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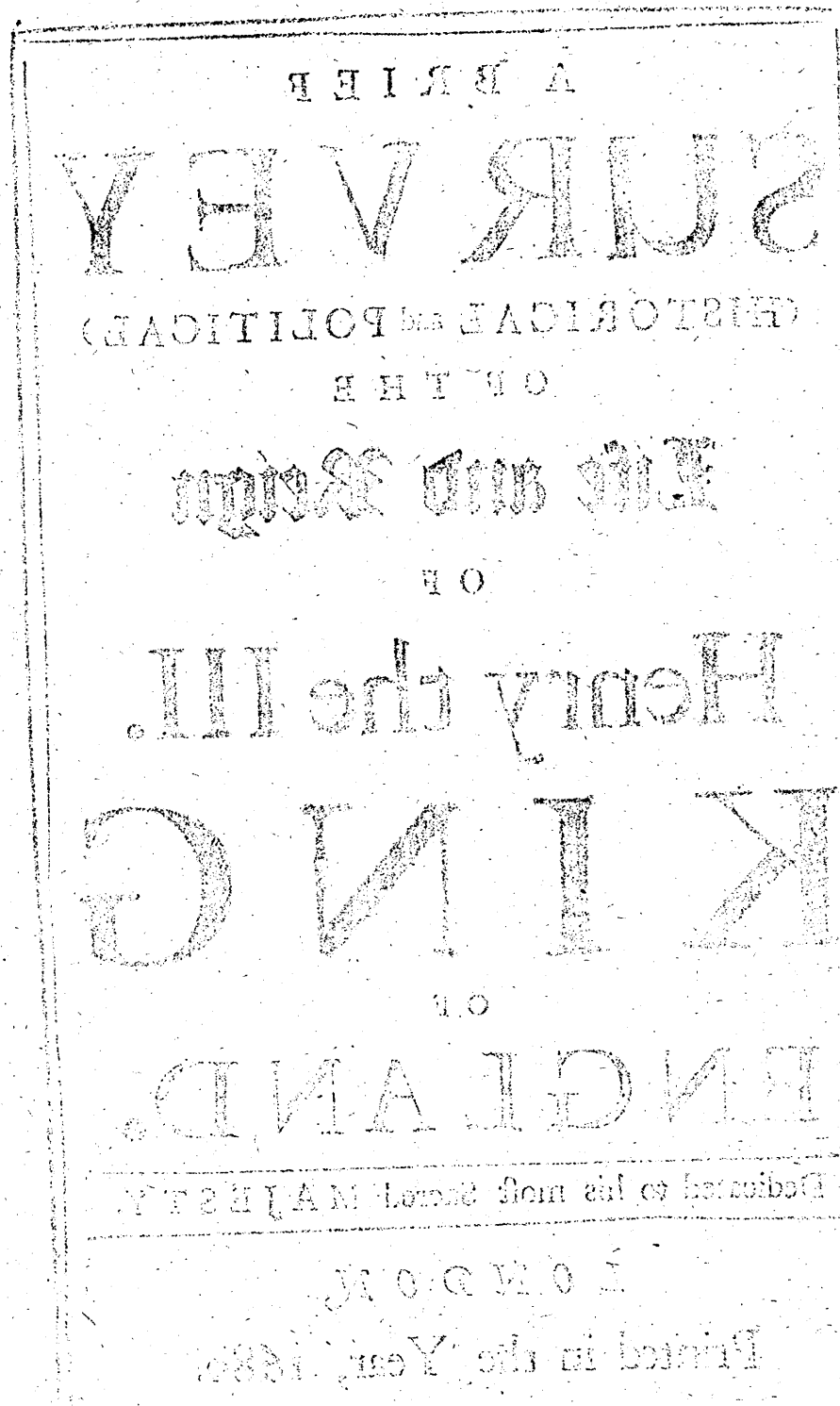
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A B R I E F
SURVEY
(HISTORICAL and POLITICAL)
O F T H E
Life and Reign
O F
Henry the III.
K I N G
O F
ENGLAND.

Dedicated to his most Sacred MAJESTY.

L O N D O N

Printed for *James Vade*, at the Cock and Sugar Loaf, near
St. Dunstan's Church, in Fleet-street. 1680.



SACRO-SANCTÆ MAJESTATI
CAROLI SECUNDI,
 DEI GRATIA, MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ,
 FRANCIÆ, ET HIBERNIÆ, REGIS;
 FIDEI PROPUGNATORIS
 CHRISTIANÆ; PACIS
 PERPETUÆ INSTAURATORIS;
 PUBLICÆ AUCTORIS
 AUGUSTI SECURITATIS;
 ET NATI BRITANNICI
 AD ÆTERNITATEM
 NOMINIS ET IMPERII;
 QUAM HUMILLIME D. D.
 CONSECRATURQUE HOC OPUSCULUM.

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A

BRIEF SURVEY, OF THE LIFE and REIGN

OF

Henry the III, etc.

Oppress'd with the insupportable Calamities of *Civil Arms*, and affrighted at the sodain fall of a *Licentious Sovereign*, who was reported to have been Poyson'd by a *Monk*; all men stood at gaze, expecting *Peace*, (the Event of their long *Desires*) and *Benefit*, as the Issue of their new *Hopes*: Experience telling us that, in every *Shift* of *Princes*, there are very few either so Mean, or so Inopinionative, as not to please themselves with some probable Object of *Preferment*. To content all, (*October 19. 1216.*) a *Child* ascends the Throne, Mild and Gracious, but Easie of Nature, whose Innocency, and natural Goodness protected him throughout the various Perils of his *Father's* Reign. Happy was he in his Uncle *William* Earl of *Pembroke* (the Guide of his *In-*
fancy;

