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AN
ANSWER
To such
MOTIVES
As were offer'd by certain
MILITARY-MEN
TO
Prince HENRY,
Inciting Him to Affect
Arms more than Peace.

Made at His Highness command by Sr. Robert Cotton Baronet.

With a short View of the LIFE and REIGN of
Henry the Third King of England, by the same Author.

The Second Edition, very much Corrected, and a Preface
added by Sr. John Cotton Baronet.

To which is annexed the FRENCH CHARITY, or
an ESSAY written in *French* by an *English* Gentle-
man, upon occasion of Prince *Harcourt's* coming into
England: and translated into *English,* by F. S. J. E.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Henry Mortlock,* at the *Phoenix* in *St. Paul's*
Church-yard, and at the *White Hart* in *Westminster-*
Hall. 1675.



THE
P R E F A C E
TO THE
R E A D E R.

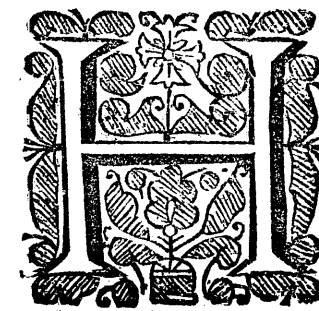
SO strange a desire and itch of writing, doth possess the greatest part of the world; and men are so in love with their own imaginations, that they would have their follies engraved in Brass and Marble. Upon this account the learned and most ingenious Physician in Sr. Tho. Brown. that incomparable piece of his *Religio Medici* hath these words; "I have heard some with deep sighs lament the lost lines of Cicero; others with as many groans deplore the combustion of the Library of Alexandria: for my own part, I think there be too many in the world, and could with patience behold the Urn and Ashes of the Vatican, could I, with a few others, recover the perished leaves of Solomon. 'Tis not a melancholy Utinam of my own, but the desires of better heads, that there were a general Synod, not to unite the incompatible difference of Religion, but for the benefit of Learning, to reduce it as it lay at first, in a few and solid Authors, and to condemn to the fire those swarms
" and

“ and millions of Rhapsodies, begotten only to di-
 “ stract and abuse the weaker judgement of Scho-
 “ lars, and to maintain the trade and mysterie of
 “ Typographers. What a multitude of books
 (ὄσα λαμὰδος τε, νόμισ τε) concerning the
 controversies in Religion between us and the
 Romanists hath invaded the world; and to use
 Homer's words, ἐπίων ἢ πολὺς νομὸς ἐνθά κὶ
 ἐνθά? But of these (excepting some few) as
 for example, that of the Archbishop Laud's against
 Fisher, Mr. Chillingworth against Knot, The
 Author of Via Recta, and Via Devia, and that
 incomparable pair of learned men Dr. Stilling-
 fleet and Dr. Tillotson, with the most Learned
 and Pious Dr. Hammond against that Pest and
 ἡδυσμα of Mankind, Serjeant) the Major part,
 are (as he saith) a spurious brood, the laborious
 effects of ease and idleness, not worthy the Vacant
 hours of a serious person. Having said this it
 may justly be objected against me, why I by put-
 ting forth this Book, should help to encrease this
 Epidemical disease. To this I answer: 1. I re-
 ceived some encouragement by the general favour
 and acceptance which the world was pleas'd to give
 to this small Treatise. 2. My pious affection and
 Duty to the Author did inflame my desires to pro-
 pagate his Name (as much as in me lay) to Poste-
 rity. 3. Being but a small Book it was secure
 from that censure, μέγα βιβλίον, μέγα κερκόν. If
 this little Treatise may find not only pardon, but
 some acceptance, from those few of the more know-
 ing persons, I have obtain'd my design: To please
 all I know is impossible;

———— Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ ζῶς.
 Οὐδ' ὅων πάντας ἀνδάνει, ἐτ' ἀνέχων.
 John Cotton.



To my Honoured Friend and
 Kinsman Mr. Walter
 Chetwind.



Having taken some
 pains to correct
 and amend this lit-
 tle Piece of my
 Grand-fathers, I
 was not long in
 considering to whom I should di-
 rect the Dedication. I have had
 the happiness to know you, even
 from your Infancy; and have al-
 wayes continued my affection to
 you and your Family. Your
 Friendship and Kindness unto me,
 A 3 I esteem

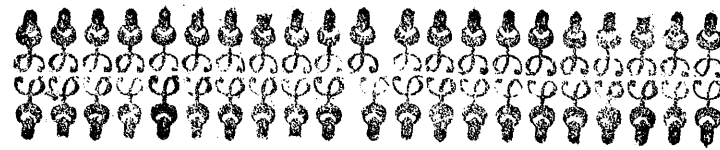
I esteem as the chiefest part of my felicity; and as he amongst other his **Tiths**, would have this ingrav'd upon his Monument, *A Friend to Sr. Philip Sidney*; so I desire to be known to Posterity, by no name more Illustrious than that of

*Your faithful Friend
and Servant,*

*Cotton-House
May 14.
1675.*

John Cotton.

THE



**PROPOSITIONS
OF
WAR and PEACE**

Delivered to His Highness

PRINCE HENRY

By some of his Military servants.

Arguments for War.

B *ames of Policy*, as well as works of Nature, (*a*) are best preserved from the same grounds they were first founded on. By *Armes* was laid the foundation of this State, whether we respect the *Saxon* or the *Norman*. It was War that of seven Crowns in the *Heptarchy* made one fit for that *Monarchy*, that since by many glorious exploits hath made good in foreign parts the renown of her own greatness, and crowned thereby this State with an eternal peace. Times nor our own vertues are not changed : Necessity, Benefit, and Facility of War being the same that they were before to our forefathers.

(a) *Panse & Hertii conflictum, Casari.*

B

We

Reasons for forraign Wars.

(a) *Velle-
us Pat.
culus.*

Reasons of forraign War drawn from

1. Necessity, for

1 Prefer-
vation of
our own
peace.

2 Vent-
ing of fa-
ctious
spirits.

We never were so near peril by shipwrack in any tempest abroad, as at home by the calm government of *Henry* the sixth. For *France* by the awful hand of his father reduced, it fared with us as with the mistress of the world, (a) *Remoto Carthaginis metu, & Imperii amula*, when the fear of *Carthage* her competitor for the Empire was removed, that fell not by degrees, but *Præcipiti cursu ab Armis ad voluptates, à negotio ad otium*, rushed headlong from arms to pleasures, from employment to idleness. And from hence as greatest Nations, *cum ab externis causis tuta videntur, ipsa suis viribus ocerantur*, when there is no longer fear of forraign enemies, their own strength becomes a burthen to them: so after many conquests abroad, we were at home prest down with the unnatural weight of civil arms: For *cum foris non habent hostem, domi inveniunt*, when people have no enemies abroad, they'l find some at home; as all warlike and fruitful Nations will, not otherwise delivered either of their humours or people. To add to this necessity, the sending away of our factious spirits, it will remove the seat of blood from our own doors,

Reasons for forraign Wars.

