to write, persisting so in his curst heart, by almost two dayes and two nightes, made choise rather to lack foode, then to write for the sustenance, which he might readely haue had for writing, and which he had, indeede, readely and plentifully, so soone as he wrote. And, as it is sayde of these two, so is it to be truly sayde of other, with this, that there was a perpetuall care had, and the Queenes seruantes the wardens, whose office and act it is to handle the racke, were euer, by those that attended the examinations, specially charged to vse it in as charitable maner, as such a thing might be.

Secondly, It is sayde, and likewise offered to be iustified*, that neuer any of these seminaries, or such other pretended catholiques, which at any time, in her Maiesties raigne, haue bene put to the racke, were, vpon the racke, or in other torture, demanded any question of their supposed conscience; as, what they beleueed, in any point of doctrine, or faith, as, the masse, transubstantiation, or such like; but onely, with what persons at home, or abroad, and touching what plots, practises, and conferences they had dealt, about attempts against her Maiesties estate or person? Or to alter the lawes of the

* See the Execution of Justice, last preceding.

realme, for matters of religion, by treason or by force? And howe they were perswaded them selues, and did perswade other, touching the popes bul, and pretense of authoritie to depose kinges and princes; and namely, for deprivation of her Maiestie, and to discharge subiectes from their allegiance? expressing herein alway the kingly powers and estates, and the subiectes allegiance civilly, without mentioning, or meaning therein any right, that the Queene, as in right of the crowne, hath oter persons ecclesiasticall, being her subiectes. In all which cases, Campion and the rest neuer answered plainly, but sophistically, deceitfully, and traiterously; restraining their confession of allegiance onely to the permissive forme of the Popes tolleration: as, for example, if they were asked, whether they did acknowledge them selues the Queenes subiectes, and woulde obey her? They woulde say, yea; for so they had leaue for a time to doe. But, adding more to the question, and they being asked, if they woulde so acknowledge and obey her, any longer then the Pope woulde so permit them, or not withstanding such commandement, as the Pope would, or might giue to the contrary? Then they eyther refused so to obey, or denied to answer, or said, that they coulde not answer to those questions without danger: which very answer, without more saying, was a plaine answer, to all reasonable vnderstanding, that they woulde no longer be subiectes, nor perswade other to be subiectes, than the Pope gave licence. And, at their very arraignment, when they laboured to leaue in the minds of the people, and standers by, an opinion that they were to dye, not for treason, but for matter of faith and conscience in doctrine, touching the service of God, without any attempt or purpose against her Maiestie, they cryed out, that they were true subiectes, and did, and woulde obey and serue her Maiestie. Immediately, to proue whether that hypocriticall and sophistical speach extended to a perpetuallie of their obedience, or to so long time as the Pope so permitted, or no, they were openly, in place of iudgement, asked by the Queenes learned counsell, whether they woulde so obey, and be true subiectes, if the Pope commaunded the contrary? They plainly disclosed them selues in answer, saying by the mouth of Campion, this place (meaning the court of her Maiesties bench) hath no power to enquire, or iudge of the holy fathers authoritie; and other answer they would not make.

Thirdly, That none of them haue been put to the racke or torture, no not for the matters of treason; or partnership of treason, or such like, but where it was first knowen, and evidently probable by former detections, confessions, and otherwise, that the partie so racked, or tortured, was guilty, and did knowe, and coulde deliuer truth of the thinges, wherewith he was charged; so as it was first assured, that no innocent was at any time tormented; and the racke was neuer used to wring out confessions at aduenture vpon vncertainties, in which doing, it might bee possible, that an innocent, in that case, might haue bene racked.

Fourthly, That none of them hath bene racked, or tortured, vnlesse he had first sayde expressly, or amounting to much, that he wil

not tell the trueth, though the Queene commaund him. And, if any of them, being examined, did say, he could not tell, or did not remember, if he woulde so affirme, in such maner as christians among christians are beleueed, such his answere was accepted, if there were not apparent euidence to proue that he wilfully sayde vntruely. But, if he sayde, that his answere, in ~~deliueing~~ trueth, shoulde hurt a catholique, and so be an offence against charitie, which they sayde to be sinne, and that the Queene coulde not commaund them to sinne, and therefore, howsoeuer the Queene commaunded, they woulde not tell the trueth, which they were knowen to know, or to such effect, they were then put to the torture, or els not.

Fifthly, That the proceeding to torture was alway so slowly, so vnwillingly, and with so many preparations of perswasions to spare them selues, and so many means to let them know, that the trueth was by them to be vttered, both in ~~duetie~~ to her Maiestie, and in wisdome for themselves, as whosoever was present at those actions must needs acknowledge, in her Maiesties ministers, a full purpose to follow the example of her owne most gracious disposition: whome God long preserue,

Thus it appeareth, that, albeit, by the more generall lawes of nations, torture hath bene, and is lawfully iudged to be vsed in lesser cases, and in sharper maner, for inquisition of trueth in crimes not so neere extending to publike danger, as these vngracious persons haue committed, whose conspiracies, and the particularities thereof, it did so much import and behoue to haue disclosed; yet, even in that necessarie vse of such proceeding, enforced by the offenders notorious obstinacie, is neuerthelesse to be acknowledged the sweete temperance of her Maiesties milde and gracious clemencie; and their slanderous lewdnes to be the more condemned, that here, in fauour of haynous malefactours, and stubborne traytours, spred vntrue rumors and slaunders, to make her mercifull gouernment disliked, vnder false pretense; and rumors of sharpenesse and crueltie to those, against whome nothing can be cruel, and yet vpon whome nothing hath bene done, but gentle and mercifull.

THE TRUE REPORT

OF THE

Lamentable Death

OF

WILLIAM OF NASSAWE, PRINCE OF ORANGE,

Who was trayterouslie slayne with a Dagge, in his owne Courte,

BY BALTHAZAR SERACK, A BURGUNIAN,

The First of Iuly, 1584.

Herein is expressed the Murtherers Confession, and in what manner he was executed, vpon the Tenth of the same Month: Whose Death was not of sufficient sharpnes for such a Caytife, and yet too sowre for any Christian. Printed at Middleborowgh, by Derick van Respeawe, Anno. 1584. In octavo, containing eight Pages.

G. P. His Proheme to the Inhabitaunts of Flaunders.

WHO so considereth the state of princes (although they are as Gods vpon earth, beeing anynted of God, hauing theyr authority from God, and sitting in Gods seate, to rule the sword with the law) may perceauē that they liue in more care, and greater daunger, than the simplest subiect. Lamentable therefore is their late example of the Prince of Orange, slayne (by a treacherous villain) in his owne courte: His death, and the manner thereof, may forewarne other princes to be carefull, whome they retaine into the presence of theyr person. Great is thy losse, and greater wil be thy misery, O Flaunders, for the want of thy prince, who did guide thee, and gouerned thy people, with wisdomē, loue, policie, and continuall care for thy quietnes: He was thy comfort, and the stay of thy state in all extremities.

The chocest states of thy countrey shall misse him; the widdowe, the sucking babe, and the fatherlesse childe shall haue cause to bewaile his death. Yea rich and poore altogether may lament his mishap, and cry, Woe vpon that man that bereaued him of life, whose noblenesse deserved fame, and whose woorthy acts and enterprises, beeing honourable, are meete to be registred among the most lawdable reportes of learned historiographers. If the Romaines did bemone the death of Cæsar, the Troyans the losse of Hector, and the Lacedemonians the want of Alexander, then hast thou, O Flaunders, more cause to lament the losse of thy good prince, who with wisdomē, force, and great care, ayded by the power and prouidence of God himselfe, did keepe thy countrey, from the handes of him that woulde make a monarchie of realmes in his owne handes, to the vtter spoile of thee and thine, and to draw other realmes vnder his subiection. O most accursed wretch that he was, so

subject to the subtilties of Sathan, to worke the untimelye death of so gracious a prince, that hetherto he hath defended your libertie, and maintayned your right these many yeeres, to the great glory of God, the aduancement of your wealth, and the mayntenaunce of true religion. It were too tedious to set downe, in what subiection all the Lowe Countreys of Flaunders hath bene many yeeres yoked in by their enemies; the effect whereof is so notorious and apparant to all the world, and the same so truly layd open by many, that it is heere needlesse to touche it; as also to handle the great care of this Prince from time to time, who continually sought to maintaine your libertie, and to defend your countrey from extreme misery; which doubles hath sharply pinched you; and now, hauing lost him who was the principal prop of the Lowe Countreys, it is like to fall out to the vtter ouerthrowe, ruine, and destruction of that poore cominaltye, a matter most lamentable, except God, the onelie defender of those that truste in him, doo speedely procure and stirre vp a carefull and godly prince, to bee the defendor of that people and countrey, that there by the townes and villages there about may become more populous and thorowly replenished, now greuously impouerished through ciuill dissention, to the quietnes, wealth, and peace of the same.

And, considering it is most necessary to publish a true discourse of this late lamentable mishappe, I have thought it good breefely and plainly to set downe the true circumstance thereof; and that for one speciall cause, which is, that considering the untrue imaginations, and fayned reportes, of this princes death, now blased abroade, as well to hys freendes as to hys enemies; the truth being layd open, and made manifest to all men, that then those reportes may be accounted fryuolus, and to be trodden vnder foote. I therefore admonish you, O yee people of Flaunders, that, hauing lost the stay and staffe of your countrey, that you yet vouchsafe, with patience, to remaine content with Gods workes, who prouideth wonderfully for you. It is your sinnes that is the cause of al your care; wherefore call vpon God in this your time of affliction, and with prayer and hearty repentance, to turne vnto the Lorde, who no doubt will deliuer you from danger, as he did the children of Israell; and assure yourselves, that he will so establish your countrey, in short time, powring thereon peace and plenty, that the remembrance of your great extremity, now fallen vpon you, shall in short time grow out of memory, and be made a flourishing common wealth, which God the Father with al speede graunt to confirme. Amen.

The Dyscourse of the Treason wrought against William of Nassawe, Prince of Orange, by Balthazar Scrack, a base born Gentleman of Burguni, of the Age of twenty-five Yeeres.

