Rapin's History of England

Book One

Translated from French By
N. Tyndal M. A. Vicar of
Great Waltham
Essex

The History of England Written in French By Mr. Rapin de Thoyras

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VOLUME I

Published by J & J Cundee

Ivy Lane

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London

1733

Book One

The Roman Period

Queen Boudica

Queen Boudica as portrayed in a stained glass window at Colchester

RAPIN'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

THE PRESENTATION OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS TO KING WILLIAM AND QUEEN MARY.

Published by J. & J. CUNDEE, Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row, London.

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Above an enlargement of the original frontispiece cover and description

Re-Publication Notes

Readers should note that in the 1800's spelling of certain words was different from today's. However, due to the way this book has been digitalised, there is some inconsistency, where some words have corrected automatically, but where possible very endeavour has been made to retain some of the original spelling at least in part.

May 2015

THE RATIFICATION OF MAGNA CHARTA
BY
KING JOHN

The Frontispiece of the French Edition of This Book

Nicolas Tindal - The Translator

NICOLAS TINDAL (1687 – 27 June 1774) was the translator and continuer of the History of England by Paul de Rapin. Very few comprehensive histories existed at the time and Tindal wrote a three-volume 'Continuation', a history of the Kingdom from the reigns of James II to George II. Tindal was Rector of Alverstoke in Hampshire, Vicar of Great Waltham, Essex, Chaplain of Greenwich Hospital and a Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford.

Tindal's father, John Tindal, the Rector of Cornwood, Devon and Vicar of St Ives, Cornwall, was the brother of Matthew Tindal, the eminent deist and author of '***Christianity as Old as the Creation***'. A near relation of Thomas, 1st Lord Clifford, Lord High Treasurer of Charles II, the Tindal family were derived from Baron Adam de Tindale, a tenant in chief of Henry II.

Tindal went up to Exeter College, Oxford, where he took an MA degree in 1713. From Oxford, he took up his rectory in Hampshire and was later appointed a Fellow of Trinity. When Tindal mastered the French language is unclear, although he was the first member of his family to bear the French spelling of his name - a very popular one amongst his descendants. However, he first engaged in his life's work of historical translation with the publication, in monthly numbers, of his translation (from the French of Antoine Augustin Calmet) of the "Dissertation of the Excellency of the History of the Hebrews above that of any other Nation, wherein are examined the Antiquities and History of the Assyrians, Chaldians, Egyptians, Phoenicians, Chinese &c. with the Peopling of America... Written in French by R. P. D'Augustin Calmet", which appears to have been a considerable undertaking. Tindal went on to write a History of Essex, having become Vicar of Great Waltham, although this project never came to fruition.

History of England & the Continuation

Tindal's great work was his thirteen volume translation of Rapin's History, which was first published in 1727. We learn that he had been appointed Chaplain to the Fleet from his dedication of the earlier volumes, one of which was written in Gibraltar. Tindal enlarged the volumes in their second edition (1732) to contain notes, genealogical tables and maps of his own composition. The work was a great contribution to the development of British historiography of the eighteenth century as so few well written histories existed at the time; and none of them so comprehensive. While the works are principally of narrative form, the discursive analysis of many of the sources and contentions of a number of periods was very advanced for its time. Tindal was rewarded by the presentation of a gold medal by Frederick, Prince of Wales, to whom he had dedicated the second volume.

Rapin had finished his work at the death of James II, giving Tindal the opportunity of demonstrating his own historical abilities. His Continuation brought forward the works to the reign of George II. Tindal's work was much valued at the time, although not without controversy. Some had questioned the authorship of the Continuation; although there is no evidence to support those contentions and his many other works and literary style point to his pen.

Tindal continued his translations with that of Prince Cantemir's History of the Othman Empire' (sic) in 1734. The ‘Guide to Classical Learning, or Polymetis abridged, for Schools', of which he was editor, was a rare classical text-book which remained of importance throughout the century.

Tindal appears to have attracted some controversy during his life. Aside from that relating to his 'Continuation', he was engaged in a bitter dispute with one Eustace Budgell about his apparent disinheritance by his uncle, Matthew Tindal. Budgell had adopted some of Tindal's freethinking views and assisted him in publishing his ***Christianity as Old as the Creation.*** However, he had fallen on hard times, losing up to £20,000 in the South Sea Bubble. It was therefore of some surprise that Matthew Tindal had apparently left the greater part of his fortune to this man, to the exclusion of Tindal, who had been named in a previously published will. Budgell was prosecuted for forgery but committed suicide by drowning himself in the Thames before the case came to trial. Whether Tindal was ever repaid the 2000 guineas of which he had been defrauded is unclear, though Alexander Pope declaimed:

Let Budgell charge low Grub-street on my quill,
And write whate-er he please, except my Will.

Tindal himself was recorded as saying of Garrick that ‘The deaf hear him in his action, and the blind see him in his voice.'.

Tindal's long association with Greenwich Hospital and the Naval Office is commemorated by a portrait by Knapton, now in the collection of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. From this was taken the engraving that illustrates this article.

The authors of the ninth volume of the Cambridge History of English and American Literature conclude that “English historical writing owes [Tindal] a great debt; for, like Rapin himself, whom he introduced to English readers, he provided a solid substructure of well-authenticated and well-arranged facts, together with a narrative free from party bias and written with a single-minded desire to record ascertained truth. It should be added that master and follower alike cite their authorities without ostentation but with perfect clearness, and that the English folios are supplied with an admirable collection of portraits, maps and plans.

Preface

AT a period when the human intellect seems to have attained nearly the apex of its power, and the utmost extent of its expansion; when the stores of literature and science are no longer confined to the groves of the academy, to the cells of the cloyster, to the forums of justice, or to the walls of the senate, it would operate but feebly in favour of an historical work, were it to be introduced by an elaborate disquisition on the general utility, or particular advantages, to be derived from the perusal, or study of history.

It is a trite remark, at least as old as the time of Dionysius, that history may be regarded as that species of philosophy which teaches by example; and it is equally true, that, while it adds to our own stock of experience an immense accumulation of the experience of others, it furnishes innumerable tests, by which we may verify all the precepts of morality and prudence. History is, indeed, the proper repository of all those facts which best illustrate the general nature of man. With the happiest facility it opens to us the springs of human affairs; it marks the rise, progress, and decay, of empires; it develops the reciprocal influence of government and national manners; it explains the factitious passions, and artificial manners, of social life; and, in all the vivid colouring of nature, it pourtravs, with a firm and steady hand, the strong and distinguishing traits of individual character.

lf these remarks be just, with respect to history at large, philosophically considered—and their veracity is too obvious to be questioned—how much more forcibly must they apply to the immediate history of our own country? Descending lower upon the scale, history may there be said also to account for those things in common speech, and in the formalities of common life, which are not otherwise to be understood; yet, without a knowledge of which, we must remain infants in society, and strangers in whatsoever part of the world our lot may have cast us; for, in the interrogative language of the poet,

"How can we reason, but from what we know?"

History—plain, unsophisticated history—neither warped by party feeling, nor disguised by prejudice, forms a true and faithful mirror. Of all the writers of English history, RAPIN, for the. accuracy of his chronology, for the clearness of his narrative, and for the conscientious impartiality of his statements, is best entitled to the praise of the judicious[1]. Other histories of England, not excepting even Hume's, have been written more with party views, or to answer particular political purposes, than to sub-serve the cause of truth, or to exhibit a distinct and lucid picture of events.

Too frequently, also, the works of English historians must be regarded rather as Essays, or Dissertations upon History, than as history itself. **RAPIN'S** work, on the other hand, requires nothing but a more free and fluent translation, a judicious pruning of some of its exuberance's, and the addition of occasional illustrations, from ancient and modern authorities, to enable it to retain the post of honour in every Englishman's library. To accomplish these points, in the most

unexceptionable and most interesting manner, a sedulous and unwearied attention will be devoted, in the edition which now courts the patronage of the Public; and the continuation of the history, from the Revolution of 1688, where Rapin terminated his labours, down to the latest period of publication, will be conducted with the same accuracy as to dates, the same fidelity as to the relation of facts, and the same impartiality as to the delineation of character, for which the original has been at all times distinguished. The immense collections of state papers, political correspondence, &c. deposited in the Tower of London, in the British Museum, and in private libraries, which have been accessible only within these few years, will, in many parts, furnish elucidation, and even new features, of the most striking description.

Were the motives inducive to the production of the present work, at this particular season, to be minutely inquired into, the slightest glance at the important events of the last twenty or thirty years. might form a more than sufficient answer,—Not to mention the American war, which severed our transatlantic possessions from the parent stock, what mind can calmly contemplate that world of horrors—the French revolution, and its terrific consequences? What man—what native of "the heaven-favoured island," at least—can hear the appalling fact, that, of nineteen empires, kingdoms, and principalities, which flourished in the European quarter of the globe, so recently as the year 1788, eleven, comprising a population of more than sixty millions, with an armed force of nearly one five hundred thousand men, have been engulphed in that tremendous vortex, and not be anxious to learn the history of that insulated spot:–

"That sunny island in a stormy main,"

–which has successfully resisted its mighty force?—Who, again, can dwell upon the revolution in Spain and Portugal—upon that proud contest in the Iberian Peninsula, which has been supported by the blood and treasure of Britain, and not pant to participate in a knowledge of its glorious progress?—Once more, on turning to the frozen regions of the North, where is the heart so cold, so apathetic in its organization, as not to throb, with eager anxiety, at the cheering prospect which they present of Europe's emancipation—of the restoration of her wonted greatness?—Who regards not, with the liveliest interest, the annihilation of the long-vaunted invincible legions of France—a destruction so vast, so universal, as to stand alone, and unparalleled, in the annals of the world; their mighty commander—he, who rejoiced to make his way by ruin[2]—he, so recently the scourge and terror of the earth—a beaten and discomfited fugitive! Of the multitudinous and accumulating disasters of France, the usurping mistress of the European continent, it may of late be said:–

" That of an hour's age doth hiss the speaker,
Each minute teems a new one!"

The part which England has borne, directly and indirectly, in all the wars which have emanated from the French revolution, will form a grand and prominent feature in her history, at the close of the eighteenth, and at the commencement of the nineteenth, century. Within those periods, numerous are the political acts, and great military achievements, by sea and by land, to be inscribed upon the roll of time,

The moments that may be devoted to their consideration, will be not only usefully, but delightfully, employed. To embalm the memories of such statesmen as **Pitt,** and **Fox**, and **Burke,** and to emblazon the exploits of such heroes as **Nelson,** and **Abercombie,** and **Wellington,** will be a proud and grateful task for the historian;—a task, for the due performance of which he will be honoured with the thanks of latest posterity.

Adverting to events of a more domestic nature, which might be enumerated amongst the calls for a new **HISTORY OF ENGLAND,** the Union of Great Britain with Ireland is calculated to arrest the attention of every reader, as involving the destinies of another nation with those of our own, and, consequently, as abounding in interest.

Nor can the lamented indisposition of the Sovereign of these realms be passed over unnoticed. From the seriousness of its nature, and the hopelessness of its favourable termination, the present has been correctly designated as "A NEW ÆRA"; as, virtually, the commencement of a new reign.

Independently of the increase of our population, which, amidst all the losses, calamities, and severe privations of war, has advanced, in the course of ten years, upwards of a million and a half[3], the want of an appropriately embellished history of England—of **RAPIN'S** History, in particular—has long been a subject of complaint, amongst the patrons and admirers of the fine arts. On this point, it is hoped, the present edition will prove abundantly satisfactory.

In addition to a variety of original Designs, obtained at a heavy expense, an extensive Collection of Paintings, by our first Artists, both ancient and modern, has been made by the Proprietors. The Portraits of our Sovereigns will be distinguished by their superior fidelity of representation, and beauty of execution; and the whole of the graphic embellishments, which are to be furnished by the most eminent engravers, will be such as must entitle it to a marked and decided preference to every other.

Notes to The Preface

1. Speaking of ***Rapins's History Of England***, the Editors of the ***Encyclopaedia Britannica*** make the following remark: This performance, though the work of a foreigner, is deservedly esteemed as the fullest and most impartial collection of English political transactions extant." **VOLTAIRE** also observes: "England is indebted to **RAPIN** for the best history of itself which has yet appeared; and the only impartial one of a nation, within which few write, without being actuated by the “spirit of party."

2. Gaudetque viam fecisse ruinâ. LUCAN.

3. In the year 1801, the population of Great Britain was 10,942,646: in 1811, it amounted to 12,552,144; an increase of 1,611882. This extraordinary advancement had been in the following proportions:—England 14, Wales 12, and Scotland 13, in every 100. Vide the Population Returns, laid before Parliament at the beginning of the year 1812.

PARTICULARS OF THE LIFE OF M. RAPIN DE THOYRAS

HE ancestors of M. RAPIN, whose name is familiar to every reader of English history, were settled in Savoy, as a noble family, at least as early as the year 1250. With the origin, or derivation of the name, which is remarkable, we are unacquainted; but it deserves to be mentioned that one of the Bishops of Maurienne, as a wise precaution, or, perhaps, to perpetuate an ill-grounded enmity, caused the following inscription to be engraven in the episcopal palace:

Caveant successores nostri a familia RAPINORUM.[1]

The author of the succeeding verses, however, insinuates, that the external lustre of the family had been impaired, solely by their steady adherence to the laws of honour and justice.

Pour n' avoir sans besoin se prendre,
On voit tomber cette maison;
Si l'effet eut suivi son nom,
Elle auroit de quoi se defendre. [2]

Four brothers, of the name of RAPIN, settled in France, in the reign of Francis the 1st, some time between the years 1525 and 1647. One, a clergyman, distinguished also as the king's orator, was almoner to Queen Catherine de Medici. The three others were soldiers, and embraced the reformed religion, on which account, it is conjectured, they abandoned their country.

The eldest was a Colonel of foot, and governor of Montauban. His name is amongst those of the viscounts, who commanded the troops of the reformed, in the southern provinces of France. He was well known to Henry the IVth. to Louis and Henry, Princes of Conde, to Admiral Chastillon, &c. **PETER**, another of the brothers, is believed to have holden a commission,. as captain of horse.—**PHILIBERT**, the fourth, and the only one who left issue, was gentleman to the Prince of Conde, and afterwards his steward, or *maitre d'hotel de la maison.*

He enjoyed great reputation, in military as well as in civil affairs; but both proved fatal to him, as they drew upon him the enmity of the Catholics, and particularly of the Parliament of Thoulouse, who caused him to be beheaded at the very time when he had arrived, by the king's order, to register the edict of peace of 1568. In consequence of this cruel execution, the Huguenots, according to Mezerai, a writer of acknowledged veracity, set fire to all the lands and houses of the counsellors, on the ruins of which the soldiers wrote, with smoking coals, "**Rapin's Revenge.**"

PETER, Baron of Maven, son of **PHILIBERT,** was governor of Mas-Granier, one of the cautionary towns which had been granted to the reformed in Guienne. He was a soldier from his youth, and attended Henry the IVth. in all his expeditions.—He married a daughter of M. de Lupe, Lord of Maravat, &c. by whom he left a numerous issue.

JAMES, Sieur de Thoyras, second son of **PETER**, was the favourite of both his parents, His father left him more than any of the other younger children, and his mother gave him that portion of an estate which had fallen to her in right of his maternal grand-mother. He was intended for a soldier; but, in compliance with the wishes of his mother, who was anxious to have him near her, he was bred to the law.

Having completed his studies, he was admitted advocate in the Court of the Edict of Castres; and, contrary to the custom of the country, where persons nobly descended were never of that profession, he practised it at Castres, at Castlenaudary and at Thoulouse, above fifty years. His wife, who died at Genoa, whither she had been sent by the king's order, for refusing to turn Papist, was sister of George and Paul Pellison[3]. Her father and grandfather were Judges in the Parliament of Thoulouse, and in the Court of the Edict of Castres. Raymond Pellison, his great grandfather, after having been Master of the Requests, and Ambassador to Portugal, was first President of the Senate of Chamberi, and Commandant in Savoy, whilst in possession of the French.

PAUL DE RAPIN, Sieur de Thoyras, the immediate subject of this memoir, was the younger son of **JAMES**. He was born at Castres on the 25th of March, 1661. He began to study Latin under a tutor whom his father kept in the house; after which he was sent to Puylaurens, and from thence to Saumur. At the last place, when about the age of seventeen, he quarrelled with one of his fellow students; in consequence of which, they challenged each other, and fought upon the spot. During the contest, night approached; and, without his perceiving it, M. RAPIN'S sword broke near the hilt.

His adversary generously apprised him of the circumstance; on which the combat ceased, and, embracing each other, they returned together to town. Shortly afterwards, he had a quarrel with a person much older than himself, who rudely jostled him, in a narrow and difficult passage. A scuffle immediately ensued; but they were quickly parted; and, while **M. RAPIN** ran to fetch his sword, the assailant disappeared. **M. RAPIN** anxiously sought for him several days, till, learning that he had gone to Paris, he pursued him thither.

On his arrival in that city, he was seized by a guard of the Marshals of France; an accident which, as he afterwards found, was occasioned by the cautious interference of his uncle Pellison, who had been apprised of his quarrel, and of the probable motive of his journey, from Saumur. The Marshals, having heard both parties, condemned the aggressor to lie in prison, at Fort l'Eveque, till **M. RAPIN** should consent to his discharge; which, at the desire of the Prince of Furstenburgh, Bishop of Strasburgh, who was then at Paris, he did in about a month.

The day after the sentence, however, the prisoner's brother, who was accounted a good swordsman, met **M. RAPIN** in the street, and excited him to a renewal of the dispute. **M. RAPIN** consequently drew his sword, and wounded him. For fear of incensing the Marshals, this rencounter was kept secret, by both parties.

In the beginning of the year 1679, **M. RAPIN** returned to his father's, in order to apply himself closely to the study of the law; but, before he had made any progress, he, with many other young gentlemen, was obliged to commence advocate, upon notice of an edict, that a doctor's degree should not be given to any person, who had not studied five years at a University.—In the same year, the Courts of the Edict were suppressed, by which **M. RAPIN'S** family were under the necessity of returning to Thoulouse. Perceiving the precarious situation of those who held the Reformed Religion, he solicited his father's consent to quit the profession of advocate for that of arms. His father's answer not being final, he lingered in the pursuit of his legal studies. He

only pleaded one cause, and then applied himself, more sedulously than ever, to general literature, to mathematics, and to music, in which he acquired great skill.

In 1685, his father died, and, two months after, The edict of Nantz was revoked. **M. RAPIN** then retired into the country, with his mother and his brothers; but, as the persecution shortly attained its utmost height, he came over to England, with his youngest brother, in March, 1686.

Not long after his arrival, there came to London a French Abbe of quality, a friend of M. Pellison, who frequently visited **M. RAPIN**, and introduced him to M. Barillon, the French Ambassador, from whom he experienced great civilities. These gentlemen wished him to wait upon the king, assuring him of a gracious reception; but, feeling no pretensions to such an honour, and being apprehensive that the proposal, though apparently advantageous, might terminate prejudicially, he politely excused himself; and, finding himself continually assailed, by controversial arguments relating to his religion, he retired into the country, without taking leave.

Having then no expectations in England, he made only a short stay, and went over to Holland, where he had relations. At Utrecht, he enlisted in a company of French volunteers, commanded by **M. RAPIN**, his cousin-German. In the same company, he Came to England with the Prince of Orange.

In 1689, Lord Kingston gave him an ensigncy in his own regiment, with which he passed into Ireland, where, on several occasions, he Was very actively employed. Early in 1690, the regiment in which, through the interest of Lieutenant Colonel Fielding, he had obtained a lieutenancy, was given to Lieutenant-General Douglas, by whom he was greatly noticed, and who, subsequently, reposed in him great confidence. At the siege of Limerick he was shot in the shoulder, and, on the following day, the siege being raised, he was obliged to ride four miles on horseback, in great anguish.

He was left with the rest of the wounded (among whom was his brother, who had been shot through the body) and thus lost his regiment, which was ordered to the North. Shortly after, however, he heard that General Douglas had procured him a company, and caused him to be admitted, though absent. It was the same company in which he had served as ensign, the former lieutenant still remaining; a circumstance that somewhat pained his feelings.

In the following year, General Douglas received orders to proceed to Flanders. It was designed that **M. RAPIN** should attend him, as his *aid-du-camp*; but he was not sufficiently recovered from his wound. At the taking of Baltimore, with which the campaign opened in Ireland, he had the satisfaction of proving serviceable to a distressed captive family, with whom he had been acquainted the year before. He was afterwards at the siege, and in the assault, of Athlone, and was sent successively to several garrisons. Subsequently to those services, he rejoined his regiment at Kinsale, and contracted an intimate friendship with Sir James Waller, who commanded there.

About the end of the year 1695, **M. RAPIN** received an order to repair to England; and, at the same time, a letter from Mr. Belcastel informed him that he was to be governor to the Earl of Portland's son; to which, as he afterwards found, he had been recommended by Lord Galloway. He came, therefore, to London, and entered upon his office. Thus terminated his hopes of rising in the army; and all the compensation which he received, was the permission to resign his company to his brother, who died, Lieutenant-Colonel of a regiment of English dragoons, in the year 1719.

Some time after, the king granted him a pension of £100 per annum, till he should better, provide for him; but that never happened. He enjoyed his pension several years; but, upon his Majesty's death, it ceased, and a place was given to him, which produced only a moderate income.

His new employment obliged him to be same times in. Holland, often in England, and also in France, whilst the Earl of Portland was ambassador, until the young lord was fixed at the Hague, for the prosecution of his studies. Whilst there, in the year 1699 **M. RAPIN** made an advantageous match, by uniting himself with a lady named Marianne Tostard.

Continuing, however, to attend his pupil, he accompanied him on his travels. They began with Germany, making some stay at Vienna and at other courts; and thence they passed into Italy, by way of the Tyrol, where they saw Marshal Villeroy, then a prisoner, who gave **M. RAPIN** a letter for Cardinal d'Etrées, at Venice. On his return, his employment having ceased, he joined his family at the Hague, where he passed some years, improving his leisure hours in the study of fortification, and especially of history, which occasioned him to draw up many genealogical and chronological tables. He was also much gratified by being a member of a literary and philosophical society, at the meetings of which regular discussions took place, on such subjects as might be proposed.

As he found his family increase, however, he resolved to sacrifice the pleasures of the Hague, by retiring to cheaper country; a determination which he carried into effect, in the year 1707, by removing to Wesel, in the Duchy of Cleves. There he found a number of French refugees, amongst which were several officers, men of quality, with whom he associated on friendly terms; and he was also treated in a very handsome manner by persons of the first consideration in the country.

Now more than ever master of his time, he devoted himself to the study of the History and Government of England; a task to which he was eminently competent, by his perfect knowledge of the language, by his former attentive perusal of English historical works[4], and by his capability of reading, in the original, all the books which he found it necessary to consult. It is understood, that, when he commenced writing, he designed to close his work with the account of the Norman Conquest; but, finding new and interesting lights break in upon the subject, he resolved to proceed.

When he came to the reign of Henry the 2nd he was again on the point of relinquishing his performance; till, fortunately, he received an unexpected assistance, which not only determined him to pursue, but greatly to extend, his plan. This assistance was **Rymer's Foedera**, communicated to him by the famous Le Clerc, who received the volumes successively, as they were published, from Lord Halifax. This valuable collection proved of infinite service to him, in the future progress of his history.

M. RAPIN originally enjoyed a very strong constitution; but a constant application of seventeen years in the composition of this elaborate work, entirely ruined his health. About three years before his death, he found himself quite exhausted, and he was frequently seized with violent pains in his stomach. If he would have relinquished his labour and have unbent his mind for a time, he might have recovered; but all the indulgence that he could be prevailed onto allow himself was, not to rise before six o'clock in the morning; after which hour it was impossible for him to sleep, or to lie in his bed.

Walking was his chief exercise, and diversion; but he soon became tired; and, if his indisposition would permit, he used to return to his desk. At last a violent fever, attended by an oppression on his lungs, carried him off, on the 16th of May, 1725, after an illness of seven days. His wife, one son, and six daughters, survived him.

The character of **M. RAPIN** will probably best appear in the perusal of his History. He was naturally grave, and partial to the conversation of the serious; a circumstance which, whilst he was in the army, prejudiced some of his comrades, and even many of his superiors, against him. On the other hand, it gained him the esteem and friendship of many persons high in station and importance. His gravity, however, was not so severe as to render him insensible to the enjoyments

of mirth; for, on the contrary, he is known to have written several light and ludicrous trifles, both in prose and verse. As they were intended, however, only for the purpose of the moment, he never regarded them as worthy of revisal or preservation.—A warm and steady friend, he was ever anxious to serve, and to reconcile the differences of those whom he loved.