3 Instruct-
ing in arms
our people.

doors, and prove the cheapest school to train up in arms the better dispositions, whose military skill may after serve to defend the State; & by the late accession of another Nation will be now more needful, (a) *Ne nobis a Tullius populus otio & nimia pecunia lasciviret*, lest that other people should grow wanton through too much wealth and idleness, and we in the end be enforced with the Satyrist (b) to confess,

*Nunc patimur longæ pacis mala; se-
vior armis*

Luxuria incubuit—

We suffer now the harm of a long peace,

Whil' st Riot, worse than war, doth thus increase.

2 Benefits.

1 Wealth, by

2 Honor, by addition of

1 Spoil
of the
Enemy.
2 Addi-
tion of Re-
venue by
subjected
territo-
ries.

1 Title.

2 Domi-
nion.

The benefits arise from Profit and Honour. The Spoils we have brought away in our *French & Spanish* attempts exceeding ever the charge in getting; and the Revenues of the subjected Signories, as *Normandy, Aquitain, &c.* supporting with much advantage the expence in keeping: Our Honour, as the Stile of our Kings, by confluence of so many Titles increased; & by accession of so many Territories as we held in *France*, our Dominions and liberties so far enlarged.

B 2

3. A

3. A more facility to effect than heretofore, by

}	1 Addition of new strength.	} The facility to effect this being now more than ever by the addition of strength, and subtraction of diversions, in this happy union of the <i>Britain Empire</i> .
	2 Subtraction of diversions	



AN ANSWER
TO THE
FORMER
Arguments made by the command
OF HIS
HIGHNESS.



He can give best Rules to preserve the health of a body natural, that by observing the divers humours, accidents and dispositions thereof, findeth at length the cause from whence it is or well or ill-affected, and so by mixture of Art and Observation sets to his Patient rules of exercise and dyet : so is it in a Kingdom or Commonwealth. If then out of the Registers of Record and Story, the true Remembrancers of Art and Error in passages of State, it shall appear that

1 Affections of our wisest Princes ever to peace.

1 Rebel- lions at home.

2 Forraign expeditions

2 Cause of

3 Confe- deracy & alliance the means of former victories, no ways to be resto- red as hereto- fore.

3 Danger to the State. 2 Vassalage. 1 Endles taxations.

that those times wich have been glorified with the mightiest Princes and wisest Councils, would ever acknowledge that (a) *Pax una triumphis Innume- ris potior*; one Peace outgoes for worth Innumerable tri- umphs; That Contentions at home were like Meteors, ever kindled in another Region, but spent themselves there; That our men instead of *Lawrel* and *Olive Garlands* to adorn with victory and peace our Gates and Temples, have ever brought home fire-balls to burn our Ci- ties; That forraign spoils have been summed up with *Taxes* and *Penury*; That this additi- on of *Revenue* hath tyed us to a perpetual issue of our own Treasure; That by these titles of *Honour* we have bought *Slavery*, and by *extenture* of *Territories*, Danger; And that difficulty either to undertake or pursue any forraign enter- prise now is much more than in any age before; I think that no *Englishman* will either love his own error so much, or his Countrey so little, as to advise a course so far estranged either from judgement or security,

Answers to the former Arguments.

Examples of the affection of our Kings successively to Peace.

(a) *Benedictus Monachus in vita H. 2.*

(b) *Ex Matth. Paris pag. 214.*

(c) *Reg. Hoveden.*

(d) *Ex attit. Prosperi Aquitanie Episc.*

(e) *Rot. Claus. anno secundo E. 3. m. 11.*

IT is manifest by warrant of our own examples, that the Kings of *England*, (except in some heat of Youth, which is not the best director of Counsel) preferred unjust Peace before the justest War: none intralling their minds with ambitious desires of extending *Territories*, or imaginary humours of licentious Sovereignty; every one willing to pass his time with content of his private fortunes. Upon this ground *Henry* the second gave 20000 marks (a) *Expensarum nomine*, under the notion of expences, to the *French King*, *ut firmior Pax haberetur*, that he might have a firm and settled Peace. His succeeding son *pro quieta clamazione de sorore sua ducenda*, for a peaceable claim to the marriage of his sister, which was like to make a fraction, gave to the *French King* (b) *decem millia librarum*, ten thousand pounds. Three hundred thousand marks *John* gave to the *French King*, to match his calm entrance to a secure peace. Until the Confederacy with (c) *Scotland*, and invading of the Land by *Charls de Valoys* the *French King* provoked *Edward* the first, he never disquieted *France* with noise of war, as after he did by the (d) *Earls* of *Richmond* and *Lancaster*, although *Boniface* the Pope incited him thereunto. His Son, the second *Edward*, anno 2. requireth the Bishops and Clergy to pray and offer alms for him, and the people of this State; the words are, (e) *ut Deus nos regat & dirigat in mundi hujus turbibus*, that God would rule and direct us in the troubles of this world; for that having sought all means with *France* he could for Peace, *ut Guerrearum discrimina vitaret*, that he might avoid the dangers of war, he reaped nothing but bitterness,

ness, and detention of his Messengers, Son, and part of his *Dutchy of Gascoigne*, his Rebels injoying all Protection, and his Merchants all Inhospitallity, whose ships his enemy *hostiliter cepit, & Mercatores interfecit*, took in a hostile sort, and slew the Merchants. The Parliament quinto of *Edward 3.* (a) was especially called to consult how Peace might be procured. In his 17 year (b) the Peers and Commons petition him to labour a peace with *France*, and to sollicite the Pope for mediation. The truce from hence effected he would by no means violate, but in the twentieth year moveth peace by all the offers he (c) can, as *Contracts, Intermarriage*, and to take up the Cross with *France*, *in succursum Terra Sancta*, for succour of the Holy Land. But all he could do could abate no whit of the *French* tury, (d) who invaded by themselves *Aquitain, England* by the *Scots*, surprizing in breach of Truce his Nobility of *Britain*, whom at *Paris ignominiose morti tradidit*, he put to shameful deaths; there and in *Gascoign* murdering the rest of his Subjects, and raising his Castles nor would upon a second meditation admit any way of peace. War then was left his last refuge; (e) *Et pia Armaquibus nulla nisi in Armis spes est*, War is to that man just and lawful, who hath no hope of help but by war. And this his Clergy was injoynd to open in Sermons, that he might eschew the infamy of *Christian* blood-shed. In his two and twentieth year finding war to have brought to his people (f) *gravia onera & multa mala*, heavy burthens and many mischiefs, as the Record saith, and that the fortune of War *cum splendet frangitur*, when it shineth clearest is then

(a) *Ex Rot. Par. anno 5 Ed. 3. n. r.*

(b) *Ex Rotul. Par. anno 17 E. 3.*

(c) *Ex Rot. Francie anno 19. m. 10.*

(d) *Ex Rot. Claus. in dorso 20 E. 3. m. 16. part. 1.*

(e) *Iiv. lib. 2.*

(f) *Rot. Claus. anno 2 Ed. 3.*

then nearest breaking; he passed over into France to seek peace divers times; and to strengthen his affections with the best hopes, he injoyneth all the Bishops of England to offer (a) *devotas preces suppliciter ad Deum*, humble and devout prayers to God, to direct his actions to Gods glory and the peace of his Countrey, *nec non ad totius Christianitatis commodum*, and the advantage of the whole Christian world; which he believed could not follow but by a firm amity with his neighbours. This is the dislike of war he openeth himself in the five and twentieth year (b) in Parliament, declaring the great means he had wrought by the Pope, but could not effect it: And in the third year after (c) calleth again the body of the State, to devise with him the means to obtain it; for that he saw his Subjects by war so greatly wasted. But (d) when anno 29. to redeem himself and subjects from the hard tasks they had undertaken, and to avoid *effusionem sanguinis Christiani, quantum potuit, vel decuit, pacem quaesivit*, the shedding of Christian blood, he sought peace as much as in him lay, and as far as was fitting, sending the Duke of Lancaster to Avignon in intercession, but all in vain; he stood upon his own strength. By which his confident adversary (the year following captive) that was afore obdurate, justly found, that one hour can overthrow *simul parva & sperata decora*, at once both the honours we enjoy and those we hope for. And we may truly conclude of this Kings success, as Livy (e) of the Roman fortune, *Propterea bella felicia gessisse, quia iusta*, that therefore his wars were prosperous, because they were just.