Vpon the 12. day of Iune last past, 1584. there came to the Prince of Orange, a base borne gent. of Burguni, who brought certain letters from the states of Fraunce, concerning matters of newes, touching the

death of the French Kings brother, who died a little before; which letters the Prince in most thankful manner did receive, and gave the messenger such friendly entertainment in his owne court, as became a Prince in such causes. The Prince, liking well of this messenger, would sundry times use conference with him, touching the garison of the Prince of Parma, whose souldiers greatly impouerished the countries round about. This messenger, in whom there remained nothing but subtilty and secret mischiefe, dyd show vnto the Prince, howe he coule at any time bring him or his souldiers into the Prince of Parmas garison, ~~whereby~~ he might take the aduantage of the Prince of Parmas power; for this messenger, being a cunning penman, coule finely counterfet the Prince of Parmas owne hand, so neere that the one should not be known from the other. The Prince, notwithstanding, woulde not so deale by his deuise, but yet he woulde enquire of him how al thinges stood, aswel in the Prince of Parmas garison, as of the Princes pretences towards the Low Countreys, who continually certefied vnto the Prince of Orange the trueth; which caused the Prince to repose a greater trust and confidence in him, so that he remained in the court without suspicion of any treachery. But behold what folowed, on the 1. day of Iuly last past, which, by the newe computation of the Romish church, was the tenth day of the same moneth, this traytor, thus harbored and lodged in the courte of this good Prince, seeing a small pistoll or dagge in the hands of one of the Princes seruauents, did demand what it might cost him, saying, I haue occasion to ryde a iourney shortly, and that dagge would be a good defence for me vpon the high way side; wherefore he requested the Princes seruauant that he might bye it of him, who, thinking nothing of that which hapned afterward, did sel it to him for the some of 10. shillings of English mony. The Prince then being in his court at Delph, a town of great strength, where the cheefest states doo inhabite, who beeing gon to dinner, and the garde attendaunt about his person, this traytor, seeing it a meete time to compasse his pretended mischiefe, which was to bereaue the Prince of his life, as he did, went into his chamber, and charged the pistoll with powder, and put three bullets in the same; that doone, he placed it priuetye in his pocket, and went downe to dinner; who, after he had dyned, hearing that the Prince would anon goe vp into his priue chamber, deuised in his minde where he might best plant himselfe, for the finishing of his wicked entent; who, finding a priue corner vpon the stayres, where he might be shadowed and not be seene, placed himselfe vntill the Princes coming.

The Prince, so soone as he had dyned, which was betweene one and two of the clocke in the afternoone, came forth of the great chamber, with his lady and gentlewomen attendaunt; his lady, purposing to walke abroad, took her leaue of the Prince, who going towards the stayres which did leade to the priue chamber, and seeing an Italian named Ma. Carinon, who had stayed to speake with the Prince, to whom the Prince very friendly spake, saying, Carinon welcome, and tooke him by the hand, willing thys Italian that he should goe vp with him into his priue chamber, proposing there to use some conference with the Italian gentleman; and, before the Prince entered the stayres, there came an English captaine, called Captaine Williams, who, dooing reuerence vnto

the Prince, was entertained in moſte friendly manner, laying his hand vpon Captain Williams head, willing him alſo to come vp with him.

The garde then attendant vpon the Prince, Maister Carinſon and Captain Williams followed: But the Prince going vp the ſtayres, not thinking of any ſuch matter as happened, no ſooner came directly againſt this villenous traytor, but he preſently diſcharged his piſtoll, wherein, as before mentioned, he hauing put 3. bullets, two of thoſe bullets went through the Princes body, and the third remained in his bellie; through which wicked ſtroke, the Prince fell downe ſuddainly, crying out, ſaying, 'Lord haue mercy vpon me, and remember thy little ſocke.'

Wherewith he changed this life, to the great grieve of his lady, who greatly lamented his death, as alſo to the great ſorrowe of the whole countrey. The garde purſued the murderer, and ſought to ſlaye him; but he ouerſcaped the firſt garde, and was ſtaied by the ſecond watch garde, which was within the Princes court.

When he was taken, they demaunded of him, What he had doone; who very obſtinatly answered, That he had doone that thinge, which hee would willingly doo, if it were to doo againe. Then they demaunded of him, For what cauſe he did it? Hee answered, For the cauſe of his Prince and countrey; more confeſſion at that time they could not get of him. Forthwith they committed him to pryſon, where he remained aliue, to the pleaſure of the eſtates of the countrey; who ſhortly after deuised a torment, by death, for this murderer, which was reaſonable ſharpe, yet not ſo terrible as he deſerued.

Greuous was the cry of the people that came flocking to the Princes gates to heare the report and trueth of what had happened; which knowne, euery houſehold was filled with ſorrowe, who powred forth their plaintes, and did ſhedde teares, for the loſſe of ſo good a Chriſtian, and ſo carefull a Prince.

The murderer, while he remaind in pryſon, was ſundry times examined by the chiefe eſtates of the countrey, vpon whoſe procurement he committed the ſaid fact; who answered, At the Prince of Parmas request, and other Princes, at whoſe hands he ſhoulde receiue for dooing the ſame 25000. crownes.

The order of the torment, and death of the murderer, was as followeth, which was foure dayes: He had the 1. day the ſtrappado, openly in the market; the ſecond day whipped and ſalted, and his right hand cut off; the third day, his breastes cut out and ſalt throwne in, and then his left hand cut off: The laſt day of his torment, which was the 10. of Iuly, he was bound to 2. ſtokes, ſtanding vpright, in ſuch order, that he could not ſhrinke downe, nor ſtirre any way. Thus ſtanding naked, there was a great fire placed ſome ſmall diſtaunce from him, wherein was beated pincers of iron; with which pincers, two men, appointed for the ſame, did pinch and pul his fleſh in ſmal pecces from his bones, throughout moſte partes of his body. Then was he vnbound from the ſtokes, and layd vpon the earth, and againe faſtened to foure poſtes, namely, by his feete and hands; then they ripped vp his belly, at which time he had life and perfect memorye; he had his bowels burned before his face, and his bodie cutt in foure ſeuerall quarters. During the

whole time of his execution, he remained impenitent and obstinate, rejoicing that he had slaine the prince.

Vpon the 16. day of Iuly, the Prince was very royally buried, in the new church at Delph, being lapped in seare cloth and leade, according to the manner of other princes in time past.

The cittizenes of Antwerp are many times driuen to shut up theyr gates, by reason of theyr enemies, who wold gladly take the citty at some aduantage: the enemy hath built a forte vpon the banke, between Antwerp and Lullo, so that they doo what they may to stop the passage of the riuer from them.

There is not as yet any gouernour chosen for the Lowe Countries: but they are in hope that some order will be taken for them very shortly.

God for his mercy sake sende quietnes in those partes, that the people may enjoy theyr owne, to the health, wealth, and comfort of them all now distressed. *Amen.*

A

TRUE AND PERFECT DECLARATION

OF THE

TREASONS

PRACTISED AND ATTEMPTED BY

FRANCIS THROCKMORTON,

Late of London,

AGAINST THE QUEENES MAIESTIE AND THE REALME.

WHEREAS there haue bene very lewde and slaunderous brutes and reportes given out, of the due and orderly proceedings held with Francis Throckmorton, lately arraigned and condemned of high treason at the Guild-hall in London the xxi. day of May last, whereby such as are euill affected toward her Maiestie, and the present gouernment, haue indeuoured falsely and iniuriously to charge her Maiestie and her faithfull ministers with crueltie and iniustice vsed against the said Throckmorton, by extorting from him by torture such confessions as he hath made against himselfe, and by inforcing the same to make them lawful euidence to conuict him of the treason therein specified: albeit her Maiesties subiects in general, calling to mind the milde and temperate course she hath helde all the time of

her most happie reigne, might rather impute her clemencie and lenitie vsed towards all sortes of offenders to a kinde of fault, then tax her with the contrarie; yet such, as allowe of practises and treasons against her Maiestie, do alwayes interpret both of the one and of the other, according to the particular affections that doe possesse them, that is, to the worst. And forasmuch as the case of Throckmorton, at this time, hath bene subiect to their sinister constructions, and considering that lies and false bruits cast abroad are most commonly beleueed, vntil they be controlled by the trueth; it hath bene thought expedient, in this short discourse, to deliuer vnto your view and consideration a true and perfect declaration of the treasons practised and attempted by the said Throckmorton against her Maiestie and the realme, by him confessed before his arraignment, whereby her Maiestie was iustly and in reason perswaded to put him to his triall. You shall likewise perceiue what course hath bene helde with him by her commissioners to bring him to confesse the trueth; with what impudencie, and how falsely he hath denied his sayings and confessions: and lastly, how, by a new submission and confession of his said treasons, sithens his condemnation, he endeouureth to satisfie her Maiestie, and to shew the reasons that moued him to denie the first, which he affirmeth and confirmeth by the last; which may in reason satisfie, though not all, yet such as are not forestalled, or rather forepoysoned and infected with the lies and vntruths alreadie spred and deliuered, in fauour of the traitor and his treasons. You shall therefore vnderstand, that the cause of his apprehension grewe first vpon secret intelligence giuen to the Queenes Maiestie, that he was a priuie conueiour and receiuer of letters, to, and from the Scottish Queene*, vpon which information neuerthelesse diuers moneths were suffered to passe on, before he was called to answer the matter, to the end there might some prooffe more apparant be had to charge him therewith directly; which shortly after fell out, and thereupon there were sent vnto his houses in London, and at Leusham, in Kent, to search and apprehend him, certain gentlemen of no meane credite and reputation; of whom, two were sent to his house by Poules-wharfe, where he was apprehended, and so by one of them conveyed presently away, the other remaining in the chamber to make search for papers, writings, &c. which might give prooffe of his suspected practises.

In that search, there were found the two papers containing the names of certain Catholique Noblemen and Gentlemen, expressing the hauens for landing of forraigne forces, with other particularities in the said papers mentioned; the one written in the secretarie hand, which he at the barre confessed to be his owne hand writing; and the other in the Romane hand, which he denied to be his, and would not shew how the same came vnto his hands; howbeit in his examinations he hath confessed them both to be his owne hand writing, and so they are in trueth. There were also found, among other of his papers, twelve pedigrees of the discent of the crowne of England, printed and published by the Bishop of Rosse, in the defence of the pretended title of the

Scottish Queene, his mistresse, with certaine infamous libelles against her Maiestie, printed and published beyond the seas; which being found in the hands of a man so evil affected, comparing the same with his doings and practises against her Maiestic, you will iudge the purpose wherefore he kept them.