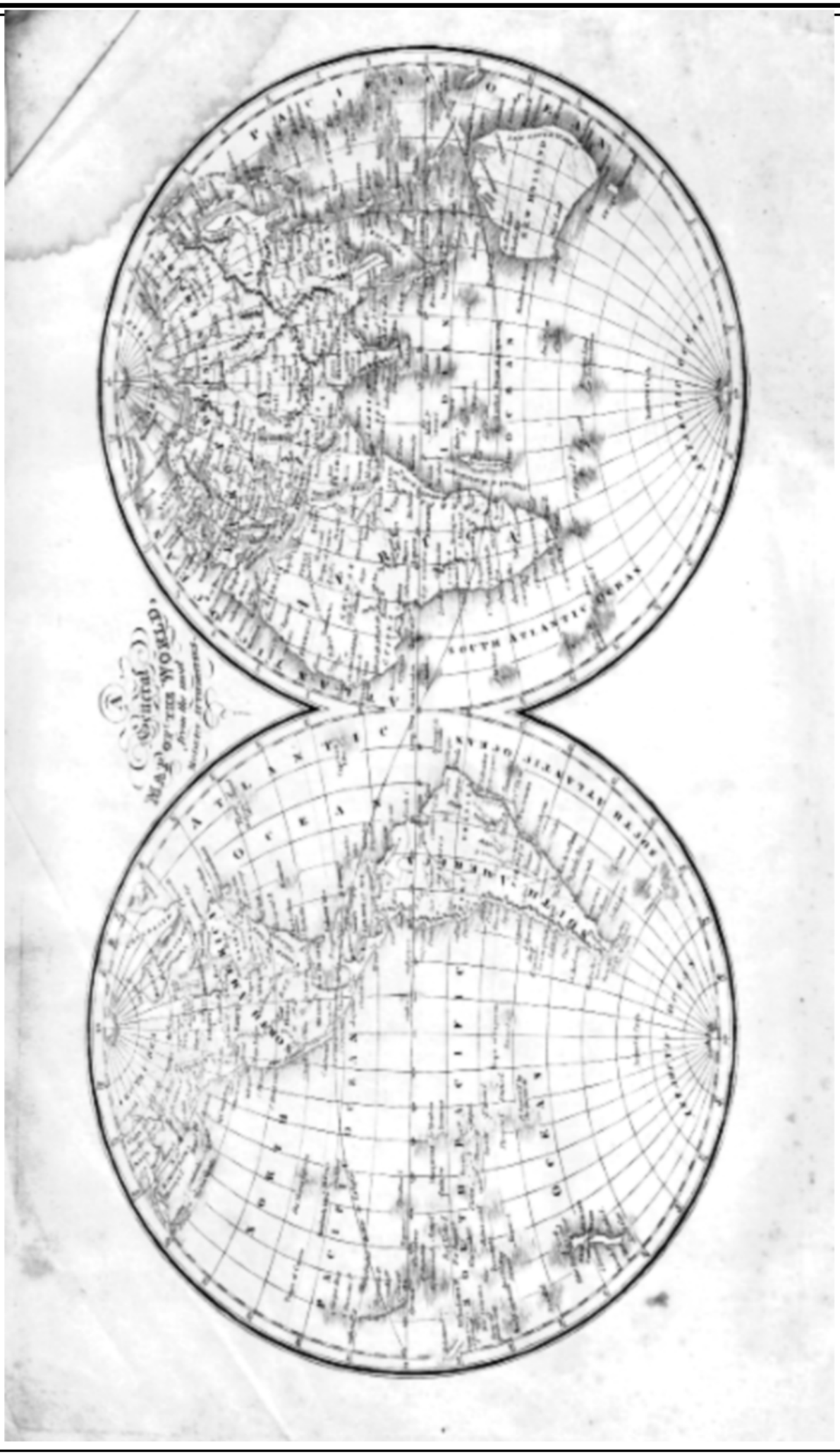
Notes to The Particulars of M. Rapin De Thoyras

1. Let our successors beware of the **RAPINS**.

2. Through being too honest to invade the property of others, this family has gone to decay. Had they been addicted to what their name imports, they would be in possession of wherewithal to support themselves.

3. The family of Pellison; whence have sprung several illustrious persons, was originally English, and descended from an Attorney General to the Prince of Wales, when in Guienne.

4. That M. Rapin possessed a thorough knowledge of our Parties and factions, appears from his Dissertation of the Whigs and Tories, published in 1717, and translated into English, Dutch, Danish, &c.


Map of the World.
PACIFIC OCEAN
SOUTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN
SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN

INTRODUCTION

PRELIMINARY REMARKS—DERIVATION OF THE NAMES, BRITAIN, AND ALBION GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION, EXTENT, AND POPULATION, OF THE ISLAND —CLIMATE—LONGEVITY, FECUNDITY, &c. OF THE INHABITANTS—SOIL—AGRICULTURE—MINERALOGY—ANIMA PRODUCTIONS—ORIGINAL POPULATION OF ENGLAND, AND OF SCOTLAND—DISCOVERY, SITUATION, EXTENT, AND POPULATION OF IRELAND—PICTS, AND SCOTS—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS—MILITARY DISCIPLINE ---WAR CHARIOTS.—RELIGION—DRUIDS—-DRUIDICAL MAXIMS—SACRED GROVES—DRUIDESSES ANCIENT GOVERNMENT OF THE ISLAND—BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

IT is too frequently a fault with historians, that they commence, and proceed with the history of a country, without previously informing their readers of any of the natural facts relating thereto. The disadvantages resulting from such omission are so obvious that we cannot but wonder at its repetition; for, unless we are made acquainted with the geographical situation of any particular country, the history of which we may be about to study, with the nature of its climate, soil, and general productions, with the origin, propensities, and capabilities, of its inhabitants, it is impossible to appreciate political events, or satisfactorily to accompany the historian through his various details. We shall endeavour to avoid a charge of this nature, by presenting, a general, though concise view of England, with respect to its geography, natural history, aboriginal occupants, &c.

It has for some time been a settled point among the learned, that the Phoenicians, the most ancient as well as the most enlightened navigators, were the first discoverers of the British Islands, and that they recorded, and transmitted, their fame to posterity.

Bochart even supposes that the name of Britain originates from a Phoenician word; and another writer infers that the name of Cassiterides, afterwards restricted to the isles of Scilly, originally applied to Great Britain and Ireland. In the Greek language, Cassiterides implies the islands of tin, and is thought to have been translated from some corresponding Phoenician term. On this point, however, etymologists differ.

The island of Great Britain, comprehending England, Wales, and Scotland, according to Pliny, was anciently called Albion; the name of Britain having been applied to all the islands collectively, but that of Albion to only one. Ptolemy calls Albion a British island, a name supposed by some to have been derived from its white cliffs; by others, from a son of Neptune.

Nennius derives Britain from Brutus, the fifth in descent from Æneas; others from the British words *Puyd Cain*, signifying a white form; Camden derives it from Brith, painted, and Tania, a region or country; and Bochart, as above stated, from Barat Anac, signifying the country of tin or lead. Here it should be remarked, that the name of Britain was applied, not to the inhabitants, but to the island, the true name of the former being Cumri, or Cymri. Thus, Barat Anac might

have been formed by the Romans into Britannia or *Britannicæ Insulæ*—The southern, most opulent, and most important division of Britain, has, ever since the days of Bede, been distinguished among the European nations by the name of Anglia, or England, from the Angles, a nation of the Cimbric Chersonese, or modern Jutland, who conquered a considerable portion of the country.

Great Britain extends from fifty to fifty-eight and a half degrees of north latitude, being of course about 500 geographical miles in length. Its greatest breadth, from the Land's End to the North Foreland in Kent, 320 geographical miles. In British miles the length may be computed at 580, and the breadth at 370.

That portion of the island, generally spoken of as England, distinctively from Scotland, and to which the present history, particularly in its earlier periods, more immediately refers, is bounded on the east by the German Ocean; on the south by the English Channel; on the west by St. George's Channel; on the north by the Cheviot Hills, by the pastoral River Tweed, and an ideal line falling south west down to the Firth of Solway. The extent of England and Wales, in square miles, is computed at 49,450; and the population, exclusively of the army and navy, being-estimated at 10,106,780,[1] the number of inhabitants to a square mile will of course be 204.

What the precise number of people might be; in this island, at the period of the first Roman invasion, it is impossible to ascertain; but, as both agriculture and commerce were then only in their infancy, extensive tracts of the country being covered with woods and marshes, it could not have been very populous. If on an average we allow 20,000 persons of both sexes, and of all ages, to each of the thirty-eight nations, which are said to have existed in the island at that time, it will form a total of 760,000; and, upon the whole, it seems not improbable, that there maybe nearly as many people at present in the metropolis of England, and its environs, as were in the whole island on the arrival of Cæsar.

The climate of Great Britain is, perhaps, more variable than that of any other country, on the globe, as the vapours of the Atlantic Ocean are opposed to the drying winds from the eastern continent. The western coasts, in particular, are subject to frequent rains; and the eastern part of Scotland possesses a clearer and drier temperature than that of England. The humidity of the climate, indeed, clothes the beautiful vales and meadows with a verdure unknown to any other region; but it is injurious to the health of its inhabitants, by causing colds and catarrhs, which frequently lead to more serious disorders.

Severe frosts, and violent heats, occasionally occur; but, in general, the weather is not so rigorous and sultry as in other European countries. The island is subject, in a smaller degree, to storms of thunder and lightning; to long and piercing frosts, and deep snows; and. though it has a full proportion of rain, it falls moderately, and not with such weight and violence as to produce sudden and dangerous inundations. So kind are the seasons as to ripen all sorts of grain, and to furnish a great variety of excellent fruit.

Indeed, notwithstanding any apparent disadvantages, the longevity of the inhabitants[2], their stature, strength; and activity; the fruitfulness of the women[3]; and, above all, the towering genius; and general superiority of intellect, so conspicuous amongst all classes, might be adduced, as incontrovertible proofs of the salubrity of the climate.

The soil of the country is excellent; consisting, chiefly, of vegetable mould, black, grey, brown, and red, with clays in great variety; and in no part of the world is agriculture supposed to be better understood, or pursued with more indefatigable attention. Even under the Romans, Great Britain was the granary of the western empire; and an immense quantity of corn was annually transported hence for the supply of the army, on the frontiers of Germany. It is mortifying however, to reflect upon two circumstances; the deficiency, for many years past, of a proper supply of grain; and the immense extent of the waste lands in this industrious country. The

cultivated acres in England and Wales are computed at upwards of 39,000,000, while those uncultivated, are 7,888,777. Of these it is supposed that not above half a million is wholly un-improvable, and perhaps a million only is fit for plantations, while of the remainder one quarter is fit for tillage, and three fourths for meadow and upland pasture.

It rarely happens that countries, abundant in the productions of agriculture, are rich in mineralogy but in this respect England is far from being deficient; her tin mines, in Cornwall, have been celebrated from the earliest ages, and they are supposed to be the richest of the kind in the world. Copper is found in Cornwall, in Yorkshire, Staffordshire, and in particular abundance in the Parrys mountain, in the north west of Anglesea. Lead and iron are produced in great quantities in various parts of the kingdom.

The copper yields a proportionate quantity of lapis calaminaris for making brass; the lead is impregnated with silver; and Dr Woodward, in his "***Natural History of Fossils***" remarks, that England affords both gold and silver in greater quantities than is commonly imagined. There are: also cornelians, agates, mochoes, onyxes, jaspers, topazes, emeralds, and sapphires, but not so hard as the oriental: in short, England produces every metal, mineral, or fossil, except the diamond; some few others of the gem kind; and cinnabar, or ore of mercury.

The following productions of the earth may also be enumerated:-- black-lead, lapis-calaininaris, antimony, pyrites, fullers-earth, brick-clay, tile-clay, potter's-clay, tobacco-pipe clay; clay for making crucibles and glass-house pots; made, of many different sorts, and every where dispersed; loam and sands of several kinds; sand-stone, free-stone, whet-stone, lime-stone; blue slate flag-marble, of many kinds; rich and beautiful alabaster; porphyry, granite, pebbles, flints, talcs, of several kinds; crystals, various spars, pitch-stone, canal-stone, pit-coal, jet, amber, salts, of almost every species; alum, vitriol, saltpetre, sulphur, arsenic, &c.

Of the animal productions of Britain, Pennant enumerates twenty genera, from the horse down to the seal and bat. The birds extend to forty-eight, the reptiles to four, and the fish to forty genera, besides the crustaceous and shell fish.—That noble and useful animal, the horse, is found here of many mingled breeds. The British cavalry was remarkable even in the time of Julius Caesar; but we know not what was the primitive stock. Our race horses descend from Arabian stallions, and the genealogy faintly extends to our hunters. The great strength and size of our-draught horses are derived from those of Germany, Flanders, and Holstein.

Those of Yorkshire are particularly celebrated for their spirit and beauty. The speed of Childers was computed at a mile in a minute; and such is the strength of a Yorkshire pack-horse, that he will usually carry four hundred and twenty pounds: a mill horse will even support, for a short distance, a weight of 910 pounds.—The breeds of our horned cattle are almost as numerous as those of our horses; but the indigenous breed is now only known to exist in Neidwood forest; in Staffordshire, and at Chillingham Castle in Northumberland. Those of Wales and Cornwall are small, whilst the Lincolnshire kind derive there great size from those of Holstein.

The Suffolk cows are as small as those of Alderney; but greatly surpass them in the compactness, beauty, and symmetry of their form. The number and value of sheep in England may be conceived from the ancient staple commodity of wool. Of this eminently useful animal several breeds appear, generally denominated from their particular counties or districts: those of Herefordshire, Devonshire, and Cotswold downs, are noted for the fineness of their fleeces, whilst those of Lincolnshire and Warwickshire are remarkable for their quantity.

The mutton of Wales is in great esteem; but the wool is coarse—England also abounds in breeds of dogs, some of which were celebrated even in the Roman times; and, in the reign of Elizabeth, sixteen denominations of English dogs were enumerated. Some seem to be now extinct, and the blood-hound occurs only in Staffordshire. The shepherd's dog is Buffon's fanciful father of the whole canine progeny.

The mastiff, or *amaze thief*, to which Pennant ascribes the bull dog, has been, in a great measure, superseded by, the Newfoundland dog, an animal of very useful and generous, qualities.—Of our savage animals, the wolf, formerly so destructive and annoying, has long been extinct; but the fox still abounds.

The wild cat, a creature three or four times as large as the domestic, is sometimes, but not frequently, met with.—The roe, which used to be so distinguished in the parks of the great, is extinct; but deer, of various kinds, are abundant,—The chief of our birds of prey, are the golden eagle, sometimes found on Snowdon, and the black eagle in Derbyshire: the osprey, or sea eagle, seems to be extinct,—The bustard, the largest bird in England, now rarely appears; but the turkey, originally from America, amply supplies the defect.

Our poultry seems chiefly to originate from Asia: our peacocks are from India: our pheasants from Colchis; and our guinea-fowl, (the Meleagrides, or Numidian hens of the ancients,) are from Africa.—The reptiles of Britain are the coriaceous tortoise, frogs, toads, and several kinds of lizards: of the serpents, the viper alone is venomous. —The whale seldom appears near the English coast; but the porpoise, and others of the same genus, are not uncommon; and the basking shark is sometimes seen off the Welch and Sussex coast.

Our edible sea fish are numerous, plentiful, and excellent. The most celebrated are the turbot, doree, soal, cod, plaice, smelt, mullet, &c. Herrings and mackerel visit most parts. of the coasts in abundance; but pilchards are confined to the shores of Cornwall. Salmon and trout are the chief river fish of the former not less than thirty thousand are said to be brought from the Tweed, to London, in the course of a season. The lobster is found on most of the rocky coasts, particularly off Scarborough. The English oysters were much celebrated in the time of the Romans: they maintain their reputation; but they are thought to yield in flavour to those of more northern countries.

Having completed this rapid sketch of the natural history of the island, we shall proceed to mention some of its aboriginal inhabitants.—The earliest population of Britain, which can be traced, is that of the Gael or southern Celts, called Guydels by the Welch, who regard them as their predecessors; and who have justly remarked, that the most ancient names, even in Wales, are Guydelic, not Cumraig, or Welch.

Those Gael appear to have proceeded from the nearest shores of France and Flanders. As in later times the Belgic settlers in this country, were subdued by the northern Saxons, so the Celtic colony from the south was vanquished by the Cimbri of the north, the ancestors of the modern Welch, who style themselves Cymri, and their language Cymraig, to this day. The original Gaelic inhabitants appear to have almost entirely evacuated the country, and to have retired to Ireland.[4] There, and in the Highlands of Scotland, to which a Gaelic colony passed from. Ireland, the Gaelic dialect of the Celtic language still exists.[5]—To the Celtic population of England succeeded the Gothic.

The Scythians, or Goths, advancing from Asia, drove the Cimbri. or northern Celts before them; and, at a period long preceding the Christian era, had seized on that part of Gaul which is nearest to Great Britain, where they acquired the provincial denomination of Belgæ. Their passage to England followed of course: and when Cæsar first explored this island, he informs us, that the primitive inhabitants were driven into the interior parts, while the regions on the south-east were peopled with Belgic colonies.

Those Belgæ may be justly regarded as the chief ancestors of the English nation; for the Saxons, Angles, and other northern invaders, though of distinguished courage, were inconsiderable in numbers. Till a recent period, antiquaries had imagined that the Belgæ used the Celtic language, and had execrated the cruelties of the Saxons for an extirpation which never happened. But as it appears that two thirds of England were possessed by the Belgic Goths, for six or seven

centuries before the arrival of the Saxons, it is no wonder that no Celtic words are to be found in the English language, which bears more affinity to the Frisic and Dutch than to the Jutlandic or Danish.

Contrary to the opinion of Bede, and others, some writers suppose the Picti, or Picts, to have been really Britons, who had withdrawn themselves from the rest that united with, and adopted the manners of the Romans, as no mention is made of them by any Roman author before Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote towards the end of the 5th century.

In support of this opinion the authority of Camden is brought forward, who, in his introduction, endeavours to shew that the names of places possessed by the Picts in the south, and west parts of Scotland, are British, and that their language was one and the same. But Bede expressly says, that in his time God was served in five different languages in this island, viz. of the Angles, the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the Latins, which last was the language generally used in the churches.

It is certain that the Picts were for several ages a separate and distinct nation, and differed both from the Scots and Britons, not only in their language, but in their laws, customs, &c. The contrary opinion is founded on the name Pict being apparently derived from the Latin word picti (painted); but Verstegan, and other authors, derive it from a word in their own language, which signifies warrior. The Scots called them Pehiti, which name some antiquaries think corresponds with that of Picti—but this idea seems far fetched: the Scots having been under the dominion of Rome too short a period; to have conferred upon their neighbours a. Roman title.—Though Buchanan imagines the name to be Roman, he supposes the Picts were descended from some Gauls, who had settled in Thrace, where they painted their bodies, as well as in Britain.

He also says, that they spoke the same language as the Britons and the Scots; but Bede, as before intimated, asserts the contrary. John Major, one of the most ancient of the Scotch historians, declares that in his time almost half Scotland spoke the Irish language, which they had brought with them from that island. At present there is a great similarity in Scotch and Irish names.

In the time of Cæsar, the Britons were distinguished for their temperance, sobriety, and generally hardiness of constitution. The use of clothes was scarcely known amongst them. The inhabitants of the southern coasts covered themselves with the skins of wild beasts; but not so much to defend themselves against the cold, as to avoid giving offence to the strangers who came to traffic with them.

By way of ornament, they made incisions in their bodies in the shape of flowers, trees, and animals, which, with the juice of woad, they painted of a sky colour that never wore out[6]. These scars are by Tertullian termed Britannorum Stigmata.

They lived in woods, in huts covered with skins; boughs, or turf. Their usual food was milk and flesh obtained by hunting, their woods and plains being well stocked with game. As for domestic fowls, hens; and geese, if they bred any it was for their pleasure, being strictly forbidden by their religion to eat them. Neither did they eat fish, though the rivers and the sea that surrounded them were plentifully stored. Their towns, or rather villages, were only confused parcels of huts placed at a little distance from each other, without any order or distinction of streets.

They generally stood in the middle of a wood, the avenues whereof were defended with slight ramparts of earth, or with the trees that were felled to clear the ground. But notwithstanding their plain and simple manner of living, so remote from the luxury of other nations, they were as quick of apprehension as the Gauls, and, if Tacitus may be credited, of greater penetration. Diodorus Siculus does not scruple to prefer their honesty and integrity before those of the Romans. One custom, however; they had that seemed detestable to other nations, though they thought it very innocent: ten or a dozen brothers or friends used to live altogether, and have their wives in

common. This custom continued a long time among them, though in other respects they were much civilized by their commerce with the Romans. A British lady, being upbraided one day by Julia, Severus's Empress, with a custom so contrary to the practice of other nations, is said to have returned this bold answer: "The Roman Ladies have little reason to reproach us upon this account, since we do publicly with the best of our men no more than what they do privately with the worst of theirs, freemen and slaves." The Britons, without doubt, differed from more civilized nations in many other customs;[7] but, their country being little frequented by foreigners, our information respecting them, prior to the time of the Romans, is very scanty.

Caesar gives a high character of their valour, and of their going to battle with undaunted bravery. The troops which composed their armies were of three kinds; infantry, cavalry; and those who fought from chariots. The infantry was by far the most numerous body, and constituted their chief force. They were very swift of foot; excelled in swimming over rivers, and in passing over fens and marshes, which enabled them to make sudden and unexpected attacks, and expeditions retreats.

They were not encumbered with much clothing, many of them being almost naked, having neither breast-plates, helmets, nor any defensive armour, but small and light shields, or targets. Their offensive arms were long and broad swords, without points, and designed only for cutting, which were slung in a belt or chain over the left shoulder, and hung down by the right side; short, and sharp pointed dirks fixed in their girdles; a spear, with which they sometimes fought hand to hand, and used sometimes as a missile weapon, having a thong fixed to it for recovering it; and at the butt end, a round ball of brass, filled with pieces of metal, to make a noise when they engaged with cavalry. Some, instead of spears, were armed with bows and arrows:—

The cavalry were mounted on small, but very hardy, spirited, and mettlesome horses, which they managed with great dexterity. They were armed with oblong shields, broad swords, and long spears. It was usual with the Britons, as well as with the Gauls and Germans, to dismount and fight on foot; having their horses so well trained that they stood firm in the place where they left them till they returned. It was also their common practice, to mix an equal number of their swiftest footmen with their cavalry; each footman holding. by a horse's mane, and keeping pace with him in all his motions.—Those who fought from chariots constituted the most remarkable corps, and seem to have been chiefly persons of distinction, and the very flower of their youth.

Their way of fighting with their chariots, says Caesar, "is this: first, they drive their chariots on all sides, and throw their darts; insomuch that by the very terror of the horses, and noise of the wheels, they often break the ranks of the enemy. When they have forced their way into the midst of the cavalry, they quit their chariots and fight on foot. Meanwhile the drivers retire a little from the combat, and place themselves in such a manner as to favour the retreat of their countrymen, should they be overpowered by the enemy.

Thus in action they perform the part both of nimble horsemen and of stable infantry; and, by continual exercise and use, have arrived at that expertness, that in the most steep and difficult places they can stop their horses. upon full stretch, turn them which way they please, run along the pole, rest on the harness, and throw themselves back into their chariots, with incredible dexterity."—Of these war-chariots, Cassibelanus is said to have retained four thousand about his person, after he had dismissed all his other forces.

The following passage from Ossian, is supposed to be an accurate description of the war-chariot of a British prince.—"The car, the car of battle comes; like the flame of death; the rapid car of Cuchullin, the noble son of Semo. It bends behind, like a wave near a rock; like the golden mist of the heath. Its sides are embossed with tones, and sparkle like the sea round the boat of night. Of polished yew is its beam, and its seat of the smoothest bone. The sides are replenished with spears, and the bottom is the footstool of heroes. Before the right side of the car is seen the snorting horse—bright are the sides of the steed, and his name is Sulin-siffadda. Before the left side of

the car is seen the snorting horse —the thin maned, high headed, strong hoofed, fleet, bounding son of the hill: his name its Dusronnal, among the stormy sons of the sword. A thousand thongs bind the car on high. Hard-polished bits shine in a wreath of foam.—Thin thongs, bright-studded with gems, bend on the stately necks of the steeds. The steeds that, like wreaths of mist fly over the streamy vales, the wildness of deer is in their course, the strength of the eagle descending on her prey. Their noise is like the blast of winter, on the sides of the-snow-headed Gormal."

As well situated for trade as the Britons were, we do not find that they had any large vessels, or ventured to sea beyond the coasts of Gaul. Their chief commerce was with the Phoenician merchants, who, after the discovery of the island, annually exported great quantities of tin, with which they carried on a very lucrative trade, with distant nations. Notwithstanding all their care, however, to conceal the fountain head, the Greeks[8] discovered it, and came and traded to the same place.