To

(a) *Dors. Claus. an. 22 Ed. 3. m. 11. Similiter 8 R. 2. Claus. m. 34.*

(b) *Rot. Parl. anno 25 E. 3.*

(c) *Rot. Parl. anno 28 E. 3.*

(d) *Rot. Parl. anno 29 E. 3.*

(e) *Liv. l. 5. Dc. 5.*

To obtain his desire and Subjects quiet, he was contented to disclaim (a) the interest that Right and Fortune had cast upon him. And after, though often again incited, yet never would be drawn to the hazard of war; for *improbe Neptunum accusat qui iterum naufragium facit*, he blames Neptune very unjustly who suffers shipwrack the second time: until the French King (b) *contra juramentum & formam pacis*, contrary to his oath and the form of peace, had *vexillis explicatis* with banners displayed, invaded his dominions in France, and with a Fleet intended to attempt England, *ad ipsum Regem viribus subvertendum*, utterly to undo the King by force of Arms.

Richard the second, whom as well he left Successour to his troubles as to his Kingdom, entred in the decline of his Grandfires fortune, and after many years of war and much loss, had in the end an expectation of peace; which opened to his Commons and Council in Parliament, (c) their longing affection was so much inclined thereto, that they advised the King, though it were in doing homage for Guien, Callis and the rest, he should not let slip that opportunity.

Until Charles of France had received (d) that dangerous Rebel Owen Glendowr, by the name of *Metuendissimi Principis Wallie*, the most dread Prince of Wales, into a strict confederacy against his Master (whom he vouchsafed no other title than *Henricus de Lancastria*) by contract, and had harrowed the Isle of Wight by the Duke of Orleans and Earl of Saint Paul, entred into Gascoign himself, and prepared a Fleet and an Army to invade this Land, Henry the

(a) *Ex Chart. origin. de renunciat. in Thefar.*

(b) *Claus. anno 45 E. 3.*

(c) *Rot. Parl. anno 7 R. 2. n. 17.*

(d) *Ex contract. origin. inter Owinum Glendowr & Regem Francie.*

(a) Rot. Parl. anno 11 Hen. 4. n. 2. the fourth did never disquiet his peace ; and after many prorogued Truces, would not break out again, until *Burgundy* (a) (that had wrested into his hand the Government of *France*) meant with all his force to besiege *Callis*, and annoy this Realm.

(b) Rot. Parl. an. 4 Hen. 5. The Uncle and Chancellour to *Henry* the fifth declared in (b) Parliament the desire his Master had to procure Peace, and how the *French* King had refused all reason, denying to render his prisoners, or ransom those taken at *Agincourt* battel : so that the King was driven to his last hope, which was by dint of sword to seek his peace, concluding thus his speech ; *Bella faciamus ut Pacem habeamus, quia finis Belli Pax est* : Let us fight, that we may obtain peace ; for the end of war is peace.

(c) Rot. Parl. anno 14 H. 6. n. 2. *Henry* the sixth, to save the expence of his people and treasure, offered (c) many large and liberal conditions, but received in exchange nothing but scoffs : he was contented to part with the Dutchy of *Mayne*, to make up a peace with his uncle of *France*.

(d) Ex Artic. in Consilio contra D. Somerset. Against the Duke of *Somerset* it was objected (d) by the Duke of *York*, that he (contrary to the Oath and Council, by breaking the Amity between the two Princes) was the only ground of the loss of *Normandy*.

(e) Int. Record. Thes. Westm. There is extant in the Treasury (e) a petition of 9 Hen. 7. from the Captains and military men, *pro pace habenda*, that they might have peace.

(f) Ex Bulla Pap. H. 8. Neither interest of right, nor jealousie of increasing power, could draw *Henry* 8. unto the quarrel of *France* ; until the Church complained against *Lewis* 12. ((f) who neither esteeming of

of God, good fame, nor conscience, detained the revenues of the Clergy, supported the Cardinal *William* to aspire to the *Papacy*, aided in the siege of *Boucy* *Alfonso* of *Ferrara*, and the *Benrivogli*, both Traytors to the *Papal* See, where he intended to lay the foundation of his Empire to usurp all *Italy*,) and befought him for the pittie of our *Saviour*, and by the virtue of his famous Ancestors (for I use the words of the *Popes* Brief) (a) that never forsook the Church of God in distress, and by his filial obedience, (the strongest bond) to enter into that holy *League*, they having elected him against *Lewis*, *Caput fœderis Italici*, Head of the *Italian* League.

Edward the sixth, (b) until urged with the touch of his honour, being by his neighbours neglected in the marriage of their *Mistress*, never attempted any war against them. (a) *Extracta tu origin. in l. B. 266.* (b) *Ex procl. E. 6. de expeditione contra Scotos.*

The quarrels of *France* in the time of his succeeding sister, after the marriage with *Spain*, were neither properly ours, nor begun by us, although in the end we only went away with the loss.

Her Sister of holy memory, to effect the peace with *France*, forbore (c) the demand of *Callis* for eight years, and neglected to urge a just debt of four millions from that Crown. (d) And the labours she spent to confirm amity with *Spain*, by many friendly offices of mediation, are apparent to the whole world ; though in the end of her desires she failed : whether happily in prevention of the *Spanish* *Monarchy* eternizing her memory, or that this work of peace was by divine providence reserved for him that could and hath best effected it, I know not. Only I conclude, that as the first Monarch in *Rome*, so the first in *Britain* might

(c) *Ex tract. Cambrensi. 1569.*
(d) *Ex procl. anno 3. Eliz.*

might justly write, *Pace Populo Britanno terra marique parva, Janum clausi*, having settled Britain in peace by Land and sea, I have shut up the doors of *Janus Temple*.

Forraign arms the ground of trouble at home, by the

Enemy who to divert will attempt.

Subjects.

wearied with Toyl. Taxation. Feared with the effect of tyranny. Inured to wars can never sute after to a quiet life.

It is evident by our own examples, that for the most part, the Civil or Forraign Armies that have oppressed this State, have been either bred out of our first attempting of others, or out of the grievance of the Nobility and people, either wearied with the toil and charge, or feared with the effect of Tyranny, which might corrupt the good fortune of their King, or else (a plague no less of war) that the better sort inured to command abroad, have forgotten to obey at home, and the inferiour by living there upon rapine and purchase, unwilling here to tye themselves again to order and industry.