Shortly after his apprehension, hee was examined by some of her Maiesties privie-counsell, how he came by the said two papers of the hauens, and he most impudently denied, with many protestations, that he ever sawe them, affirming they were none of his, but were foisted in (as he termed it) among his papers, by the gentleman, that searched his house: notwithstanding being more earnestly pressed to confesse the truth, he said they had been left (he knew not how) in his chamber by a man of his, who long before was departed out of the realme, named Edward Rogers, alias Nuttiebie, by whom they were written. And, to make this device to carie some colour of trueth, after his committing to the Tower, he found the meanes to get three cards, on the backside of which cardes he wrote to his brother George Throckmorton, to this effect: 'I have bene examined, by whom the two papers, containing the names of certaine noblemen and gentlemen, and of hauens, &c. were written; and I have alleaged them to have bene written by Edward Nuttiebie my man, of whose hand-writing you knowe them to be.' Meaning by this device to have had his brother confirme his falsehood. These cardes were intercepted, and thereby the suspition before conceived of his practises increased, whereupon, as vpon other iust cause and matter against him, hauing bin sundrie times brought before some of the principall personages of her Maiesties most honorable privie-counsell, and by them with all industrie examined, and perswaded in very milde and charitable manner, to confesse the truth, promising to procure pardon for him, in case he would bewray the depth of his practises; but, no perswasion preuailing, her Maiestic thought it agreeable with good policie, and the safetie of her royal person and state, to commit him ouer to the hands of some of her learned counsel, and others her faithfull seruants and ministers, with commission to them, to essay by torture to drawe from him the truth of the matters appearing so waightie as to concerne the inuading of the realme, &c. These men, by vertue of that commission, proceeded with him, first as the counsell had formerly done, by way of perswasion, to induce him to confesse; but, finding that course not to preuaile, they were constrained to commit him to such as are vsually appointed in the Tower to handle the racke, by whom he was layd vpon the same, and somewhat pinched, although not much; for, at the end of three days following, he had recovered himselfe, and was in as good plight as before the time of his racking, which if it had then or any other time bene ministered vnto him with that violence, that hee and his fauourers haue indeuoured slaundersously to giue out, the signes thereof would have appeared vpon his limmes for many yeeres. At this first time of torture, he would confesse nothing, but continued in his former obstinacie and deniell of the truth. The second time that he was put to the racke, before hee was strayned vp to any purpose, hee yielded to confesse any thing, he knewe, in the matters objected against him; whereupon he was loosed,

And then the commissioners proceeded with him according to such interrogatories as had bene deliuered vnto them, which for the more breuitie shall here bee omitted, the intent of this declaration tending onely to discover vnto you the treasons, and treacherous dealings of the said Francis Throckmorton, aswell before as sithens his imprisonment, for your better knowledge of the man, and manifestation of the due and iust proceedings held with him by her Maiesties commissioners, appointed to that seruice. And here you are to note, that when hee was first pressed to discover by whome the plottes of the hauens were sette downe, and to what purpose, he began (without any further interrogation ministred) by way of an historicall narration, to declare that, at his being at Spaw in the countrie of Leige certaine yeres past, he entred into conference with one Tenney, a notorious knowen traitor, touching the altering of the state of the realme here, and how the same might be attempted by forraigne inuasion, and to the like effect had sundrie conferences with Sir Francis Englefield*, in the Low-Countreys, who daily solicited the Spanish King in Spaine, and his gouernours in the said countreys, to attempt the inuading of the realme, continued a course of practising against her Maiestie and the state, by letters betwene Sir Francis Englefield and himselfe, vntil within these two yeres last past, and that he did, from time to time, acquaint Sir John Throckmorton †, his late father, with his traitorous practises, who, as he said, seeing no probabilitie of successe in them, dissuaded him from any further meddling with those practises.

He hath further confessed, that he vsed his fathers aduise and opinion in setting downe the names of the Catholique noblemen and gentlemen, and did acquaint him with the description of the hauens for the landing of forces, which he conceived, and put in writing, onely by view of the mappe, and not by particular sight or suruey of the said hauens.

Item, he hath also confessed, that vpon the intermission of writing of letters, and the accustomed intelligences passed betwene Sir Francis Englefield and him, he was made acquainted by his brother Thomas Throckmorton, by letters and conference, and by Thomas Morgan, by letters (two of the principall confederates and workers of these treasons residing in France) with a resolute determination agreed on by the Scottish Queene and her confederates in France, and in other forreine partes, and also in Englande, for the inuading of the realme.

That the Duke of Guyse should be the principal leader and executer of that inuasion.

That the pretention, which shoulde be publicly notified, should be to deliuer the Scottish Queene to libertie, and to procure, euen by force, from the Queenes Maiestie a tolerance in religion, for the pretended Catholiques: but the intention, the bottome whereof should not at the first be made knowen to all men, shoulde be, vpon the Queenes Maiesties resistance, to remooue her Maiestie from her crowne and state.

* Who had been of Queen Mary's privy-council.

† Chief Iustice of Chester; but lately put out of the commission; Camden. p. 497.

That the Duke of Guyse had prepared the forces, but there wanted two things, money, and the assistance of a conuenient partie in England, to ioyne with the forraine forces, and a third thing, how to set the Scottish Queene at libertie without perill of her person.

For, the first thing wanting, viz. money, messengers were sent from forraine parts both to Rome and Spaine, and their returne daily expected to their liking: and the Spanish ambassador*, to encourage the English to ioyne both in purse and person, did giue out, that the King his master would not onely make some notable attempt against Englande, but also would bear halfe the charge of the enterprise. For the seconde thing, viz. the preparing of a sufficient partie in England, to receiue and to ioyne with the forraine forces, one especiall messenger was sent ouer into England in August last, vnder a counterfainte name, from the confederates in France, to signifie the plotte and preparation there, and to sollicite the same here.

That Thomas Throckmorton, his brother, made him priuie to his negotiation, at his last being here in England, and that thereupon Francis Throckmorton tooke vpon him to be a follower, and meane for the effectuating thereof among the confederates in England, with the help of the Spanish ambassadour, whom he instructed howe, and with whome to deale, for the preparing of a conuenient partie beere within the realme, for that himselfe would not be seene to be a soulder of men, lest hee might be discouered, and so endanger himselfe and the enterprise, knowing that the ambassadour, being a publique person, might safelie deale therein without perill.

That the Duke of Guyse, and other heads of the enterprise, had refused some landing places, and made speciall choice of Sussex, and about Arundel in Sussex, both for the neere cutte from the partes of Fraunce, where the duke did, or best could assemble his force, and for the opportunitie of assured persons to giue assistance, &c.

That hee, taking vpon him the pursuite of this course, shewed the whole plotte and deuise of the hauens for landing to the Spanish ambassadour, who did encourage him therein, he promising, that, if hee might haue respite vntill the next spring, the same should be done more exactly.

That, at the time of Thomas Throckmortons being here, lest the negotiation of the enterprise, by some casualtie, might faile in the only hand of one man, Thomas Throckmorton, there was also, from the confederates, sent ouer into Sussex, Charles Paget, vnder the name of Mope, alias Spring; and thereof an aduertisement couertly sent to Thomas Throckmorton, both that Thomas might understande it, and not be offended that another was ioined with him in his labour.

That the Spanish ambassadour, by aduertisements from the confederates, was made priuie to this coming of Charles Paget, vnder the name of Mope, and yet knowen to him to be Charles Paget.

That the sayde ambassadour did, according to his sayde aduertisements, knowe and affirme, that Charles Paget was come ouer to view

* Mendosa, who upon this information was desired to come to the council, where, not being able to gainsay what Throckmorton had deposed, he behaved very insolently by way of recrimination, and was in a few days after ordered to depart the kingdom. Camden.

the hauens and countrey for landing of such forraigne forces about Arundell, and specially to sound and conferre with certaine principall persons for assistance.

The same ambassadour also knewe and affirmed, that Charles Paget had accordingly done his message, and had spoken with some principall persons heere, according to his commission, and was returned.

Hee moreouer confessed, that there was a deuice betweene the Spanish ambassadour and him; howe such principall recusants here within the realme, as were in the commission of the peace in sundrie countie, might, vpon the first bruite of the landing of forraigne forces, vnder colour and pretext of their authoritie, and the defence of her Maiestie, leuie men, whome they might after ioyne to the forraigne forces, and conuert them against her Maiestie.

In these fewe articles is briefly comprised the whole effect of his confession, made at large, without any interrogatorie particularly ministred, other then vpon the two papers before mencioned, containyng the names of men and hauens. And heere you are to note, that, at the time of his apprehension, there was no knowledge or doubt had of these treasons, or of his priuitie vnto them, but onely an information and suspicion deliuered and conceiued of some practise betweene him and the Scottish Queene, as is before mentioned; for the discovering whereof, after he had bene sundrie times, vpon his alleagaunce, commanded to declare his doings, in conueying and receyuing of letters to and from her, he did voluntarily confesse, that he had written diuers letters vnto her, and had conueyed many to and fro, betweene her and Thomas Morgan in Fraunce, by whose meanes he was first made knowne vnto her, and that he had received as many letters from her. Hee also declared the effect of his letters to her, and of hers to him: which letters betweene them were always written in cipher, and the cipher, with the nullities and markes for names of princes and counsailors, hee sent vnto the Queenes Maiestie, written with his own hand. He also deliuered the names of some, by whome hee conueyed his letters to the Scottish Queene, as by one Godfrey Fulgeam, who fled the realme immediately vpon Throckmorton's apprehension, and one other person, whom he described by his stature, shape, and apparell, and the man, sithens apprehended and examined, hath confessed the same: the man's name is William Ardington.

The summe and effect of the most part of these confessions, although they were, at the time of his arraignment, opened and dilated by her Maiesties sergeant, attorney, and solicitor-generall, at the barre, and therefore seeme not needful to be repeated heere; yet, because the purpose of this discourse is to shew sufficient prooffe, that the matters, contained in his sayde confessions, are neither false nor fayned (as Francis Throckmorton most impudently affirmed at his triall, alledging, that they weere mere inuentions of himselfe, by policie to auoyde the torture) they haue bene here inserted, to the ende you may the better iudge of the prooffes, presumptions, and circumstances following, by comparing the matters with their accidents, and consequently see the falsehoode of the traitor,, the just and honourable proceedings

of her Maiestie, and the honest and loyall endeouours of her ministers employed in the discovering of the treasons.