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fancy;) and no less fortunate, for thirty years after, whilst *Hubert de Burgh* (Earl of *Kent*) that Fast Servant of King *John's* against the *French*, both in *Normandy*, and *England*, together with *Bygot* Earl of *Norfolk*, and others of like Gravity, and Abilities, had the management of Affairs. Publick Distempers were then very few, and such only as are incident to all States, the Commons greedy and tenacious of Liberty, and the Nobility of Rule: One violent Storm, 'tis true, was rais'd, by some old, constant Followers of his Father; as *Foulk de Brent* who, (though a Forreigner, yet) held at one time the Earldoms of *Nor-tingham*, *Oxford*, *Bedford* and *Buckingham*; *Brian de Lisle*, and some others. These being men of turbulent Spirits, and that could only Thrive by the Wars, were very ill at ease in those days of Sloth; (as they term'd that Calm of King *Henry's* Government) Beside that, the Justice of Peaceable Times urg'd from them, to the lawful owners, such Lands and Castles, as the fury of War had unjustly given them. Now perceiving by the Uprightness of the King, that Power of Protection should not be made a wrong-doer; they broke forth into such a Rebellion as ended not but with their Lives; declaring that those their Swords which had set the Crown upon their Sovereign's Head when neither Law nor Majesty could, should now secure those Accquests to their Masters, when Majesty or Law would not. Thus we see how dangerous are too great Benefits of Subjects to their Princes; as rendring the Mind incapable of any other sense than that of Merit. This Blast being over, the Government felt no other affliction than the Common and Invidious Malevolence to Authority: Good and Great Men may preserve themselves from Guilt, but not from Envy; being still shot at, by the Aspiring of those that look upon themselves as less in Employment than they are in Desert. These Vapours, however, did ever vanish, without much trouble, so long as the Helm was steered by

Temperate

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Temperate Spirits, and the King squar'd his Actions by the Rule of Good Counsel, and not of Young, Passionate, or single Advice.

Thirty years being now past and gone, and none of the old Guides of the Kings Youth left alive, but *de Burgh*, (a man in whom nothing of Worth was wanting, save Moderation) his length of days gave him the advantage of Sole Power, his Ambition furnishing Desire and Art, to keep out others. This drew upon him the implacable malice of a great many, which was yet further augmented by the fresh Honours, and Offices, that the King was then pleas'd to confer upon him. Time had now wrought a Revolution, as in it self, so in the Hearts of the People, who had forgotten the late Sufferings of their Fathers, and labour'd under the surfeit of a long Peace; which having, probably, let in some Abuses, the Commons (to whom the Present seems ever worst) take the Alarm, fall to commending the past Ages they never remembred, and condemning the Present; though equally ignorant of the Disease of it, and of the Remedy. With these idle and usual Humours, struck in some of the young Nobility, that were warm and over-weening, though altogether as unskilful as the rest: these fall to sullying the Wisdom and Integrity of the Court-Officers, by magnifying each casual mishap into a Crime, and exposing every Blemish in Government; and then having their Heads fill'd with certain Ideas and Phantastick Forms of Commonwealths, they flatter themselves that they are able to mold any State according to these general Rules, which in particular Application do still appear to be but idle and gross Absurdities. Being thus puffed up in Opinion of their own worth, they begin to cast about how to get into Employment, a thing they had long desired, and now do sue for; and probable it is that the farthest of their Aim, as yet, was to be quiet Instruments in serving the

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the Crown, had they then been look'd upon as *fit*; and well *deserving*. But the King, having been tutor'd into a just veneration for the Counsels of the *Aged States-Men*, and reflecting that such *Green Heads* were fitter for *disordering* than *settling* Affairs; either deny'd, or delay'd their *Requests*: for Princes will ever chuse their *Ministers*, *Equal* to, not *above* their Business; *Creatures* that are *only* theirs, out of meer *Election*; otherwise, without *Friends* or *Power*. Amongst this unequal *Medly*, there were, of the *Nobility*, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Glocester* and *Hertford*, darlings of the *Rabble*; some of them upon the score of their Fathers Merits, whose memories were held *Sacred*, as pretended Pillars of *Publick Liberty*, and opposers of *encroaching Monarchy*. Of the *Gentry* were *Fitz-Geoffrey*, *Bardolph*, *Grisley* and *Fitz-John*; Spirits of as much *Arrogance*, and *Acrimony*, as *Camp*, *Court*, *Country*, (the places from whence they were *Elected*) could afford any: These were for attempting by *open Force*, what the other sought to effect by *Artifice*; but yet they were all of them equally *Impatient* to behold their *Ends* thus frustrated; and that so long as the King followed the Advice of the Earl of *Kent*, there would be no hopes of obtaining their desires. Wherefore they became frequent in their *Consults* and *Cabals*, day and night; and at last *Sommery*, and *Spencer*, two that were far in Opinion with the rest, as being Gentlemen of *Forreign Education*, and better qualifi'd than was usual for men of those times; gave it as their Advice, that the surest way to remove *de Burgh* (that great, and good *Obstacle*) out of the way of their Advancement, would be, to pry narrowly into his Actions, and side with his *Opposite*, *Peter Bishop of Winchester*; (an ill man, but in favour with the King) backing the *Motion* with this suggestion, that the *worthiest* being driven out by the *worst*, they should be able either to mate him with his own *Vice*, (which the higher he advanc'd would

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would still be the more visible) and so remove him at pleasure; or else, by suffering the King to deliver himself up to such bad *Ministers*, as would lose him the Hearts, and Affections, of his People; they might thus plain the way to their own *Preferment*: Thus they projected the compassing of that by *troubling* the *State*, which, so long as it was at *quiet*, they despair'd of obtaining; and so far did the success answer Expectation, that *Spencer* dy'd in actual Rebellion, *Fusticiarius Anglia*, against his Master. This advice now being approv'd, and put in Practice; the corrupt and ambitious *Bishop* is by money and address easily brought over to the *Party*; and *Articles* are in all haste forged, and presented against the Earl; charging him with wasting the Royal *Treasure*, the sale of *Crown-Lands*, and (what these doubtful times held *Capital*) his allowing any thing that might create a *Rupture* between *King* and *People*; as his prevailing upon the King to revoke all *Patents* granted in his *Non-age*, and enforcing the People not to pay according to their Ability or the merit of the *Grant*, but whatever the *Minister* himself should think fit to extort.