Examples of Invasion drawn from the attempts of others.

There is in the Register of State no time that so well expresseth either the danger or damage we underwent in making an adversary, as that of *Edward the third*. Out of many examples I will select some few, beginning with the tenth of his reign; at what time his intention was to attempt somewhat in *France*, but diverted by *Philip*, who, mustering in *partibus Britannie ad invadendum*

invadendum Regnum Anglia, in the parts of *Britany* to invade the Kingdom of *England*, a puissant Army, enforced *Edward the third* to fall from his first purpose, and insist upon his own guard: for which cause, to the infinite charge of himself and people, he levied 80000. men out of the Shires of this Kingdom. To withdraw his forces from *France*, in the thirteenth of his reign, they invaded the Realm, and burned the Towns of *Plymouth* and *Southampton*, places that suffered from the same motive the like calamity.

Ex Rot. Scotie anno 10 E. 3. m. 14.

In the first of *Richard the second*, after the Battel of *Cressy*, when they feared our too much footing, and we too much believed our own fortune, for the *cito reposcit quod dedit*, quickly calls for back what she gave us; the (a) Duke of *Normandy*, to draw home our forces, levieth an Army of forty thousand men at armes, and forty thousand foot, sharing by idle contracts beforehand with his Confederates not the spoils only, but the Kingdom it self: the Honour and some other portion of benefits he reserved as his own meed; the possessions of many *English* Subjects in pure alms he voweth to the Church of *Normandy*, and to the *French* King an yearly tributary Fee of twenty thousand pound. In these terms this Realm stood almost all the time of *Edward the third*.

(a) Rot. Parl.

The Coast-dwellers were so frightened from their habitation, as in the thirteenth year the King commanded the Earl of *Richmond* (b) and other Peers to reside at their border houses; and was enforced in the two and twentieth to injoyn by Ordinance, that none should remove that dwelt within

(b) Rot. Franc. in dorso. 22 E. 3. m. 6.

within *sex leucas à mari*, six leagues of the Sea.

It was no whit altered under his successour *Richard* the second; for in his entrance the *French* burnt the Town of *Rye*, and in the third year after *Gravesend*. And in the tenth year of his reign, to change his intended journey for *France* in person, the *French* King prepareth an Army to invade this Land. This quarrel led us almost into an eternal charge at Sea, and in the Northern limits, they and our Neighbours there being tyed of old in strict assurance of mutual aid: by whose desperate and perpetual incurfion (for *nescit Plebs jejuna timere*, an half-starved rabble fears nothing,) the fatteft parts of our borders were left waste, the men and cattle of *England* (as 16. of *Edw. 2.*) *impetus Scotorum fugientes*, being fled for safety to the Forrests and desert places. The like I find in the first of *Edward* the third: they ever thus interrupting us in our expeditions into *France*; as in 20 *Ed. 3.* and in the first and second of *Richard* the second, in the fifth of *Henry* the fifth, and in the fourth of *Henry* the eighth, when he undertook his holy voyage against *Lewis* the twelfth.

And either being no less ready to nourish the least spark of Rebellion in this State, as that of the *French* King to counterpoize King *John*; or work out *Henry* the third from his *Dutchy* of *Normandy*, as *France* did; or moving underhand by the *Duke* of *Britain*, the *Earl* of *Hartford* to reach the Crown of *Richard* the second, and when he had got the Garland, suborning *Owen Glendowr* (with whom he contracted as *Prince* of *Wales*) to buffet the same King at home, that he might divert his intended purpose from *France* or *Scotland*.

When

When *Henry* the third had devoured in his mind the Kingdom of *Sicily*, the Nobility finding the expence of Treasure, and fearing the exposing of their own persons, grew so unwilling, that by the bent and course of the record it appeareth (a) not the least ground of that rebellion which after drew the King and his Son to so foul conditions.

A judgement there must be between powers and undertakings, that though affections may carry a man to great things, they make him not attempt impossible: for where great minds are not accompanied with great judgements, they overthrow themselves. As in this Prince, who by the *Popes* incitement *simplicitatem Regis circumveniens*, circumventing the King in his honest meaning, (they are the words of the Author (b)) intending to rife the fortunes of others, was in the end inforced to play at dice for his own stake.

The *Earls* of *Hartford*, *Bobun* and *Bigot*, made the grounds of their commotions the distaste they took at *Edward* the first for exacting their Service in the quarrel of *Gascoign*, a forraign Countrey. And they might seem to have some colour to refuse, but in a more mannerly fashion, either attendance or charge in recovery or defence of Provinces in *France*, since so many consents in Parliament as (c) the twentieth of *Rich.* the second, the sixth and ninth of *Henry* the fourth, the first and seventh of *Henry* the fifth affirm the Commons not to be bound pour supporter ses Guerres en la terre de *France* ou *Normandie*, to support his wars either in *France* or *Normandy*; declaring no less by publick protestation, than they did by undutiful denial.

For

Nobility in dislike of forraign expeditions have rebelled.

(a) *Ex Rot. pat. & claus. de annis 40, 41, 42 Hen. 3.*

(b) *Cominei censura de com. char. cap. 8.*

Burthen of personal service grievous.

(c) *Ex Rot. Parl. de annis 20 Rich. 2. 6. & 9 Hen. 4. 1. & 7 Hen. 5.*

Burthen of charge grievous, ground of much trouble and oppression.

(a) Cicero Epist. ad Att. lib. 5.

(b) Ex Radulpho Gogeshal. de anno 8 Joannis.

(c) Ex Matth. westm.

(d) Ex Matth. Paris hist. minori.

(e) Ex Matth. Paris hist. ma. p. 780.

For the burden of *Charge*, it was no less distasteful than the former of *Service*, this Kingdom being (as it is said (a) of the *Roman* Provinces occasioned by war) made desert, and the people desperate by *Exactions*. In the Conquerours time the Bishop of *Durham* was killed by the tumultuous people, opposing an imposition levyed by him. There was (b) *murmuratio & imprecatio Pralatorum in Regem Joannem*, mutterings and curses from the Prelates against King *John*, for demanding in the eighth of his reign a relief of them and the *Laiety* for his wars. In the sixteenth year *Cives Londinenses Joannem odio habuerunt pro injustis Exactionibus quibus Regnum fatigaverat*, the *Londoners* detested King *John* for his tiring out the Kingdom with unjust taxations.

(c) The sink of his expence in war was so bottomless, that (as the story saith) he was constrained *deservire quotidie cum incremento*, to grow every day more unreasonable in his carriage towards the Church and Commonwealth, *eis bonis suis variis modis spoliando*, by despoiling them several wayes of their goods. (d) *Hincsecutum est Bellum inter Regem & Barones quod cum morte Joannis solum finem habuit*: This was it which kindled that war betwixt the King and his Barons, which nothing could quench but the death of *John* himself.