First, it is true, and not denied by himselfe, that he was at Spaw, about the time by him mencioned, and had conference with Ienney in that place, and with Sir Francis Englefield in Flaunders, and that he hath written letters to Sir Frauncis, and receiued letters from him : for, if he should denie the same, he were to be conuincd by good prooffe ; for it hath bin noted in him, by many of his countrey-men English subiects, that both in those parts and in Fraunce, he did continually associate himselfe with English rebels and fugitiues. If then you consider with whome he hath conuersed beyond the seas, and compare his religion with theirs, you will iudge of his conversation accordingly ; and it is to be supposed, that those men, known to be continuall practisers against the Queenes Maiestie and this realme, from whence, for their treasons and vnnaturall demeanures, they are worthily banished, will not, in their conuenticles and meetings, forget to bethinke them of their banishment, and howe they might be restored to their country, whereunto no desert in her Maiesties life time, which God long continue, can wel, without her Maiesties great mercie, restore them. Then, I pray you, what conferences might M. Throckmorton have with Sir Francis Englefield, with Ienney, with Liggons, with Owen, and with such like, who were his daily companions in Fraunce, and in the Lowe Countries ? He hath written letters to Sir Frauncis Englefield : to what purposes ? He haunted continually two ambassadours in London, by whose meanes he sent and receiued letters to and from beyond the seas daily. To whom, and from whom ? Euen to and from Thomas Morgan and Thomas Throckmorton, at Paris, men known to her Maiestie and her counsell, to be notorious practisers, very inward with the Duke of Guyse, and contriuers of the treasons and deuises for the intusasion intended : and, for very certaine knowledge thereof, we neede not be beholding to Frauncis Throckmorton onely, although he hath said much of them, but to others of better credite then himselfe.

That the Duke of Guyse did vndertake the enterprise to invade the realme with a forraigne power, to be defrayed by the Pope and King of Spaine 'a part of M. Throckmortons confession' and he, in truth, the first discoverer thereof to her Maiestie : If he will say that it was but inuention, it will approve false. For, sithens he discovered the same, there haue bene diuers aduertisements thereof sent to her Maiesty from forraigne princes, her highnesses louing neighbours and allies, as also by other good meanes and intelligences from her ambassadours and seruants, residing in other countries.

If he denie, as he hath done, that he neuer had knowledge of any such matter, when he confessed the same, it hath no likelihood of truth ; for Throckmorton was neuer knowne to be a prophet to foretell things *de futuro* *.

He resorted often to the Spanish ambassadour, at least twice in a week, when he was in London : this often repayre could not be to conferre with the ambassadour for the exchange of money for his bro-

* i. e. to come.

ther, as he pretended at his arraignment; there was some other cause. When he was apprehended, he had a casket couered with green veluet, very cunningly conueied out of his chamber by a maide seruant of the house, taken vp under a beds side in his chamber, (one of the gentlemen who were sent to apprehend him then being in the chamber, and vnknowing thereof) which casket, not long after his apprehension, was, by one Iohn Meredith, a follower of Frauncis Throckmorton, conueied to the handes of the Spanish ambassadour: and why to him? If the matters therein might well haue abidden the light, why shoulde not the casket haue bene kept still at home? And if not there, why not sent to some other place of safetie, as well as to the Spanish ambassadour? It is to be conceiued, that this casket was not conueied thither without the direction of Frauncis Throckmorton, though caried by Meredith, who did well knowe of what moment the matters were, that were within the casket, and of what danger to Throckmorton, if they had bene disclosed; and therefore meant to bestowe them in a safe place, where they could not readily be had, as he thought, and with a person not vnacquainted with the qualitie of them. After the deliuerie of the casket, Meredith fledde; for, in trueth, he was priuie to the treasons, and a fellowe practiser in them; to whom Frauncis Throckmorton, being taken short at the time of his apprehension, and forced to runne vp a staire to deface a letter which he was then in writing to the Scottish Queene in cipher, as he hath confessed, being suddenly apprehended, and so forced to depart away presently out of his house, deliuered priuily, into the hands of Meredith, either the cipher by which he was writingh is letter to the Scottish Queene, or a letter in cipher by him written vnto her; therefore he trusted Meredith, as a man priuie to his doings. You are also to vnderstande, that Throckmorton was in very great fear of the discovering of this casket, after his apprehension; for, remayning two or three daies prisoner in the house of one of the gentlemen that were sent to apprehend him, before he was committed to the Tower, he was permitted to talke with a solicitor of his lawe causes, who brought him certaine bookes drawn, or other like papers written, which he made shoue to peruse: But that was not the matter why he sent for his solicitor; for, in perusing the bookes, he conueied into them a little piece of paper, vpon the which he had written with a cole, 'I would faine know whether my casket be safe,' or to the like effect. The solicitor departing from him, and resorting to Throckmortons house, not farre distant from the place where he remained prisoner, opening his papers, did shake out this piece of paper, which he took up and deliuered to one of Frauncis Throckmortons men, but the casket was already conueied to the Spanish ambassadour: whereby you will perceiue what care he had of the casket, and how much it might import him to haue the writings, or matters, within the same concealed. He being examined, touching the casket, and what was in the same, he denied, at the first, that euer he had any such casket; but, finding afterwards that the casket was discovered, he confessed the casket, and said that there were certaine letters therein, that came to his hands for the Scottish Queene from

Thomas Morgan at Paris, and other letters and papers, but confessed not all, as it is supposed.

That Charles Paget came over into the realme to euill purposes, as Throckmorton doth declare in his confession, could not be inuented; for, euen at the same time that he mentioneth, Paget came over, in secrete and suspicious manner, staied not aboue fiftene dayes, indeuoured in a sorte to finde the disposition of William Shelley, Esquier, how he might stand affected to giue assistance to the treasons, although Paget discovered not directly his traiterous intents to Shelley; therefore all Throckmortons confessions were not forged or inuented.

But because the two papers, produced at his arraignment, containing the description of the hauens, for the commodious landing of forces, do most apparently condemne him, and are a manifest argument of his priuity to the whole treason: you may not forget, that he acknowledged one of the papers, written in the Secretarie hand, to haue bene of his owne doing, but denied the other written in the Romane hand; in the which, under the title of Cheshire, &c. is said; 'Vpon the landing of forraigne supplies, Chester shall be taken.' But what, in your opinions, might be vnderstoode by that sentence, Chester shall be taken, when you shall compare the paper in Secretarie hand with the other written in the Romane hand, intituled, 'The Names of Noblemen and Gentlemen, in euery Countie, fit to be dealt withall in this Matter;' which, in trueth, were both one, although the Romane were somewhat more enlarged. The question is to be asked, What Matter? The answer followeth necessarilie, 'To assist the forraigne forces that shall come to inuade the realme;' for that there is an other title in that paper, ouer the names of the hauens, &c. 'Hauens in euery coast fitte for the landing of forces.' Now iudge you, to what end these names of men, and descriptions of hauens, their entries, capacities, what windes bring vnto them from Spaine, Fraunce, and Flanders, were written and set downe by Throckmorton: The papers are both of his owne hand writing, and the Secretarie's but a proiect or copie of the Romane.

Is it not likely, think you, that he would acquaint the Spanish ambassadour with these papers, as he hath confessed, when he made him partaker of the rest of his traiterous practises and deuices, as you haue heard, and thought his casket of treasons to be most safely committed to his hands? It may bee thought, that there is no man of so simple vnderstanding, that will iudge to the contrarie, vnlesse he be partially affected to excuse the treasons.

And now, to shew vnto you what mynd this man hath carried towards her Maiestie, you are to be informed, that Francis Throckmorton, after he had discovered to her Maiestie his course of practising, repenting himselfe of his plain dealing, in the bewraying thereof, sayd to some of the commissioners, vpon occasion of speech, 'I woulde I had bene hanged, when I first opened my mouth to declare any of the matters by me confessed.' And, being at other times sent vnto by her Maiestie with offer of pardon, if he would disclose the whole packe and complices of the treasons, he vsed this argument to perswade her Ma-

lestie that he had confessed all, saying; that, sithens hee had alreadie brought himselfe, by his confessions, within the danger of the lawes, to the vtter ruine of his house and familie, he wondered why there should be any conceite in her Maiestie, that he had not declared all. But, to perswade such as were sent vnto him for these purposes, the rather to beleue that he could discouer no more, at one time he vsed these speaches following with great vehemencie: "Nowe I haue disclosed the secrets of her who was the deereſt thing to me in the worlde (meaning the Scottiſh Queene) and whome I thought no torment should haue drawen me so much to haue preiudiced, as I haue done by my confessions: I see no cause why I should spare any one, if I could say ought against him: and, sith I haue failed of my faith towards her, I care not if I were hanged." And when he began first to confess his treasons, which he did most vnwillingly, after hee was entered into the declaration of them, before al the commissioners, vpon aduise-ment, hee desired he might deliuer his knowledge but to one of them onely, whereunto they yeelded; and therevpon, remouing aside from the place where he sate by the racke, he vsed this prouerbe in Italian, *Chi a perso le fede, a perso l' honore*, that is, he that hath falsed his faith, hath lost his reputation: meaning thereby, as it may be conceiued, that he had giuen his faith to bee a traitor, and not to reuile the treasons, and then began to confesse, as you haue heard.

By this discourse, containyng the principall heads of his treasons, and the proofes and circumstancees of the same, you, that are not transported with vndutifull myndes and affections, will cleerely perceiue howe impudently and vntruely he denyed, at his arraignment, the truth of his confessions, charging her Maiestie with vntruths, in their proceedings against him.

But the cause, that moued him thereunto, was a vaine conceite he had taken, that his case was cleere in lawe, by the intermission of the time betwene his confession made and his arraignment, grounding himselfe vpon a statute of the thirteenth year of her Maiesties reigne; in the which, there are certaine treasons specified and made, of that nature, that no person shall be arraigned for any of those offences committed within anie of the Queenes Maiesties dominions, vnlesse the offender be thereof indicted 'within sixe monthes' next after the same offence committed, and shall not be arraigned for the same, vnlesse the offence be proued by the testimonie and othe of two sufficient witnesss, or his voluntarie confession, without violence; wherein he was greatly deceiued; for it was made manifest vnto him by the Lord chiefe iustice, and other of the iudges in commission at his trial, that his treasons were punishable by a statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third, which admitted no such limitation of time or proofe.