Of the religion of the Britons, it is known that they had in a manner the same gods with the Gauls. For instance, Dis and Samothes were deities equally worshipped by both nations. But the Britons had a very particular veneration for Andate, or Andraste, goddess of victory, to whom they sacrificed their prisoners of war.

The Supreme Being, however, was worshipped by them, under the name of Hesus, a word expressive of his attribute of omnipotence, as Hizzuz is in the Hebrew. But when the worship of a plurality of gods was introduced, Hesus was adored only as a particular divinity, who by his great power presided over war and armies, and was the same with Mars. As the Germans, Gauls, and Britons, were much addicted to war, they were great worshippers of Hesus, when become a particular divinity, from whom they expected victory; and they paid their court to him by such cruel and bloody rites, as would be acceptable only to a being who delighted in the destruction of mankind,—Teutates was another name, or attribute, of the Supreme Being, which, in these times of ignorance and idolatry, was worshipped by the Gauls and Britons as a particular divinity.

It is evidently compounded of the two British words, Deu—Tatt, which signify God the parent, or creator, a name properly due only to the one true God; who was originally intended by that name. But when these nations sunk into idolatry, they degraded Teutates into the sovereign of the infernal world, the same with the Dis and Pluto of the Greeks and Romans (or, as others think, with Mercury) and worshipped him in such a manner as could be agreeable to none but an infernal power.—So tremendous awful is the sound of thunder, that all nations seem to have agreed in believing it to be the voice of the Supreme Being and as such it was no doubt considered by the Gauls and Britons, as well as by other nations, while they continued to worship only one God.

But when they began to multiply their gods, Taranis, so called from Taran, thunder, became one of their particular divinities, and was worshipped also by. very inhuman rites.—The sun seems to have been both the most ancient and most universal object of idolatrous worship; insomuch that, perhaps, there never: was any nation of idolaters, which did not pay some homage to this glorious luminary. He was worshipped by the ancient Britons with great devotion, in many places, under the various names of Bel, Belinus, Belatucnadus, Grannius, &c. all which names in their language were expressive of the nature and properties of that visible fountain of light and heat.

To this illustrious object of idolatrous worship, those famous circles of stones, of which several still remain, seem to have been chiefly dedicated: where the Druids kept the sacred fire, the symbol of this divinity, and whence, as being situated on eminences, they had a full view of the heavenly bodies.—As the moon is next in lustre and utility to the sun, there can be no doubt, that this radiant queen of heaven obtained a very early and very large share in the idolatrous veneration of mankind. What Diodorus says of the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, may perhaps be said, with equal truth of all other idolatrous nations. "When they took a view of the universe,

and contemplated the nature of all things, they imagined the sun and moon were the first and greatest gods."

The moon, as we are told by Caesar, was the chief divinity of the ancient Germans, out of gratitude, it is probable, for the favours which they received from her lunar majesty, in her nocturnal and predatory expeditions; nor did they think it proper to fight, or engage in any important enterprise, while this their protectress was in a state of obscurity.

The Gauls and Britons seem to have paid the same kind of worship to the moon,. as to the sun and it has been observed, that the circular temples dedicated to these two luminaries were of the same construction, and generally contiguous.—But a great number of the gods of Gaul and Britain, as well as of Greece and Rome, had been men, victorious princes, wise legislators, inventors of useful arts, &c. who had been deified, by the admiration and gratitude of those nations which had lost the knowledge of one infinitely perfect Being, who was alone entitled to their supreme admiration and gratitude.

It is even certain, that those deified mortals who were adored by the Gauls and Britons, were, in general, the same persons who were worshipped by the Greeks and Romans. These were Saturn, Jupiter, Mercury, and the other princes and princesses of the royal family of the Titans; who reigned with so much lustre, both in Asia and Europe, in the patriarchal ages.—It is even stated on the authority of ancient historians, that the Britons had a greater number of gods than the Egyptians; and there was hardly a river, lake, mountain, or wood, which was not supposed to have some divinities, or genii residing in them.

It is known that the Druids, as well among the Britons as Gauls, had the care and direction of all religious affairs. The name Druid comes from the word Dern, signifying, in the British or Celtic language, an Oak, like Drips in the Greek; for the mistletoe that grows on the oak was looked upon by them as a most sacred thing, and the greatest blessing from heaven.[9] The Druids were held in such veneration by the people, that their authority was almost absolute.

No public affairs were transacted without their approbation: not so much as a malefactor could be put to death without their consent. Religion not only afforded them a pretence to concern themselves in the government, but authorized them, as they pretended, to interfere in private affairs. They even claimed a power to exclude from the sacrifices all such as refused to submit to their determinations. Thus they became very formidable, this sort of excommunication being deemed so infamous, that the person; on whom it was pronounced, was avoided by all. The Chief of the Druids was a sort of Pontiff, or High-priest, who had authority over all the rest. This dignity was elective; and sometimes, when the candidates were of equal merit, such heats and broils raged among them that they fell to blows before the election was over.

Some writers are of opinion, and have taken much learned pains to prove, that the Druids, as well as the other orders of ancient priests, taught their disciples many things concerning the creation of the world—the formation of man—his primitive innocence and felicity—and his fall into guilt and misery—the creation. of angels—their rebellion and expulsion out of Heaven—the universal deluge, and the final destruction of this world; by fire: and that their doctrines, on all these subjects; were not very different from those which are contained in the writings of Moses, and other parts of the Scripture.

There is abundant evidence that the Druids taught the doctrine of the immortality of the souls of men; and Mela tells us, that this was one of their secret doctrines which they were permitted to publish, for political rather than religious reasons. "There is one thing," says he, "which they teach their disciples, which has been made known to the common people, in order to render them more brave and fearless; viz. that souls are immortal, and that there is another world after the present." Caesar and. Diodorus say, that the Druids taught the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls into other bodies. This was, perhaps, their public doctrine on the subject,

as being most level to the gross conceptions of the vulgar. But others represent them as teaching, that the soul, after death, ascended into some higher orb, and enjoyed a more sublime felicity. This was probably their private doctrine, and real sentiments.

The Bards, among both Britons and Gauls, were priests of an inferior order to the Druids. Their business was to celebrate the praises of their heroes in verses and songs, which they composed and sung to their harps.[10] They continued in being a long time. There were some even after the Romans had entirely abandoned the island.

A third sort of priests, as well. in Britain as Gaul, were the Eubates, who applied themselves chiefly to the study of philosophy, and the contemplation of the wonderful works of nature. In short, as the Britons and Gauls had properly but one and the same religion, it is very probable that one of these nations received it from the other; Caesar was of opinion, that the Gauls had it from Britain, because, as he observes, those that were desirous to have a thorough knowledge of this religion, went thither to study it. But this at most serves to prove that their religious mysteries were celebrated with greater exactness in Britain, it may be by reason of the revolutions that happened in Gaul, by the wars raised there by the Romans—The Druids left nothing in writing, it being their custom to teach their disciples every thing orally; but a Burgundian author has been at, the pains to collect some of the Druidical maxims or rules, of which the most remarkable are these:

None must be instructed but in sacred groves.[11]

Mistletoe must be gathered. with reverence, and if possible in the sixth moon. It must be cut with a golden bill.

Every thing derives its origin from heavens.

The arcana of the sciences must not be committed to writing, but to the memory.

Great care is to be taken of the education of children.

The powder of mistletoe makes women fruitful.

The disobedient are to be shut out from the sacrifices. Souls are immortal.

The soul after death goes into other bodies.

If the world is destroyed, it will be by fire or water.

Upon extraordinary emergencies, a man must be sacrificed. According as the body falls, or moves after it is fallen; according as the blood flows, or the wound opens; future events are foretold.

Prisoners of war are to be slain upon the altars, or burnt alive enclosed in wicker, in honour of the gods. All commerce with strangers must be prohibited.

He that comes last to the assembly of the states, ought to be punished with death.

Children are to be brought up apart from their parents, till they are fourteen years of age.

Money lent in this world will be repaid in the next.

There is another world; and they who kill themselves to accompany their friends thither, will live with them there.

Letters given to dying persons, or thrown on the funeral pyres of the dead, will faithfully be delivered in the other world.

The moon is a sovereign remedy for all things, as its name in Celtic implies.

Let the disobedient be excommunicated; let him be deprived of the benefit of the law; let him be avoided by all, and rendered incapable of any employ.

All masters of families are kings in their own houses; they have a power of life and death over their wives, children, and slaves.

These articles may serve as a specimen of the principles and religion of the Druids, which flourished a long while in Great Britain, as well as in Gaul, and even spread as far as Italy. It may be proper to add, that, besides the Druids, the Britons had Druidesses, who assisted in the offices, and shared in the honours and emoluments of the priesthood.

The Druidesses of Gaul and Britain are understood to have been divided into three classes. Those of the first class had vowed perpetual virginity, and lived together in sisterhoods, very much sequestered from the world. They were very great pretenders to divination, prophecy, and miracles: were highly admired by the people, who considered them, on all important occasions, as infallible oracles, and gave them the honourable appellation of sense, or venerable women. Mela gives a curious description of one of these Druidical nunneries.

It was situated in an island in the British sea, and contained nine of these venerable vestals, who pretended that they could raise storms and tempests by their incantations; could cure the most incurable diseases; could transform themselves into all kinds of animals; and foresee future events. But it seems they were not very forward in publishing the things which they foresaw, but chose to make some advantage of so valuable a gift; as, it is added, they disclosed the things which they had discovered to none but those who came into their island on set purpose to consult their oracle; and none such, it may be supposed, would come empty handed.——It was a Druidess of this class, that, according to Vopiscus, foretold to Dioclesian, when a private soldier in Gaul, that he would be emperor of Rome.[12]

The second class consisted of certain female devotees, who were married, but who spent the greatest part of their time in the company of the Druids, and in the offices of religion, conversing only occasionally with their husbands.

The third class of the Druidesses was the lowest, and consisted of such as performed the most servile offices about the temples, the sacrifices, and the persons of the Druids.

If the religion of the Britons may be learnt by that of the Gauls, an idea of their government may also be formed the same way.[13] From the time of the founding of Rome, the Gauls were divided into several petty states, with a head or king over each. Some of these being more powerful than the rest, kept their neighbours in a sort of dependence; and one of them, upon great and imminent dangers, was by common consent chosen chief commander, whose power was limited, as well as the time of his administration. During his office, he was considered as a sovereign magistrate, having power to put the laws in execution, and as captain general of all their forces.

Livy (according to the custom of the Romans) calls this magistrate, king. But a modern author, who believed he understood better the nature of that dignity, affirms the title of king not to be at all proper for the persons invested with it, and therefore calls him only paramount, or one superior to the rest. However this be, the Britons may be supposed to have had much the same form of government, since we find that the whole country, between the Tyne and the Channel, was divided into seventeen petty states, with each its head, dignified by authors with the name of King.

When Julius Caesar invaded Britain, the command of their army was conferred by the Britons on Cassibelanus, king or chief of the Trinobantes; and in the time of Claudius, Caractacus, of the Silures, was chosen general.

These nations without doubt, depending on each other no farther than necessity compelled them, had frequent quarrels and contests; but we have very little certain knowledge of their affairs; and therefore the beginning of their history can be dated no farther back than Caesar's invasion. Before we enter upon our history, which regularly commences with a circumstantial account of that event, the attention of the reader is requested to the following sketch of the British constitution; a glorious fabric resulting from the wisdom of successive ages.

The government of England is a mixed and limited monarchy, as it is certain all the governments in Europe established by the northern nations formerly were. They were monarchies, invested, not with absolute and arbitrary, but with a power bounded by the national laws. Such is still the English constitution, whatever changes have happened in the other European kingdoms.

The king and people make but one body, of which the king is head. He directs and gives motion to all the other members, takes care of their welfare, and ought always to have an eye to the public, to procure their good, and guard them against all impending evils. By watching thus for the public, he consults his own interest, since, being strictly united with his subjects, he is sure to be gainer by all the advantages he procures them.

But to enable the king to labour effectually for the good of the kingdom, it was necessary to clothe him with a great power, and assign him a revenue sufficient to live in splendour, in order to attract the veneration of the people. It was necessary to grant him privileges approaching towards absolute power; as the command of the armies and fortified places.

The execution of the laws, and the administration of justice in his own name; the pardoning of condemned criminals; the disposal of all the high offices; the calling and dissolving of the Parliament; the rejecting of bills which he thinks contrary to the public good; the proclaiming of peace and war: these are called the prerogatives of the king, or of the crown. The king wants nothing to render him happy and powerful. His revenues are more than sufficient for his ordinary expenses, and to reward those who distinguish themselves by their merit, besides the preferments in the church, state, and army, which he may bestow as he pleases.

There are but two things, which the Saxons did not think proper to trust their kings with, by reason of the ill consequences; for, being of like passions with other men, they might very possibly abuse them; namely, the power of changing the laws enacted by consent of king and people; and the power of raising taxes at their pleasure.

From these two articles spring numberless branches concerning the liberty and property of the subject, which the king cannot touch without breaking the constitution, and they are the distinguishing character of the English monarchy. The prerogatives of the crown, and the rights and privileges of the people, flowing from the two fore-mentioned articles, are the ground of all the laws that from time to time have been made by the unanimous consent of king and people. The English government consists in the correspondence and strict union of the king's prerogatives with the people's liberties. So far are these from destroying one another, that they be rather the strongest cement of that strict union, so necessary between the prince and people.

The king, by means of his prerogatives, is able to protect his subjects; to see the laws duly executed, and justice impartially administered; to defend the weak against their powerful oppressors; to assist the unfortunate, and punish the disturbers of society. On the other hand, the people, whilst in possession of their liberties, confiding in the laws and the king's care to execute them, live securely without any fears for their lives or properties. They enjoy the fruits of their industry, which turns to the king's advantage, since from the people it is, that the king's occasions

are supplied. If they make their court to the nobles, it is only when their interest or assistance may be necessary, and not out of fear of being oppressed, since the greatest are equally subject to the laws, with the meanest.

Since then the English constitution consists in an intimate union between the prince and people, as between the head and the body, it is consequently in its utmost perfection and strength whilst this union subsists, and both, without mutual suspicions, jealousies, and fears, securely enjoy their respective rights. On the contrary, it decays and degenerates, when one endeavours to invade the privileges of the other.—To preserve a perfect union between the king and the people, it was necessary to establish a mode of communication between them.

This was done by means of a Wittena-Gemot, or assembly of wise men, who represented the whole nation. This method the Saxons brought with them from Germany, where all public affairs were decided in such an assembly, of which their Generals, chosen in time of war, were presidents. However, they were obliged to make some alterations, because in Germany they had no kings, the supreme power being lodged in the Wittena-Gemot; whereas in England their chiefs or leaders assumed the title of kings.[14] Hengist, who first led Saxon troops into Britain as auxiliaries, was the first that assumed this title, probably with the approbation of the Saxons under his command.

It is not easy to know distinctly, who the Witten or wise men were that composed their Wittena-Gemots.

At first, these assemblies might only consist of the Saxon officers, among whom the conquered lands were divided and who from thence became the princes or chiefs in the several states. In process of time, the Britons having entirely abandoned their country, the conquerors, finding themselves too few to cultivate the whole, sent for a great number of families from Germany, to whom the rest of the lands were given.

These distributions were thus made. The new king gave to those of his followers, who were distinguished by their birth, services, or personal merit, such a portion of land, on condition they served the crown on certain occasions; which these parcelled out again to others, with a reservation of such and such services to themselves. These two sorts of possessors were called thanes, that is, servants but the first were distinguished by the title of king's thanes, which answers to that of the immediate vassals of the crown. These, after the Norman Conquest, were called barons, and afterwards peers of the realm. For earl and duke were only honorary titles or names of offices. It is not denied, that the king's thanes[15] were members of the Wittena-Gemots: but that the other thanes were so, is greatly disputed.

It suffices at present, that there was in each kingdom an assembly of Witten, or wise men, who, jointly with the king, regulated all important affairs, made laws and ordinances, and imposed taxes. As nothing was decided but by the mutual consent of the king and the assembly, their interests not being separate, and their aims the same, namely, the good of the public, this is a clear evidence, that the essence of the government consisted in the strict union between king and people. If we look into the histories of the other European kingdoms founded by the northern nations, we shall find the like assemblies under different names, as Diets, in Germany and Poland, and Cortes, in Spain. It is not therefore strange, that the Saxons should establish in England the only form of government known to them.

After the Norman Conquest these assemblies were called parliaments. If William the Conqueror continued them, it was not with the same rights and privileges they enjoyed under the Saxon kings. It is true, in the following reigns, some traces' of them appear, which make it thought, that they were not entirely abolished. However, parliaments were not frequent till King John, and Henry III. in whose reign, several affirm, and perhaps not without reason, that the Commons, for the first time, sent representatives to Parliament. Probably, the Lords and Commons, after

their separation, the time whereof is unknown, met in two different houses, since the English still call houses the two rooms, where they assemble, though under the same roof. They say, the Upper House, or House of Lords, and the Lower House, or House of Commons, to denote what is expressed in French by the word chamber. It is but since the reign of Edward I, successor to Henry III, that there has been an uninterrupted series of parliaments.

After the Commons became a distinct House from the Lords, they pretended to be the sole representatives of the people, by whom they were chosen. The Lords could pretend only to act for themselves, or for the body of the nobility, as making a considerable part of the nation. However this be, the Barons, of whom very likely the Parliament at first consisted, lost by degrees many of their ancient rights; and the House of Commons came to be considered as the guardians of the people's interests.

However, the Lords still retain very great privileges; they are, for instance, the highest court of justice in the kingdom; they have a power to bring in, approve, and throw out, Bills; in a word, they always form an essential part of the Parliament. The bishops and abbots, who had always a right to sit in Parliament, had it continued to them after the Conquest. It cannot well be doubted that they sat in the Wittena-Gemots, as King's thanes, or barons, since they were the immediate tenants of the crown: but it is not so certain, that they enjoyed this right, as representatives of the clergy.

The Commons, as a consequence of their being the representatives of the people, claim an undisputed right of laying taxes, and granting money to the king. So that the House of Lords in this case have no other power than to pass, or throw out, the Bill, without offering to make any alterations or amendments.

Thus, the two Houses of Parliament compose the body of the nation, jointly with the king, who is the head. The close and absolutely necessary union between the king and the Parliament appears in nothing so much as in the manner of making an act of Parliament, or law. When either of the two Houses designs to bring in a Bill (for so is an act called before it is passed) after examining and debating every clause, it is sent to the other House for their approbation.

If it pass there, it is brought to the king for the royal assent, after which, and not before, it has the form and force of a law. But if either of the Houses throw it out, or the king refuse his assent, it comes to nothing, as though it had never been mentioned. Nothing more plainly demonstrates, that the essence of the English government consists in the union between the king and his people. Take away this union, and it becomes confusion and anarchy.

Whether the Commons originally sat in Parliament, or only since the reign of Henry III, it is certain, that their power by degrees has been very much increased, to which the maxim, that their house solely represents the people, has greatly contributed. This maxim was not yet established in the reign of Henry VIII, since we find he applied to the barons for a supply of money. But this is not the only new privilege which they have acquired. Upon their separation from the Lords, the interests of the two Houses were not the same upon all occasions. They have had frequent contests concerning their respective rights. But generally the Commons had the advantage of the Lords; and no wonder, since they alone dispose of the nation's money.

On the other hand, as great alterations have happened with regard to the Lords, or Peers. Formerly all the immediate vassals of the crown were barons, and, as such, had seats in Parliament. But now, as there are none of those lands that were called fees of the crown, the right of sitting in the House of Lords is annexed to the bare honorary titles of duke, marquis, earl, viscount, and baron, which give those that are invested therewith, no power over the shires, cities, or lands, whose. names they bear, and which the king may bestow on whom he pleases. However, when once these titles are conferred on a family, the head cannot be deprived of his right to sit in Parliament, unless he has been judicially condemned by his peers, for some crime that renders

him unworthy. But it must be observed, it is in the king's power to extend or limit, many ways, the right of succeeding to these honours; so that sometimes, though rarely, he extends it to the female, in default of the male line. Though a Peer only has a right to sit in the House of Lords, the king may, if he pleases, call the son of a nobleman to the House of Peers in his father's life-time.

All the Lords are barons, and, properly as such, are members of the Parliament, according to ancient usage. For before and long after the Conquest, the Lords of Parliament were considered only as the king's thanes or barons. For this reason, the civil wars in the reigns of King John and Henry III. are called the barons' wars. The title of duke was conferred in England, after the Conquest, by Edward III, on his eldest son, whom he made Duke of Cornwall. The title of marquis is much later. In the time of the Saxons, earls or counts were properly chiefs of shires, or counties, so called from them.

William the Conqueror having distributed the lands of the English among his followers, they on whom he conferred the title of earl or count became really and truly Lords of those lands whose titles they bore, so that they were hereditary in their families. Afterwards, but at what time is not known, they lost this privilege, and the title of earl, as was before observed, became only honorary. The viscounts, under the Saxon kings, were Lieutenants to the earls in their counties.

They discharged the office of high-sheriff, which is now left to inferior officers, whilst the viscounts are ranked among the Peers, and have even the precedence of the barons. This last title was formerly general, and included the whole body of the nobility or Peers of the realm, of whom the Upper House of Parliament consists. Next to these are what they call the gentry, who, though distinguished by several titles, as knight, esquire, &c. are all included in the body of the Commons, who in France were formerly designated as the third estate. From among these are chosen the knights of the shires, citizens, and- burgesses, who compose the Lower House, to the number (formerly) of 513, but, since the union with Ireland, 658: it seldom happens, however, that all are present, and forty are sufficient to make a House.

What has been said shews, how the two Houses of Parliament constitute part of the legislature, since by them the laws are made with the royal assent. Accordingly, the Parliament has ever been very careful to preserve its privileges, and hinder the least breach, for fear of losing them insensibly, as it has happened in other kingdoms. On the other hand, most of the laws tend to maintain the liberty and property of the subjects, so that they can be deprived of them only by law.

There are absolutely but two ways to deprive the English of their liberties. Either by laying aside Parliaments: entirely, or by bribing the members to sacrifice their country to their ambition or avarice. Both these methods have been tried more than once, and for some time with seeming success; but in the end have turned to the confusion and ruin of the projectors. The English have ever been extremely jealous of their liberties, and this jealousy has frequently caused violent commotions in the kingdom, when they have seen or suspected a tendency to undermine their privileges, and they have thereby preserved the constitution of their government in much the same state as in the beginning of the monarchy.

Notes to The Introduction

1. The population of Scotland is estimated at 1,804,864; its extent, in square miles, at twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and ninety-three; consequently it averages 64 inhabitants to each square mile.

2. Plutarch mentions, that the inhabitants of Britain frequently attained the age of 120; and we are informed by Mr. Carew, in his Survey of Cornwall, that in his time. there lived one Polzew, in Cornwall who had reached the great age of 130; a. kinsman of his lived to 112; a Mr. Beachamp

died at the age of 106; and, in his own parish, in the short space of fourteen weeks, there died four persons, whose years altogether amounted to 340. The famous Thomas Parr, of Shropshire, lived to the advanced age of 152 years. Dr. Plott, in his Natural History of Oxfordshire, speaks of one Richard Clifford; who was living in Oxfordshire, at the age of 114; Brian Stevens, at Woodstock, and two or three persons then living at Oxford, above 100. Also a Mr. Biddulph in Staffordshire, who had twelve tenants then living; whose ages; reckoned together, amounted to 1000. Dr. Willet mentions a man who was living at Bedfordshire at the age of 121. Dr. Hakewill observes, that William, Marquis of Winchester, attained the age of 107. Henry Jenkins, of Yorkshire, died at the advanced age of 169: in short, there is scarcely a town or village but has afforded some instances of longevity.

3. Numerous examples might be mentioned, of persons of all ranks and in all parts, that have been distinguished by their very numerous progeny, and so much the more distinguished, as perhaps one half, or even a third, would have been esteemed very wonderful in many other countries. Lettice, Countess Dowager of Leicester and Essex, mother, of the unfortunate Earl-of Essex, who was beheaded in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, lived to see the grand-children of her grand children. Jane, wife of Dr. Phineas Hudson, chancellor of York, died in the 39th year of her age, of her twenty-fourth child, as did Dorothy, wife of Mr. Joseph Cooper, of Leeds, of her twenty, sixth. Mr. William Greenhill, of Abbot's Langley, in Hertfordshire, had thirty-nine children by one wife. Mrs. Heyrick, of Leicester, lived to see 143 descendants springing from herself; Mrs. Fenton, of Yorkshire, 138; Mrs. Honeywood 367, &c.