De Burgh clear'd himself of all the Branches of this Accusation, save only the *Last*; under which he worthily perish'd; for such *Acts* as fill the Princes *Coffers*, are still the destruction of their first *Inventers*; Bad times, we see, corrupt good Counsels, and prevail upon the best *Ministers* to truckle to the *Lusts* of their Masters: Therefore this King is not wholly to be excused, that could so easily give way to the blasting the former Services of so faithful an Officer, for *that* wherein himself was *chief* in fault. But *Princes* are naturally more variable; and sooner cloyed, than *other* men; their favours are more transitory, and as their minds are *Large*, so they without much difficulty overlook their first

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Choice,

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Choice, limiting their *Affections* to their *Satisfactions*.

Winchester is now mounted into the Saddle, and Governs all; taking for his *Prime Instrument* *Peter de Rivallis*; (such another as himself) displaces the *Natives*, and advances (his Country-men) *Poictovins* and *Britains*, into Offices of the greatest *Trust* and *Benefit*; and draws the King into an ill Opinion of his People: Nothing touching the *English* so much to the *Quick*, as to be domineer'd over by *Forreigners*. Here it was that *Injustice* became the Arbiter of *Common Equity*, the *Law* lay gasping at the foot of *Faction*, *Peace* at the mercy of the *Seditious*, and *Oppression* stept into the *Bench* to pronounce upon points of *Right* and *Honesty*, so that the *Plot* of the tumultuous *Barons*, by this means, advanc'd it self without so much as a Rub: And had not the Loyal Part of the *Bishops* calm'd all, by humble and dutiful *Perswasions*, and by representing to his Majesty, that his supporting the Power of a Person whose insolent Carriage had but lately lost to King *John* his Father, *Normandy*, the *Love* of his People, and in that his *Crown*; and who at that very season was no less industrious in tempting himself to reject in *Passion*, the just *Petitions* of his faithful *Subjects*; the Case (amongst many others) of *Pembroke* the Earl *Marshal*, the *Common Rights* of whose Office were unjustly withheld from him; would inevitably provoke *Discontents*, and endanger the *Weal* of the Kingdom; the *Rebellious Lords* had, questionless, gain'd their End, by exasperating, and improving this *Distemper* into a *Civil War*. *Denials* of *Princes* are ever to be suppli'd with gracious *Usage*, thereby, if not to cure the sore, yet, at least, to mitigate the *Sense* of it: But it is best of all, that all *Favours* proceed directly from themselves; and only *Refusals*, and things of *Bitterness*, from their *Ministers*.

Thus

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Thus now are the *Strangers* all remov'd and banish'd; *Rivallis's* Extortions examin'd, by many strict *Commissions* of *Enquiry*; the proud Bishop of *Winchester* (turn'd off in disgrace) is brought to experiment that *Power* founded upon *Injustice* is but *short-lived*, and that in the *Favour* of *Princes* there is no *Medium* or *Subsistence* betwixt the *Highest* of all, and *Precipitation*. But the *Lords* finding themselves still (by this *Reformation*) frustrated of their evil *Designs*, began again to cherish the late grounds of the Peoples *Disgusts*, by scattering querulous and ambiguous *Speeches* against his Majesty, depraving and questioning his *Discretion*, and *Government*; and seeking by all the means, and arts imaginable, to ingratiate and glorifie themselves with the sordid *Rabble*: Infomuch that the King (whose Nature was too mild for such turbulent Spirits) was oblig'd afresh, to cast himself upon the Advice and Love of *Forreigners*, since no *condescensions* could purchase it at *Home*, where many demean'd themselves like *Tutors* and *Controllers*, few like *Subjects* and *Counsellors*.

God, we know, governs the Hearts of *Princes*, and sends them such *Ministers*, as the quality of the Subject meriteth: for *Montford* (a *French-man*) became the next Object of the Kings Delight; being a Gentleman of choice *Blood*, *Education* and *Feature*: And to so fond a degree did the heady affection of the *Sovereign* dote upon him, that, in his very Entrance into *Grace*, he made him Earl of *Leicester*, to the general dissatisfaction of the *Nobility*; and gave him (to the no less offence of the *Clergy*, by violating the *Rights* of the *Church*) his Vow'd, Vail'd Sister, to Wife. Some have denied this Act of the Kings to be more than common *Policy*, as making the Tie of his Favorites *Dependency* the strength of his Assurance, so Both at his will. But *Montford* growing wanton, upon this dalliance of his Master; forgets *Moderation*; *Discretion*, in Youth,

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Youth, seldom attending great and sodain *Fortunes*. He takes the manage of all *Publick Affairs* into his own hand, and engrosseth the disposal of all *Favours* and *Preferments*; so that all suites are address'd to him, and the King becomes (in effect) but as a *Cipher* set to add to this *Figure* the more of *Numbers*. Great is the Errour of a Prince when the *Hope* of the *Subject* comes to recognize it self beholden to the *Servant*, for that, which ought to be acknowledg'd as the immediate Bounty and Goodness of himself: And though they are not to be deny'd the privilege of advancing above the rest, some trusty *Friend*, to whom they may communicate their nearest *Passions*; yet ought they so to temper the Current of *Favour*, as not to darken the Lustre of their *Regalities*.

The Great and Gravest Men beholding the unworthy thus to deal alone, in that which ought of Right, to have pass'd through their hands; and to step over all their heads, to the greatest *Honours* and *Offices*; began to repine; but upon second thoughts, they ran along with the rising Grace of the Kings *Half-Brethren*, though *Strangers*, hoping, by this way of proceeding, to divide that Power which, otherwise, they saw it impossible to Break. Yet *Leicester*, being confident of his Masters Love, and impatient of bearing either *Rival* in Favour, or *Partner* in Rule; opposeth them all: But he found, at length, in his *Ebb* of kindness, the fortune of *others*; and that the King could with as much ease transfer his *Phansie*, as he had settled his *Affections*. And in truth, extraordinary must needs be the *Artifice* and *Address* of that man, that is able to keep himself afloat in the stream of a *Monarchs* good Opinion; in regard that the change of his *Will*, (which for the most part is strongly influenc'd by *Phansie*, and soon cloyed) is hardly to be arrested. To effect this, the *Favourite* must solely attend the Honour and Service of his Ma-

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ster; and (abandoning all other Considerations) insinuate himself into his inward *Inclinations*; winding into a necessity of *Employment*, by discharging the *Offices* of most *Secrecy*, in reference either to *publick Service*, or the *Princes* peculiar *Pleasures*: He must also be careful to suppress *Competitors*, by the hands of *others*, conceal in *Publick*, his own *Greatness*, by counterfeit *Affectations* of *Humility*; and in his persute of *Authority*, he is to cast a shew as if his *Promotions* were the work of *others*, or of *Conveniency*, rather than of any great *Ambition* of his own.