Herein his skill failed him, and he forgot the aduice giuen vnto him by some of the commissioners, who, pitying his misfortune for sundrie good gifts of the minde appearing in him, assured him, that there was no way so readie for him to redeeme his life, as by submission and acknowledging of his offence; which, for a time after he had confessed his treasons, he was contented to followe, and now eftsoones after his

condemnation, by a new submission to the Queenes Maiestie the fourth of Iune, hath resumed that course. The submission, verbatim, written with his owne hand, followeth.

To her most excellent Maiestie, euen to her owne Royall Handes.

“ MOST excellent Prince, and my most gracious soueraigne, sith to me, the most miserable of all your Maiesties poore distressed subiects, being iustly condemned, by the ordinarie and orderly course of your Maiesties lawes, there resteth no further meane of defence but submission: vouchsafe, most excellent prince, graciously to accept the same, which, prostrate in all humilitie, I here present vnto the hands of your most excellent Maiestie; beseeching the same, that as iustice hath been deriued from your highnesse, as from the fountaine, to the triall of mine actions; so I may receiue from the same spring some droppe of grace and mercie for the great and grievous offence whereof I rest, by your Maiesties lawes, iustly condemned: some part, I say, of that your accustomed gracious clemencie, whereof most of your distressed subiects haue tasted, and few haue bene depriued. And albeit the inconsiderate rashness of vnbridled youth hath withdrawn me from that loyal respect, which nature and duetie bounde me to owe vnto your Maiestie, as to my lawfull and naturall dread soueraigne; and that the naturall care in me, of the defence of my life, moued me lately to the vntrue and vnductifull gainsaying of some such pointes as had bene before by me, in most humble sorte, confessed: neuertheless, I most humble beseech your most excellent Maiestie, that, in imitation of God whose image (both in respect of the happie place you holde, as also in regarde of your singular wisdom, and other the rare and singular vertues and perfections, wherewith God and nature bath plentifully endewed you) you represent vnto vs here in earth, it may please your Maiestie to commiserate the lamentable estate of me, now the most miserable of all your Maiesties subiects, and graciously to graunt vnto me remission and forgiveness, that not only doe most humbly confesse my selfe worthie of death, but also, in shewe of my repentance, and sorrowful afflicted minde, do not craue at your Maiesties handes the prolonging of my life, if the same shall not stande with your gracious good pleasure, but rather desire the trebling of the torment iustly, by your Maiesties lawes, imposed vpon me, if the same may be any satisfaction to your Maiestie, for the haynous cryme whereof I remaine, by your Maiesties lawes, iustly condemned; or any mitigation of your Maiesties indignation worthily conceiued against me; that desire not to liue without your fauour, and, dying, will wish from my heart, that my ende may bee the beginning of your Maiesties securitie, and my death the preservation of your life, and the increase, both to your Maiestie, and to this your most flourishing commonwealth, of all the most happie blessings of Almighty God.

Your Maiesties most woful Subiect,
in that he hath offended you,
FRANCIS THROCKMORTON.

He sent vnto her Maiestie, together with the sayd submission, a declaration written likewiss with his owne hand, containyng the effects of the most principall pointes of his treasons formerly confessed: retracting onely the accusation of his father, and some other particularities of no moment to cleare him of his treasons, the effect whereof followeth in his owne words, as he set them downe:

THE only cause why I coyned the practise first by me confessed, and vniuistly touched my father, was, for that partly I conceiued that the paper, written so long sithens, could not now by lawe haue touched me: but principally, for that I was willing thereby to colour the setting downe of those names and hauens in Romane hand, which were written long after the time by me confessed, vpon occasion of conference betweene the Spanish ambassadour and me of this later practise.

Mine intelligence with the Scottish Queene began a little before Christmas was two yeres: the cipher I had from Thomas Morgan in Fraunce; the first letter I receiued by Godfray Fulgeam, by whom also came all such others as I after receiued for the most part, vnlesse it were such as came to me by F. A. * his hands, who, as he tolde me, receiued them of the fellowe, by me spoken of, in my former confessions, whose name, I protest before God, I knowe not, nor whence he is. And for such letters as came vnto me, in the absence of Fulgeam, they were inclosed vnder a couerture from Fulgeam, and were deliuered me by the hands of Robert Tunstead, his brother-in-law, to whom I deliuered such as I had for the Scottish Queene, couered with a direction to Fulgeam; and once I remember or twise I sent, by one of my men called Butler, letters for the Scottish Queene to the house of the said Tunstead, neere Buckstones, couered with a direction to Tunstead, and vnder a letter to Fulgeam. In such letters as came to me from the Scottish Queene were inclosed letters to F. A. many times and most times some for Thomas Morgan. Her letters to me containyd, &c. but, before I retourned mine answere to her, I vnderstoode of the death of the Duke of Lenox, and withall heard from Morgan, with whom all mine intelligence was (for with my brother I neuer had any, other then that the matters, by me written to Morgan, were by him imparted to my brother most times) that, by the perswasion of the Pope and the King of Spaine, the Duke of Guyse had yeelded to performe the journey in person, and that it was thought, that the next way to attayne libertie for the Scottish Queene, and to reforme Scotlande, was to begin here in England; and therefore he desired to knowe from me, whether in mine opinion Catholiques woulde not backe any such force as should be sent, considering a demaunde of tolerance in religion for them should insue the wel performing of the said enterprise, and what I thought the force would amount vnto, both of horse and footemen, and where I thought to be the fittest landing. Mine answere was, that, as then, I sawe no great probabilitie of the good successe of such an enterprise, for that the Catholiques were timorous, dispersed, the matter perilous to

* William Ardington.

be communicated to many, without which I saw not how any estimate could be made of the forces : besides, that it was an eminent danger to the Scottish Queene, whereof I sawe no remedie.

I tooke notice of this matter in my next letters to the Scottish Queene, whose answer was, that she lately heard of that determination, &c.

Vpon my former answer to Morgan, he desired me, that I would conferre with the Spanish ambassadour, to whom I should bee recommended from thence; hereupon the sayd ambassadour sent for me, and brake with me, in this matter, assuring me, that in his opinion he found it verie easie to make great alteration here, with very little force, considering the disuse in men to warre, and troubles would so amase them (as he thought) that they would be assoone ouerthrowen as assailed, and he could not thinke but in such a case Catholickes would shewe themselues, sith the purpose tended to the obteyning for them libertie of conscience: and therefore he desired me to acquaint him, what I thought men would doe in such a case, and where I thought the fittest landing, and what holdes in these partes were easiest to be surprised.

I answered him, that, as it seemed, the enterprise stood vpon great incertainties, if it depended of the knowledge of a certaine force to be found here*, which no man could assure him of, vnlesse he had sounded all the Catholickes, which was not possible without a manifest hazarde of the discoverye of the purpose: For, as for any great personage, I know no one to be drawn into this action, that could carie any more than his ordinarie retinew: the onely way in such a case was (I tolde him) for such as would be drawn into this matter, and were of credite in their countreys, to leuie forces vnder colour of the Princes authoritie.

But for that these things depended vpon vncertaine groundes, which was not fit to be vsed in so great an action, I said it was to be resolued, that the force to bee sent should be of that number, that, what backing soeuer they should find here, they might be able of themselves to encounter with any force that might be prouided to be sent against them, and therefore they could not bee less then fifteen-thousand men. For the place of their landing, I said, it depended much vpon the force that should be sent; for, if that were in great number, it mattered not where they landed; if in a small companie, than was it requisite that it shoulde be in the countreys best affected, and furthest from her Maiesties principall forces, which I said to be in the Northern parts, on either side.

To the danger of the Scottish Queene by me objected, he said he knewe no remedie, vnlesse she might be taken away by some two-hundred horse; which I tolde him I sawe not to be possible, for that I knewe not any gentlemen in those partes, which were men, if any, to perfourme it, that I durst wish to bee made acquainted, with the matter before hande.

Finally, our conclusion was, that I shoulde informe him of the

* See this largely proved in Don Bernardin Mendoza's letter, referred to on p. 189.

hauens as particularly as I could; and within fewe dayes after, finding by him that the force, intended hither, was farre inferiour to that I spake of, and that there was some differens betweene the Pope and the King of Spaine for the charge, I tolde him that the surest course, and of least danger, were, to send a supplie into Scotland, where a small force would breede a great alteration, and, things being there established by the good liking of the King, I thought it was in him by a continuall warre, and by incursions, so to anoy this state, as her Maiestie here shoulde be forced to yeelde the libertie of the Scottish Queene, and what should thereupon haue bene reasonably demanded for the benefite of Catholickes here. And herein I said it woulde be a great furtherance, if, at the same time, some fewe were landed in Irelande, where, although they abid the same hazarde that the former forces sustained, yet would the charge be so great to her Maiestie, and so great an occasion of dispersing of her forces, as a much lesse companie, then was spoken of first by me, would (being landed here in a conuenient place) shake the mindes of men generally, and be of force (if any thing) to drawe them to shewe themselves, in the furtherance of the purpose.

He vtterly reiected the purpose for Irelande, and disliked not the purpose for Scotlande: But still he was in minde to haue forces landed here, and therefore desired me verie earnestly to inquire particularly of the hauens on the side of Cumberland and Lancashire, and what men were dwelling there that were well affected in religion*, and what places easie to be taken, and what apt for fortification.

The next time that I went to the Spanish ambassadour, he found himselfe agrieved that he vnderstood matters were determined in Fraunce, without his priuitie; and tolde me that Parsons the Iesuite was gone to Rome, sent, as he thought, to vnderstand the Popes minde.

Soone after came ouer my brother Thomas, to make an ende of our accompt, and to perswade me to come ouer, assuring me that, for ought he could see in likelihood, the enterprise was neuer like to take effect. In the time of his being heere, and while I entertained intelligence with the Scottish Queene, concerning her libertie, the Spanish ambassadour sent for me, and told me of the comming ouer of Mope to view Sussex, and the hauens, and, as he thought, to take the best of accompt there: whereat he seemed to bee agrieved, for that such matters had not bene left to him, beeing one that they in Fraunce made belecue that they relyed vpon principallie in this enterprise. Afterwardes, the ambassadour tolde me, that it was Charles Paget, and that he was retourned, but, where he had bene, hee knewe not, and, at the same time, I receiued a letter from Morgan, that it was Paget; but assuring me, and so willed me to assure the ambassadour, that his comming was not to moue any man, but onely to viewe the countrey, for that the moouing of any man was referred to him. I did so, and he intreated me to remember him for those foresaide names and hauens, saying that, so it were done exactly by the spring, it would suffice; for that sooner he saw no likelihood of the execution of the enterprise.