4. Ireland, Erin, or Hibernia, which will make a considerable figure in this history, is situated to the westward of Great Britain, and was probably discovered by the Phoenicians as early as the sister island. It was known to the Greeks by the name of Juverna, about two centuries before the birth of Christ. Ireland is about 300 miles in length, and about 160 at the greatest breadth. Its contents in square miles may be computed at 27,457; but its population, for want of regular returns, is variously stated, at from three to five millions.—The first inhabitants of Ireland are supposed to have passed from Gaul, and to have been afterwards increased in numbers, by their brethren the Guydel from England. About the time that the Belgæ seized on the south of England, it appears that kindred Gothic tribes passed to the south of Ireland. These are the Firbolg of the Irish traditions; and appear to have been the same people whom the Romans denominated Scoti, after they had emerged to their notice by not only extending their conquest to the north and east in Ireland, but had begun to make maritime excursions against the Roman provinces in Britain. But Ireland had been so much crowded with Celtic tribes, expelled from the continent and Britain, by the progress of the German Goths, that the Belgae almost lost their native speech and distinct character; and from intermarriages, &c. became little distinguishable from the original population except by superior ferocity, for which the Scoti, or those who affected a descent from the Gothic colonies, were remarkable; while the original Gael seem to have been a quiet and harmless people.

5. The original population of Scotland, as far as historical researches can discover, consisted of Cimbri, from the Cimbric Chersonese. About two centuries before the Christian era, the Cimbri seem to have been driven to the south of Scotland by the Caledonians, or Picti, a Gothic colony from Norway. The Cimbri continued to hold the country south of the two. firths of Forth and Clyde; but from the former region they were soon expelled by the Picti, who, in this corner, became subject for a time to the Anglo-Saxon kings of Bernicia. From the Picti originates the population of the lowlands of Scotland, the low-landers having been in all ages a distinct people from those of the western highlands, though the Irish clergy endeavoured to fender their language, which was the more smooth and cultivated of the two, the polite dialogue of the court and superior classes. About the year of Christ 258, the Dabriads of Bede, the Attacotti of the Roman writers, passed from Ireland to Argyleshire, and became the germ of the Scottish highlanders, who speak the Irish or Celtic language, while the lowlanders have always used the Scandinavian, or Gothic.

6. This practice appears to assimilate with that of tattooing, so prevalent amongst the natives of the South Sea islands, &c,

7. Another custom they had, viz. If a wife were found accessory to her husband's death, she was proceeded against with fire. Hence, says Coke, our present law of burning women that have killed their husbands. This barbarous law, however, has been repealed, in the reign of George III.

8. The Greeks came hither 160 years before Julius Cesar.

9. They called the mistletoe, as they still call it in some part of Wales, the Pren-Awyr. These groves where they worshipped were called Llwyn, thence probably the word clan, signifying now in Welch a Church. The groves were enclosures of spreading oaks, ever surrounding their sacred places. In which were, Gorseddau, or hillocks where they sat and pronounced their decrees, and spake orations to the people. 2. Carnedde, or heaps of stone, on which they had a peculiar mode of worship. 3. Cromleche, or altars, on which they performed the solemnities of sacrifice.

10. You too; ye bards! whom sacred raptures fire,
To chaunt your heroes on your country's lyre,
Who consecrate in your immortal strain,
Brave patriot souls in righteous battle slain.
Translation from Lucas.

11. LUCAN'S poetical description of one of these Druidical groves (commencing "Lucus erat Longo nunquam violatus ab book 3.) is very striking. In Rowe's translation of the Pharsalia; it stands as follows:—

“Not far away, for ages past had stood,
An old, unviolated, sacred wood;
When gloomy boughs, interwoven, made
A chilly, cheerless, everlasting shade
There, nor the rustic gods, nor satyrs sport,
Nor fawns and sylvans with the nymphs resort:
But barbarous priests some dreadful power adore,
And lustrate every tree with human gore,"

12. Rowland, in his ***Mona Antigua***, imagines the second sight (which he seems to believe,) called Taish in Scotland, to be a relic of Druidism, and builds his conjecture upon this noted story related by Vopiscus, who, says Dioclesian, when a private soldier in Gallia, on his removing thence, reckoning with his hostess, a Druid woman, she told him, he was too penurious, but that he needed not to be sparing of his money, for after he should kill a boar, (she assured him, looking stedfastly in his face,) he would be emperor of Rome. These words made great impression upon him; and he was afterwards much delighted in hunting and killing boars, often saying, when he saw many made emperors, and his own fortune not much mending. "I kill the boars, but it is others that eat the flesh." However, many years after, one Arrius Aper, Father-in-law of the Emperor Numerianus, grasping for the empire, treacherously slew him, for which fact being brought by the soldiers before Dioclesian, (then become a chief commander in the army,) he asked his name, and being told he was called Aper, (i. e. Boar,) without further pause, sheathed his sword in his bowels, saying, *et hunc arum cum cæteris,* which done the soldiers saluted him emperor.

13. The laws, as well as the other branches of learning, amongst the ancient Britons, and Gauls, were couched in verse. Though this may appear a little extraordinary to us, it was far from being peculiar to those people. "The first laws of all nations," says a learned writer, "were composed in verse, and sung. We have certain proof, that the first laws of Greece were a kind of songs. The laws of the ancient inhabitants of Spain were verses which they sung. Twiston was regarded by the Germans as their first law giver. They said he put his laws into verses and songs."—This practice of composing their laws in verse, and forming them into songs, was owing to that

surprising love which the nations of antiquity bore to poetry and music. This also rendered those laws more agreeable to a poetical people, and they were easier to get by heart and retain in memory.

14. The chief magistrate in all the states established by the Anglo-Saxons in this island, was called cyning, or king; a title of' the most honourable import in their language, as including the ideas of wisdom, power, and valour, the most necessary qualifications of a sovereign, both in peace and war. It is true, that those chieftains who conducted the several bands of adventurers out of Germany into Britain, were at their arrival only heretoges; a title which signified no more than the leader of an army during an expedition, which conveyed no authority in times of peace, and was commonly of very short duration. But as those armies of adventurers met with a vigorous opposition from the native Britons, which continued many years, the authority of the heretoges, or leaders, lasted long, and by degrees became firm and well established. This encouraged these leaders, with the consent, and perhaps at the desire of their followers, to assume the more honourable and permanent title of. king; though it is hardly to be imagined, that this new title occasioned at first any very remarkable change in the constitution, or brought with it accession of authority. It is even probable, that the several Anglo-Saxon armies bestowed the title of kings on their respective leaders, as much to do honour to themselves, as to their chiefs. While they were commanded only by heretoges, they were considered as a collection of adventurers engaged in a piratical or plundering expedition; but when they had kings at their head, they appeared in the more respectable light of regular states, or nations.

15. The Anglo-Saxon thanes were under no obligations on account of their lands, except the three following, which were indispensably necessary to the defence and improvement of their country—to attend the king with their followers,—to assist in building and defending the royal castles,—and in keeping the bridges and high ways in proper repair.—The king's thanes seem to have been of three different degrees, according to their different degrees of wealth, or favour at court, as appears from the hereots to be paid to the king at their death. The hereot of a king's thane of the lowest rank was one horse saddled, and the thane's arms;—of the second, or middle rank, two horses, one saddled, and one unsaddled, two swords, two spears, two shields, and fifty mancusses of gold;—of the first or highest rank, four horses, two saddled, and two unsaddled, four swords, four spears four shields, and one hundred mancusses of gold. This is a sufficient proof, that these three classes of thanes were very different from each other in point of wealth and dignity; though they were all noble, attendants upon, and retainers of the king; the great ornaments of his court in times of peace, and the chief defence of his person in times of war.—The earl's, or alderman's thane seem to have been the lowest degree of nobility; and, next to him, he who had been advanced to that dignity on account of his promotion in the church, or success in trade or agriculture,

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BOOK I

FROM THE FIRST INVASION OF BRITAIN BY THE ROMANS UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR, TO THE CALLING IN OF THE SAXONS. COMPRISING A PERIOD OF ABOUT FIVE HUNDRED YEARS

HE Romans had become masters of almost all Europe, of the best part of Africa, and of the richest countries of Asia, before they undertook the conquest of Britain. She was indeed considered as a separate world by herself, to which the inhabitants of the continent seemed to have no pretensions, or at least knew nothing there capable of exciting their desires. Julius Cæsar was the first that formed the project of that conquest, during his government of Gaul, where he caused the Roman arms to triumph. His frequent victories over the Gauls had much increased his fame, and procured great advantages to the commonwealth; but he was not himself satisfied with the reputation thus acquired. His thirst of glory, and desire of enlarging the bounds of the empire, inspired him with the design to extend his conquests, and bring the Britons under the dominion of the Romans. His pretence for invading the Britons was their assisting the enemies of the commonwealth; a pretence frequently used among the Romans to carry their conquests into remote countries. Upon this ground, he made two expeditions into the island, the particulars whereof are thus related in his Commentaries.

Cæsar, though he spent part of the summer in making an irruption into Germany, resolved to employ the rest in the execution of his design upon Britain. He was very sensible, however, that the season was too far advanced to expect to make any great progress. Nevertheless, he considered it would be no small advantage if he could take a view of the island, almost wholly unknown to all but the merchants that traded on the coasts. And these merchants themselves were so little acquainted with what Cesar wanted to know, that, sending for some of them, he could learn neither the extent of the island, nor whether it were well peopled. Much less could they give him any information concerning the ports and havens, and whether there were any fit to receive ships

of burthen. This uncertainty made him resolve to send Volusenus to view the coasts as far as was possible without danger, whilst his troops were marching to the place of embarkation.

The Britons, receiving intelligence of Cæsar's design, endeavoured to divert him from his purpose, by sending ambassadors with offers of obedience to the Romans, and the delivery of hostages. Cesar gave the ambassadors a very civil reception, but dismissed them without a definitive answer. With them, however, he sent Comius (whom he had a few days before made king of the Atrebates)[1] with instructions to persuade the Britons to make an alliance with the Romans, and to acquaint them with his design to come over into their island. They were by no means pleased with the news, for they expected what they had done would have induced the Roman General to alter his resolution; so, whether Comius spoke to them too haughtily, or they had a mind to let the Romans see that they did not fear them, they committed the ambassador to prison, loading him. with irons.

Meanwhile Volusenus, having coasted along the southern parts of the island without landing, returned and gave an account of the discoveries he had made. Whereupon every thing being ready to begin the expedition, Cæsar embarked two legions on board eighty transports, leaving orders for the horse to follow with all speed in eighteen more that could not yet join the fleet, and were expected every moment: but his orders were not timely enough executed. At his arrival on the coast of Britain, he saw the hills and cliffs, that ran out into the sea, covered with troops that could easily with their darts prevent his landing[2]. Upon which they determined to look out for some other place, where he might land his army with less danger. However, he lay by till three in the afternoon, expecting some ships that were not yet come up. Upon their joining the fleet, he made a signal for the principal officers; and, giving them his last instructions concerning their landing, made sail and came to an anchor about two leagues farther, near a plain and open shore.[3]

The Britons, perceiving his intent, sent their chariots and horse that way, whilst the rest of their army advanced to support them. The main difficulty in landing proceeded from the largeness of the vessels, which hindered them from coming near enough to the shore; so that the Roman soldiers saw themselves under a necessity of leaping into the sea, armed as they were, in order to attack their enemies, who stood ready to receive them on dry ground. Cæsar, perceiving his soldiers did not exert their usual bravery on this occasion, ordered some galleys to get as near the shore as possible and set upon the enemy in the flank.

This had the desired effect; for the slings, engines, and arrows, were so well employed from these galleys, that the courage of the Britons begin to abate. But the Romans still demurred upon throwing themselves into the water, and it may be would not have done it at all, had not the standard bearer of the tenth legion shewn them the way, by leaping in first with his colours in his hand, crying out aloud, "Follow me, fellow soldiers, unless you will betray the Roman eagle into the hands of the enemy. For my part I am resolved to discharge my duty to Caesar and the commonwealth." Upon these words, he leaped into the sea, and advanced with his eagle towards the Barbarians. Emulation and shame causing the soldiers to forget the danger, they courageously followed him, and began the fight. But their resolution was not able to compel the Britons to give ground; and it was even feared, that the Romans, constrained thus to fight in the water without keeping their ranks, would in the end be repulsed, till Cæsar caused some armed boats to ply about with recruits, which made the enemy give way. The Romans, improving this advantage, advanced with all possible expedition, and, getting firm footing, pressed the Britons so vigorously, that at length they put them to rout. They durst not, however, pursue them, because the horse were not yet come; Cæsar says, was the only thing that hindered the victory from being complete.[4]

The Britons, astonished at the Roman valour, and fearing a more obstinate resistance would but expose them to greater mischief, set Comius at liberty, and sent him back to Cæsar, throwing the blame of his ill treatment on the fury of the populace. At the same time ambassadors were

dispatched to sue for peace and offer hostages. Cæsar readily pardoned them, on condition of their sending him a certain number of hostages. Part of them were immediately delivered, with a promise of sending the rest.

Peace being thus concluded four days after landing, the British troops were dismissed; and some of their chief men came to Cæsar to manage the concerns of their nation. Meanwhile, the ships that were transporting the horse, putting- to sea, met with a violent storm, which forced them back into the ports of Gaul. The same storm fell also upon Caesar's fleet lying in the road, some whereof were clashed in pieces, others lost their anchors, cables, and rigging; and, what. added to the misfortune, the same night the tide of flood rose so high, (as is usual at the full of tide moon, a thing then unknown to the Romans,) that the galleys, having been drawn ashore, were filled with water. This accident threw the Romans into great consternation, for they had not brought with them wherewithal to repair their shattered vessels, nor any quantity of provisions, Cæsar having intended to winter in Gaul.

The Britons that were with Cesar soon perceived his want of provisions, ships, and cavalry. Besides, it was easy to conjecture, by the small extent of their camp, that the number of the Romans was not considerable. Having made these observations, they stole away by degrees, and represented to their countrymen, "what a favourable opportunity offered to free themselves from servitude: how the Romans were few in number, without provisions and horse: how they had just lost their ships, and with them all hopes of retiring."

Upon this the Britons resolved to use all possible means to cut off the Romans' provisions, and amuse them till winter came on. Caesar, anticipating their intentions, laid in as a great a stock of provisions as he could, and put them under a strong guard within the camp. Then sending to Gaul for part of what he had occasion for to refit his fleet, he made use of the timber and iron of the broken vessel to repair the rest. The soldiers laboured with such uncommon diligence, (as their safety was at stake,) that in a few days the fleet was in condition to sail twelve ships only having been lost.

Meanwhile, the seventh legion being sent out to forage, news was brought to Cæsar, that a cloud of dust was seen to rise from that quarter. He suspected immediately what was the matter; and taking with him two cohorts[5] that guarded the camp, ordered the rest of the forces to follow with all expedition. When he came to the place, he found the legion surrounded by the enemy, and overpowered with numbers. As the harvest was brought in every where else, the Britons did not question but the Romans would come and forage there, so lay in readiness to fall upon them. They killed some at the first onset; and, to prevent the rest from escaping, began to surround them with their chariots. Cæsar came very seasonably to the relief of the legion, and saved them from being all taken or slain. Having brought them off, he stood some time in order of battle in sight of the enemy, but at length retreated to his camp, not deeming it proper to engage, unless compelled to it.

The Britons, flushed with this success, drew together a greater body of troops, and attacked the Roman camp; but, instead of forcing it, they were vigorously repulsed and pursued for several miles. The Britons were so disheartened at their loss, that they immediately sent ambassadors to Caesar to sue for peace. The posture of Cæsar's affairs, having no horse to oppose to those of the enemy, induced him to conclude a treaty with them, whereby they were bound to deliver. a greater number of hostages, and send them to Gaul, where he intended to go as soon as possible. Though the passage was not long, the fear of exposing his fleet to another storm, if he stayed till the equinox, made him hasten his departure; which he effected after a stay of but little more than three weeks. The Britons neglecting to send their hostages, he put his troops into winter quarters, and formed the design of a more important expedition in the following spring. Meanwhile, the Senate being informed of Cæsar's exploits in Britain, a procession of twenty days was decreed to him, though the advantages he had gained were of little consequence to the commonwealth.

Cæsar went and passed part of the winter in Italy, leaving orders with his officers to repair the old, and build some new, ships. When he had received advice that his orders were executed, he came to the Portus Itius[6] where he found six hundred ships, and twenty-eight galleys, on board of which he put five legions, and two thousand horse. He conducted this numerous fleet to a place on the British coast, marked by him the summer before, and landed his forces, without opposition; for the Britons, at the sight of so mighty an armament, retired into the country behind some hills. Cæsar, according to the Roman custom, fortified his camp; and, leaving a guard, set out in the night in quest of the enemy. Having marched about twelve miles, he saw them posted on the other side of a river[7] to oppose his passage. As resolute as they seemed at first, they could not withstand the furious charge of the Roman horse, but were forced to quit their post. They retired a little farther into a wood, the avenues whereof were blocked up with huge trees laid across one another, and which seemed to have been fortified in some former war. Though it appeared very difficult to force these entrenchments, the seventh legion performed that service, and obliged the Britons to betake themselves to flight; but night coming on, and the country being unknown, Cæsar forbade all pursuit.

Next day, he divided his army into three bodies, which marched at some distance from each other in pursuit of the enemy. During the march, he received the melancholy news that his fleet had been almost entirely destroyed by a violent storm, most of the ships being dashed in pieces or driven ashore. As this accident might be attended with ill consequences, he hastened back to the seaside, where he found forty of his ships destroyed, and the rest so damaged that they were hardly repairable. However, he set all the carpenters in the fleet and army to work, and sent for others from Gaul. To prevent the like misfortune again, as soon as the ships were refitted, he employed his soldiers, night and day, to draw them by strength of arms into the midst of the camp. This work, notwithstanding the difficulty of it, was finished in ten days.[8] Meanwhile, he wrote to Labienus, his Lieutenant in Gaul, to build more ships and send them over when ready. Then, leaving a sufficient. force to guard the camp, he resumed the pursuit.

He had not marched far, before he was informed that the enemy's forces were much increased, under the conduct of Cassibelanus king of the Trinobantes, whose kingdom lay beyond the Thames, about eighty-miles from the sea. This prince had hitherto waged continual wars with his neighbours; but, upon the approach of the Romans, they had concluded a peace with him, and chosen him commander in chief. Whilst the Roman army was on the march they found themselves suddenly attacked by the British horse and chariots. But this attack, though vigorous, was repulsed with great loss on their side. Some days after, whilst. the Romans were employed about their entrenchments, a body of British troops that lay concealed in the neighbouring woods, fell furiously upon those that guarded the camp, and put them into great disorder.

Cæsar seeing this, immediately sent two cohorts to their assistance, who, surprised at the British manner of fighting, were routed at the first charge. As this battle was fought in the sight of the camp, Cæsar saw plainly the great disadvantage which the Romans, encumbered with their heavy armour, lay under, against swift and light-armed enemies that engaged in small parties only, with a body of reserve in their rear, whence they were continually recruited. The Roman horse were no less embarrassed than the foot. As the Britons frequently counterfeited a retreat, the horsemen detached to pursue them were immediately cut in pieces; so that it was equally dangerous to pursue the enemy or to retire. The confused manner of Cæsar's relating this affair, is a clear evidence that the Romans were worsted.

On the morrow, the Britons posted themselves on some hills within sight of the Roman camp. As they appeared. to be but few in number, it was thought they had no design to engage a second time. Meanwhile, Caesar sending out all the horse to forage, with three legions to guard them, the Britons fell with great fury upon the foragers, who were defended by their guard. The resistance made by the legions giving Cæsar time to advance with the rest of the army, a great battle ensued, wherein the Britons were entirely defeated.

After this victory, Cæsar marched towards the Thames with intent to penetrate into Cassibelanus's dominions. When. he came to the river side, at a very difficult ford, he saw the enemy drawn up on the opposite bank. Besides their great numbers, they had fortified that part of the river with sharp stakes[9], driven so deep that some of them did not appear above the water. Notwithstanding these obstacles, Cæsar resolved to attack them, and ordered the horse to ride in, and the foot to follow, the soldiers being scarcely able to hold their hands above water to carry their arms. The attack was made with such resolution that the Britons at length were forced to quit their post and leave the Romans a free passage[10]. Cassibelanus, finding he could not hinder Cæsar's passing the Thames, dismissed his army, reserving only four thousand chariots, with which he harassed the Romans, and endeavoured to cut them short of provisions, by carrying off all kind of corn and cattle that lay in their route. The Romans were great sufferers in this march; for they did not dare to make the least excursions in search of provisions, for fear of sallies from the woods and by-places,

Mean while, the Trinobantes, upon Cæsar's approaching their country, sent deputies to him to sue for peace, praying him withal to take into his protection Mandubratius their king, who had fled into Gaul upon Cassibelanus's murdering his father Immanuentius, and depriving him of his dominions. Cæsar promised to send back Mandubratius, if they would supply him with provisions, and deliver forty hostages, to which they immediately agreed. Several other states following the example of the Trinobantes, Cæsar found himself in condition to attack the capital city of Cassibelanus, whither the country people had retired with their flocks and herds.[11]

What the Britons called a city was only a wood fenced with a ditch to defend them against the incursions of their enemies. Though this entrenchment seemed very strong, Cæsar ordered it to be stormed so briskly at two different places, that the Britons, not being able to stand the assault, fled out at one of their avenues, but not without great numbers slain and taken, and leaving behind them abundance of cattle.

Whilst Cæsar was advancing into the enemies' country, the Kentishmen, inhabiting on the south coasts over against Gaul, drew their forces together, with design to cut off the Romans that were left to guard their ships. As soon as they were ready, they marched under the conduct of four kings, namely, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, and furiously attacked the Roman camp; but, after a long and obstinate fight were repulsed, and King Cingretorix was taken prisoner.

After such frequent defeats, Cassibelanus, considering that most of his kingdom was now in subjection to the Romans, and several neighbouring states had made, or were ready to make, their submission, treated with them likewise by the mediation of Comius. He easily obtained a peace, Cæsar's resolution to return to Gaul not permitting him to pursue his conquest in Britain. Besides, he considered that the weather beginning to grow bad, would help Cassibelanus to defend himself the rest of the campaign, as well as the whole ensuing winter. By the conditions of the treaty, the Britons were annually to pay the Romans a certain tribute; Cassibelanus was to deliver a certain number of hostages, and leave Mandubratius in quiet possession of his dominions. Though Cæsar had scarcely ships enough to transport his army, he chose rather to stow his men on board what vessels he had, than run the hazard of being surprised by the autumnal equinox. He embarked them therefore in the best manner he could; and, receiving the hostages, put to sea, and safely arrived in Gaul.[12]

This is the substance of the account given by that great General, of his two expeditions into Britain; from which, making the necessary allowances, it is sufficiently evident, as Tacitus has remarked, that Cæsar rather shewed the Romans the way to Britain than put them in possession of it. with a wooden tower on his back full of men, to be forced into the river; the sight of which monstrous creature, that looked like a walking battery, did not a little contribute to frighten the Britons from the opposite shore.

B. C. 41] After Cæsar's death, who had rendered himself sovereign of that commonwealth whereof he was born a subject, the empire was so torn with civil wars, that it was not possible for the Romans to think of Britain. So the tribute was not paid, nor, it may be, demanded, for twenty years. But when, after the defeat and death of Mark Antony, Augustus was firmly settled in the possession of the empire, he undertook to compel the Britons to stand to their agreement with his predecessor, and to that end advanced as far as Gaul twice in order for Britain, but was prevented the first time, by a revolt in Pannonia, and the second, by the submission of the Britons, who sent ambassadors to sue for peace, which he very readily granted.

Britain, considered then as a wild uncultivated country, did not seem to him worth the pains of conquering. Besides, he was determined not to enlarge the bounds of the empire, wisely considering that a state, like a ship, cannot be managed when too vast and unwieldy. Yet, as the Britons neglected to perform their promise, he resolved to subdue them. Hearing of his design, however, they found means to appease him. Tenuantius, successor of Cassibelanus, sent the same emperor rich presents, which were laid up in the capital. Cunobelinus his successor, following his example, kept fair with the Romans. He even ordered money to be coined, some pieces of which are still to be seen in the cabinets of the curious, with the five first letters of his name, **C. u. n. o. b**. or **C. a. m.** the three first of Camelodunum, his capital city, on one side, and on the reverse, a man sitting and coining money, with these letters, **T. A. S. C. I. A.** by which antiquaries understand that this money was designed for the payment of the tribute[13].

A. D. 15] TIBERIUS, successor of Augustus, neglected Britain as a country of little consequence; and, satisfied with the respect which was shewn him by the Britons in sending back some of Germanicus's soldiers that were shipwrecked on their coast, he left them to enjoy their liberty.