In the twenty sixth of *Henry* the third, *ob exactionum frequentiam est Regi cum Baronibus contentio*, by reason of the continual exactions there arose a contention betwixt the King and his Barons (e). At the Parlee of peace with them being demanded a reason of that their action, they answer that since he came to the Crown, being not twelve

twelve years, *multoties ei auxilium dederunt*, they had many times supplied him; and expressing the particulars besides in the same place, he had received *tot Escaetas*, so many *Escheats*, by the vacancy of rich *Bishopricks*, death of so many *Barons* and others that held of him, that those alone would have made him rich if they had been well employed. That the *Itinerant Justices* had by amercing the defaults gleaned them so near, that *per illa amerciamenta & alia Auxilia prius data omnes de Regno ita gravarentur & depauperarentur, ut parum aut nihil habeant in Bonis*, by those *Amercements* and the *Subsidies* they had formerly given him, all the Kingdom was so crushed and impoverished, that they had little or nothing left them. And that was the ground of their resistance. (a) *Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis & alii Pralati resistunt Regi*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and other Prelates resist the King, when in his fifteenth year he demanded *Scutage*. And although he laid open to the Parliament his great debt *causa bellica expeditionis in partibus transmarinis*, occasioned by his forraign expeditions, was answered by *Ranulph Earl of Chester*, the mouth of the *Laiety*, That in the former Aides *Pecuniam suam effuderunt, quod inde pauperes omnes recesserunt, unde Regi de jure auxilium non debebant*, they had poured out their money so liberally, as that being all impoverished by it, they were not obliged to assist him any farther. And thus (b) dissolved the Parliament.

The Clergy of the Realm in the twenty fourth of *Edward* the first denied the demand of *Contribution* (c) *in expeditionem Regis contra Gallos & ad reprimendos Scotos*, towards the Kings expedition

(a) Ex Joanne Eversden.

(b) Ex hist. Matth. Paris

pag. 32.

(c) Ex Matth. westm. Walt. Gisborn.

dition against the French, and the repressing of the Scots. And *ob has crebras exactiões magnus fit tumultus inter Regem & Barones*, by reason of these frequent extorſions, there arose a great difference betwixt the King and the Barons.

One of the Articles of treason objected against (a) *Mortimer* (a) in Parliament in the fourth of Edward the third, was the offence he bred in the Commonwealth, by causing a Subsidie to be exacted. This humour of the people did somewhat suit with that of the Inhabitants of Trevers, (b) who stoned to death *Proclerus* for perswading *Theodoret* the Goth to crave a Subsidy.

The Clergy in the twelfth of Edward the third, (c) deny such a grant of their Wools as the Laity had yielded to, for supplying the King in his affairs of France. The like answer they make the forty fourth of the same King, when he (d) demanded in Parliament a Subsidy of them and the Commons of 100000*l.* And the same King grown doubtful of his people prest down with Impositions, requireth the Archbishop, (e) *Quod cum Populus Regni sui variis Oneribus, Tallagiis & Impositionibus pręgravetur, ut idem Archiepisc. Indulgentiarum muneribus, piis Exhortationibus, & aliis modis, eundem Populum placare studeat, & ipsum Regem excuset*, that since the Subjects of his Kingdom were over-charged with many Burthens, Tallages, and other Impositions, the said Archbishop would by grant of Indulgences, seasonable Exhortations, and other ways endeavour to pacifie the people, and excuse the King.

By reason of the *Census per Capita*, Pol-money impoted by Parliament in the third of Richard the second to defray the wars in France, there were

(a) Rot. Claus. anno 5 Ed. 3.

(b) Cassiodori Var.

(c) Rot. Alm. m. 22.

(d) Tho. Walsingham. Rot. Parl. anno 44 E. 3.

(e) Rot. Alm. 12 E. 3. m. 22.

were (a) *dirę imprecationes in Regem, & magne post perturbationes in Regno ex Plebis insurrectione*, heavy and bitter imprecations against the King, which were followed with great troubles in the Nation by the insurrection of the Commons. And as well in the reign of this King, as some other of his Predecessours and Successours, the Parliament was so tender in grant of Subsidy and other Taxes, that they added into their Act, (b) *quod non trahatur in consequentiam*, that it should be no example for the future, appointing peculiar Treasurers of their own to give account upon Oath the next Parliament: and such Grants, which they professed to proceed (c) *ex libera & spontanea voluntate Dominorum & Comitatum*, from the free and voluntary grant of the Lords and respective Counties, to be void if Conditions on the Kings part were not performed. And this unfortunate King had cast upon him, as an argument of his unworthiness to govern, the exacting of so great Subsidies, and extorting so much money from the Shires that submitted their Fortunes unto his mercy.

And when Henry the sixth in anno 20. would have had a Relief from his Subjects (d) *de aliqua summa notabili*, of some considerable sum; he had in answer, *Propter inopiam, &c. populi illud non posse obtineri*, that in regard of the poverty, &c. of the people it could not be granted. The like in the twenty fourth of the same King. Great men have been disposed sometimes to humour the waste of Treasure in their Princes, either to subject Power by Need to their devotion and awe, (for Princes dare most offend them whom they have least cause to use,) or to force Necessity

(a) Ex Rot. Par. de an. 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, & 9. R. 2. & Claus. anno 8 E. 2.

(b) Ex Chron. S. Albani.

(c) Rot. Parl. anno 1 H. 4.

(d) In Bundel Inquisitionum, anno 20. & anno 24 H. 6.

fity to extend *Prerogative* so far, untill by putting all into Combustion, some may attain unto the end of their Ambition, others the redress of supposed Injuries. (a) Thus did the Faction of *Henry* the fourth in the one, and the Nobility under *Henry* the third in the other; who hereby quitted the State oppressed (as they thought) with the Kings Half-brothers, the *Poitouvins* and other Strangers.

(a) *Ex lib. Abbat. de Laney.*

Subjects fear to have the enemies of their Sovereigns too much weakned, lest themselves become Tyrants. And it is in the farthest respect in the (b) *Baronage* under *John*, *Henry* his son, and (c) *Edward* the second, to fear as much the absolute Greatness of their Sovereign, as they did the *Diminution* of their own estates. And therefore when they found their King to grow too fast upon any neighbour Adversary, then would they lend their best aid to diminish his power or fortune; lest by enlarging himself upon the other that poized his greatness, he might forget and become a Tyrant; as one saith of *Henry* the first, (d) *Assumpserat cornua audacia tam contra Ecclesiam quam Regni universalitatem, Roberto fratre & aliis inimicis edomitis*, having once overcome his brother *Robert* and other enemies, with audacious and presumptuous horns he goared as well the Church, as the rest of the Kingdom, breaking his Seal, his Charter, and his Oath.

(b) *Mat. Paris Hist. min.*
(c) *Ex Adam Perimouth in vita Ed. 2.*

(d) *Mat. Paris Hist. min.*

(e) *Mat. Paris Hist. majori.*

The memory of this caused the Nobility (e) to call in the *French* Kings Son, when *John* their Sovereign began to know his own authority (as they thought) too much. And the *French* Subjects aided on the other side *Henry* the third against their

their Master, when he was almost cooped up in his *Britain* journey. This (as the Stories report) being a practice usual in those days.

The last mischief is the disposition that Military education leaveth in the minds of many; For it is not born with them that they so much distaste peace, but proceeds from that custome that hath made in them another nature.

Military Education cause of trouble in the state.

It is rarely found that ever Civil troubles of this State were dangerously undertaken, but where the plot and pursuit was made by a spirit so infused.