* viz. Popish.

My brother, hauing made an ende of his accompt with me, retourned with this resolution betweene vs, I protest before God, that, if the enterprise succeeded not betweene this and the next spring nowe past, that I woulde settle my things here and go ouer. And for this cause, he being gone, I went downe into the countrey, both to sell and take order for my land in those partes, as also to fetch the draught of gentlemen and hauens for the most part of England, which had bene set downe by me aboue two yeres since, and left behinde me at Feckenham in my studie.

Not finding the draught at Feckenham, I retourned to London, where I founde the note of names in secretarie hande, which I caried to the Spanish ambassadour, and there drewe that other in Romane hande in his studie, putting downe Chester to be taken, in respect of the easinesse, as I thought, and the rather to giue him incouragement in the matter. I left it with him, promising him that by the next spring I woulde perfect it, if I taried so long, making knowen vnto him, that I was had in suspition, and my determination to be gone; but he pressed the contrarie of me, assuring me, that, if the enterprise proceeded not, he would then also depart.

Whether Sir Frauncis Englefielde were a dealer in this practise or no, I know not; but sure I am, for so the Spanish ambassadour tolde me, that Frauncis had intelligence with the said ambassadour all the time of his being here.

The Spanish ambassadour tolde me, that he heard the people of Northwales were generallie wel affected*, and therefore he desired to haue the hauens of that countrie: I tolde him, that hereafter I would help him thereunto, although no good might be expected there, for the reasons by me set downe in my first confession; and hereupon, the day before mine apprehension, the ambassadour sent me backe the said paper in Romane hand, desiring me to set downe the same at my leasure more exactly, which was the cause that it was not in my greene veluet casket. The writings in my casket were such as were by me confessed, and came vnto my hands as I haue confessed.

I most humbly beseeche her most excellent Maiestie, that the extremitie which I haue already sustained, and the causes by me discouered, to the safetie of her Maiestie and the state, not made known, as hath appeared, by any other meane then by my selfe, may craue at her handes the extending of her gracious commiseration towards the relieuing of the lamentable estate of me, her Maiesties poore distressed subject, and mine, if God for mine offences forbid not the same.

NOWE iudge all yee, that be not peruersly affected, whether Throckmorton be iustly condemned, and whether his confessions, though, as he pretended, extorted from him by violence, be offorce in lawe against him: he hath conspired to ouerthrowe the state, to bring in strangers to inuade the realme, to remoue her Maiestie from her lawfull and naturall right and inheritance to the Crowne of England, and to place a stranger in her

* To the Popish Faction,

seate. But this last point, for placing of a stranger, will, perchance, be denied; then note, that, in the whole course of the practise, the greatest barre to the prosecution of the enterprise was, they found no way how to put the Scottish Queene in safetie. Then, if these dangerous treasons be discovered by torture, the onely meanes left vnto princes to discover treasons and attempts against their states and persons, where they finde apparant matter to induce suspition, as in the case of Throckmorton, vpon sight of the plottes of hauens, &c.—, may the law touch the traitour, or not? If any man holde this question negatiuely, holde him for a friend to traitours and treasons, and an enemie to the Queene's Maiestie, whome God long preserue, and confound her enemies.

TREASON

PRETENDED AGAINST

THE KING OF SCOTS,

BY CERTAINE

LORDES AND GENTLEMEN,

Whose Names hereafter followe.

With a Declaration of the Kinges Maiesties Intention to his last Acts of Parliament :

Which openeth fully in Effect all the saide Conspiracie.

OUT OF SKOTTISH INTO ENGLISH.

Imprinted at London, for Thomas Nelson, and are to be sold at the West End of Paules. 1585. Black Letter, octavo, containing twenty-four Pages.

The Coppie of a Letter sent from a Gentleman in Scotland, to a Friend of his in England, touching the Conspiracie against the Kinges Maiestie.

My approved Friend, T. S.

THERE hath beene lately secret practising against the Kinges Maiestie of Scotland. But time serueth not now to set down the maner of their proceeding in the said attempt: I haue here sent to you the Kinges declaration to his last acts of parliament, and, for breuitie, haue set downe the names of the conspirators, which are as followeth. And thus, in hope you will accept my good will, I commit you to the Almighty. From Edenbrough, this 20 of Februarie, 1585.

Yours, Christopher Studley.

The Lord of Don Whasell.
 The Lord of Dunkrith.
 The Lord of Baythkicte.
 Robert Hamelton of Ynchmachan.
 M. Iames Sterling.

These wer apprehended at the Kinges court.

Iohn Hoppignell of the Mores, apprehended at his owne house, by the captaine of the Kinges garde.

The Lord Keir and Lord Maius apprehended, with other gentlemen, about Sterling.

The Lord Blaketer and Georg Douglass are sommoned to the court, upon suspiſion.

The Lord Don Whasell } executed.
 The Lord Maius }

The treason discouered by Robert Hamelton.

The Kinges Maiesties Declaration of his Acts confirmed in Parliament.

FORASMVCH as there is some euil affected men that goeth about, so farre as in them lieth, to invent lies and tales to slaunder and impaire the Kinges Maiesties fame and honour, and to raise reportes as if his Maiestie had declined to Papistrie, and that he had made many actes to abolish the free passage of the gospel, good order and discipline in the church: Which bruite is maintained by rebellious subiects, who would gladly couer their seditious enterprises vnder pretense of religion, albeit there can be no godly religion in such as raiseth rebellion to disquiet the state of their natieue soueraigne, and periuredly doeth stand against the othe, band, and obligation of their faith, whereunto they haue sworne and subscribed; therefore, that his Maiesties faithfull subiects be not abused with such slanderous reportes, and his Highnesse good affectionated friends in other countries may understand the veritie of his vpriight intention, his Highnesse hath commaunded this brieſe declaration of certaine of his Maiesties acts of parliament holden in May, 1584, to be published and imprinted, to the effect, that the indirect practises of such, as slaunder his Maiestie and his lawes, may be detected and discouered.

IN the first acte his Maiestie ratifies and approues the true profession of the gospel, sincere preaching of the worde, and administration of the sacraments, presently by the goodnes of God established within this realme, and alloweth of the confession of faith set downe by acte of parliament, the first yeere of his Maiesties raigne. Likewise, his Highnesse not onely professeth the same in all sinceritie, but, prayed be God, is come to that ripenesse of iudgement, by reading and hearing the worde of God, that his Highnesse is able to conuince and ouerthrowe by the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, the most learned of the contrary sect of the aduersaries: So that, as Plato affirmeth, that commonwealth to be most happy, wherein a philosopher raigneth, or he that raigneth is a philosopher: We may much more esteeme this country of

-Scotland to be fortunate, wherein our King is a diuine, and whose heart is replenished with the knowledge of the heauenly philosophy, for the comfort not onely of his good subiects and friends in other countreys, but of them that profeseth the gospell euery where, he beyng a King of great wisdom, and, by his birthright, borne to great possessions, but much more his Highnesse, vertue, godlinesse, and learnyng, and daily increase of all heauenly sciences, doth promise and assure him of the mighty protection of God, and fauour of all them that fear his holy name.

IN the second acte his Maiesties royal authority ouer all estates, both spirituall and temporall, is confirmed: Which acte, some of malice, and other some of ignorance, doth traduce, as if his Maiestie pretended to be called the Head of the Church; a name which his Maiestie acknowledgeth to be proper and peculiar to the Sonne of God, the Sauour of the World, who is the head, and bestoweth life spiritual vpon the members of his mysticall body; and he, hauyng receiued the Holy Spirit in all abundance, maketh euery one of the faithfull pertakers thereof, according to the measure of faith bestowed vpon them. Of the which number of the faithfull vnder the head Christ, his Maiestie acknowledgeth himselfe to be a member, baptised in his name, pertaker of the mysterie of the crosse and holy communion, and attending with the faithfull for the coming of the Lord, and the finall restitution of Gods elect. And notwithstanding his Maiestie surely vnderstandeth by the scriptures, that he is the chief and principall member appointed by the lawe of God, to see God glorified, vice punished, and vertue maintained within his realme, and the soueraigne iudgement for a godly quietnesse and order in the commonwealth, to appertaine to his Highnesse care and solicitude. Which power and authoritie of his Highnesse, certaine ministers being called before his Maiestie for their seditious and factious sermons in stirring up of the people to rebellion against their natie King (by the instigation of sundry vnquiet spirites) would in no wyse acknowledge but disclaime his Maiesties authoritie as an incompetent iudge; and specially one called M. Andrew Meluile, an ambitious man, of a salt and fiery humour, vsurping the pulpit of Sandroyes, without any lawfull calling, and priue at that tyme to certaine conspiracies attempted against his Maiestie and crowne, went about, in a sermon vpon a Sunday, to inflame the hearts of the people, by odious comparisons of his Maiesties progenitours and counsaile, albeit the duetie of a faithfull preacher of the gospell be rather to exhort the people to the obedience of their natie King, and not by popular sermons (which hath been the euersion and decay of great cities and commonwealths, and hath greatly, in times past, bred disquietnesse to the state thereby) to trouble and perturb the countrey. The sayd M. Andrew, beyng called before his Highnesse, presumptuously answered, that he would not be iudged by the King and counsaile, because he had spoken the same in pulpit, which pulpit, in effect, he alleged to be exempted from the iudgement and correction of Princes, as if that holy place sanctified to the word of God, and to the breaking of the bread of life, might be any colour to any sedition in worde or deede, against the lawfull authoritie,