A. D. 40] CALIGULA, his successor, formed the project of conquering the island. Adminius, son of Cunobelinus, incurring his father's displeasure, and flying to Rome for protection, found means to persuade the emperor that nothing was more easy than this conquest. Caligula, Whose folly is well known, imagined from what the young prince told him, that the sight of him was sufficient to subdue the Britons. Full of this notion, he advanced in person to the coast of Belgic Gaul, whither he had ordered his army to march. But being told, as he was embarking his men, that the Britons stood ready to receive him on the other side of the water, his warlike ardour cooled, and he desisted from an enterprise which began to appear too hazardous. However, as he was led by his caprice to the most extravagant actions, he went on board a galley, ordering the people to row with all speed towards Britain, as though he intended to have alone the glory of conquering the island. But, presently after, he was seen to return back as fast as he went off.

As soon as he landed he harangued his troops, as though he were going to employ them in some important expedition. Having ended his speech, a charge was sounded just as though the enemy were in view. Upon which, the whole army, pursuant to an order given to the principal officers, fell to gathering of cockleshells in their helmets. The emperor, pleased with the alacrity of his soldiers on this occasion, liberally rewarded them, and sent letters to Rome of his success, wishing the Senate to decree him a triumph. Being informed, however, that the Senate made some difficulty in complying with his wish, he resolved to put all the Senators to death. He Would, doubtless, have executed his barbarous purpose, had he not been deprived of his power, with his life, by a conspiracy soon after formed against him.

After Julius Cæsar's second invasion, the Britons preserved their liberty above ninety years, during the reigns of the four, first emperors; their subjection to the Romans not commencing till the time of Claudius. The occasion of that emperor's undertaking the conquest of Britain, was as follows.

Cunobelinus left two sons, Togodumnus and Caractacus, who both succeeded him; but whether they reigned jointly or separately, or whether one were superior to the other, is unknown. In their

reign it happened that one Bericus being forced to depart the kingdom for endeavouring to raise a sedition, flew for refuge to Claudius the emperor at Rome. His extreme desire of being revenged of the two kings his sovereigns, inspiring him with a design to betray his country to the Romans, he frequently talked to the emperor of the conquest of Britain, as of a thing very easy to be accomplished. The emperor giving credit to his statements, resolved to attempt the enterprise; and, refusing to deliver up Bericus, he sent to the Britons for the tribute which was due to the empire.

The Britons, in return, refused; and, as Claudius wanted only a pretence for the war, he was not sorry that they afforded him so plausible a one. Shortly after, he ordered Plautius to commence the expedition, whilst he was preparing to follow when there should be occasion. Plautius accordingly drew an army together in Gaul, and advanced to the sea side. But when the soldiers came to embark, they refused to obey him, declaring, they would not make war out of the compass of the world.[14] At length, however, they were prevailed on to proceed; and, as the Britons had made no preparations to oppose Plautius effected a landing, in three places, without any resistance. He was desirous to come to a battle at his arrival; but the Britons were resolved to avoid it, and kept themselves in separate parties, behind their morasses, or on their hills. In spite of these difficulties, he found means to attack Togodumnus separately; and, entirely routing him, went in quest of Caractacus, and obtained the like victory over him.

The Britons, pursuant to their first design, retired beyond a. river, where they encamped in a careless manner, imagining the Romans could not pass without a bridge. But Plautius had in his army some German soldiers that were used to swim the strongest currents. These soldiers, though few in number, swimming the river in their arms, so astonished the Britons that they quitted their post, and retired to a greater distance.[15] The Roman General, improving this advantage, sent over a considerable body of troops under the command of Vespasian, and his brother Sabinus. These two brave leaders advancing towards the enemy, engaged them, and put them to flight. The Britons, however, were not discouraged. Next day, they attacked a Roman detachment, commanded by Sidius Geta, so vigorously, that the Romans were immediately thrown into disorder; their commander himself was engaged in such a manner amongst the enemies, that he was thought to be dead or taken. But the scale was soon turned against the Britons. Geta, escaping out of their hands, headed his troops again and charged the Britons so briskly, that, after an obstinate fight, he compelled them to take to flight.

This affair was so well managed, and Geta acquired such great reputation on this occasion, that the honour of a triumph was granted him by the Senate, though he had never been Consul. The vanquished Britons retired towards the mouth of the Thames; and, being perfectly acquainted with the fordable parts of the river, crossed over with ease, whilst the Romans, following them at a distance, fell into the bogs and morasses, whence they very hardly disentangled themselves. At length, the Romans having lighted upon a ford, the army passed over, and the Britons were surrounded on all sides, and great slaughter made of them.

AD 44] Plautius thought it now time to send to the emperor, to come and reap the honour of putting an end to the war. Claudius having every thing ready, set out immediately, and embarking at Ostium, arrived in a few days at Marseilles. Then pursuing his journey by land, he re-embarked at Boulogne, to go and head his army on the other side of the Thames. Whilst the emperor was on his way, Plautius had it in his power to attack the Britons, who, deceived by his seeming backwardness, resumed their courage. But Plantius took care not to rob his master of the honour of a victory he thought himself sure of. As soon as Claudius arrived he headed his troops, approached the Britons; and, forcing them to come to a battle, entirely routed them. After this victory, he advanced to Camelodunum,[16] where he met with little resistance; and, pushing his conquests, subdued some of the neighbouring states. Upon these successes he was by the army saluted Imperator several times, contrary to the Roman custom, which allowed no General to be honoured with that glorious title above once in the same war.

If by this expedition, which was finished in fifteen days, Claudius acquired great fame, his moderation was no less honourable and advantageous to him. The vanquished Britons, touched with a sense of his generosity in leaving them the possession of their goods, which he might have taken from them, carried their gratitude so far as to erect a temple to him, and pay him divine honours. After this successful expedition, the emperor, committing the government of Britain to Plautius, set out for Rome, where he safely arrived after only a six months' absence. At his return, the senate decreed him the honour of a triumph, and the sirname of Britannicus, in memory of his subduing the Britons. The public rejoicings on this occasion held several days, and the poets displayed in lofty strains the greatness and importance of his victories.

AD 45] Plautius carried on the conquests begun by the emperor, being bravely seconded by Vespasian, and his son Titus, who served under him. Titus, then a Tribune only, signalised himself on all occasions. He had even the good fortune to save his father's life in a battle. Vespasian, who had a large command, was often detached by the General on expeditions of moment, which gained him great reputation. He fought thirty battles with the Britons, subdued two powerful nations, and conquered the Isle of Wight. As all this was done under Plautius the Commander in Chief, he acquired great reputation in this way. At length, being recalled, he received at Rome the reward of his services, the senate having decreed him the honour of an ovation, or inferior triumph. He was met by the emperor without the gates, who gave him the right hand as they walked, in token of his great esteem for him.[17]

AD 50] Ostorius Scapula was sent into Britain in the room of Plautius. He arrived in the midst of winter, and found the Britons making continual inroads into the Roman conquest. They never imagined that the new governor would march his army at such a season in an unknown country. But he did not suffer them long to continue their ravages. Drawing his troops together, he marched against them with all expedition; and, defeating the first that stood their ground, so dispersed the rest, that he had no more to fear from their incursions. However, not to be exposed to continual alarms, he resolved to confine them between the Avon and Severn, by means of forts built between the two rivers. Before he put his resolution in practice, he made Camelodunum a military colony. Much about the same time London was also made a trading colony, and that part of Britain lying between the Thames and the sea was reduced into the form of a province, and called Britannia Prima.

AD 51] The Iceni[18] not yet weakened by the foregoing wars, having from the beginning been in alliance with the Romans, were the first that opposed Ostorius's design. Some neighbouring nations followed their example; and, joining their forces under one General, they encamped upon advantageous ground, throwing up in haste a breast-work of flints to prevent the attempts of the horse. Though Ostorius was then without any but the auxiliary forces, he attacked them, ordering the horse to dismount and support those that were to charge first.

The resistance of the Britons was more obstinate than expected. Nevertheless their entrenchments were forced at last, with great slaughter. After this victory, Ostorius turned his arms against the Cangi[19], who, keeping in small parties, were quickly dispersed. The Roman army was not far from the sea that parts Ireland from Great-Britain, when the General was informed that the Brigantes[20]were in arms. This news obliging him to defer the execution of his first design, he marched with all speed against the Brigantes, being willing to secure the old, before he proceeded to new, conquests. The insurrection was appeased by the death of the chief revolters. But the Silures,[21] the bravest and most powerful of all the Britons, could not be tamed, either by clemency or severity. Their forces were so considerable, that the legions were obliged to march against them. They were headed by their king, Caractacus, famous for his great exploits, and universally esteemed by his countrymen, being accounted the best General that Britain had ever produced. This Prince, whom the nations in alliance with the Silures had made commander in chief, had retired into the country of the Ordovices,[22] where, assembling all his forces, he resolved to await the arrival of the Romans. To that end he chose an advantageous post, of very difficult access, and drew up his army on the side of a steep hill, with a little river[23] at the

bottom, which, though fordable in many places, was of great service to him. Moreover his camp being surrounded with a sort of rampart of flints and stones, he seemed, thus posted, to be out of all danger.[24]

These difficulties were not sufficient to check the Romans, who appeared before their enemies with their wonted bravery, and resolved to exert their utmost in expectation of ending, by a single battle, a war that kept them, as it were, in another world. The Britons on their part prepared for battle with all possible ardour, not questioning but they should free themselves that day from the Roman yoke. Their leaders rode up and down, exhorting them to do their duty, by all the motives that could inflame their courage, and excite them to brave actions. Caractacus told them, this was the day that would give them liberty or perpetual slavery; and bade them call to mind the glory of their ancestors, who drove Cæsar out of Britain, and freed their country from the dominion of the Romans." The soldiers, with loud acclamations, declared that they were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of their liberty. The resolution that appeared in the looks of the Britons startled the Roman General at first; but, finding his army extremely eager to engage, he made the signal of battle, having first observed in what places the river might best be forded.

The Romans passed it without much difficulty; but, before they could approach the enemies' camp, they were exposed to a shower of darts, by which many were killed and wounded. In spite of these difficulties, they made several breaches in the rampart, which, being nothing but loose stones, were easily thrown down. As soon as they could use their swords, it was not possible for the Britons to stand against the warlike and veteran troops who quickly put them to flight. Besides the loss sustained by the Britons in the action, their defeat was the more considerable by the taking of the wife, daughters, and brothers, of Caractacus. This victory was followed, in a few days, with an unexpected happiness to Ostorius.[25] Caractacus flying for protection to Cartismandua Queen of the Brigantes, was by her delivered up to the Romans, for fear, doubtless, of drawing a victorious army into her country, should she think of protecting the vanquished prince.

He had now commanded the confederate army of the Britons nine years; and his fame had reached as far as Rome, where all were surprised at his so long resisting the Roman power. When the emperor had notice of the victory, and taking of Caractacus, he ordered the captives to be sent to Rome, that he might behold in chains a prince that had been talked of as a very formidable enemy. On a day appointed, the people being all present, and the emperor seated on his throne, there came first Caractacus's vassals and retinue, with the caparisons and other spoils of war, then his wife, daughters, and brothers, and lastly Caractacus himself, walking with a settled countenance, without holding down his head, or appearing too much dejected at his misfortune. When he came near the emperor, he addressed the emperor in the following speech:—

> "If my moderation in prosperity, O Claudius, had been as conspicuous as my birth and fortune, I should now have entered this city as a friend, and not as a prisoner; nor would you have disdained the friendship of a prince descended from such illustrious ancestors, and governing so many nations. My present condition, I own, is to you honourable, to me humiliating. I was lately possessed of subjects, horses, arms, riches. Can you be surprised that 1 endeavoured to preserve them? If you, Romans, have a desire to arrive at universal monarchy, must all nations, to gratify you, tamely submit to servitude? If I had submitted without a struggle, how much would it have diminished the lustre of my fall, and of your victory? And now, if you resolve to put me to death, my story will soon be buried in oblivion; but if you think proper to preserve my life, I shall remain a lasting monument of your clemency."

The emperor, moved with these words, generously pardoned the captives, and ordered their chains to be taken off. The senate, being assembled to consider of a due reward for Ostorius, his victory was spoken of in terms very much to his advantage. It was declared to equal Scipio's

over Syphax, and Paulus Emilius's over Perseus; and therefore it was resolved that the same honours should be decreed him.

Meanwhile the Britons exerted themselves more vigorously to repair the disgrace of their late defeat. They successfully attacked the troops that were left to build forts in the country of the Silures; and, had not timely relief come from. the neighbouring garrisons, would have cut them in pieces. The commander and eight captains, with a number of soldiers, were slain. Another time they defeated the Roman foragers, and threw the horse that guarded them into disorder. In this action, they so improved their advantage, that Ostorius was obliged to advance with the legions, after having tried in vain to restore the battle with supplies of the light armed troops. The arrival of the legions revived the courage of the Romans, and forced the Britons to retreat, though with little loss.

The Silures, of all the British nations, were the most obstinate, being exasperated at the emperor's saying, Britain would have no peace, till, like the Sicambri, they were transported into some foreign country. Ostorius dying about this time, Aulus Didius was sent over, who found matters in a worse condition than ever, a legion commanded by Manlius Valens having been defeated. His arrival, however, was a check to the Silures, who, exalted with their late success, were making inroads into the frontiers of the Roman province.

Meanwhile, Venutius, king of the Brigantes, successor to Caractacus, in the command of the army, was persuaded by the instigations of Cartisivandua his queen, (the same that betrayed Caractacus) to enter into an alliance with the Romans. As long as this prince lived in a good understanding with his queen, he suffered the Romans peaceably to enjoy their conquests; but a quarrel arising between him and his queen, and ending in a domestic war, caused him to take other measures,[26] the Romans having espoused the cause of his queen. This partiality of theirs so enraged him that he used all his interest with his countrymen to stir them up to a revolt.

Veranius, who succeeded Didins in the reign of Nero, died before he had done anything remarkable; and Suetonius Paulinus was appointed to fill his place. The moment he came to his government, he formed the project of conquering the Isle of Mona,[27] now called Anglesey. To that end, he passed the foot over in flat-bottomed boats, the horse following, some swimming, others fording. The islanders were drawn up on the other side, with the women running up and down, dressed like furies, their hair hanging loose, firebrands in their hands, and surrounded with the Druids, who, with their hands lifted up to heaven, poured out dreadful curses and imprecations.

The horror of this sight so astonished the Romans, that they stood stock still, exposed to the enemies' darts. At length, the shame of being frightened by a company of frantic women and priests, and the exhortation of their general bringing them to their senses and courage, they fell upon the enemy sword in hand, and became masters of the island. The first thing. Paulinus did was to order all the consecrated groves to be cut down, where the islanders sacrificed their captives, and consulted their gods, by inspecting the entrails of men.

But whilst Paulinus was employed in this expedition, an unexpected turn obliged him to leave Mona, to settle affairs of much greater moment.

Prasatugus, king of the Iceni, dying, left the emperor and his daughters, co-heirs to his great treasures, in expectation to procure Nero's protection for his family and people. But this precaution had a contrary effect. Prasatugus was no sooner laid in his grave, but the emperor's officers seized upon all his effects in their master's name. Boadicea his widow, a woman of great courage and high spirit, opposing these unjust proceedings, met with fresh cause of discontent in the contempt shewn to her remonstrances. As she was expressing, by her complaints, her resentment of the injury done to her daughters, the brutishness of the officers was such, that they

ordered her to be publicly whipped. And then, not satisfied with so outrageous an affront, they caused her daughters to be violated by the soldiers.

The Britons looked upon this strange barbarity with such indignation, that the whole island was possessed with a spirit of revolt, which quickly broke out into action. The Iceni led the way, and were soon followed by their neighbours the Trinobantes. Venutius and his party joined with them; and, in short, all the nations in subjection to the Romans rose in arms with one consent, the **city of London only excepted**.

The Roman historians themselves own, that the injustice and violence of the emperor's officers gave the Britons but too just cause to revolt. They were thrust out of their possessions, without any form of' law, by the veterans that were sent to settle in the island. Catus Decianus, Nero's procurator, without any regard to the ordinance of Claudius, that left the vanquished in possession of their goods, confiscated their estates to the emperor's use, The petitions presented to him on that occasion were all rejected; and, without alleging any other reason but his will, which he made a law, he minded nothing but his own, and his master's profit. Seneca himself is said to have contributed very much to the insurrection, by rigorously exacting the money he had lent some of the Britons upon usury.[28] This treatment bred in the minds of the people so great an aversion to a foreign yoke, that they unanimously determined to shake it off. Venutius, a mortal enemy to the Romans, cherished the rebellion to the utmost of his power. The very adherents of the queen, laying aside her domestic quarrels, and renouncing the friendship of the Romans, joined with the rest of their countrymen for the recovery of their liberty.

AD 61] Boadicea, animated with an ardent desire of revenge, headed the revolters, and earnestly exhorted them to take advantage of the Roman general's absence to free themselves from slavery, by putting their oppressors, the foreigners, all to the sword. The Britons immediately embraced the proposal, and fell in a sudden and furious manner upon the Romans dispersed in their colonies, which were more carefully embellished than fortified, massacring all without distinction of age or sex.

Unheard of cruelties were acted upon this occasion, and strange punishments invented to glut the fury of the enraged people. Wives were hanged up with their infants at their breasts,to make them suffer in some measure a double death. Virgins had their breasts cut off, and crammed into their mouths, to make them seem, in the agonies of death, to eat their own flesh. The veterans at Camelodunum, retiring into a temple for sanctuary, were sacrilegiously burned alive, rather than suffered to starve to death. In a word, the fury of the Britons was carried to that height, that scarcely a single Roman escaped. Eighty thousand are computed to have perished in this massacre.

Paulinus, receiving advice of this revolution, suddenly quitted the Isle of Mona to march against the revolted Britons, who had now an army of a hundred thousand men, under the conduct of Boadicea, whose noble stature and heroic courage made them hope she might have likewise all the qualities of a general. This princess, fired with the affronts she had received, ardently desired to engage with Paulinus, whose army was only ten thousand strong, in expectation of completing her revenge, by the destruction of such inconsiderable remains of the enemy.

Meanwhile, Paulinus, expecting no succours from any place, was in great straits. The ninth legion, commanded by Petilius Cerealis, had just then been entirely defeated. Poeenius Posthumus, with a considerable detachment of the second, refused, contrary to the law of arms, to obey his general's orders, to come and join him. Thus Paulinus was under a necessity either of marching against his enemies with his little army, or of expecting them in some town. He chose the latter, and shut himself up in London; but quickly altered his resolution.

Foreseeing his endeavours to save that colony would endanger the whole province, he marched out, notwithstanding the cries and entreaties of the inhabitants not to abandon them to the fury of the rebels. Paulinus plainly saw that, in such an extremity, he must either conquer or die;

therefore, instead of retiring from the Britons, he resolved to meet them. This resolution inspired his troops with such courage, that they readily followed him. He pitched upon a narrow piece of ground for the field of battle, with a forest behind that secured him from ambuscades in the rear, and a large plain before, where the Britons were encamped. He drew up the legions close together in the centre, the light-armed were placed round them, and the horse made the two wings. The enemies swarmed about the plain in battalions and squadrons, exulting at their numbers,[29] and secure of victory. Their wives and children were brought into the field in waggons, which lined their entrenchments, to be witnesses of their actions, and partners in the spoil.

Boadicea, with her daughters by her side in the chariot, rode up and down, addressing herself to the several nations in the following manner: "that it was not the first time that the Britons had been victorious under the conduct of their queens. That for her part she came not there; as one descended from royal progenitors, to fight for empire or riches, but as one of the common people, to avenge the loss of their liberty; the wrongs done to her own person, and the violation of her daughters' chastity.

That the Romans' lust was grown to that height, that neither old nor young escaped its pollutions; but the gods had already begun to punish them according to their deserts; for one legion that durst hazard a battle had been cut in pieces, and the rest skulked in their camp, or fled for their lives; so that instead of being able to stand the attack of a victorious army, the very shouts of so many thousands would put them to flight. That if the Britons would but consider the number of their forces, and the motives of the war, they would resolve to vanquish or die. That it. was much better to fall honourably in defence of their liberty, than be exposed again to. the outrages of the Romans. This was her resolution; but as for the men, they might, if they pleased, live and be slaves." She is said at the end of her speech to have let loose a hare, which she had concealed in her bosom, as an omen of victory.

Whilst Boadicea was endeavouring to animate the Britons, Paulinus was not idle. Though he was assured of the bravery of his troops, he exhorted them to despise the clamour and threats of the Barbarians. He represented to them that among the enemy "there were more women than soldiers, and that the greatest part of them, having neither arms nor courage, would immediately take to their heels, when they came to feel the force of their victorious arms.. That in the most numerous armies, the decision of the battle depended upon a few, and that their glory would be so much the. greater as it was the less divided. That they should take care only to keep their ranks close, and fight sword in hand, after they had thrown their darts. And lastly; that they should not lose time about the spoil, which would be the certain reward of their victory."

These words were followed with such loud acclamations, and the resolution of the soldiers appeared so great, that the general, not doubting of success, ordered a charge to be sounded. The Romans darted their javelins without quitting the advantage of their post. But their quivers being emptied, they advanced sword in hand, seconded by the auxiliaries, who fought with equal bravery, in an opinion that there was no safety but in victory. Whilst the fight was carried on with darts at a distance, the Britons were in hopes that the Romans, daunted at the number of their enemies, would take to flight. But when they saw the legions advancing sword in hand, with short and thick steps, and no signs of fear in their looks, they fell into disorder, which continually increased, there being no leaders or officers capable of repairing it.

The Romans, seeing them thus shaken, fell upon them with great fury, and put the whole army into the utmost confusion, as they now thought only of saving themselves by flight. At the same time, the Roman horse in the wings breaking through the British cavalry, a terrible rout ensued of the frighted troops, It was even with difficulty, that they ran away, by reason of the great number of carriages, full of unserviceable multitudes, which, first retiring, became an obstacle to the flight of the army. The Roman soldiers spared neither age nor sex, but sacrificed the women and children, and even the horses. This victory equalled their most famous ones, if it be true, as Tacitus affirms, that eighty thousand Britons were slain, with the loss only of four hundred

Romans, and as many wounded. Boadicea escaped falling into the hands. of the conquerors, but was touched with so deep a sense of her shame and loss, that she ended her days with poison. On. the other side Poenius Posthumus, who refused to obey his general, either to avoid the punishment due to his offence, or for grief at losing his share of the glory of the victory, stabbed himself.

How advantageous to the Romans the consequences of so great a victory were, may be easily conceived. The Britons, in the utmost consternation, without general or army, flew before their enemies without offering the least resistance. Their misery was farther increased by a famine, brought upon themselves by neglecting to sow their lands. All their hopes were, that the inconsiderable number of their enemies must oblige them to keep together, and thereby afford time to form another army. But these hopes vanished upon the Romans receiving a strong reinforcement from Germany.

Julius Classicianus, who succeeded Dicianus in the office of procurator, disagreeing with Paulinus, studied to cross him in all his designs. He declared publicly, and even wrote to the emperor's ministers at Rome, that there was no prospect of ending the war, as long as the management was left to Paulinus. At last Nero, hearing of this dissension, ordered his freed man Polycletus to go and learn the cause. The respect shewn him by Paulinus was surprising to the Britons, who could not conceive that such a General and a victorious army should be accountable to a freed man. This respect, however, was not paid in vain. Polycletus,[30] in his report to the emperor, justified Paulinus, and so managed that he kept his command. But, in the end, Classicianus prevailed to have Paulinus relieved by Petronius Turpilianus, a person of no ambition, hiding his love of ease and sloth under the specious name of the love of peace.

AD 65] To him succeeded Trebellius Maximus, as indolent as himself, and famous for nothing during his government but his quarrel with Cæius, commander of the twentieth legion.

AD 68, 69] Nero dying, the Britons enjoyed some respite, during the short reigns of Galba and Otho, there being neither governor nor general. The Roman army was commanded only by tribunes, among whom Cælius bore the chief sway. Vitellius being come to the empire, sent Victius Bolanus into Britain, to take upon him the command of the army. He continued in the province till Vespasian, who succeeded Vitellius, being informed of the wants of Britain, sent thither Petilius Cerealis. Petilius attacked, and defeated in several battles, the Brigantes, the most numerous and considerable of all the British nations.[31] Julius Frontinus succeeded him; and acquired no less glory than his predecessor. He subdued the warlike Silures,[32] whose country seemed, by its situation, to screen them from all attacks.

AD 78.] Towards the end of Vespasian's reign, Julius Agricola was sent into Britain to succeed Frontinus.—Some time before Agricola was appointed governor, the Ordovices had surprised and cut in pieces a body of Roman horse quartered on their frontiers. This accident gave occasion to apprehend the like again, and caused the Romans to expect with great impatience the arrival of a new governor. The news that Agricola was to command them revived their courage.