But now, upon this Advantage, the Reines of Rule were possess'd by the ambitious *Lords* and entrusted (as *Henry Knighton* says) in the hands of the Kings *Half-Brethren*, *Adam*, *Guido*, *Godfrey*, and *William*; the King contenting himself (being left to act his own part, as before) with the *Shadow* only, and *License* of a great *Fortune*. And to say the truth, he was ever *Wyer-drawn*, when he was so happy as to have about him such worthy Servants as would urge and suggest things that were for his Honour. But these *Masters*, on the contrary, being puff'd up with the conceit of having no *Superiour*; made it their business by gentle Words and *Flatteries*, to seduce the unsteady mind of the King from the Path of *Reason*; thereby to gain to themselves the privilege of doing what they list. So that they fell immediately to filling the *Courts* of *Justice*, and *Places* of *Trust*, with their own *Country-men*; exacting of *whom*, *how*, and *what* they would; waisting the *Publick Treasure*, and *Crown Lands*, to the enriching of themselves, and dependents; setting Prices upon all *Offences*; and squaring the *Law* according to the Rule of their own *Breasts*: And upon any Complaint of the *Subject* the usual *Reply* of their Servants was, *How'le ye help your self; for the Kings Pleasure's in my Masters Pocket?* Nay to so insupportable a degree of Licentiousness did these *Strangers* proceed; that they

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they seem'd rather to have entr'd the *Land* by *Conquest*, than upon *Invitation*: they enforc'd upon the great men not *Obedience* only, but *Servitude* and reduced the meaner sort to so wretched a degree of *Poverty*, that they might justly say they had *nothing*. Yet lest the Groanes of his *People*, and the wickedness of his *Ministers*, should come to the King's Ear, by the means of good and able Men; they deny all such the least Access: *Suspicion* (being the best preserver of her own *Deserts*) still keeps a strict eye upon those that have a due sense of *Honour* and *Virtue*; as fearing them most. Thus by the *Inhability* of the Prince, the Government becomes a Prey to these *Lawless Minions*; which occasions infinite *Corruptions* and *Disorders* in all the *Members* of the *State*; all presuming upon his weakness, do endeavour to grasp at an *Arbitrary Authority*, that they may make *Profit* of it, and easily permit the encreasing of *Ill*, as the ready way to make their own *Fortunes*.

These *Confusions* were usher'd in by a *Famine*, and that so violent an one, that the king is forc'd to direct *Writs* to the several *Counties*, to bury their Dead, they were so Numerous: The *Dearth* continues, and then fell the *Sword* to raging so terribly, that no man durst walk abroad without *Arms*; all the *Villages* being left as a Prey to the tumultuous *Rabble*; who raving up and down, by the *Connivance* of such as ought to have suppress'd them; it plainly appear'd, that the *Factionous Lords*, whom the King suspected, had fomented and given Life to the *Com-motion*; *Seditious Peers* ever bringing *Fire* to such *Popular Fires*.

Neither was the *Church* it self without a busie Part in this *Tragical Scene*: For the Bishops of *Worcester* and *Lincoln* (being well-wishers to *Montford* and his *Faction*) were

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were far engaged. In such Designs *Church-men* are never wanting; and the distast of the *establish'd Government* as well *Ecclesiastical* as *Civil*, will ever be a *Knot* of *Strength* for such unquiet Spirits, who are as greedy after *Innovations* in the *Church*, as in the *State*; and ever crying up some new *Model* of *Policy* or other; such as is most relishing to the giddy *Multitude*, who (at this time) were mightily offended (and not without reason neither) at the *new Courts* of the *Clergy*, their *Pomp*, *Rapaciousness*, and the *Extortions* of the *Pope*. This was a fair pretext for the factious part of the *Clergy* so far to pursue the *Orders*, *Ceremonies* and *Constitutions* of the *Church* with bitter *Speeches* and *Invectives*; that some of them incur'd the sentence of *Ex-communication* at *Rome*, and of *Treason* at *Home*: they enjoining the Earl of *Leicester*, as he tendered his *Salvation*, to maintain the *Cause* (meaning his *Rebellion*) to the very *Death*; and asserting, that the *Peace* of the *English Church* was never to be establish'd but by the *Material Sword*. But that could never (surely) be the soundest *Doctrine* (what ever might be pretended) which was only to be propagated by *War* and *Licence*; seeing the *first Church* (contrary-wise) grew up, by *Fasting* and *Prayer*. True *Piety* obliges the Subject to desire a *Good Sovereign*, but to bear with a *Bad* one; and take the Burthen of *Princes* with a bended *Knee*; so, in time, to deserve *Abatement*; rather than resist *Authority*. *Church-men* ought not always, therefore, to be our *Oracles*, as to matters of *Loyalty* and *Allegiance*, they may safely inform us of our Duty in difficult Poynts of *Religion*; and where an humble ignorance is a secure knowledge, we may rely upon them; but they are not to be harken'd to in their clamorous *Harangues* against *Authority*.