without punishment. Alwaies his Maiestie, beyng of himselfe a most gracious prince, was not willing to haue vsed any rigour against the saide Maister Andrew, if he had humbly submitted himselfe, acknowledged his offence, and craued pardon; who, notwithstanding, afraid of his owne guiltines, beyng priue to diuers conspiracies before, fled out of the realme, whose naughty and presumptuous refusing of his Highnesse iudgement was the occasion of the making of this seconde acte, *videlicet*, That none should decline from his Highnesse authoritie, in respect that the common prouerbe beareth, *Ex malis moribus bonæ leges natae sunt*; that is, Of euill maners good lawes proceede. And in verie deepe it wanteth not any right intollerable arrogancy, in any subiect called before his Prince, professing and auctorising the same truth, to disclaime his authoritie, neither doe the prophets, apostles, nor others, conducted by the Spirit of God, minister the like example; for it is a great errour to affirme, as many doe, that princes and magistrates haue onely power to take order in ciuill affaires, and that ecclesiasticall matters doth onely belong to the ministerie. By which meanes the Pope of Rome hath exempt himselfe and all his clergie, from all iudgements of Princes, and hath made himselfe to be iudge of iudges, and to be iudged of no man; whereas, by the contrarie, not onely by the examples of the godly gouernors, iudges, and kings of the Old Testament, but also by the New Testament, and the whole history of the primitiue church, in the which the emperors, beyng iudges ouer the Bishop of Rome, deposed them from their seates, appointed iudges to decide and determine in causes ecclesiasticall, and challenge innocent men, as Athanasius, from the determination of the councell holden at Tyrus, and, by infinite good reasons, which shall be set downe, by the grace of God, in another scuerall worke, shall be sufficiently prooued and verified. But this appeareth, at this present, to be an vntimely and vnprofitable question, which hath no ground upon their part, but of the preposterous imitation of the pretended iurisdiction of the Pope of Rome. For, if there were any question in this land of heresie, whereby the profound mysteries of the scriptures behooued to be searched forth, his Maiestie would vse the same remedy, as most expedient, which the most godly emperours hath vsed: And his Maiestie, following their example, would alow the councell of learned pastours, that, by conference of scriptures, the veritie might be opened, and heresie repressed. But, God be thanked, we haue no such controuersies in this land, neither hath any heresie taken any deepe roote in the countrey, but that certaine of the ministerie, ioyning themselues to rebels, hath traueled to disquiet the state with such questions, that the people might embrace any sinister opinion of his Maiesties vpriight proceedings, and factions might be nourished and entertained in the countrey. Neither is it his Maiesties meaning nor intention, in any sort, to take away the lawfull and ordinarie iudgement in the church, whereby discipline and good order might decay, but rather to preserue, maintaine, and increase the same. And as there is in the realme, iustices, constables, shirifes, provosts, baylifes, and other iudges in temporall matters; so his Maiestie aloweth, that all things might be done in order, and a godly quietnes may be preserued in the whole estate, the sinodall assemblies by the bishops, or commissioners,

where the place was used, to be conuenient, twise in the yeere, to haue the ordinary trial of matters belonging to the ministry and their estate; alwaies reseruing to his Highnesse, that, if thei, or any of them, doe amisse, neglect their duetie, disquiet the estate, or offend in any such maner and sort, that they in no wayes pretend that immunitie, priuiledge, and exemption, which onely was inuented by the Popes of Rome, to tread vnder foote the scepters of princes, and to establish an ecclesiasticall tyranny within this countrey, vnder pretence of new inuented presbyters, which neither should answer to the King, nor Bishop vnder his Maiestie, but should haue such infinite iurisdiction, as neither the lawe of God nor man can tolerate. Which is onely his Maiesties intention to repress, and not to take away any godly or due order in the church, as hereafter shall appeare.

THE third acte of his Maiesties foresaide parliament dischargeth all iudgements ecclesiasticall, and all assemblies which are not allowed by his Maiestie in parliament; which acte especially concerneth the removing and discharging of that forme inuented in this land, called Presbyterie; wherein a number of ministers of certeine precinct and boundes, accounting themselves to be equal, without any difference, and gathering vnto them certeine gentlemen, and others of his Maiesties subjects, vsurpe all the whole ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, and altereth the lawes at their owne pleasure, without the knowledge and approbation of the King or the estate: A forme of doing without example of any nation, subject to a Christian Prince: The peril whereof did so increase, that, in case it had not bene repressed in due season, and forbidden by his Maiesties lawes, the same had troubled the whole countrey. And, beyng tried, by his Highnesse, to be the ouerthrow of his Maiesties estate, the decay of his crowne, and a ready introduction to anabaptistrie, and popular confusion, in all estates, his Maiestie hath giuen commaundement against the same. And, that the reader may vnderstand the daunger thereof, by many inconueniences which, thereby, ensueth in this lande, I will onely set downe one, whereby they may vnderstand what peril was in the rest. The embassadour of Fraunce, returning home vnto his owne countrey, commaunded the prouost, bayliffes, and counsaile of Edenbrough, to make him a banquet, that he might be receiued honourably, according to the amitie of auncient times betweene the two nations. This commaund was giuen on the Saturday by his Highnesse, and the banquet appointed to be on the Monday. A number of the foresaide pretended presbyterie, vnderstanding thereof, assembled themselves on Sunday in the morning, and presumptuously determined and agreed, that the ministers of Edenbrough should proclaime a fasting vppon the same Monday, where three seuerall ministers, one after another, made three seuerall sermons, inuectiues against the prouost, bayliffes, and counsaile for the time, and the noble men in the countrey, who repaired to the banquet at his Maiesties commaund. The foresaide presbyterie called and perswaded them, and scarsly, by his Maiesties authoritie, could be withholden from excommunicating the saide magistrates and noble men, for obeying onely his Highnes lawfull commaund, which the law of all countreys, called *Ius Gentium*, requires towards

embassadours of forreine countreys. And not onely in this, but innumerable other things, their commaundment was proclaimed directly, vnder the paine of excommunication, to the Kings Maiestie and his lawes: Which forme of proceeding ingendred nothing but disquietness, sedition, and trouble, as may manifestly appeere, in that the speciall authors of the inuventing, promoting, and assisting of the foresaide pretended presbyteries hath ioyned themselues with his Maiesties rebels; and fleeing forth of the realme, in respect of their guiltines, hath discouraged what malicious practises was deuised amongst them, if God had not, in time, provided remedie. The other forme of iudgement, which his Maiestie hath discharged, is the generall assembly of the whole clergie in the realme; vnder pretence whereof, a number of ministers, from sundry presbyteries, did assemble, with some gentlemen of the country, wherof some, for that time, malcontents of the estate, sought that color, as fauorers of the ministerie, by the which thei haue practised many enterprises in the realme, where there was no certeine lawe in ecclesiasticall affaires, but all depended vpon the saide generall conuention, where the lawes of the church were alterable after the number of voices, which, for the most part, succeeded vnto the most vnlearned of the multitude. This generall assembly, amongst other things, did appoint and agree with his Maiesties regentes in his Highnesse minority, that the estate of bishops, which is one of the estates of parliament, should be maintained and authorised, as it is registred in the bookes of counsell, and subscribed by the commissioners for the time: Which order was obserued many yeeres, and bishops, by their consentes, appointed to the diocesse, vntill, within this late time, in assemblies holden at Dundie and Glasgow, respecting the foresaide ministers and assemblies, thei tooke vpon them, contrarie to their owne hand writing, to discharge the estate, and to declare the same to be vnlawfull, in their pretended maner; and there commaunded the bishops of the country to demit and leaue their offices and iurisdictions, and that, in no wise, they should passe to the Kings Maiesties counsell, or parliament, without commission obtained from their assemblie; that they should confirme nothing in parliament and counsell, but according to their acts and iniunctions. And further, they directed their commissioners to the Kings Maiestie, commaunding him and the counsell, vnder paine of the censures of the church (whereby they vnderstoode excommunication) to appoint no bishop in time to come, because they had concluded that estate to be vnlawfull.

And notwithstanding, that which they would haue deiected in the bishops, they purposed to erect in themselues, desiring that such commissioners, as they should send to parliament and counsell, might be authorised in place of the estate, whereby it should haue come to pass, that whereas, now, his Maiestie may select the most godly, learned, wise, and experimented of the ministerie, to be on his Maiesties estate, his Highnesse should haue been, by that means, compelled to accept such, as the multitude, by an odde consent of the most vnlearned, should haue appointed; which could not tend but to the ouerthrow of the realme, wherof that estate hath bene a speciall stop. After they had discharged bishops, they agreed to haue superintendents, commis-

sloners, and visitours : But, in the end, they discerned that there should be no difference amongst the ministers, and imagined that new forme of presbyterie, whereof we haue spoken before : Neither was there any other appearance that they should haue staid from such daily alterations in the commonwealth, which could not but continually be disquieted, where the lawe of conscience, which they maintained by the sword of cursing, was subject to such mutations, at the arbitrement of a number, whereof the most part had not greatly tasted of learning. At our the foresaide assemblie, was accustomed, not only to prescribe the lawe to the King and estate, but also did, at certain times, appoint general fastings throughout the realme, specially, when some factioners in the country was to moue any great enterprise : For, at the fast, all the ministers was commaunded by the assemblie to sing one song, and to cry out vpon the abuses, as they termed it, of the court and estate for the time ; whereby, it is most certaine, great alterations to haue ensued in this land, while, at the good pleasure of God, and his blessing towards his Maiestie, the pretence of the last fast was discovered, and his Highnesse deliuered from such attempts, whereby his Maiestie hath bene iustly moued to discharge such conuentions, which might import so prejudicially to his estate : But specially his Maiestie had no small occasion, whereas the same assemblie, beyng met at Edenbrough, did authorise and auow the fact perpetrate at Ruthuen, in the takyng of his Highnesse most noble person : the which deed, notwithstanding his Maiestie, with the aduise of his estates in parliament, accounted to be treason, the saide assemblie, esteeming their iudgement to be the soueraigne iudgement of the realme, hath not only approoued the same, but ordained all them to be excommunicate that would not subscribe and allow the same. So the actes of this assemblie, and the lawes of the estate, directly weighed in ciuill matter, with the which the assemblie should not haue medled, it behooued his Highnesse, either to discharge himself of the crown, or the ministerie of the forme of assemblie, which, in deede, of it selfe, without the Kings Maiesties licence and approbation, could not be lawfull ; like as generall counsellis, at no time, could assemble, without the commaundement of the Emperor for the time ; and our King hath no lesse power, within his owne realme, then any of them had in the empire : Yea, the Bishop of S. Androis had not, in time of Poperie, power to conuent the bishops and clergie, out of their owne diocesse, without licence giuen before of his Highnesse most noble progenitours of good memorie, and the causes thereof intimated and allowed. Notwithstanding that his Maiesties intention and meaning may fully be vnderstood, it is his Highnesse wil, that the bishop, or commissioners of any diocesse, or prouince, or part thereof, shall, at their visitation appointed in euery parish, accordyng to the greatnesse thereof, haue some honest, vertuous, and discrete men, to aide and assist the minister, and to haue the ouersight and censure of the maners and behauiour of that parish : And, if there be any notable offence worthy of punishment, that the bishop and commissioners be aduertised thereof, who shall haue an officer of armes to be assistant for the punishment of vice, and executions to follow thereupon ; that they, who contemneth the godly and lawfull order of the church, may finde, by experience,

his Maiesties displeasure, and be punished according to their desertings.