However, he could not come till about the middle of summer; when, though he found no magazine for the army, he drew them together without delay. He immediately attacked the Ordovices; and, notwithstanding the difficulty of the undertaking, he made them pay dear for the advantage they had lately gained. But there was still greater reason to admire his diligence, when he was seen, in this first campaign, to attack the Isle of Mona, which the Romans had been forced to abandon, though he wanted flat-bottomed vessels for the expedition.

He ordered a choice body of auxiliaries, who were acquainted with the shallows, to swim over, which they performed so dexterously, that the inhabitants, astonished at the sight, surrendered the Isle to the Romans without obliging them to draw a sword.

Whilst his arms were triumphant, he carefully inquired about every thing relating to the government of the province, and the properest means to keep the people in obedience; and he spent the whole winter, after his first campaign, in diligently regulating several abuses which had crept in by the avarice or negligence of former governors. Vespasian dying about this time, his son Titus succeeded him, and knowing Agricola's great merit, continued him in his government.

AD 79] In the spring the general took the field again, and marched towards the north, where he made some conquests. He observed, that the Romans commonly lost in the winter what they gained in the summer, because they durst not venture to quarter in the conquered countries, which were too much exposed. To prevent this inconvenience, he resolved to build forts in proper places, where garrisons might be kept in the winter, always ready to repulse the enemy. As he was a great master in the art of fortification, these forts were built and situated in such a manner, that the Romans were never under a necessity to quit them, nor the enemies ever able to take them.[33]

During the following winter Agricola's chief business was to soften the rough manners of the Britons, and instil into them a desire to imitate the customs of the Romans. His pains were not bestowed in vain. Soon after, Britain was adorned with stately temples, noble porticos, and many fine structures, both public and private, of a very different taste from what had been hitherto seen. The British nobles even prided themselves in speaking the Latin tongue, from which a little before they were utterly averse. They dressed likewise after the Roman manner, and, in short, were brought to esteem, as politeness and good breeding, what was only a badge of their slavery.

AD 80] In his third campaign, Agricola advanced as far as the river Tweed, fortifying his conquests with castles and fortresses in several places.

AD 81] The fourth summer was spent in subduing the nations inhabiting between the Tweed and the two Friths of Glota, and Bodotria, now called of Dunbritton and Edinburgh. These two arms of the east and west seas, shoot so far into the land, that they are parted only by an isthmus of between thirty and forty miles. Upon this isthmus Agricola raised forts and planted garrisons for the security of the Roman province, by which means the nations yet unconquered were pent up as it were in a separate island.

AD 82] During the fifth campaign, Agricola led his army beyond the Friths, where he discovered countries and nations, whose very names were unknown to the Romans. Some of them he conquered, and left garrisons in the western parts opposite to Ireland. His design was to attempt the conquest of that island, that it might be a check upon Britain.

AD 83] In his sixth campaign, the Roman general passed the Forth, ordering his fleet to row along the coasts, and discover the creeks and harbours in those northern parts. This was the first Roman fleet that appeared on those seas, the sight whereof inspired the enemy with terror, but the Romans with courage, who, having ventured upon those unknown countries with some dread, were extremely animated by the communication they had with their fleet, which always kept near the shore.

But while Agricola was advancing towards the north, a report was spread that the northern nations had drawn together a formidable army, and attacked the forts built on their frontiers. The news of this armament being confirmed a few days after by deserters, the principal officers of the army advised the general to relinquish his conquests beyond the Friths, and avoid the shame of being compelled to it by force. But he rejected this advice as injurious to his master's honour and interest. Whilst he was deliberating upon this affair, he had notice that the enemies were coming upon him in numberless multitudes. Apprehensive of being surrounded, he divided his army into three bodies. This precaution had like to have cost him dear. For the enemy having intelligence of it, altered their resolution, and with united forces set upon the ninth legion in the night as they lay encamped at a good distance from the rest of the army.

They surprised the advanced guard; and, attacking the camp with great fury, nearly became masters of it. Agricola made all possible haste to the relief of the legion; but, for fear of being too late, he ordered the horse to go before and maintain the fight, till the rest of the army came up. He appeared at daybreak in sight of the enemy, who, seeing him advance, would have retreated, but not having time, were forced to continue the fight. The battle was fierce and obstinate. The Romans, who were almost defeated in their camp, vigorously endeavoured to repair their disgrace, at the sight of their companions who were coming to their assistance. These, seeing the ninth legion in danger, rushed furiously upon the enemy to relieve them. Both fought with such courage and bravery, that the enemy at last gave ground. The fens favoured their retreat, otherwise the war had been terminated by that single battle;[34]

This defeat, though considerable, disheartened not the islanders. They imputed their misfortune to chance and other circumstances, rather than to the valour of the Romans, and resolved to try the fortune of war again. Having conveyed their women. and children into the towns, they came together from all parts, and formed a more numerous army than the first, with a resolution stoutly to defend their liberty.

AD 84] Upon opening the next campaign, Agricola ordered his fleet to row along the coast, to keep several places in awe. At the same time he marched at the head of his troops, taking for guides some natives of known fidelity, that were acquainted with the ways. When he came near the Grampian mountains, he saw the enemies drawn up to the number of thirty thousand, besides volunteers, who flocked together to be at a battle of which liberty or slavery was to be the issue. Upon the armies approaching each other, Galgacus, commander of the islanders, represented to them:–

> "that being at the extremity of the Isle, they had no refuge left if vanquished, and therefore nothing but victory could deliver them from perpetual bondage."

On the other side, Agricola exhorted his soldiers "to do their duty, by the consideration of their past victories. Particularly he set before their eyes their sad condition, if, after being defeated, they should be forced to seek for shelter among the Britons, who for fifty years together had felt the force of their victorious arms."

Whilst the general was yet speaking, the soldiers by their looks discovered their eagerness to fight, and their hopes of victory. The army was drawn up in such a manner that the auxiliary foot were to bear the first shock, in order to prevent as much as possible the effusion of Roman blood. The legions were placed in the rear to support the auxiliaries in case of repulse. Galgacus had ranged his men on the side of a hill, that his whole army might be visible at once to the Romans, and strike them with the greater terror. The horse were drawn up on the plain, at the bottom of the hill, and the chariots ran between the two armies. Agricola, apprehensive of being surrounded by these multitudes, widened his front, though he thereby weakened it, rejecting the advice given him of ordering the legions to advance. Then alighting from his horse, full of courage and hope, he went and headed the legions.

They fought some time with darts, the islanders being unwilling to quit the advantage of their post. Besides, their little targets, and unwieldy pointless swords, were not so proper for close fighting. But Agricola found means to compel them to it, by detaching two cohorts of Batavians, and as many of Tungrians, who fell upon them sword in hand. The islanders, unused to that way of fighting, could not long withstand the charge of these warlike troops, who, pressing them with the points of their bucklers, soon broke their foremost battalions, and began even to ascend the hill. Those that followed them, animated by their example, fought with the same bravery; and, without giving the enemies time to rally, overthrew all that withstood them.

Meanwhile, the British horse began also to give ground, and their chariots were forced to drive up the hill to assist the foot, that were in extreme disorder. Though the chariots at first somewhat

daunted the Romans, they did but little execution, by reason of the unevenness of the ground. The hill being steep, the charioteers had no command of the horses, and ran without distinction over friends and foes, as they came in their way. The foot that were posted on the top of the hill; and had not yet engaged, seeing the Romans hotly pursuing their victory, now made a motion to surround them, because of the smallness of their number. But Agricola, perceiving it, detached four squadrons of horse, who not only withstood the charge of the foot, but entirely routed them. Then, falling upon the enemies in flank that were still on the plain, made great slaughter of them. This action completed the victory.

Galgacus, finding it impossible to renew the fight, retreated with the remains of his troops. He lost ten thousand men in the action; but, on the side of the Romans, there fell but three hundred and forty ; among whom was Aulus Atticus, captain of a cohort, who by the heat of youth, and the unruliness of his horse, was carried into the midst of the enemies. The conquerors passed the following night with joy and gladness, and the vanquished with lamentations and sorrow, taking advantage of the darkness to escape the pursuit of the Romans. Far from any thoughts of rallying, their flight was so hasty that when day appeared it was in vain to pursue them.[35]

Agricola seeing they were entirely dispersed, the summer almost spent, and it being unsafe to send his army to waste the enemies' country, marched back into the territories of the Horisbri (now called Angus) from whom he received hostages. He marched slowly, to strike terror into the Britons, and in expectation of his fleet, which, having alarmed all the northern coast, returned about the end of the summer.

Domitian, now emperor upon the death of his brother Titus, received the news of this victory, with a seeming satisfaction, though inwardly he repined at the reputation Agricola gained by it. Envy not suffering him to continue him in his post, where his fame might still have an additional lustre, he recalled him on pretence of promoting him to the government of Syria; but, after causing the senate to decree him a statue crowned with laurel, he sent him out of the world with a dose of poison.

Agricola had given the finishing blow to the liberty of Britain. By his valour and prudent conduct all that part of the island, lying south of the two Friths; was reduced to a Roman province. As for the northern parts, they were left to the inhabitants as a wild uncultivated country, not worth conquering or keeping. Only strong garrisons were placed in the fortresses built on this side the Friths.

AD 85] After Agricola's departure from Britain, we have but a slender account of what passed in the island till the reign of Adrian. We only know that Sallustius Lucullus was sent thither by Domitian, to whose suspicions or jealousy he quickly fell a sacrifice. The Roman Historians mention, in the reigns of Nerva and Trajan, some commotions in the island that were quickly appeased: but the particulars are unknown. It may also be observed, in this interval, that the Romans, after their conquests, suffered kings to be in Britain; for they gloried in having such for their subjects. Juvenal speaks of King Arviragus, who reigned in some part of the island under Domitian.

AD 117] In the first year of Adrian, the northern people, or Caledonians, made an irruption into the Roman province. Their first exploit was to demolish some of Agricola's fortresses between the two Friths. Adrian, being informed of these commotions, appointed Julius Severus governor of Britain; but before he had time to perform any thing, he was suddenly recalled, and sent against the Jews. He was succeeded by Priscus Licinius. Meantime,[36] the Caledonians continuing to infest the Roman territories, the emperor resolved to go over in person and subdue them. As soon as they heard of his arrival, they relinquished the country they were possessed of, and retired to the north. Adrian, however, advanced as far as York, where he met some of Agricola's old soldiers, that had been with him in the northern parts.

The description which they gave him of the country he intended to conquer, diverted him from pursuing his expedition. He accordingly came to a resolution to leave to the Caledonians all the country between the two Friths and the Tyne, in hopes, by thus enlarging their bounds, to keep them quiet. At the same time, to secure the Roman province from their incursions, he caused a rampart of earth to be thrown up, covered with turf, from the mouth of the Tyne to Solway Frith. This rampart was eighty miles in length, and ran quite across the country from east to west, by which he secured the southern parts, leaving the Caledonians all the lands between the new rampart and the Isthmus that parts the two Friths[37]. Having thus settled matters in the island, he returned to Rome, and was honoured with the title of Restorer of Britain. After these last irruptions of the northern people, there was a mortal enmity between them and the southern Britons. The latter finding themselves entirely separated by inclination and interest from the rest of the inhabitants of the island, were the more forward to embrace the customs and manners of the Romans. Afterwards, by means of the arts and sciences, they became by degrees capable of being instructed in the Christian religion, which till then was scarcely known in the island.

How strong soever Adrian's rampart might be, it was not sufficient to prevent the inroads of the northern people. They behaved peaceably as long as there were Roman troops enough on their borders to defend the rampart; but the moment these were removed, they began their usual ravages. In the reign of Antoninus Pius, not satisfied with their booty, they destroyed the rampart in several places. Antoninus[38] being informed of it, and fearing that their boldness, if not curbed, would lead them to greater undertakings, ordered Lollus Urbicus to go and quell them. The new governor, (having first subdued the Brigantes, who endeavoured to shake off the Roman yoke,) in order to put a stop to the northern irruptions, raised another rampart on the neck of land between the two Friths, where Agricola had formerly built his fortresses.[39] Thus the inhabitants of the north were confined within narrower bounds than before: By means of this rampart and a camp at a little distance, where troops were kept ready to march on occasion, he compelled the Caledonians to remain peaceably in their country. Though Antoninus was never in Britain himself, this expedition, as done by his orders, and under his auspices, gained him the title of Britannicus[40].

AD 165] Marcus Aurelius, his successor, gave the government of Britain to Calphurnius Agricola. This governor checked the insolence of the Caledonians, and strengthened the emperor's dominion over such of the Britons as seemed to bear their yoke with the most reluctance. It was in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, that Lucius, a British king, embraced the Christian religion, which, for want of due cultivation, had taken no deep root.

AD 183] During the reign of Commodus, successor, of Marcus Aurelius, there were great commotions in Britain. The northern men taking up arms, cut in pieces the Roman army commanded by an inexperienced general, and made great ravages in the province. All Britain [41] was in danger of being lost; if the emperor had not speedily sent Ulpius Marcellus, a general of great reputation. The new governor defeated the rebels[42] in several encounters, and by his conduct put an end, in a very short time, to this dangerous war. During[43] his stay in the island, he observed that the want of discipline in the Roman army was the sole foundation of the boldness of the northern people, and the chief cause of the advantages gained by them over the former governors. He undertook, therefore, to bring it to its ancient strictness, which he happily accomplished. But his services were repaid with ingratitude.

AD 187] Manaus no sooner left Britain, but the army mutinied, upon Perennis, the emperor's favourite, breaking or calling home all the old officers, and putting his creatures in their place. The mutiny was carried so far, that the army sent a body of fifteen hundred men to demand justice of the emperor against Perennis. This troop marching to Rome, without any obstacle, was met by the emperor without the city, who demanded of the leaders the cause of their discontent. "They were come, (they said) to offer him their assistance against Perennis, acquainting him withal how that dangerous minister had by degrees cashiered the bravest officers, and filled the army

with his creatures, a clear evidence of his ill designs." Commodus having been jealous of him for some time, delivered him up to the soldiers, who executed him upon the spot.

AD 188] Meanwhile it was necessary to send into Britain some person of authority to suppress the mutinous temper of the army. Pertinax, afterwards emperor, being pitched upon for this service, resolved to proceed according to the rigour of military discipline. Whereupon the ninth legion raised a mutiny, which was not appeased without bloodshed. The general gained his point, and brought the army at last to submit; but[44], as he was not beloved by the soldiers, he desired to be dismissed from his office, and Clodius Albinus was sent in his room. Albinus being recalled upon a suspicion conceived of him by Commodus, Junius Severus was ordered to relieve him.

AD 192] Pertinax being come to the empire, after the death of Commodus, made the same Clodius Albinos, lately recalled, governor of Britain. He was continued[45] in that post by Julian, successor of Pertinax. Albinus gained the affection of the soldiers by his liberalities, to such a degree, that, after Julian's death, they proclaimed him emperor. At the same time, Septimius Severus in Pannonia, and Pescennius Niger in Syria, received the same honour from their respective armies. Severus being nearest Rome, hastened thither to receive from the senate the confirmation of the dignity conferred on him by the soldiers; but, notwithstanding the senate's decree, the other two emperors, persisting in their claims, put Severus to a stand.

His rivals were at the two extremities of the empire, and consequently, while he marched against one, there was danger of the other's making too great a progress. He judged[46] it necessary therefore to use dissimulation with Albinus, making him believe be was willing to share the empire with him. This offer being accepted, Severus drew all his forces together, and fought Pescennius, who was vanquished and slain in battle; after which Severus considered how to get rid of Albinus likewise. He tried first to assassinate him by villains hired and sent into Britain for that purpose. But this way failing, he resolved to employ force; and, causing Albinos to be declared enemy of the state, marched against him. Albinos[47] was now with the army in Gaul, intending to meet him and decide the quarrel by a battle. Accordingly it was decided near Lyons, where the two emperors fought with equal bravery, though not with equal fortune.

Albinos was defeated and slain, and by his death Severus remained sole possessor of the empire. Shortly after he divided Britain into two governments. The first, containing the southern parts, was given to Heraclitus, and Virius Lupus had the second, consisting of the northern provinces bordering upon the Caledonians, by whom he was so infested, that he was forced at last to purchase a peace with money.

AD 205] After this treaty Britain remained in quiet till the fifteenth year of Severus, when the Caledonians renewed their incursions into the Roman province. The Roman soldiers, having enjoyed several years' peace, were grown so effeminate and negligent, that they seemed never to have had the least tincture of military discipline. It was this that emboldened the Caledonians, and made them think they should not neglect so fair an opportunity to attack their neighbours, who till then had appeared so formidable to them.

They made such progress, that the emperor, though sixty years of age, and afflicted with the gout, resolved to go in person and chastise their insolence. His[48] intent was, finally to put an end to the continual commotions in Britain, by the entire conquest of the north. To that purpose, he drew together a numerous army, and set out for Britain, accompanied by his sons Caracalla and Geta. The Caledonians, when they heard of his arrival, sent ambassadors to demand peace upon honourable terms. But he refused to hearken to them, unless they would submit to his mercy; which they not consenting to, he marched towards their country with his eldest son Caracalla, leaving Geta at London to take care of the southern parts.

It was with infinite toil that he penetrated to the utmost bounds of the north, cutting down woods, draining bogs, or tilling them with bavins. By this hard duty, and the continual ambuscades of

the enemy, he lost fifty thousand men. However, notwithstanding all difficulties, be accomplished his design, and subdued those fierce and hitherto unconquered people. Confining himself to Adrian's former project, however, he only divided[49] the island into two parts by a wall[50], in the place where Adrian threw up his rampart. This wall, of which there are still some remains, was called by the ancient Britons Mursever, or Severus's wall,[51] and must not be confounded with the rampart raised by Lollius Urbicus between the two Friths.

The emperor having nothing more to do in the north, returned to York, leaving the finishing of the wall and command of the army to his son Caracalla. This expedition enabled him to assume the title of Britannicus Maximus Caracalla, no longer restrained by his father's presence suffered the soldiers to commit all manner of licentiousness; so that the Caledonians, unused to the yoke took up arms with one accord. Severus hearing of this revolt, but not knowing the cause, ordered the rebels to be all massacred, which made them fear he intended an utter extirpation of them. He died shortly after at York, and the two princes his sons, succeeding him, concluded a peace with the Caledonians, and returned to Rome.

What is known of the affairs of Britain from the death of Severus, to the reign of Dioclesian is inconsiderable, and amounts to no more than this. There is ground to suppose that some of the thirty tyrants[52] who were in possession of the empire for some time, were acknowledged, if not personally present, in Britain. This appears the more probable, as the coins of Lollianus, Victorinus, Posthumus, and others of these pretended emperors are commonly found in England. Bonosus, who attempted to usurp the empire under Tacitus and Aurelian, was born in Britain.

It is known, moreover, that the governor sent hither by, assumed the imperial purple, and was shortly after killed by Victorinus, who had recommended him to the emperor. Two other particulars of the reign of Probus, with respect to Britain, ought to be recorded. This emperor was the first that permitted the Britons to plant vines, as well as the Gauls or Spaniards.[53] But in all appearance, no great benefit was reaped by this permission. The emperor Probus also, after subduing the Vandals and Burgundians, sent over great numbers of them into Britain. These new colonies are generally thought to have been settled on Gogmagog-Hill Cambridgeshire.

AD 285] In the beginning of Dioclesian's reign, Carausius had the command of a fleet, with orders to scour the seas of the piratical Franks and Saxons that perpetually infested the Belgic, Armorican, and British coasts. Carausius found means to enrich himself immensely, by plundering the pirates, or going shares with them in their spoils. After which, he began by degrees to receive the emperor's commands with less respect and submission. Maximian was then emperor of the west, and Dioclesian of the east. Carausius's haughtiness breeding in Maximian suspicions that were but too well grounded, he resolved to have him assassinated. Upon notice thereof, Carausius[54] immediately assumed the imperial purple. As his riches had acquired him a great interest in the army, his authority was readily acknowledged in the island. Maximian, surprised at his boldness, advanced as far as Gaul with design to chastise him. But[55] finding him too well established, he altered his resolution, and thought it more proper to associate him into the empire, and leave him Britain for his share.

This forced agreement not removing Maximian's desire to be rid of his associate, he committed the execution of his design to Constantius Chlorus, lately made Cæsar, giving him an army answerable to the greatness of the undertaking. As Carausius had retired into Britain, Constantius thought it necessary in the first place to become master of Boulogne, that town being as it were the door into Britain from Gaul.

Whilst he was employed in the siege, Carausius was slain by Alectus, who assumed the title of emperor. Whereupon, Constantius raised the siege of Boulogne, and passed into Britain in order to drive the usurper from thence, before he had time to fortify himself. Shortly after,[56] Alectus was killed by Asciepiodotus, who, assuming likewise the imperial dignity, lost his life afterwards in a battle.

AD 304] Whilst these petty tyrants were contending for the possession of Britain, Dioclesian and Maximian, both on a day, resigned the empire, one in the east, the other in the west. Galerius and Constantius succeeding them, the last, as emperor of the west, had Britain in his division. Some commotions in the island obliging him to go thither in person, he died at York,[57] in the beginning of an expedition against the northern people. Constantius, before he expired, had the satisfaction to see his son Constantine, and, appoint him his successor. Some think Constantine was born in Britain, of Helena daughter of Coel king of Colchester. But this is only conjecture. However this prince, at first only emperor of the west, vanquished his rivals, and became in the end master of both empires.

The Britons, as long as Constantine ruled,[58] lived in profound tranquillity. His reign was remarkable for three circumstances in which Britain was concerned. The first is, the liberty granted by this emperor throughout the Roman empire, of professing the Christian religion, which Britain enjoyed as well as the rest of the provinces.

The second is, the general regulation made by this same prince, for the better government of his dominions. He divided the whole empire into four large Prefectures, namely, Italy, Gaul, the East, and Illyria, in which were contained fourteen great dioceses or provinces. Britain, one of the fourteen, was subject to the præfect of Gaul, and governed by a Vicarius or deputy under him, Before Constantine, Britain was divided into two provinces, only. But that emperor was pleased to divide it into three.

The first was called Britannia Prima,[59] containing all the country south of the Thames, the capital London. The second, named Britannia Secunda, contained all the country west of the Severn to the Irish sea, now called Wales, the capital Isca or Caerleon. All the rest lying northward of the Thames, and eastward of the Severn, made up the third province, distinguished by the name of Maxima Cearíensis, the capital York. This last was afterwards subdivided into two parts; the southern part retained the old name of Maxima Csariensis, and the other, more northward, was called Flavia Cæariensis. In these three provinces were twenty-eight large cities, which in time became so many bishops' seats. The lieutenant of the Præfect of Gaul had four magistrates under him, two consulars, and two with the title of presidents. These magistrates, with several inferior officers, managed all civil and criminal matters.

As for the military government, there were in the empire two generalissimos; one for the east, and the other for the west. Each of these in the several provinces in his jurisdiction had others under him. In Great Britain there were three general officers to command the militia; namely: the Count of Britain,[60] the Duke of Britain[61], and the Count of the Saxon coasts.[62] The business of the first was to keep peace in the inland parts of the island,. and probably of the western coasts. The province of the second was to defend the north from the irruptions of the Picts and. Scots.

The third was to guard the eastern and southern coasts from the frequent inroads of the Saxon pirates. Each of these generals had a certain number of troops under his command; and the three together could form a body of twenty thousand foot, and about two thousand horse.

Besides these civil and military officers, there were others for more private concerns; for instance, the Count of the Emperor's Largesses, that is, the receiver general, or high treasurer, had in Britain three officers, a Register, a Treasurer, and a Procurator. And the Count or Auditor of the private revenues of the emperor had also one to look after the affairs belonging to his office. These were the principal Roman officers in Britain, who, with numberless others, sought these employments only to enrich themselves at the expense of the province.

The removal of the imperial seat[63] from. Rome to Constantinople is yet to be noticed. After this removal, the emperor was frequently obliged to drain his western provinces of their forces, which in the end proved extremely detrimental to them, as it gave the northern nations opportunity

to ravage their borders by continual irruptions. Britain, though screened from these invasions by the sea that surrounded her, felt the effects of them, being often forced to supply troops for the defence of other provinces: In the mean time the Britons were so exposed to the ravages of the Picts and Scots; that they were forced at last to call in a foreign nation to their aid, which in time became master of the island.

AD 337] After the death of Constantine, the Roman empire was divided between his three sons; but, in a little time, Constantius, one of the three brothers, being possessed of the whole, sent into Britain a notary, one Paulus, who committed numberless extortions. Complaints. were brought to the emperor,[64] but he was not prevailed with to recall this minister; though he publicly abused his authority. Martinus, then governor of the province, was long witness of these abuses without daring to oppose them, Paulinus having an independent commission.