Now to remedy all these *Confusions*, and supply the Kings necessities, a *Parliament* was call'd at last; much to

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the liking of those Lords, who as little meant to *Relieve* the *King*, as they did to *Heal* the *State*; their End, at that time, being only to lay open, at *Home*, the *Poverty* of their *Master*; lessen his Reputation, *Abroad*; and in those times of *Privilege*, to breath out their *Passions* freely. Here they began to twit him with the *Wrong* he had done to the *Publick*, in engrossing the choyce of the *Chief Justice*, *Chancellour*, and *Treasurer*; who ought not (they said) to have been *Elect*ed, but by the *Common Counsel* of the *Realm*; highly applauding the Resolution of the *Bishop of Chichester*, in refusing to surrender the *Great Seal*, but in *Parliament*, where he receiv'd it. Then they charge him with having conferr'd all the places of *Trust* and *Profit*, in his disposal, upon *Forreigners*; and leaving his *English Subjects* unrewarded; with having ruin'd the *Merchants Trade* by the introducing of *Maletolts*, and imposing of *Heavy Customs*; with having violated the *Common Liberty*, by *Non obstantes* in his *Patents*, thereby to secure *Monopolies* for his private *Favorites*; with having taken the *Bread* out of the *Peoples* mouths, and forced away their *Horses* from the very *Plow*; with sending his *Justices* into the *Country*, to oppress and fleece the *People*, by *fob'd Actions*, and false *Accusations*; telling him that *Sr. Robert de Purloe* had extorted great Sums of money from the *Borders* of his *Forrests*, upon pretence of *Encroachments*. So that they were amazed (they said) to hear, that he should now demand *Relief* of them; since the *Commonalty* was so miserably pill'd, sold, and impoverish'd, by the multitude of former *Contributions*, that they were incapable of making any sort of supply. And therefore they suggested to him, that, they being able to prove his needless Expences, since the *Kingdom* began to be oppress'd, to have amounted to above eight hundred thousand pound; it was but fitting that he should call to account, and pluck from his *Favorites*, who had gleaned the *Treasure* of the *Kingdom*,

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Kingdom, and shared the old *Crown-Lands* amongst themselves: Several of them having, in a short space, from the Inheritance of an *Acre* advanced into the Possession of an *Earldom*; instancing in the Case of one *Mansel* (an inferior *Clerk*) who rose from *Nothing*, to spend at the rate of four thousand Marks (beside fifty *Promotions* that he had engross'd, in the *Church*) in *annual Revenue*; they being of *Opinion*, that more moderate *Fees* ought to have contented a *Pen-man* that was no better qualified than with the ordinary fruits of a *Writing-School*. Yet they assured his Majesty after all, that if a *Reasonable Supply* would suit with his Occasions; they were ready so far to testify their Obedience in that particular, as his Behaviour should fairly merit: setting a day (says *Matt. Paris*) by which the *King* was to redress the *Abuses* and *Corruptions* of his *Court*, and work into the good Opinion of the *Nobles*.

The time being come, and he having ratified afresh the *Great Charter*, admitted into his *Council* some persons of the *Commons Election*, and promised for the future to apply himself for Counsel to *Natives*, not *Forreigners*; they at length granted him such an *Allowance* as left him at their *Devotion* for a further *Supply*. Thus *Parliaments*, that (*Before*) were ever a Medicine to heal up any *Rupture* in the *Princes Fortunes*, grew (*now*) to be worse than the *Disease*; malignant *Humours* being more predominant in them than well-composed *Temper*s.

The *King* having by this, fully discovered the *Drift* of his rebellious *Lords*; and finding that they took advantage of his *Necessities*, to enslave him; begins now to act the good *Husband*, closeth his hand of *Waste*, and resolves (though too late) to bear himself upon his own *Legs*. But this Experience is still pernicious to the *Private*, and dangerous to the *Publick Weal* of a *State*; as not being

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able to *do*, but by *undoing*, nor to discern *Order*, till *Disorder* shews it. And yet still Alas! such was his easiness and flexibility, when he came to be prest hard by his *French Minions*; that he was not capable of withholding his hand from their insatiable *Desires*, and endless *squanderings*: Infomuch that it then became a *By-word*, *Our Inheritance is possess'd by Aliens, and our Houses by Strangers*. Dependents upon a King that is excessive in *Largesses*, become exorbitant in their *Demands*; measuring them not by *Reason*, but example: *Past favours* are never reckon'd upon, nor any Bounty valued but what is purely *Future*; and look how much a Prince disables himself by *Giving*, so much the poorer he is of *True Friends*: such *Prodigality*, in a *Sovereign*, ever concluding in the *Spoil and Plunder* of his *Subjects*.

But before the King would again submit himself to so many bold and strict *Inquiries* of his *Disloyal Subjects*, as he had endured the last *Parliament*; he resolves to try and undergo all shifts, and extremities, that necessity and a great mind, could impose upon him. First therefore, he exposes the *Crown-Lands*, then his *Jewels*, to sale; pawns *Gascoyn*; and after *That*, his *Imperial Crown*: And when his *Credit* would serve him no longer, (having so often fail'd of his word) nor any thing of his own left to raise money upon; he then pawns the *Jewels* and *Ornaments* of *St. Edwards Shrine*; and at the long run, (being destitute of means to defray the Charge of his *Court*) was forced to break up house, and with his *Queen* and *Children* to press upon the *Charity* of his *Subjects* for his *Daily Bread*.

Having thus, by *Improvvidence*, again reduced himself to this low *Ebb*; the *Rebellious Lords* grew more and more intractable, in Confidence that the *Sovereign Power* would,

now

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now at last, inevitably fall a prey to their ambitious *Machinations*; which, that it might the sooner come to pass, they coveted nothing more passionately, than to drive the King into *Want*, that so they might constrain him to call a *Parliament*; as phansying to themselves that *Subjects*, at such times, seem more than they should be, *Princes*, less. In order hereunto, they take a great deal of pains to propagate false and seditious Rumours of the Kings intention to repair his broken *Fortunes* by the Ruine of those of his *Subjects*; and that having nothing left of his own, he might and intended to force from *others*; further insinuating, that *Princes* will never *Want*, so long as the people has the means of *supplying* them. This scandalous *Asperson* had the wished for Effect; for it troubled the *State*; and the flame would questionless have advanced *Higher*, had not the King asswag'd it, by *Proclamations*; wherein he declared, that he was not insensible of the evil Arts that had been made use of to seduce his Liege People into an ill Opinion of his *Person* and *Government*, by false and groundless Suggestions and Surmises, of his designing to oppress them in their just *Liberties* and *Proprieties*; by such undue practises (he said) they laboured to withdraw them from their Duty and Allegiance: He caution'd them to give no heed to, and beware of such malicious Disturbers of the *Publick Peace*; and assured them, that he had made his *Letters Patent* purely to the end that they might be satisfied as to his readiness and resolution to defend them from the oppression of the *Great Lords*, and inviolably to maintain to them their lawful *Customs*, *Privileges* and *Immunities*, in every Branch of them. But for all this yet, he found that *Majesty* and *Right* were not to be kept aslote, without *Purse* and *Power*; and that himself wanted so much of *Both*, as was requisite for stopping the Breach in his own *Revenue*, and his *Subjects Loyalty*. Wherefore he betakes himself, at length

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length to the Bosom of his People for *Relief* and *Counsel*.