Heads of dangerous Rebellions have been only such as by Command in War have forgot to obey in Peace.

King *John* had been after (a) *sine Regno* without a Kingdom, as he was at first *sans terre* without land, if his rebenediction had not wrought more upon the disloyal designs of *Fitzwalter* and *Marshal*, (whom his own elective love had made great in opinion by the *Norman* Services) than either his rebated Sword or blasted Sceptre could.

(a) *Mat. Paris anno 5 Joan.*

(b) If *Simon Montfort* had not been too much improved in *Experience* and his own Opinion by the many services he underwent in the Government of *Gascoign*, he had never so much dared against Duty, as to come over at the first call to make head against his Master, and pursue him with that fury of Ambition, until he had forced him to redeem the liberty of his person by the blasting of so many flowers of his *Imperial Crown*: and to set himself so far below the seat of Majesty, as to capitulate with them upon even conditions, which not performed (I use his own words) (c) *Liceat omnibus de Regno nostro contra nos insurgere*, it shall be lawful for all persons in our Kingdom to rise up against us, and to do *omnia qua gravamen*

(b) *Willielm. de Rishanger in Historia.*

(c) *Ex Charta concess. Baronibus anno 49 Hen. 3.*

Answers to the reasons

vamen nostrum respiciant, ac si Nobis in nullo tenerentur, so to act all things in reference to the grievances from us upon them, as if they were by no tye obliged to us.

If *Richard Duke of York* had never learned to be so great a Souldier at the cost of his Master *Henry the sixth* in another State, he had never disquieted the calm of his Times, or given just occasion to his Opposite *Somerset* to say, That if he had never learned to play the King by his Regency in France, he had never forgot to obey as a Subject when he returned into England.

Verba Ducis
Somerset. con-
tra Ducem
Eborac. coram
Rege.

Our own times can afford some, whose spirit improved by *Military employment*, and made wanton with popular applause, might have given instance of these dangers, if good success had been a relative to bad intentions. And every age breeds some exorbitant spirits, who turn the edge of their own sufficiency upon whatsoever they can devour in their ambitious apprehensions, seeking rather a great than a good Fame; and holding it the chiefest Honour to be thought the Wonder of their times: which if they attain to, it is but the condition of Monsters, that are generally much admired, but more abhorred.

But war some may say mouldeth not all men thus: for vertuous men will use their weapons for ornament amongst their Friends, against Enemies for defence. And to those men their own goodness is not safe, *nam Regibus boni quam mali suspiciores sunt*, for Kings suspect good men sooner than bad. Kings must have their Ministers *pares negotiis* fit for their business, and not *supra* above it, or too able for it. For another
mans

for forraign wars.

mans too-much sufficiency (as they take it) is a diminution of their respectiveness, and therefore dangerous.

The meaner sort having forgot the toile of their first life by inuring themselves to the liberty of War, which leaveth for the most part the lives of men to their own looseness, and the means of getting to their own justice, can never again endure either order or labour; and so return but to corrupt the Common-wealth with their lawless manners. For living more riotously than the rapine of forraign victory could warrant, (as for the most they do) in contempt of their own private Want and Fortune, they desire a change of the publick Quiet. In Tumults and Uproars they take least care for their livings, however the world goes they can be no losers: for like *Silla's Army*, making no difference between sacred and profane Robberies, (for the victors Sword seldom teacheth either mean or modesty) they will be ready upon every advantage to pillage their Countrey-men at home. For who can expect men dissolutely disciplined can ever use their armes with moderation?

Against the fury of such seditious Outrages many Parliaments, as (a) in the twenty second of *Hen. the sixth* have been sollicit for redress. And that example in (b) *Champaign* after the Peace at *Cal-lis 1360*. where this licentious Rout at the close of those wars slew the *Duke of Bourbon*, and besieged the *Pope at Avignon*, may suffice to express this mischief.

It hath no less weakened the bond of mutual Trade: since our Merchants, whom the necessity

Many disorders in the State by return of the common Souldier.

(a) Parl. anno
22 Hen. 6.

(b) Froissart

of late times left to recover by force the losses they pretended, do now teach, as a *Maxime* of their Mysterie and our State, That the directest way either to wealth or security is by *Rapine* and Spoil: and to cloak their own ends pretend the common good; as if the State stood by their affections, when in truth they themselves cannot fish but in *aqua turbida*, in troubled waters: and therefore would have *Incidium Patria* a bonfire of their Countrey, if it be but to keep warm and awake their own humours.

Exhausting of
the people no
Necessity but
Danger.

The last motive from Necessity is, the ease War bringeth to a surcharged State. Intending it seemeth *War* but as the Sink, and Souldiers but as the Corruptions of Common-weals; whereas besides the inevitable use of the one, and the noble condition of the other, (an Error in the argument) Nature doth never oppress further by increase, than she again dischargeth. The breast of the Mother she enabled, to nourish up as many as the Womb shall *uno partu* at one birth ever bring forth; proportioning to the number of the Children the condition of their Strength and Appetites. It is then accession of our own that may surcharge; for Parents by such indulgent admision may soon furnish whom in Motherly affection they intend to cherish.

But admitting the former ground, whether by this way of waste we be ever able and at pleasure to gage the Issue (when such elective power is left to him only *qui suis stat viribus, non aliena pendet arbitrio*, who stands by his own strength, and not at the pleasure of another) is considerable; since to begin *cuius licet, deponere cum victores volunt,*

volunt, is easie for any man, but the laying down will be at the Conquerours pleasure. For the wasting of our people in ambitious Enterprizes (as that for an *Empire* by *Constantine* in *France*) left this Land as a prey to the barbarous Frontiers, (a) *omni milite & florida juventutis alacritate spoliata*, being left naked of Souldiery, and robbed of the choicest flower of youth. And when we were tied to make good our undertaking in *France*, the waste of our people was so great, that to supply extremity we took *purgamenta urbium*; the dregs of Towns, (as *Curtius* saith of *Alexander*;) (b) Need hiring the *Bankrupts* by protection, as in the twenty second of *Edward* the first; and enforcing, against the rule of justice, the Judges to put *Præcisa eorum in respectu qui in obsequium Regis profecturi sunt*, Pleas in the behalf of such as were to go in the Kings service. And as *Tacitus* of a declined Majesty saith, *emunt militem, non legunt*, they buy their Souldiers rather than make choice of them; we made purchase of general Pardons of all that were *Utlegati, Banniti, aut de Feloniis indictati, si cum Rege transire voluerint*, out-lawed, excommunicated, or indicted of Felony, in case they would go over with the King. As in the same year of the former King and in the year after were discharged out of all Prisons in the Realm to the number of ninety seven notorious Malefactors. (c) And in the eighteenth of *Edward* the second, and eighth of *Edward* the third, and twelfth of *Edward* the fourth we did the like. An army better apted by Necessity than Election to live upon the Enemy, *Quibus ob Egestatem & Flagitia maxima peccandi necessitudo est*, whose indigency and former ill way of life must needs make

(a) *Beda Hist. Eccl. lib. 1.*

(b) *Ex Rot. Francie an. 22 Ed. 1.*

(c) *Ex Rot. Original. in Arch. Theaur.*

make them ready for any mischief. In the end of this King last remembred, and entrance of his Heir *Richard* the second, the State began to be sensible of consuming Issue; which not lying in the Kings power (now as the strength of *France*, set on Revenge, stood) to stay at pleasure, (for — *arma tenenti Omnia dat qui justa negat* — Deny the Souldiers due, You give him all you have) it was urged to him in Parliament in the (a) seventh of his reign, as an *error* in his Government: whereto he answered, that they ought not to lay the cause upon him, for that together with the Crown the Wars descended unto him. And the *Chancellor* in the fourth of *Henry* the fourth, declared publickly in the Higher House, that by the mischance of War and want of reasonable *Peace*, (for I use the words of the Roll) occasioned by dissensions and private desire, the flower of *Chivalry* and Rock of *Nobles* within the Realm was in a manner consumed.