At length,[65] seeing no end of his unjust proceedings, he could not forbear advising him to use his power with more moderation, declaring withal that he would quit his government rather than employ his authority any longer in countenancing such oppressions. Paulus, proud of his master's favour, insolently told him, that they who found fault with his conduct, deserved to be put in irons, since the daring thus to oppose the execution of the emperor's orders could not but proceed from a spirit of rebellion. The governor, enraged at these words, drew his sword and struck at him; but, missing his blow, plunged it into his own breast and killed himself. After Martinus's death; the Britons, were exposed more than ever to the oppressions of Paulus[66] .

AD 360] About the end of Constantius's reign, the government of the west was conferred on Julian, now created Cæsar, who resided at Paris. Shortly after his arrival there, news came that the Picts and Scots had made incursions into the province of Britain,[67] and that it was necessary to send a speedy assistance. Whereupon Lupicinus received orders to repair thither with all expedition; but was recalled before he reached London. probably, the northern people had appeased Julian by their submission.

From that time to the reign of Valentinian[68] nothing remarkable happened in Britain. But under that emperor the island was in a wretched condition, by the joint attacks of the Picts, Scots, Attacots,[69] Franks, and Saxons. All these nations, by accident or a common league, invaded the Roman province at once, and made great ravages. Nectaridius, count or guardian of the coasts, was defeated and slain by these new enemies; and, soon after, Duke Bulchobaudes had the same fate: Severus[70] and Jovinus[71] were successively sent into Britain to put a stop to their ravages, but to no purpose. At last, the emperor Valentinian pitched upon Theodosius the elder, so called to distinguish him from his son, the first emperor of that name, to go and command in the island.

At his arrival[72] he divided his army into three bodies, the better to oppose those of the enemies that were dispersed in the island. Fortune favouring his diligence and valour, he routed them in several counters, and at last drove them out of the Roman, province, recovering all their booty, of which he rewarded his troops with a small part, restoring the rest to the owners. The Barbarians being repulsed, Theodosius returned in triumph to London;[73] and, perceiving the city to have lost much of her ancient splendour, omitted nothing to restore her to her former condition. London was not the sole object of his care.

He applied himself also to repair the other ruined cities And castles, and to put them in condition. to hinder future invasions of the northern people. As the enemy had retired beyond the two Friths, he also thought it necessary, for the safety of Britain; to keep all the country they had abandoned. To that end, he built fortresses on the neck of land between the two seas, to keep them at a greater distance. By this means the Roman territories were enlarged with a great tract of land, of which Theodosius made a fifth province, calling it Valentia, in honour of Valentinian. This country was part of the kingdom of the Picts, which was thereby considerably diminished. Theodosius having thus settled affairs in Britain, returned to Rome.

Valentinian I had for successors his sons Valentinian II and Gratian. Shortly after, Maximus was sent into Britain upon the Picts beginning to stir. At his arrival, he formed a design to reduce the whole island under the dominion of the: Romans. But the union of the two northern nations being a grand obstacle to the execution of his project, he resolved to divide them, if possible, and then attack them one after the other. In order to this, designing to make use of the Picts to destroy the Scots first, he feigned to be extremely provoked with the Scots, and charged them with being the sole cause of all the troubles in Britain. Then he publicly engaged the Picts to join their forces with his, upon a promise of giving them all the lands that should be taken from the Scots.

This artifice had all the success he expected. The Picts, not perceiving the latent poison, swallowed the bait, and readily joined with the Romans for the sake of, the promised advantage. Presently after the Scots, being attacked by these two united powers, were forced to abandon their country and fly into Ireland, and the adjacent isles. Maximus, according to his promise, suffered his allies to take possession of the lands deserted by the Scots. But, whilst he was considering of means to subdue them in their turn, affairs of greater importance relating to himself, obliged him to form new projects.

AD 378] Whilst this general was employed in enlarging the bounds of the empire, Gratian, joint emperor of the west with Valentinian his brother, associated Theodosius the younger, son of Theodosius the elder, who had commanded in Britain. This choice, though universally applauded, displeased Maximus, who thought himself more worthy of the purple than the person invested with it. The vexation to see himself thus slighted, threw him into a resolution to assume the imperial dignity, and so put himself upon an equality with the person whom Gratian had given him for sovereign. After forming this project, he altered his measures. Instead of making war upon the Picts, according to his former resolution, he strove to gain their friendship. His intent was to leave Britain in quiet, and attached to his interest, whilst he was elsewhere employed against the three emperors, from whom he designed to wrest the empire. But an unexpected war arising in Britain, prevented him from discovering his purpose so soon as he intended.

The Scots, strengthened with the assistance of the Irish, made an irruption into the north, and endeavoured to recover the dominions, whence they had been chased. Maximus therefore was forced to employ against them the forces prepared for the execution of his other projects. He defeated them several times, and at length drove them back into Ireland, where he made a show of following them, to deprive them of that refuge, and punish the Irish. But the Irish, dreading to see a Roman army in their island, sent to him to make his own terms, which he did in a much more favourable manner than they expected, with intent to stifle all seeds of division and discontent, that might any way frustrate his principal design.

These troubles appeased, Maximus assumed the imperial purple, and quitted Britain to go and fight Grattan. He led all the Roman forces into Gaul, with a considerable body of such Britons as were fit to bear arms. Thus Britain was on, a sudden destitute of soldiers, and consequently so weak that she could not defend herself in case of attack. The Roman[74] historians inform us; that Maximus, causing Gratian to be assassinated as he was flying into Italy, and dethroning Valentinian II, was himself vanquished and beheaded by Theodosins.[75]

This victory procured the restoration of Valentinian, who was soon after murdered by Arbogastes and Eugenius placed on the throne. Theodosius was therefore forced to fight the new usurper, who met with the same fate as Maximus: Eugenius being dead, Arbogastes despairing to escape due punishment, laid violent hands on himself. Thus Theodosius remained sole master of the empire; and kept possession as long as he lived.

AD 393] After the death of Theodosius, the empire was divided between his two sons:- Arcadius was emperor of the east, and Honorius of the west. As Honorius was very young, the famous Stilico, by the emperor his father's order, was regent during his minority. His first care was to

send a governor into Britain with a legion, to curb the insolence of the Picts, who, after Theodosius' death, began to make inroads into the Roman province.

He made choice of Victorinus, a person of a fierce and arrogant temper, who, not satisfied with cooping up the Picts in their country, treated them as subjects of the empire. He pretended to stretch his authority so far as to forbid them to crown another king in the room of Hengist, whom death had just taken out of the world. This proceeding convinced the Picts, that Victorinus had a design to attack them, and aid them under apprehensions that, after having helped to drive out the Scots, they should be forced to them.

They considered that, by the retreat of the Scots, they were deprived of an aid, which in time to come might be to them very necessary. The little regard which the Roman governor had for them making them apprehensive he had formed some design against their liberty, they thought of means to avoid their ruin, by repairing the error they had committed. In this state of fear and uncertainty, they resolved to recall the Scots; to which end they sent an honourable embassy to Fergus, a prince of the blood royal of Scotland, who had retired into Denmark, and invited him with his countrymen to come and take possession again of the country they had been forced to abandon.

As a farther inducement they promised him the command of their army in the war with the Romans, which to them seemed unavoidable. Fergus accepted these offers, and acquainted the fugitive Scots that he was ready to lead them back into their country. There could never be a more favourable juncture. The Roman empire was not only rent with intestine troubles by the discord which reigned among the governors, but powerfully attacked by barbarous nations that ravaged the borders. These disorders had obliged Stilico[76] to recall Victorinus with his legion, and employ him in . other parts, where the occasion was more urgent. At this very juncture the Scots re-entered the island under the conduct of Fergus, whom they unanimously chose for their king.

As soon as Fergus II, was seated on the throne, he meditated revenge upon the Romans, which to him appeared the more easy to effect, as they were extremely weakened by the departure of Victorinus. Pursuant to this resolution, he assembled the forces of both nations; and, after taking the fortresses built by Theodosius the elder, between the two Friths, advanced to Severus's wall. The small number of troops left by the Romans in the island not being able to defend a wall of such great length, the Picts and Scots entered the Roman-province with little or no difficulty, and laid waste the country.

After Britain had submitted to the Roman yoke, a great number of foreign families removed thither, sprung, for the most part, from the veteran soldiers settled there. These families had so mixed with the natives, that they now made but one people, governed by officers sent from Rome. This mixed people,[77] who may henceforward be known by the name of Britons, finding themselves thus harassed by their neighbours, and despairing of assistance from Rome, resolved to elect an emperor, whose interest it should be to protect them. Their choice fell upon one Marcus, an officer of great credit among them; but the new sovereign not having the good fortune to please all the world, was quickly slain or dethroned, and another, called Gratian, chosen in his room. This. latter being a man of. a cruel and bloody disposition, met the same fate, four months after his election.

As these two .first emperors did not answer expectation, Constantine, a common soldier, was next raised to the imperial dignity, merely for the sake of his name, which, was thought to be fortunate. The new emperor, being a man of courage, and of a genius far above his former condition, beat back the northern people into their country, and then concluded a peace with them. This success inspiring him with a higher conceit of his merit and fortune, he was not content to reign in Britain only, but formed a design to become master of the whole empire. To this end he drew together the remains of those that could bear arms, as well Romans as Islanders, and,

forming an army, passed into Gaul.[78] His intention was to improve the present favourable juncture. Honorius was then attacked by Alaric king of the Goths, who, a few years after, became master of Rome. Whilst Constantine was making preparations, he sent ambassadors to Honorius, to acquaint him with his being chosen emperor by Britain, and to excuse his accepting the imperial, dignity without his knowledge. Honorius, now pressed by Alaric, was forced to admit of Constantine's excuses, and, own him for his associate in the empire. The emperor's condescension was not capable of satisfying the ambitious Constantine, whose designs and hopes were vastly enlarged.

At his arrival in Gaul, he associated his son Constans, taken out. of the monastery at Winchester; and, leaving him an army to maintain his authority in these provinces, marched towards the Alps, in order to pass into Italy and dethrone Honorius. Constans had for general of his troops one Gerontius, who, by his prudent conduct, not only made his master respected in Gaul, but also put him in possession of Spain. The young emperor was so exalted with this unexpected success, that for fear the honour which he thought wholly belonged to himself, should be ascribed to Gerontius, he removed him from his post. So ungrateful a return went not long unpunished. Gerontius, exasperated at the affront, found means to assemble the army, and causing Maximus, a friend of his, to be proclaimed emperor, gained the majority to his side. Then he besieged Constans in Vienne, whither he had retired. That town not being in condition to stand a long siege, Constans, in a sally, wilfully rushed upon his death, for fear of falling into the hands of his enemy.

Constantine, seeing the face of affairs altered by the revolt of. Gerontius, and the death of his son, laid aside his design of going into Italy, and retired to Arles, where he was besieged by Gerontius. But, while Gerontius was pleased with the hopes of having him soon in his power, he was forced on a sudden to raise the siege, and march against a more formidable enemy.

Count Constantius, to whom Honorius had given the command of his armies, upon the peace lately concluded between the emperor and the king of the Goths,[79] was advancing with all speed to curb the insolence of the tyrants of Gaul. Upon his approach, Gerontius was suddenly deserted by his army, and forced to fly into Spain, where he was slain by his own people. Constantine had no better fortune than Gerontius. He was taken at Arles with his son Julian and his brother Sebastian. Before the surrender of the town he had taken priest's orders, but he was nevertheless sent to the emperor and beheaded.

AD 411] The Britons thus left to themselves, after the departure of the Roman soldiers, and the flower of their youth, were quickly reduced to great extremities. The Picts and Scots continued their ravages without opposition. This wretched state held some years; for the Romans were too much taken up with their own affairs to think of Britain. The Goths had renewed the war under the conduct of Alaric; and, having taken and sacked the city of Rome, were now in possession of Gaul. On the other side, the Suevi, Vandals[80], Cotti, and Alani [81], had overrun Spain.

In vain, therefore, did the Britons implore the emperor's assistance. He was neither able nor willing to give them any; so carefully preserved by his predecessors, beginning now to be a burden. To free himself at once from their importunities, he voluntarily resigned the sovereignty of the island, and absolved the inhabitants of their allegiance to the empire. This solemn renunciation was made in the year 410, a little after Alaric's taking of Rome.

The liberty which the Britons had thus recovered, served only to render them more miserable: However, the affairs of the. Romans happening afterwards to be somewhat-restored under Valentinian III, by the victories of the famous Ætius over the Visigoths and Burgundians, this general, out of pity to the wretched condition of the Britons, sent them a legion. This aid arriving unexpectedly, beat back the northern: nations, and forced them to retire into their country. But the emperor, having. occasion for the legion, they were recalled just as the enemy were preparing' to renew their devastations.

Before his departure the Roman commander told the Britons plainly, that they were to expect no farther assistance from the emperor, who was wholly employed elsewhere against the northern nations of Europe, whose ravages extended to all parts of the empire. After this declaration, he advised them to inure themselves to arms, that they might be able to withstand the continual attacks of their enemies; and, considering their weakness, exhorted them to repair the wall of Severtis to serve them for a barrier; offering them the assistance of his soldiers and his own direction in the work.

The Britons had no other method to take, and therefore fell to work upon their wall with all possible diligence, which as soon as they had finished, the Romans took their farewell of Britain, never to return. The end of the Roman dominion over Britain is to be fixed to the time of this legion leaving the island, in the year 420.

The Picts and Scots, who lived in strict union after the coronation of Fergus; began their hostilities against the Britons with more confidence than ever, when they heard of the departure of the Roman forces. The wall of Severus, lately repaired, was attacked afresh, and abandoned at last, being defended only by Britons little used to:war. After which, the northern people made large breaches in several places, that it might be no obstacle to their future incursions into their enemies' country. About this time Fergus[82] died as he was returning to Ireland, leaving his young son Eugenius II a minor, under the regency of Greham his grandfather by his mother's side.

The weakness of the Britons was then so great, that, despairing to resist their enemies, they abandoned part of their country, and retired more southward. The Picts and Scots, grown more bold by these advantages, formed new projects to drive the Britons entirely out of the island. To this end, they resolved to send for colonies from Ireland and the adjacent isles, to people the lands forsaken by the Britons, as well as those which they hoped to take from them hereafter. But Greham prevented, by his authority, the execution of this project, fearing the return of the Romans, and the making of Scotland the scene of the war. A peace then was offered to the Britons upon honourable terms, and by them gladly accepted. By the treaty the wall of Severus was to be the common. boundary of the two nations; but for this advantage the Britons were obliged to pay a considerable sum of money. The Scots thinking this peace not sufficiently advantageous, loudly murmured at it; but Greham took care to see it observed during his administration.

AD 442-445] As soon as Eugenius II was of age to take the reins of the government into his own hands, he resolved to break a treaty, which his subjects had protested against. He knew the Romans were not in condition to assist Britain, and the opportunity appeared too favourable to be neglected. Pursuant to this resolution, he sent ambassadors to the Britons, and haughtily demanded all the lands possessed by the Scots before the late treaty.

The chiefs of the Britons, surprised at this unexpected demand, convened a general assembly to consider of an answer to the king of Scotland. The majority of the assembly, provoked at the haughtiness of their neighbours, and knowing they only wanted an excuse to renew the war, were of opinion to reject their demand. It is easy, (said they) to perceive that the Scots will not be satisfied hereafter with their present demands. Their aim is only to have an entrance into the country, that they may with less difficulty become masters of the whole; and it will be an easier task to prevent them from entering, than to drive them out when once they are settled.

In short, since a war is unavoidable, it will be very imprudent to grant what they demand, under colour of preserving a peace which cannot last long. Others, not so warm, knowing the extreme weakness of the nation, were of another mind. They were for finding some expedient to satisfy the Scots, and avoid, if possible, a war which must prove fatal to the Britons.They desired the assembly to consider what prodigious numbers of soldiers were drawn out of the island by the Romans to supply their armies abroad; how many Maximus carried with him that were settled in Gaul; and, lastly, how the country was drained of all that could bear arms by Constantine.

To this they added, the weakness of the nation was but too visible in their late war with the Scots, when their frequent defeats obliged them to abandon the very lands now demanded, the possession of which was entirely owing to the generosity of Greham; it was therefore better for the Britons to give up freely what they could not keep, than, for the sake of that, to run the risk of losing their all.

Though these reasons were very weighty, they were overruled by the violent party, and Conan, one of the wisest and most powerful of the nation, for dwelling too long upon the advantages of peace, was deemed a traitor, and torn in pieces. After that, none daring to oppose it, the ambassadors were sent back with an insulting answer. This hasty resolution was followed by a war more destructive to the Britons than their former ones, and which entirely weakened them by the loss of fourteen or fifteen thousand men in one single battle. Reduced to extremity, they had no course left but to sue in a suppliant manner for that peace which they had so haughtily refused. They obtained it indeed; but upon very hard terms. By the new treaty, they were obliged to give up all the country north of the Humber, of which the Picts and Scots, as waging war in common, took Possession.

From this time to the corning of the Saxons, the history of Britain is very confused, by reason of the disagreement of the writers, which makes it difficult to discover the truth.. What can be gathered with any certainty is, that the Britons elected several kings whose actions are unknown; and that these kings were established, and afterwards killed or dethroned according to the humour and interest of the leading men. Probably, too, several kings reigned at the. same time in different provinces, and by their discord and wars contributed to the weakening of each other.

To complete their misfortunes, Britain was afflicted with a cruel famine, which raged also in most parts of the world. This terrible scourge rendered the country quite desolate, people dying with hunger by thousands. In this extreme distress, multitudes of poor wretches, to save their lives, fled into Armorica, (now known as Bretagne, in France) where great parts of Maximus's army were already settled. Others, rather than starve with hunger, threw themselves upon the Picts and Scots. Amidst these desolations, the northern people, their irreconcilable enemies, taking advantage of their misfortunes,broke the treaty; and, passing the Humber, ravaged the country in a merciless manner.

The miserable state of the Britons forced them to apply once more to the Romans for assistance. They sent; upon this occasion, a very moving letter to Ætius, then in Gaul. We know not (say they) which way to turn us: The Barbarians drive us to the sea; and the sea forces us back to the Barbarians; between which we have only the choice of two deaths, either to be swallowed up by the waves, or butchered by the sword. Ætius was then preparing to repulse Attila; who had entered Gaul, with an army of eight thousand men; and, therefore, not being in a condition to grant their request, he sent them word that the affairs of the empire would not suffer him to assist them, neither were they to depend upon him.

His answer threw the miserable Britons into the utmost consternation; Not knowing what measure to take, it was judged proper to call a general assembly; and consider of some possible remedy for their calamities, which daily increased. They agreed at last to choose a monarch,[83] as the only expedient to save them from destruction, the expectation that when united under one head; their divisions would cease, and their enemies be more strongly resisted. But the discord that reigned among the principal members of the state prevented the good effects of this expedient. Several great men, having fortified themselves in divers parts, acted like sovereigns.

All these petty tyrants, jealous of one another, far from owning the monarch elect, sought only to destroy him in order to be chosen in his room. It was, therefore, not possible for these monarchs to subsist long, since not being agreeable to all, the malcontents joined together for their destruction: thus the Britons, whilst they endeavoured to unite themselves under one head, were plunged the deeper into anarchy and confusion.

AD 445] We know not the names of any of these monarchs till Vortigern, count, or king of the Danmonii,[84] elected in the year 445. This prince, as he was the most powerful and ambitious, could never brook a superior, and therefore was all along a professed enemy to the preceding monarchs, and contributed to their ruin. It is even affirmed, that he assassinated his predecessor to make room for himself.

The new monarch was by no means qualified to restore the affairs of the Britons. As he attained to the supreme dignity by artifice and cabal, he wholly bent his thoughts to maintain himself in the throne by the same wicked methods, regardless of the general. welfare of his subjects. He was, moreover, of a cruel and avaricious temper, addicted to many vices; and so lewd, that he seduced his own daughter, by flattering her with hopes of being a queen.[85] Meanwhile, there was a necessity to think of repulsing the enemies, and Vortigern knew himself incapable of such an undertaking, though he had been chosen for that very purpose. But what troubled and perplexed him most, was, his being so little beloved by the people, and the continual fear of being dethroned.

The examples of the monarchs his predecessors being never out of his mind, he was apprehensive that the same course would be taken with him, since he was so little able to answer the good opinion conceived of him when raised to the throne. Living thus in equal dread of the enemies of the state and of his own subjects, he fancied he had devised an expedient to free himself from the danger of the one, and plots of the other. But as he could not put his design in practice without the consent of the Britons, he called a general assembly, and made a long speech, before be came to the point. He described, in a strong and lively manner, the extreme misery of the nation: accused the Romans of being the sole cause of the misfortunes of Britain, by draining the island of all her youth fit to bear arms, and then leaving her to the insults of her neighbours.

He enlarged upon the great losses sustained since by the Britons, and the manifest danger of being either driven out of their country, or utterly destroyed, by reason of their weakness. For his part, he was always ready to hazard his life for the service of the nation: but, considering the few troops in his power, and the little union between the principal members of the state, he had no hopes that his weak endeavours would be able to rescue his subjects from their present calamities.

In this melancholy state of affairs, he saw but one way to save his country from the destruction she was threatened with, and that was to call in to their assistance a nation which, by their victorious arms, were settled in Germany, upon the lands of the Romans. He then told them, he meant the Saxons; adding, they had indeed done some damage to the Britons by their piracies, but were now ready to repair it with advantage, since they could free them from the continual irruptions of the Picts and Scots.

This people, being parted from Britain, by a small arm of the sea only, could be as speedy with their aid as their pressing occasions required: they were already grown formidable to the northern nations, and by the arrival of some of their troops the Britons would quickly be in condition to resist their enemies, and perhaps repay them in their own coin. He concluded with representing what would hardly admit of debate, that the Britons could not be without a foreign aid, and that none but the Saxons were in condition to give them assistance.

AD 449] The fears which all were seized with, and the hopes of still enjoying their native country, and recovering their lost estates, and no doubt the desire of revenge, conspired to a joyful reception of Vortigern's proposal. But, when they came to consider of the terms to be offered the Saxons, great debates arose. The monarch, whose secret purpose was to strengthen himself as well against his own subjects as foreign enemies, moved the allotting them some province, that their own interest might induce them to wage war more heartily and vigorously. But as no lands could be assigned them but what belonged to some of the assembly, it was no easy matter to agree on this point.

At length, after great disputes, it was resolved that the Saxons should have the Isle of Thanet in Kent, as being a proper place to land their forces, and convenient for them whenever they wanted to return into their own country. It was farther agreed, that the Saxon soldiers should be allowed pay, which should be settled by agreement on both sides. After this resolution, ambassadors were appointed to negotiate the affair in Germany[86]. Vortigern, pleased with having carried his point without incurring suspicion, imagined himself out of the reach of all danger. But how blind and short sighted is human wisdom! This very expedient, by the direction of Divine Providence, provided his own and the nation's ruin.

It here seems proper to remark, that, about the time the Romans began to extend their conquests into Germany, the inhabitants of the Cimbrian Chersonesus, now called Jutland, leaving their country, advanced towards the south. They possessed themselves at first of the northern parts of Germany, and doubtless spent some years in settling themselves in those quarters. The Cimbri continually pushed their conquests to the southward, and the Romans advancing to the northward, they at last approached each other. The Cimbri, that came from the Cimbrian Chersonesus, were divided into three bands, one taking the name of Suevi, another of Franks, and a third of Saxons.

Some will have the Franks to be a branch of the Suevi, However that be, these three nations, continually advancing southwards, came at length to the frontiers of the Roman empire; the Suevi towards Italy, the Franks to the south-west; towards the coast of Belgic-Gaul, and the Saxons to the west, towards the German Ocean. The Suevi especially were so terrible to the ancient Germans, that they looked upon them as a match for the immortal gods, as Caesar says in his Commentaries. As for the Franks, they are known to have overrun the whole province of Gaul, and founded the ancient kingdom of France.

The Saxons possessed themselves of all those tracts of land lying between the Rhine and the Elbe. Their territories, bounded on the west by the German Ocean, extended eastward to the borders of Thuringen. Consequently they were masters of Saxony, Westphalia and all that part of the low countries lying north of the Rhine. The nations subdued by these conquerors were in time called Saxons, in like manner as the inhabitants of Gaul were named François or French, after their subjection to the Franks. But, whether the Saxons were not so rapid in their conquests as the Suevi, or the course they took made it longer before they approached the Romans, it is certain they were not so soon known.

The first Roman historians that mention them, at least by the name of Saxons, are Eutropius and Orosius, who inform us that Carausius was sent to clear the seas of the piratical Franks and Saxons. From that time they became formidable to the Romans, and obliged them to keep standing forces to guard both the German and British coasts, with a general officer styled the Prefect, or count of the Saxon coasts. Upon the decline of the Roman empire, after the death of Theodosius, the Saxons, taking advantage of its weakness, made themselves masters of the whole country along the coast of the German Ocean, and even extended their conquests as far as the Isles of Zealand. Hence the Frisons, Batavians, and the neighbouring nations, were hardly known by any other name than that of Saxons.—When the Britons sent to desire their assistance, the Saxons were in possession of Westphalia., Saxony east and west Frizeland, Holland, and Zealand.