And further: his Maiestic, vpon necessary occasions which may fall forth by diuers maner of wayes among the clergie, vpon humble supplication made vnto his Highnesse, will not refuse to graunt them licence to assist the bishops. commissioners, and some of the most vertuous, learned, and godly of their diocesse, where such ecclesiasticall matters, as appertaineth to the vniiformitie of doctrine, and conseruation of a godly order in the church, may be intreated and concluded in his Maiesties owne presence, or some of his Maiesties honourable counsell, who shall assist for the time: where, if necessity so require, a publike fast throughout the whole realme may be commaunded, and by his Maiesties authoritie, proclaimed, to auoide the imminent displeasure and daunger of the wrath of the Lordes iudgements; which is the right ende of publike humilitie, and not, vnder pretence thereof, to couer such enterprises, as hath heretofore greatly disquieted and troubled the peace of this commonwealth.

The xx. acte ratifieth, and approoueth, and establisheth the estate of the bishops within the realme, to haue the oversight and iurisdiction, euery one in their owne diocesse. Which forme of gouernment, and rule in ecclesiasticall affaires, hath not onely continued in the church from the dayes of the apostles, by continuall succession of tyme, and many martyres in that calling shed their blood for the truth: but also, since this realme embraced and receiued the Christian religion, the same estate hath bene mainteined to the welfare of the church, and quietnesse of the realme, without any interruption, vntill within these few yeares, some curious and busie men haue practised to induce in the ministerie an equalitie in all thinges, as well concerning the preaching of the word, administration of the sacraments, as likewise in discipline, order, and pollicie; the which confusion his Maiestic finding, by most dangerous experience, to haue bene the mother and nurse of great factions, seditions, and troubles within this realme, hath, with aduise of his Highnesse estates, aduisedly concluded the saide pretended paritie in discipline, orders, and pollicie in the church, to be no lohger tolerate in this country: but the sollicitude and care of all churches in one diocesse, to appertain to the bishop and commissioner thereof, who shall be aunswerable to God, and his Maiestic, and estates, for the right administration and discharge of the office of particular ministers, within the boundes of their iurisdiction. For, as it becommeth his Maiestic, as Eusebius writeth of Constantinus the Great, to be a bishop of bishops, and uniuersall bishop within his realme, in so far as his Maiestic should appoint euery one to discharge his duetie: which his Highnesse cannot, his country beyng large and great, take him to cuerie minister that shall offend, and transgresse agaynst duetie, or quarrell with the whole number of the ministerie: but it behouoeth his Maiestic to haue bishops and ouerseers vnder him, which may be aunswerable for such boundes, as the lawe and order of the country hath limited and appointed vnto cuerie one of them. And that they, hauing accesse to his Maiesties parliament and counsell, may

intercide for the rest of the brethren of the ministerie, propone their grieffe vnto his highnesse and estates and receiue his Maiesties fauourable aunswere therin. The which forme doth preserue a godly quietnes, vnitie, concorde, and peace in the estate, and an vniforme order in the church : as, contrariwise, the pretended equalitie deuideth the same, and, vnder the pretence of equality, maketh some of the most crafty and subtil dealers to be aduanced and enriched ; and, in pretending of paritie, to seeke nothing but their own ambition, and aduancement aboute the rest of the simple sort. And, notwithstanding that his Maiestie hath reestablished the saide estate, it is not his highnesse wil and intent, that the foresaide bishop shall haue such full power, as to do within his diocesse what he pleaseth : for, as his Maiestie cannot allow of any popular confusion, wherein, as the proverbe saith, *Nulla tyrannis aequiparanda est tyrannidi multitudinis*. That is no tyranny can be compared to the tyranny of a multitude, hauing commaundement and power in his hands ; so, on the other part, his Maiesties wil is, that the bishops authoritie, in any graue matter, be limited to the counsell of thirteene of the most auncient, wise, and godly pastors of his diocesse, selected out of the whole synodall assemblie of the province ; by whose aduise, or at least the most part therof, the weightie affaires of the church may be gouerned, to the glory of God, and quietnes of the realme. Further, it is his highnesse wil and commaundement, that their bishops or commissioners, twise in the yeere, to wit, ten dayes after Easter, and the sixth of September, hold their synodall assemblies, in euery diocesse, for the keeping of good order therin. And, if any be stubborne, or contemne within their bounds the good order of the church, that it may be declared vnto his Maiestie, and punished, to the example of others, according to their deseruings. Neither is it his Maiesties meaning or intent, that such bishops or commissioners, as shall be appointed, shall receiue their onely and full commission of his Maiestie, without admission ordinary, by such as are appointed to that effect in the church ; but hauing his highnesse nomination, presentation, and commendation, as lawfull and onely patron, they to be tried and examined, that their qualities are such as they are able to discharge their cure and office : and if it shall happen any of the said bishops, or commissioners, to be negligent in their office, or to be slanderous and offensiue in their behauour, life and maners, in tyme to come ; it is not his highnesse wil, that they shalbe exempted from correction, notwithstanding any priuilege of his highnesse estate, counsell, or parliament, but their labors, trauels, diligence, and behauour, to be tried in the generall assemblie, not consisting of a confused multitude, as it was before, but of such worshipfull persons, as is heretofore prescribed, in his highnesse presence, or his deputies to that effect. Lastly, his Maiestie giueth commission to the saide bishops, or commissioners, at their visitations, to consider in what part of the countrey, the exercise, or interpretation of the scripture, by conference of a certaine number of the ministerie within those bounds, may be most commodiously once in euery fifteen days. For, as his Maiestie inhibits all unlawfull meetings, that may ingender trouble and contention in the countrey, so his Maiestie is well affected

to see the ministerie increase in knowledge and vnderstanding, and by all meanes to fortifie and aduance the same. Wherein his highnesse commaundement is, that a graue, wise, and sage man shalbe appointed president, who may haue the ouersight of these bounds, and be aunswerable therefore to the bishop, his counsell and synode, and he to be respected reasonably for his paines, at the modification of stipends; that all things may be orderly done in the church, peace and quietnes maintained in the realme, and we deliuered from apparant plagues, and the blessing of God continued, to the comfort of our posteritie. And in the meane time his highnesse inhibits and expressly forbids, vnder the paines contained in his Maiesties actes of parliament, and all other paines arbitral, at his Maiesties sight and counsell, that no ministers take in hand to assemble themselves for the foresaide cause, without the appointment and order taken by the saide bishops or commissioners; wherby his highnesse may be certainly enforced, that the foresaide ministers assemble not, to meddle with any ciuill matters, or affaires of estate, as was accustomed before, but onely to profit in the knowledge of the word, and to be comforted one by another in the administration of their spiritual office; which his highnesse wisheth them saythfully to discharge, and then to call to God, that his Maiestie may in a prosperous reigne enjoy good and long life, and continue and increase into the feare of the Almightye,

The Kings Maiesties Intention.

HIS Maiesties intention is, by the grace of God, to mainteine the true and sincere profession of the gospell, and preaching thereof, within this realme.

2. His Maiesties intention is, to correct and pamishe such as seditiously abuse the trueth, and factiously apply or rather bewray the text of the scripture, to the disquieting of the estate, and disturbing of the commonwealth, or impayring of his highnesse and counsell's honour.

3. His Maiesties intention is, if any question of faith and doctrine arise, to conuocate the most learned, godly, wise, and experimented pastors, that by conference of scriptures the veritie may be tryed, and all heresie and schisme by that means repressed.

4. His Maiesties intention is, that, for the keeping of good order in euerie parish, certeine ouerseers to the good behaviours of the rest be appointed at the visitation of the bishop, or visitour, who shal haue his Maiesties authoritie, and officers of armes concurring, for the punishment of vice,

5. His Maiesties intention is, to mainteine the exercise of prophecie, for the increase and continuing of knowledge amongst the ministerie in which a wise and graue man, selected by the bishop, or commissioner, at the synodall assemblie, shall render an account of the administration of those bounds, where the exercise is holden; for which

cause, some respect of liuing shal be had vnto him who sustaines that burthen.

6. His Maiesties intention is, not to derogate vnto the ordinarye iudgement of matters of the church, by the ordina^v bishops, their counsell, and synods; but, if any of them do amisse, and abuse their calling, to take order for correcting, amending, and punishing thereof.

7. His Maiesties intention is, not to hinder or stay by godly or solide order, grounded vpon the worde of God, and order of the primitive church; but that the ministers of the word meddle themselves onely with their owne calling, and iudge not fearfully of the state.

8. It is his Maiesties intention, that the presbyteries consisting of many ministers and gentlemen, at Landwart or other waie, be if further tollerate in this his realme; but the exercise of iurisdiction of all churches, to be in the hands of the bishop or commissioner, and his counsell and synods.

9. It is his Maiesties intention, that the bishops or commissioners assemble not any generall assemblee out of the whole realme, without his Maiesties knowledge and licence obtained thereunto; which, upon supplication his highnesse will not denie; that an uniforme order may be obserued in the whole realme, and the bishops and their diligences there tryed and examined, and the complaints of euery perticular heard and discussed.

10. It is his Maiesties intention to assist this assemblee himself, or by a nobleman of his counsaile, his highnesse deputie.

11. It is his Maiesties intention, that, when any parish findeth necessitie of any fast, they enform the occasion to the bishop or commissioner, their counsaile, that they may vnderstand the cause to be lawfull; as lykewise the bishop of the diocesse, finding lawfull occasion, may, within the same, with his counsaile, prescribe any publike humiliation.

12. It is his Maiesties intention, that a generall fast throughout the whole realm shall not be proclaimed but by his Maiesties commandement, or by a generall counsaile, wherein his Maiestie, or his highnesse deputy, is present.

13. It is his Highnesse intention, that the bishops in the realme in euery diocesse, with their counsaile, proceede into the ecclesiasticall gouernment; but, as is saide, with a counsaile, that both tyranny and confusion may be avoided in the church.

14. It is his Highnesse intention, that commissioners be directed vniuersally throughout the whole realme to establish a godly order, and that his Maiesties commissioners take order presently for the translation of such ministers, whose trauels they esteeme may more conueniently and profitably serue in another place,

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