(a) *Ex Rot. Par. an. 7 R. 2.*

Lucan.

*Nobilitas cum Plebe perit, lateque vagatur
Ensis, & à multo revocatum est pectore ferrum.*

The Peer and Peasant falls, and hating rest
Bloody the Sword returns from many a breast.

Better to dis-
burthen the
state by Co-
lony than
War.

And the whole State by war had been thus sub-
verted, had not God as a mean raised that King.

But since the end of mans creation is not for the
Slaughter, nor education of Armes to make men
Cast-aways; the course most answerable either to
Charity, or *Example*, (for *Rome* did by *Colonies*
inlarge and confirm her *Empire*) is to transplant
that we may best spare. In *Ireland* we may in-
crease the King many *Subjects*, and in the *Indies*
God

God many servants: a world from our Forefathers
lockt up by divine Providence, as only best to glo-
rifie and purifie these Times. And as in war *con-
quirendus potius miles quam dimittendus*, Souldi-
ers are rather to be listd than disbanded; so *post
bellum vires resovenda magis quam spargenda*,
after war forces are rather to be cherished than
wasted. And thus much in answer of *Necessity*.

Answer to the Arguments of Profit.

The profits gained by Forraign Expeditions Profit of war.
cannot be any wayes so truly esteemed, as by Expence of
setting down the expence of Money, Men, and money, Mu-
nition, by which we have made purchase of nition and
them. I will therefore deliver as they fall in men.
sequence all the Impositions, *Taxes* and *Lones*, whe-
ther by general Grant, or *Prerogative* power le-
vied of the People; summing after up, as I go along
the times of our Princes, the number of Men,
Ships, and vast *provisions* of Victuals raised to
supply the necessity and expence of War.

William the Conquerour in the entrance of A summary
his Government took of every Hide-land of all the
twelve pence a due of the Subjects to the Sovereign exactions up-
both before and since the *Conquest*, to deiray on this State
such charge as either the defence of the Land from the Con-
from spoil, or the Sea from *Piracy*, should ex- quest to the
pose the Prince to. It is called *Dane-geld*, *Gelda* end of the
Regis, or *Hidage*, and was sessed by the Hide late Queen.
or Plough-land, like to that *Jugatio per jugera*
taxation by the acre in *Rome*, yet by no rate de-
finite with this as with another *Exaction*, taken, (a) *Ex Matth.*
as the Monk of *S. Albans* (a) saith, *sive per fas sive & 15.*
per

per nefas, by fair means or by foul. He passed over into France into the list of charge he ranked the Bishops and Abbots, fessing upon them and at their charge a proportion of Souldiers for his service, exiling many worthy men that opposed this thraldom,

William Rufus.

William Rufus anno 7. set upon the heads of so many as he mustered up for the French wars ten shillings a man, and so discharged them. In an. 9. he to the same end spoiled the Churches of their Ornaments and Holy vessels, and levied four Hidages of every Plough-land, (a) *Tributis Angliam non modo abradens, sed excorians*, not only shaving, but even flaying England with his impositions: so that wearied with war and expence, *ne respirare potuit Anglia sub ipso suffocata*, England was quite stifled by him, and could not so much as breath. — (b) *Quid jam non Regibus ausum? Aut quid jam Regno restat Scelus?* — What durst not Kings then do? What mischief could the Nation suffer more? in this Kings time.

(a) Ex antiq. legibus Angliæ.

(b) Silius Italicus.

(c) Ex Hist. Gualt. Gisborn.

(d) Ex Hist. Mat. Paris.

(e) Ex Hist. Mat. Westm.

(f) Ex Hist. Hen. Hunting.

(c) Henry the first anno 5. *magnam à Regno exegit Pecuniam*, exacted a great sum of his Kingdom, with which he passed into France: and by this means (d) *gravabatur terra Angliæ oppressionibus multis*, England was born down with many oppressions. (e) He took in the tenth year six shillings Danegeld. (f) And in the seventeenth *Quod inter eum & Regem Francorum magnum fuit dissidium, Anglia fuit variis depressa Exactionibus, & Bonis sine peccato spoliata*, by means of the great difference betwixt him and the King of France, England was oppressed with divers exactions, and men spoiled of their goods for no offence at all. Of

Of King Stephen there need no more than the words of the Monk of Gisborn, (a) *Post annum sextum Pax nulla, omnes partes terrebat violenta Prædatio*, after the sixth year of his reign there was no quiet, but all parts of the Land became a prey and spoil to violent men.

Henry the second, alluding not unlike to the Feoda given the *Eremita* in the decline of the Empire, as *Salaries* by which they stood bound to defend the Frontiers against the Incurfions of the *Barbarous Nations*, continued the Policy of his Progenitors, who allotted the Land into such and so many equal portions, as might seem competent for supportation of a Knight or man at Arms; from whom (as occasion required) they received either service or contribution. This Tenure, now esteemed a Thraldom, began upon a voluntary and desired submission; for who from his gift would not of the Prince accept Land upon the like conditions, so it toucheth not the Sovereign as a wrong to the Subject, but as in right his own? And therefore respecting their first immediate dependency upon the Crown, which is a great part of the Kings Honour, their duties and Escheats a great benefit, and their attendance by Tenure in war at their own charge to the number of 60216. at the least, (for the Knights Fees in England are no less) a great ease, strength and security to his State; for they are *totidem Hostagia*, so many Hostages, as *Bracton* saith; it were a thing perillous now to alter, after such a current of time and custome. This King to understand the better his own strength, *publico præcepit editto quod quilibet Prælati & Baro, quot Milites de eo tenerent in Capite publicis suis instrumentis*

Stephen.

(a) Ex hist. mon. Gisborn.

Henry 2.

instrumentis significarent, he caused it to be proclaimed that every Prelate and Baron should notify by publick deed how many Knightships they held of him *in capite*. By this rule of *Scutage*, constant in the number, he levied alwayes his Subsidies and relief, though divers in the rate. Of the first, which was near the beginning of his Reign, there is no record. The second *Scutage*, (a) which was *anno 5.* amounted to 124 *millia librarum argenti*, thousand pounds of silver; which reduced to the standard of our money five shillings the ounce, whereas that was not five groats, will amount to near 400000 l. *An. 7.* (b) *Scutagium fuit assessum ad duas Marcas pro Exercitu Tholose*, a Scutage was assessed two Marks for the Army at *Tholouse*; which if summed up by the received number of Knights Fees, being 60216 in the hands of the Laiety only, of our moneys cannot be less than 250000 l. The like in the next year. In *an 11.* (c) there was an *Aid pro servientibus inveniendis in exercitu*, to find men to serve in the wars, of two pence *de unaquaque libra* in every pound. And *4. sequentibus annis de singulis libris singulis denariis*, in the four following years a penny in the pound was taken of all men; the estates of mens Fortunes being delivered upon their Oaths. In the fourteenth year a *Scutage* was assessed (d) *ad Marcam unam de singulis Feodis*, one Mark on every Fee. And *anno 18.* (e) *Scutagium pro quolibet Feodo*, a Scutage for every Fee. A Tenth of all moveables was granted in the thirty fifth year of his Reign. In which year dying, (f) *900 millia librarum in auro & argento, præter utensilia & jocalia, reliquit*, he left in money 900000 pounds, besides Plate and Jewels.