He called a *Parliament* at *Oxford*; where his necessities encountered so many undutiful Demands, that he was forced to surrender to their rebellious *Will* his *Royal Power*. For the *Commons*, looking upon themselves as the Patrons of the peoples *Liberties*, press'd the King to give way to the entrusting the Manage of the *State* in the hands of *four and twenty*; *twelve* of them to be of their own Election, and the *rest* to be chosen by *himself*; who, in all things else, was left a meer *Cypher*: Nay, and even in *this* Case, either through *Fear* or *Negligence* he fill'd up his number with *Montford*, *Gloucester* and *Spencer*; which error, over and above the weakening of his own *Party*, won to those his late *Opposites* an Opinion of having got a great *Interest* in his Favour. This *Parliament* it should seem, never dreamt of a *Perpetuation*; for otherwise, they might, probably, have had it for the asking. But yet they got what served their Turn; for by this one *Act* he parted with his Right of *Electing* either *publick Officer* or *private Servant*; and brought himself under a necessity of dispoiling his *Half-Brethren* and their *Followers*, banishing them the Realm by an *Instrument* under his own hand; and of commanding his *Writ pro Transportatione Fratrum suorum* to be directed to the Earles of *Hartford* and *Surry*, to prohibit their carrying on Board with them either *Money*, *Arms*, or *Ornaments*, other than in the manner prescribed. After their departure, he ordered the men of *Bristol* not to suffer any *Strangers*, or *Kinsmen* of his, to land in their *Port*, but so to demean themselves in this particular, as they would answer it to his *Lords* and *him*. Thus we may see how easily mens Estates do change in an Instant; and how difficult a thing it is to enjoy quietly what was gotten unjustly. And now *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, and King of the *Romans*, (King *Henrie's* own Brother) being at this time

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time beyond the Seas, is by Letter tamper'd with underhand, to make a shew of Ratifying, by *Oath*, and *voluntary Consent*, those former *Restrictions* of *Regal Power*: which, though he submitted to, yet would not the *Lords* suffer either the *King*, or *him* to enter *Dover Castle*; (the Key of the Kingdom) they having furnish'd it and most of the other *Ports* of Reputation and Strength in the Nation with *Governours* of their own Election, and *Sworn* respectively to the *State*. The like assurance did they also exact of all *Sheriffs*, *Coroners*, *Bayliffs*, and other *Publick Ministers*; examining the Behaviour of many, by strict Commission upon *Oath*; hereby to curry Favour with the *Vulgar*, who groaned under their late Extortions. But their Chief end in all this, was no other, (as it afterwards appear'd) than by displacing the faithful *Servants* of the King, upon pretence of their being tainted with *Malignancy*, to open a way for the introducing of their own *Dependents*.

Having thus changed the *Sole Power* into the Rule of many, and those by popular Election too; they perswaded themselves, that by establishing this Form of *limited Monarchy*, they had wholly suppress all thoughts of hankering afresh after the whimsical humours of *licentious Sovereignty*. But it fell out quite otherwise; for now every man began to value himself upon his own *Abilities*, and to crack his Skull upon any Design that might probably enlarge the Boundaries of his *Authority* and *Command*. The *Grandees* also fell to rending and lopping off from the *Revenues* and *Seignories* of the *Crown*, all such *Lands* and *Manours* as bordered upon any of their own *Seats*; pressing upon the Kings Subjects, and Tenants, to a most insupportable degree of Servitude. Insomuch that by raising *petite Annuities* into great *Honours*, and tearing asunder the *Royal Prerogative*; they made themselves, (of

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Subjects, whilst they kept within the bounds of Duty,) so many *Tyrants*, upon the loss of their *Loyalty*; involving the people in an extremity of *Slavery* and *Oppression*: And yet they bore all with *Patience*; for *Custom* being the only ease of Excess of *Misery*, men were contented to lay the foundation of *Servitude* by the length of *Sufferance*; which found neither End nor Abatement, until the quiet part of the Kings *Reign*.

Now *Montford*, *Glocester*, and *Spencer* (the Heads of this *Conspiracy*) having, by the late Provisions, drawn into the hands of the *twenty four Tribunes of the People*, the entire management of all Affairs; and finding this *Power* to be yet too much dispers'd, to answer their Expectations; compelled the King to call another *Parliament*; where they got the authority of the *Twenty four* assigned over to themselves, and erected a *Triumvirate* for their own ends only, and not for reforming Abuses, and settling the Nation, as they at first gave out. And thus by the Gratification of these *Private Interests*, the *Publick* was staid, for a time: But yet all this *Juggle* and *Artifice*, was only to make the way the smoother for one of them to become perpetual Dictator. *Ambition* is never so high, but that it still labours to advance a step further; and that Station which lately seemed *Inaccessible*, is now lookt upon but as a *Cocks-Stride*; that which was *Great*, in the *Pursute*, seeming *Inconsiderable*, in the *Possession*. These *Three Elect nine Counsellours* (Three of them at least to make a *Quorum*) who were to dispose of and fortifie *Castles*, and transact other Affairs of the *Realm*. But the *Chief Justice*, *Chancellour*, *Treasurer*, and all other *Officers*, greater or less, they reserve the Choice of to themselves; binding the King so very strictly to this hard *Bargain*, that he submits to pass an *Instrument* to them under the *Great Seal*, and *Oath*, whereby he actually discharged them from their Allegiance

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ance when ever he should attempt to assume to himself the *Royal Dignity*; declaring it to be lawful (in such Case) for the whole *Nation* to rise up as one man, and, (having no *Obligation* to him) by force to reduce him into Order.

And yet not long after; this *Prodigy of Fortune* (whom she had made a wretched *Example* of her *Inconstancy*) finding no part of his *Sovereignty* left him, but the bare *Title*; and even that precarious too; craves Aid of *Pope Urbane*, the fourth, against his disloyal *Subjects*; who arm'd him with *Excommunications* against all that should not forthwith return to their Duty; and Cancell'd his *Oath*, and *Contract*; in regard that it was made when he could not properly say that he was at *Liberty*; Force having no power to create a *just Interest*.