The Saxons had for some time been in possession of the Cimbrian Chersonesus, when, driven thence by the Goths, (from whom that peninsula was called Gothland or Jutland,) they came and settled in Germany, in the parts now called Lower Saxony. Between that country and the Chersonesus, were a people known by the name of Angles, inhabiting about Sleswick in Holstein. Probably the little country of Anglen in those parts was so named from them, or they from the country.[86] However this be, the Angles joining with the Saxons, when they came out of the Chersonesus to make conquests in Germany, became in a manner but one nation with them. Though, doubtless from the major part, they were generally called Saxons, yet they had sometimes the compound name of Anglo-Saxons, given them. Great numbers of Goths mixed also with them to share in their conquests.

These are called Wites by Bede, and commonly known by the name of Jutes, or (which is the same) Goths. It can be hardly doubted that these three nations were united before their coming into Britain, when we consider the good understanding between them all the while they were employed in establishing themselves in the island. It will be found that they acted always in concert; that their interests were never different; and the government settled by them is a clear evidence, that they looked upon themselves as one and the same people.

The true etymology of the name Saxons is as difficult to be discovered as their origin. They that derived them from the Sam of Asia, are indeed at no great loss in this point. But the most common opinion is, that the word Saxon comes from Seax, which in their language signifies a kind of weapon or sword. They had two sorts, a long one worn by their side or at their back; and another shorter, serving for a bayonet or dagger.

They were both in the shape of a cutlass.[88] In their customs and manners they very much resembled the ancient Germans, as described by Tacitus. They were naturally brave and warlike both by land and sea, but to their enemies they were severe and cruel, especially to their prisoners of war, whom they sacrificed to their Gods.

Their dominions were divided into twelve governments, or provinces, each of which had a chief or head accountable to the general-assembly of the nation. In time of war they chose a general who commanded their armies, and was invested with almost sovereign power: but at the end of the war, his authority, like that of the Roman dictator, ceased. The centre of their empire was at Brunswick.

Their religion was the same with that of the other northern nations, and some part of Germany. The British Saxons embraced Christianity about the end of the sixth, or beginning of the seventh, century. But those that remained in Germany were not converted till the ninth, by the care, or rather violence, of Charlemagne, by whom they were subdued. Their principal gods, before their conversion, were the Sun, Moon, Tuisco, Woden, Thor, Friga or Fræa, and Seater. To these were consecrated the seven days of the week, as appears by the present names of these days among the Germans, Flemings, and English. Tuisco is said to be the grandson of Japhet, and to have peopled first the north of Europe.

Teutch, as the Germans call themselves, is probably derived from Tuisco. The god Thor, whence comes the word thunder or dunder, was the same among the Saxons as Jupiter among the Romans, that is to say, the thunderer. Woden was the god of war, because under his conduct the first Saxons came forth from their country, and made great conquests. Their chief families considered him as their founder, and gloried in being descended from him. Probably, however, there were two of this name, that are often confounded; one more ancient worshipped as a god, another not so old from whom sprung the families of the Saxon leaders.

There are still in England some traces of the name of woden in the names of several places, as Wansdike, Wansborough, &c. which are contractions of Woden's dike, and Woden's borough. Fræa, the wife of woden, was the Venus of the Saxons. She was worshipped in the shape of an Hermaphrodite, as being goddess of both sexes. Ermenswol, the same as Mercury, was another of their gods, with others common to them with all the northern nations.

THE STATE OF THE BRITISH CHURCH, FROM THE CONVERSION OF THE BRITONS, TO THE CALLING IN OF THE SAXONS.

BEFORE the birth of our Saviour the Britons, as appears from our introductory chapter, were gross idolaters. They soon, however, were converted, and became Christians.—The most current opinion for some time was, that Joseph of Arimathea first preached to the Britons. Malmsbury, in proof of the antiquity of the church of Glaston or Glastonbury, says, that upon the martyrdom of St. Stephen, the apostles were dispersed throughout the whole world. St. Philip, (continues the historian,) at his coming among the Franks, sent twelve of his disciples, with Joseph of Arimathea as their head, to propagate the Gospel in Great Britain, where they arrived in the year of our Lord 61.

After some opposition from the inhabitants, a certain king' gave them a little spot of ground, surrounded with fens and bushes to dwell in. Not long after, two other neighbouring kings having allowed them twelve hydes of land for their subsistence, the angel Gabriel commanded them from God, to build a church in the place now called Glaston[89], but at that time Inswitrin[90] This church was finished in the year 63, and, as the historian adds,. was dedicated by our Saviour himself, as a mark of distinction to the Virgin Mary.

In proof of this relation in the first place, is produced a manuscript chronicle in the abbey of Glastonbury, in which it appears that the king's name, who made the first present to Joseph, was Arviragus. To this may be answered, that indeed Juvenal mentions a British king by that name in the reign of Domitian. But this is nothing to the purpose, unless it can be proved that Arviragus lived in the time of Nero, since it is supposed that the land the church stood upon was given to Joseph in the year 61.

In the next place is alleged St. Patrick's charter, wherein it is said, that Glaston church was founded by twelve disciples of St. James and St. Philip the apostles. But, besides several marks of forgery, there is no mention in this charter of Joseph of Arimathea; the third place is produced a charter of Ina, king of the West-Saxons, who lived in the 8th century, which makes the church of Glaston the most ancient of all the British churches. But neither in this charter, whose authenticity is still more questionable, is there any mention of Joseph.

To strengthen all these proofs, a charter of Henry II. king of England is produced, wherein king Henry assures us, that upon examination he found it well attested, that the church of Glastonbury was founded by the disciples of the apostles, and consecrated to the Virgin Mary by Christ himself. But this assertion of king Henry, being grounded only upon the foregoing proofs, is not to be regarded. Moreover it is certain, that the Franks were unknown at the time St. Philip is said to have come into their country. Besides, Eusebius and several others affirm, that this apostle went and preached in Phrygia, and suffered martyrdom at Hieropolis. Then for the Hydelands, given to the disciples of the apostles, the word Hyde alone is a sufficient refutation of that story, since it is a Saxon term; and the Saxons came not to Britain till the year 449.

Though the exact time of the conversion of the Britons be uncertain, it certainly was preached in the island not long after the death of Christ. Theodoret assures us, that the Britons were

converted by the apostles. Eusebius, speaking of the dangers the apostles were exposed to in propagating the Gospel in the most remote countries, mentions, among the rest, the British isles. The likeliest time to be assigned for the conversion of the Britons, if it were in the apostles' days, is that between the victory of Claudius and the defeat of Boadicea. For, at the time of the general revolt, there were in the island above 80,000 Romans, among whom very probably were some Christians, the Gospel having now got footing in many places, particularly at Rome. Upon this supposition, there is no absurdity in asserting with several modern authors, that St. Paul first preached the Gospel in Britain. It is certain that this apostle, in the eight years between his first imprisonment at Rome, and his return to Jerusalem, propagated the Christian religion in several places, especially in the western countries. He informs us of his design of going to Spain; and it is not unlikely that his desire of converting the Britons might carry him into their island.

From the conversion of Lucius, to the Dioclesian persecution, the ecclesiastical history of Britain is entirely unknown. It is very probable, however, that, during that interval of eighty years, the Christian religion made great progress in the island. What puts the thing out of all dispute, is, the multitude of the British martyrs that suffered during the dreadful persecution under Dioclesian and Maximian his colleague. How well inclined soever Constantius Chlorus might be to favour the Christians, he could not, whilst governor of Britain, dispense with the edicts of the emperors; having then the title of Cæsar only, which gave him no power to oppose their laws. But as soon as he came to the empire, he put a stop to this violent persecution, and gave the Christians some respite. Constantine his son did yet more; for under the Christian religion flourished throughout the Roman empire, particularly in Great Britain.

After this happy change the Christians multiplied exceedingly, and the island abounded with churches. Some affirm. there were British bishops at the council of Nice in 325; and twenty-two years after, there were for certain three British bishops at the council of Arles; as there were also some at the council of Ariminum in 359, but so poor that their charges were borne by their brethren.

Their signing at this council the confession of faith, wherein the term consubstantial was omitted, gave occasion to some to imagine that Arianism was spread in Britain; but the faith of the British church was the same in this respect both before and after this council.

The British church was much more justly accused of Pelagianism. Certain it is, several bishops were seduced, not by Pelagius himself; who, though a native of Britain, never returned to propagate his errors, but by Agricola, one of his disciples.[90] The Orthodox bishops perceiving the infection to spread, sent to desire their brethren in Gaul to assist them in consulting this Heresy.

The Gaulish prelates touched with the danger of the British church, met in council, and deputed Germanus bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus bishop of Troye, to go and assist their brethren in Britain. At Verulam, in a conference with the Pelagians, they defended the truth with such strength and evidence, that they turned many from their errors. But after their departure, the heretics gaining ground again, Germanus was desired once more to come over. Though he was now very old, he undertook a second voyage into Britain, in company with Severus bishop of Troye. Germanus despairing to convince the heretics by arguments, because of their obstinacy, caused the edict of Valentinian III that condemned all heretics to banishment, to be put in execution against them. Before he left Britain, he erected schools, which produced afterwards many bishops famous for their learning and piety.

From this time to the arrival of the Saxons we know but little of the affairs of the church. No doubt the frequent wars with the Picts and Scots, by destroying their churches, and by introducing a corruption of manners among the clergy as well as laity, were very prejudicial to the Christians. However, if we may believe Gildas and Bede, it was not so much the wars, as the excessive plenty immediately after the famine, that corrupted the manners of the Britons. The people, say

these historians, from a state of extreme want, being on a sudden surrounded with plenty, abandoned themselves to all manner of wickedness. The quiet they enjoyed by their peace with the northern nations was spent only in sinking deeper in excess and debauchery. The clergy, out doing even the laity, became exceeding vicious. Gluttony, drunkenness, avarice, luxury, reigning among the ecclesiastics, they no longer preached to their flocks the precepts of the Gospel, which they them selves so little regarded.

Notes to Book I

1. Inhabitants of the country about Arras.

2. There is nothing .to determine the precise point at which Cesar embarked from Gaul, on this expedition; but his landing place appears to have been the cliffs of Dover, towards the South Foreland.

3. Such is the shore at the mouth of the river that goes up to Richborough.

4. The time of Cæsar's landing in Britain is thus known. His first expedition was, as he says himself, in the consulate of Pompey and Crassus, that according to Dr. Halley, in the year of Rome 699. But Augustus died in the year 767, that is, sixty-eight years after Cesar's descent. Upon news of Augustus's death, there was a mutiny in the Pannonian army, which was quieted by Drusus, by help of an eclipse of the moon. Now from this eclipse it is certain that Augustus died in the 14th year of Christ, consequently Cæsar's first descent, which was sixty-eight years before, must have been in the 55th year current before the Christian Era. And the year, so may the very day and hour when he landed, very probably, be fixed. For Cæsar having mentioned the 4th day after his landing, says, the night after it was full moon. Now, the summer being far spent,this full moon must have been in July or August. But the full moon of July was in the beginning of the month, as of the two full moons that year in August, that on the 1st Day was at noon, wherefore it must be the other a little after midnight of the 30th. It is therefore plain, according to this calculation, that Cæsar landed four days before, on the, 20th of August, about five in the afternoon.

5. It was the custom of the Romans to place whole Cohorts before the gates of their camp. Hence our English phrase, cohort, or cohort of guard. A cohort was the 10th part of a legion, about six hundred men. The first or chief cohorts are said to contain sometimes above a thousand men.

6. About Calais. Cæsar calls the passage the shortest and easiest, being about thirty miles. Now by an accurate survey the distance at Calais from land to land is twenty-six English miles, or twenty-eight and a half Roman, which shews how near Cesar came to the truth.

7. The river could not be the Thames, that being too distant, but the Stour. So that the battle very probably was fought on the banks of the Stour, to the north of' the town towards Sturry, or Fordwich. The strong place to which the Britons retreated, after their defeat, must have been Durovernum, or Canterbury, which was taken (and possibly kept till Cæsar's return) by the seventh legion.

8. Upon the shore about Deal, Sandon, and Walmer, is a long range of heaps of earth, where Camden thinks this ship-camp was, which, he says, by the people thereabouts was called Rome's work.

9. This ford is supposed to be at Coway-Stakes, near Chertsey in Surrey.

10. Cæsar does not mention a stratagem he is said to have made use of upon this occasion. He caused an elephant well-fenced with iron.

11. This is supposed to be Verulamium, or the present St, Albans.

12. It is conjectured that Cæsar's 2nd expedition was in May, and that he returned to Gaul about the middle of September.

13. The payment's of the Britons were usually made his pieces of brass, and iron rings, and probably this coin stamped by Cunobelinus was for tribute only, which the Romans exacted in gold and silver, as may appear by the world Tascia, which in British signifies a tribute penny, perhaps from the Latin taxatio; for the Britons did not use the letter X.

14. A.D. 43.

15. This river is supposed to be the Severn, and consequently this battle was fought on the west-side, upon the borders of the Silures.

16. According to some Maldon, according to others Colchester, in Essex.

17. Pomponia Græcina, the wife of Plautius, is supposed to have been a Christian, and the first in Britain. She, and Claudia Ruffina, a British lady, are supposed to be of the saints that were in Cæsar's household, mentioned by St. Paul. Claudia is celebrated by Martial for her admirable beauty and learning, in the following epigram:

From painted Britons how was Claudia born?
The fair Barbarian how do arts adorn!
When Roman charms a Græcian soul commend,
Athens and Rome may for the dame contend.

18. The inhabitants of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire.

19. Generally supposed to be the inhabitants of the western parts of Wales; but Horsley places them about Derbyshire, near the Brigantes.

20. Inhabitants of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Durham, Westmoreland, and Cumberland.

21. Inhabitants of Herefordshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Monmouthshire, and Glamorganshire.

22. Inhabitants of Montgomeryshire, Merionethshire, Caernarvonshire, Flintshire, and Denbighshire.

23. Horsley takes this river to be the Severn rather than the Dee.

24. In the edge of Shropshire, where the rivers Clune and Temd meet, is a hill to which there is no access but at one place, called Caer-Caradoc, so named from Caractacus, where yet are to be seen the relics of these stone ramparts.

25. AD 52.

26. She renounced him, and married his esquire Vellocatus, making him king.

27. So called from Men, signifying, in old British, the furthermost, or end, in respect of its situation from the continent of Gaul.

28. Seneca is said to have had in Britain about this time to the value of three hundred thousand pounds, as Camden computes it.

29. The army consisted of two hundred and. thirty thousand according to Dion Cassius.

30. A. D. 62.

31. Their capital was Isurium, called by Antonine Isu-Brigantum, now Aldborough in Yorkshire, which appears to have been a very large station

32. A. D. 75.

33. The forts built this year by Agricola are supposed to have been on the borders, especially on the western side of the island, along which Agricola marched.

34. This battle was fought, according to Gordon, in the county of Fife; for there is a Roman camp at Lochore, two miles from Loch Leven and a large morass near it, and formerly a wood. Also near this place is a small village called Blair, which, in the old language, signifies a place of battle.

35. Mr. Gordon supposes this battle to have been fought in Strathern, half a mile from the Kirk of Comcrie, there being a remarkable encampment in that place.

36. A. D. 120.

37. Adiian's wall, or vallum, was entirely of earth. The whole work ,consisted of the following parts. 1. The north agger; 2. The ditch; 3. The principal vallum; 4. The south agger. The ditch at Harlow Hill, where the original breadth and depth is very apparent, measures near nine feet deep and eleven over. The height and thickness of the vallum and aggers cannot be exactly known. The distance of the north agger from the ditch is about twenty-four feet, and that of the south agger was originally thirty, though subsequently lessened by the spreading of the earth.

38. A. D. 138

39. A. D. 140

40. From Antoninus's building his wall in 140 to 165 we meet with no /occurrences, nor from thence to 183. Antoninus's wall, like Seyerus's, had a series of forts or stations, which are supposed (some at least) to be prior to the wall, and the same that were built by Agricola. This wall reaches from the Frith of Forth to the. Frith of Clyde. It begins at Caer-ridden, and runs through Munrills, Falkirk, Camelon, Rough-Castle fort, Dick's House, Castlecary-fort, Westerwood-fort, Crowy-hill. Barhill-fort, Auchindavy, Kirkintilloch, Calder, Bemulie, New Kirkpatrick, Castle hill-fort, Duntoeher, Old Kirkpatrick, ending at Douglass near Dumbarton, where stood the old city of Alcluith, afterwards Dunbritton, i.e. the town of the Britons. Horsley (who had it surveyed) takes the wall to have been near forty Roman miles, that is, (allowing fourteen Roman to thirteen English) a little above thirty-seven of our miles. By the inscriptions shewing the part that was raised by the Cohorts of the Legio-Secunda, &c. the number of paces amounts to 39726, that is, thirty-nine Roman miles and seven hundred and twenty-six paces. It was built of turf, upon a foundation of stone, four yards thick. To this work belongs a great ditch, larger than that of Severus, on the south side of which was the main agger, vallum, or rampart, and south of the vallum a large military way well paved, and is in several places very magnificent and beautiful. How this work came to be called Grime's Dike, or Graham's Dike, does not appear. It is said that Graham in the Highland tongue signifies Black; then Graham's Dike will be the same as the Black Dike. There is a military way near Silchester in Hampshire, now called Grime's Dike. There annexed to Graham is, doubtless, owing to the opinion of its being the name of a man. The common story is, that one of this name broke through the wall, and so gave his own name to it. Within sight of the wall stands an ancient building, called Arthur's Oven, in the shape

of the Pantheon at Rome, twenty-two feet high, and nineteen and a half in diameter. Horsley takes it to have been a funeral monument. It stands on the north-side of the wall.

41. A. D. 184.

42. A. D. 185.

43. A. D. 186

44. A. D. 190.

45. A. D. 193.

46. A. D. 194.

47. A. D. 196

48. A.D. 207.

49. A. D. 208, 209.

50. Severus's wall was of free stone, as is certain from what is yet visible. In some places, where the foundation was not good, they seem to have made use of oaken piles. The inner part of this wall is tilled with pretty large, and mostly broad and thin stones, always set edge ways, somewhat obliquely. Upon these the running mortar or cement was poured, and by this contrivance the whole wall was bound as firm as a rock. These stones are supposed to have been brought from Helbeck-Scar on the Gelt and Leuge-Crag, as appears from an inscription on the rock that hangs over the Gelt. The wall generally measures about eight feet thick, and twelve high. Upon the wall were placed Castles or Chesters sixty feet square, about six furlongs and a half from each other, and turrets four yards square, about three hundred yards from each other. There seem to have been four turrets between every two castles. The centinels placed in the turrets being within call, the communication quite along the wall might be kept up, without having recourse to the fiction of pipes laid under ground to convey the sound. The wall is traced from Cousin's House through Newcastle, Benwell Hill, Rutchester, Halton Chesters, Warwick Chesters, Carrawbrugh, Housesteids, Great Chesters, Thirlwel Castle, Burdoswald, Cambect Fort, Watch cross, Stanwick's, Brugh, Drumbrugh, to Boulness, sixty-eight miles three furlongs. It is observable that the Legionary soldiers were employed in building this wall, as they generally were in works of this nature. This is evident from the Centurial inscriptions on the stones of the walls, shewing what part was built by each Centurion.

51. The English call it the Picts wall, because it parted the Picts from the Britons.

52. The 30 tyrants rose up in the reign of Gallienus, about the year 260

53. A. D. 276

54. A. D. 288.

55. A. D. 290.

56. A. D. 300.

57. A. D. 307

58. A. D. 306-337.

59. Called Prima, because first conquered; as, Wales was called Secunda, because next subdued.

60. Comes Britanniarum.

61. Dux Britanniarum.

62. Comes Littoris Saxonici.

63 A. D. 328.

64. A. D. 353.

65. A. D. 355

66 Paulus was afterwards burnt alive.

67. A. D. 361

68. A. D. 364

69. Probably the wild and mountainous Britons.
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70. A. D. 365.

71. A. D. 366

72. A. D. 367.

73. A. D. 368.

74. A. D. 388

75. A. D. 392.

76. A. D. 403.

77. A. D. 408.

78. A. D. 409.

79. In the year 404 or 405.

80. Northern people from Scythia, about the lake Mwotis and river Tanais, of Gothic origin, and called Vandals from the word wandelen, to wander or rove, because they often changed their places of abode. At last they fixed near the coasts of the Baltic sea, towards Germany, which from them was called Vandalia. The Suevi were of the same origin, so named from the word Schweben, of the same import with, Wandelen. They possessed that part of Germany. beyond the Danube. now called Suabia.

81. The Alani were seated not far from the head of the river Tanais or Don.

82. A. D. 492.

83. By monarch here is to be understood, one superior to the other heads, or kings, on whom they were in some measure dependent.

84. Inhabitants of Devon and Cornwall.

85. The story of Vortigern's incest, from the inconsistency of its details, is now generally discredited.

86. Witichindus, the Saxon historian, informs us, that the address of the British-ambassadors, to the Saxons, was in the following humble, or rather abject, strain:—

Most noble Saxons, the wretched and miserable Britons, worn out by the perpetual incursions of their enemies, having heard of the many glorious victories which. you have obtained by your valour, have sent us, their humble suppliants, to implore your assistance and protection. We have a spacious, beautiful, and fertile country, abounding in all things, which we resign to your devotion and command. Formerly we lived in peace and safety under the protection of the Romans; and next to them, knowing none more brave and powerful than you, we fly for refuge under the wings of your valour. If, by your powerful assistance, we shall become superior to our enemies, we promise to perform whatsoever service you shall think fit to impose upon us."—If the Britons were really capable of making use of such slavish language, they had little reason to complain afterwards of the treachery of the Saxons, or to expect any better treatment from them than they met with.

87. This country (Camden observes) reaching into the more inland parts of Germany, at so great a distance from the sea, we must seek some other place where to seat our Angles; and Bede has directed us to look for them between the Saxons and Jutes. "The Angles (says he) come out of that country, "which is called Angulus, and is said from that time to lie waste, between the countries of the Jutes and Saxons." Seeing between Juitland and Holsatiæ (the ancient seat of the Saxons) there is a small province in the kingdom of Denmark under the city of Flemsburg called at this day Angel, which Lindebergius in his epistles terms Little England, I am pretty well assured, says Camden, that I have found the ancient seat of our forefathers; and that from this very place the Angles came into our island. "Old Anglia, (says Ethelwerd, an ancient author,) is situated between the Saxons and Giots, the capital town whereof is called in Saxon, Sleswick, but by the Danes, Haithby." In the very same place Ptolemy seems to seat the Saxons. So that the middle aged poet is probably in the right:

—Saxonia protulit Anglos;
Hoc patet in lingua, niveoque colore

Their rise to Saxony the Angles owe;
Their language, this, and native whiteness show.

88. This etymology gave occasion to these verses in Engelhusius:–

Quippe brevis gladius apud illos Sala vocatur
Unde sibi Saco nomen traxisse putatur.

The Saxon people did, as most believe,
Their name from Saxa, a short sword, receive.

Camden approves of the conjecture of those learned Germans, who imagine that the Saxons are descended from the Sacæ, the most considerable people of Asia, that they are so called, as if one should say, Sacasones, that is, sons of the Sam; and that out of Scythia or Sarmatia Asiatica, they came by little and little into Europe along with the Getes, the Suevi, and the Daci. But his annotator observes, this origin of the Saxons from the Sam of Asia may be thought too far fetched, unless there were some fair historical account how the Saxons came to be propagated by those Sacæ; and no such account being given, it may seem to be little more than a possibility. Nor may that other origin, from the short swords called sacks, seem altogether vain, when it is considered,

that the Quirites had their name from quiris, a short spear; and the Scythians from Scytten, to shoot with a bow. Tacitus also, speaking of some of the northern Germans, says, the common badges they wear, are round shields or short swords and the arms of Saxony to this day, as Pontanus observes, are two short swords across"

89. That is, in the British language, the town of Glass. Glaston or Glass-town means the same in English.

90. Amongst the most important and plausible of the opinions of Pelagius, were the following :—"That Adam was naturally mortal, and would have died, though he had not sinned—that Adam's sin affected only himself, but not his posterity; and that children at their birth are as pure and innocent as Adam was at his creation—that the grace of God is not necessary to enable men to do their duty to overcome temptation, and even to attain perfection; but they may do all this by the freedom of their own wills and the exertion of their natural powers."

BOOK I

Rapin 1733 Antique Map

A New Map of England Scotland

THE NEW CHRISTIAN CRUSADE CHURCH

CALLING THE PEOPLE OF BRITAIN

At last the bible makes sense!

At last we know its meaning.

Its the book of the RACE

"For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem" (Isaiah 2:3).”