But the *Lords*, having now imp'd their wings with *Eagles Feathers*, and liking no *Game* but what was rak'd out of the *Ashes of Monarchy*; boldly make head against their *Sovereign*: And that they might be the better able to cope with him, call in the *French* to their Assistance. Thus again did the *Commonwealth* turn her Sword against her own Breast; and invite her antient Enemy to the Funeral of her *Liberty*; so that it was a great *Providence* that she fell not, at this time, under a *Forreign Yoke*. Now though these men were much more apprehensive of their own *Disgrace* than of others *Miseries*; yet could they find no better *Pretext* for *private Interest*, than that of the *Publick*. Wherefore at the entry of this Rebellion they cryed out for *Liberty*; though when it drew near an end, they never spoke word of it. Well! at *Lewis* the Armies met, and the King endeavours a *Reconciliation*, but in vain; for Arguments are ever unprofitable, when Justice is inferiour to Force. Wherefore the Sword de-

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cides the *Controversie*, and makes the two *Kings* and their eldest *Sons*, Prisoners.

The *Person* and the *Power* being now both of them in the hands of *Montford* and *Glocester*; found no other means of *Security*, or expectation of *Liberty*, than what the emulous *Competition* of *Greatness* (which began to break forth between these two mighty *Rivals*) gave hope of: For *Leicester* designing, (by engrossing from his *Partner* the *Person* of the *King*, and securing to his *Followers* the best part of the *Spoil*) to draw more fruit from this Advantage, than, in *Fellowship*, it could yield, dissolv'd the Knot of all their *Amity*. Thus we may observe that equal *Authority*, with the same *Power*, is ever fatal to all great Actions; for to reduce minds to so even a pitch that they should not have some strings of *Disagreement*, is absolutely impossible. *Montford* having thus broken all faith with his *Confederates*, as well as *Duty* to his *Sovereign*; left the Path of *Moderation* and *Wisdom*, to approach the *King* by that of *Haughtiness* and *Distrust*; plying him with pretences that his *Arms* and *Ends* were evermore directed to the good of the *Publick*, and the ease of the *People*; that in all this he entertain'd no private *Passion*, in opposition to the sense of his *Allegiance*; but was capable of regulating his *Desires* according to his just *Power*, and consequently to his Majesties *Satisfaction*, in case he would be rul'd; that is to say, (as he explain'd himself) command the *Forts* and *Castles* of his now *Opposite*, *Glocester*, and the rest, to be deliver'd up into his hands. It was no easie matter, we may well imagine, for the *King* thus to be tutor'd by his inferiour, and *Vassal*: But *Necessity*, in such Cases, commonly bears down before it all *Formalities*: And therefore this poor *Prince* who (lying at the *Victors* Discretion) seem'd to have been rais'd, only to shew the *Inconstancy* of *Fortune*, and the *Vanity* of man; suited himself

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himself with incomparable *Wisdom* according to the Exigences of the *Times*: Neither could *Humility* injure *Majesty*, when the only means to contain Spirits so insolent within due bounds, was *Disimulation*. Wherefore he summons, in *Person*, the *Forts* of his faithfullest *Friends* to yield to his greatest *Enemies*; entering them, in shew, as his *Lodging*, but, in effect, as his *Prison*; and sees himself forc'd to take *Law* from him, to whom he lately thought to have given it. *Leicester* is now become the *Darling* of the *Rabble*, who easily crouch and change to every new *Master*; but yet the Sober and considering part of the *Nation* durst not venture to say along with his *Fortune*, by the Light of his *Glory*; as knowing well that *Crystal*, though it fairly glitters, yet is soon broken; and that as the *Ascent* of *Usurpation* is slippery, so the *Top* is tottering, and the *Fall* dreadful. To account this man therefore at the very height of his false *Felicity* to be truly *Happy*, was but to give the name of the *Image* to the *Mettle* that was not yet molten: For by this time the imprison'd *Prince* had made an *Escape*, and was fast assur'd of *Glocester* upon the ty of his great *Mind*, and *Discontent*. Wherefore they both of them united with the shattered *Remnant* of the *Loyal Army*, and, by a speedy march, arriv'd unlookt for, upon the banks of the unarmed *Troops* of the secure *Rebels* quartering about *Evesham*; whom they instantly assail'd; as knowing it to be no fit season to give time, when no time could assure so much as *Expedition* promis'd. *Spencer*, and other *Lords* of that *Faction*, made toward the *King* for *Mercy*; but could not get clear of the *Press*, being hurry'd along the *Stream*, and perished in the *Confusion*. We are to consider that *Publick* Motion depends in a great measure upon the Conduct of *Fortune*, *Private* on our own *Carriage*: And we must take heed how we run down steep *Hills* with heavy *Bodies*, which being once in motion, are hurry'd on by their own weight,

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weight, and Stops are then no longer *Voluntary*. Now *Leicester* being at that instant with the King, and out of the *Storm*, might have got away; if his *Hope*, and *Courage* had not encreas'd his *Resolution* with his *Misfortune*: He could neither abandon his *Followers*, nor his *Ambition*; so that improving *Adversity* into an exercise of *Virtue*, he came, and fell.

The King being by this succesful Turn freed and obey'd, began to enquire into the ground of his former *Miscarriages*; and why that *Virtue* and *Providence* which had so long settled and supported the *English Empire* in the greatest Lustre and Reputation, throughout the Reign of his Glorious *Ancestors*; should now turn tail upon Him, and Confederate with his *Enemies*; to the almost absolute destruction of the *State*, and as if her *Genius* had quite forsook her: Upon due search, he finds his *Squandering hand* to have made too bold with the *Substance* and *Estates* of his People; and that the rapacious Exorbitances of his *Civil Ministers*, the Licentiousness of his *Martial Followers*, his own harsh *Demeanour* and *Inaccessibleness*, and his neglect of keeping his *Word*, had lost him his *Nobility* at home: And that his *Necessities*, which forc'd him to make Merchandize of *Peace* and *War*, as his last Refuge; and to put himself into the power of Persons doubtful or injur'd; together with his giving himself up to a *sensual Security*, and entrusting with the management of the *State*, base, griping and unworthy *Officers*, whose Counsels were ever more subtle than *Substantial*, had wounded his *Reputation* abroad, and thrown down those Pillars of *Sovereignty*, *Credit* and *Veneration*. Wherefore he enters upon his regain'd *Authority* with *Gentleness* and *Clemency*; wholly passing over the faults of most of the *Rebels*: (A gracious kind of pardoning, not so much as to take notice of the Offence!) and so forgot the *Rest*, that they might live, but

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but to the Glory of his *Goodness*; for the fewer kill'd, the more remain to adorn the *Trophy*. *Tyrants* indeed shed Blood for *Pleasure*, but *Kings*, out of *Necessity*; And yet lest his *Justice* and *Power* might suffer too much, by his *Grace* and *Mercy*, some few he punish'd with easie *Fines*, others, by Exile; as the two Guiltless, yet unpity'd Sons of the Arch-Traytor *Leicester*. So odious (we see) is *Treason* in the Head, that it involveth the innocent *Children* in an everlasting *Distrust*; and that which in others is but *Suspicion*, in them is *Guilt*. Then he proceeds to confer upon the constant adherers to his broken Fortunes, the *Forfeitures* of his *Enemies*; but with much more *Wariness* than before: as having found (by Experience) *immoderate Liberality* to be but a weak means to win *Love*; because it lost more in the *Gathering* than it gain'd in the *Giving*. A *Bounty* plac'd without *Respect*, is taken without *Gratitude*; discredits the *Receiver*, and detracts from the judgment of the *Bestower*; blunting the *Appetites* of such as draw their Hopes of Preferment from measures of *Fidelity* and *Service*. Thus at last he learn'd that *Reward* and *Reprehension* discreetly temper'd, do Ballance *Government*; and that it much importeth a Prince to keep that Hand *steady* and *equal*, that holds the *Scale*.

In the next place he appli'd himself to the correcting of his own *natural Infirmities*: Wisely judging, that though the Princes *Manners* are only a *mute Law*, yet have they more of *Life* and *Vigour* in them, than those of *Letters*. So that though he might now and then touch upon the skirts of *Vice*, yet was he ever after cautious of entering the *Circle*. And whereas the Crimes and Enormities of the great Men of his *Court* were, at this time, become so extravagantly numerous, that they were drawn into *Example* and *Imitation*: He purg'd this likewise with singular exactitude of *Judgment* and *Severity*; knowing full well that

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that it was *it* that gave life to the *Moderation* or *Intemperance* of the Commonwealth.

He reduc'd the Expences of his *House* to the just Rule of his proper *Revenue*; and was often heard to say that *his former excessive squanderings had torn open an Issue of his Subjects Blood*. The Fury and Insolence of the *Soldiery* (now become *Licentious*, by means of the *Civil Wars*.) he spent and corrected by *forreign Expeditions*: which he was the rather induc'd to do, upon finding that the *peaceable* (only) bore the Burthen of all the late *Calamities*; and that the *other* were never satisf'd, but in the miseries of the *Innocent*; being as ready as ever, if they should find no *Enemies abroad*, to seek out some at *Home*. Neither did he forget to examine or redress, by strict *Commission*, the Rigour and Corruption of his *Judicial Officers*; as apprehending, that the sense of their *Severity* would raise a murmur of his own *Cruelty*.

He fill'd up the seats of *Judgment* and *Council* with men of Noble Extraction. For such do with less offence attract generous Spirits to respect and Veneration. He no longer measureth their *Abilities* by *Favour*, or *private Recommendation*, as before; but by *publick Vogue*: For though every man in particular may deceive and be deceived, yet is not possible for one man to deceive *all*; or *all, one*.

And the better to set off his own *Capacity*, and to discover to the World what part he intended, hereafter, to bear in all *deliberate Expeditions*; he sits himself in *Council* daily, disposing Affairs of most weight, in his own *Person*: for *Councellers* be they never so wise, or worthy, are only *Accessaries*, yet, not *Principals*; in the support of the *Government*; their business is *Subjection*, not *Fellowship*, in debates of moment; and they must be allow'd a Privi-

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lege to advise, but not authority to *resolve*. For as a particular Soul is essentially requisite to the Life of a *Prince*; so is a supreme and unaccountable Power, of like necessity: Without the *one* he cannot be truly a *Man*, and without the *other* he can never be securely a *Prince*. It doth also disturb both the *Minister*, and the *People*, to be forc'd to pay obedience to one that is Incompetent of his own *Greatness*, and unworthy of his *Royal Fortunes*.

This wonderful *Change* in the *General State*, which so far despair'd (erewhile) of recovering her former *Liberty*, that she sought for nothing but the easiest kind of *Servitude*; brought over the People again (with admiration) to the Kings *Devotion*, and their own *Duty*. So that whoever designs to lay a Foundation of *Greatness* upon popular *Love*, must be careful of securing to them *Ease* and *Justice*; because they are ever prone to measure the band of their *Obedience* by the benefit that they daily receive.

Now this *Calm* attended (ever after) this Kings *Age* and *Hearse*; and he liv'd to train up his *Successor*, and make him a Participant of his own *Experience* and *Authority*: His hard *Education* wean'd him from those *Intemperances* which makes *Men* Inferiour to *Beasts*, and prompted him to affect *Glory* and *Virtue*, which gave him a Superiority over *Men*. Infomuch that all the Actions of his *Future Reign* were Exact Rules of *Discipline*, and *Policy*, and worthy the Imitation of his best of *Successors*; who, as he was the *first* of his Name (*Edward*) after the *Conquest*; so was he also the *first* that thoroughly reform'd the *Abuses* crept into the *Law*, and settled the *Commonwealth*; (justly meriting the Title of *Englands Justinian*) delivering the Nation out of the *Thraldom* of the *Peers*; and by all his *Actions* (afterward) approving himself capable himself.

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himself of Governing not this *Single Realm* only, but the *whole World*.

Thus by the *Injustice* of our Enemies, more than by our own *Discretions*, do we many times become both *Wise* and *Fortunate*.

FINIS.