(a) Richard

(a) Ex Gervaf. Dorobornen. an. 1159.

(b) Ex lib. sub. in Scerio.

(c) Ex Gervaf. Dorobornens.

(d) Rub. lib. in Scerio.

(e) Ex hist. Rossens.

(f) Ex hist. Matth. Paris. Richard 1.

(a) Richard the first in the beginning besides (a) *Rub. liber in Scerio.* *Scutagium Wallie assessum*, a Scutage assessed upon *Wales* at ten shillings, levied as in the succour of the Holy Land a Subsidy out of all the Moveables in the Realm to his own use; (b) *Et eleemosyna titulo vitium Rapacitatis inclusit*, cloaking his ravenous extortion under the fair name of a pious almes. A contribution there was in the sixth year of 150 (c) *milliamarcarum argenti ad pondus Columnniensium*, 150000 marks of silver to pay his ransom: as also a *Scutage* assessed at twenty shillings. In the (d) seventh he imposed for his wants a contribution called *Tenementale*. Extremity (for by his waste and imprisonment he had almost exhausted the wealth of the State) invented *nova & varia prædandi vocabula*, new and sundry words to express his exactions, as *Tacitus* (e) *(e) Tacit. anal. 4.* faith, of *Centesima & Quinquagesima*, an hundredth part and a fiftieth part, (names that since have found reception and use with us.) This was two shillings of every Plough-land from the Husbandman, and from the Gentry and Nobility the third part of their Military service. He enforced the *Cistercian Monks* (f) to redeem the same year their woolls *sine Pecunia-ria*, at a Fine. For his Army into *Normandy* (g) he took a *Scutage* assessed at twenty shillings. (h) And four years after of every Plow-land five shillings, and of every *Burrough* and (i) *City duos palfridos & rotidem summarios*, two horses and as many summaries: and of every *Abbot* half as much. Then losing of purpose his great Seal, proclaimed that (k) *Omnes Charta & Confirmationes novi Sigilli impressione roborarentur*, all Charters (k) *Ex charta origin.* and

(a) Rub. liber in Scerio.

(b) Ex hist. min. Matth. Paris. Rub. lib.

(c) Ex hist. Walt. Coventr.

(d) Ex Rog. Hoved. & Walt. Coventr.

(e) Tacit. anal. 4.

(f) Ex Joan. Eversden.

(g) Rub. lib. in Scerio.

(h) Ex Walt. Coventr.

(i) Ex Matth. Paris.

(k) Ex charta origin.

and Assurances should be confirmed by the new Seal. Whereby anew he drew from all men a composition for their Liberties. This fashion was afterwards taken up by some of his Successours; as (a) of Henry the third, when all again were enjoyned *qui suis volebant libertatibus gaudere*, as many as would enjoy their Liberties, *ut innovarent Chartas suas de novo Regis Sigillo*, to renew their Charters from the Kings new Seal. Some reason (b) Richard had in the end to become a gatherer, that had not long before by account of *Chancellor Hubert* then Archbishop, spent *infra biennium undecies centena millia Marcarum argenti de Regno Anglia*, within less than two years, eleven hundred thousand Marks of silver current English money.

King John. His brother John succeeding (c) took in the first of his Reign a *Scutage* assessed at two Marks. (d) For the two next years three shillings of every Plow: (e) and the year following, besides a *Scutage* as before, the fortieth part of the Revenues of the Clergy and Laiety. (f) In the fourth year he took the like *Scutage*, and the (g) seventh part of the moveable goods of the *Baronage* and Clergy. A *Scutage* assessed at two Marks (h) in an. 5. (i) The like in the sixth and seventh years twenty shillings *Scutage*; and the thirteenth part of Moveables as well of the Church as Laiety in the year following. In (k) an. 9. he exacted by redemption of the Concubines of the Clergy a great sum. In the eleventh (l) *extorsit tributum grave, scil. 140 millia librarum à viris Ecclesiasticis*, he extorted a great tribute, viz. 140000 pounds of the Church-men. And to furnish his Army, (m) *Clericorum Horrea invadit*, he came upon

(a) Ex hist. Mat. Paris p. 209.

(b) Ex hist. Rog. Hoveden.

King John.

(c) Rad. Cogshall & Rub. lib. in Scerio.

(d) Ex Rog. Hoveden.

(e) Ex Matth. Paris.

(f) Lib. Rub. in Scerio.

(g) Ex Matth. Paris.

(h) Ex lib. Rub. Scerio.

(i) Ex Rad. Cogshall.

(k) Ex Matth. Paris.

(l) Walt. Coventr. & Rad. Cogshall.

(m) Ex Mat. Paris.

upon the Barns of the Clergy. In (a) the twelfth a *Scutage* assessed at two marks, besides an exaction (b) of 22000 l. from the *Cisterian Monks*. He took (c) in the thirteenth year a *Scutage* assessed at 20 s. *pro exercitu Scotia*, and another at two marks *pro exercitu Wallia*, &c. for his *Welch Army*; exacting (d) from the Ministers of the Church in the year following 400000 marks. (e) And in the sixteenth year *Scutagium assessum fuit pro exercitu Pictavia ad 3. Marcas*, a *Scutage* was assessed at three marks for the Army in *Poictou*. Thus in the space of seventeen years the State was delivered but thrice from *Impositions*.

In the time of Henry the third, (f) upon the Clergy, Nobility and Gentry there was assessed fifteen *Scutages*; one at ten shillings, two at twenty, eight at two Marks, and four at forty shillings the Knights Fee. (g) The land of the inferiour sort twice taxed; first at two shillings, after at half a Mark the Plow. (h) And two *Tallages* upon the land of the Crown. (i) From out of the Lay Subjects moveable goods hath been taken five times: as the fortieth, the thirtieth, the twentieth and fifteenth parts, (k) and once the sixteenth of the Clergy for this King. (l) A Tenth the nine times imposed upon the Church: six times for a year only, and by it self; once accompanied with the *First-Fruits*; once for three years; and once for five. (m) Besides two *Aides*, the one moderate, the other called (n) *gravis exactio*, a heavy exaction, and worthily, if to the eight hundred Marks imposed upon (o) *S. Ed-*

(a) Ex Rad. Cogshall.

(b) Rub. lib. in Scerio.

(c) Ex Rad. Cogshall & Rub. lib. in Scerio.

(d) Mat. Paris hist. min.

(e) Rub. lib. in Scerio.

(f) Ex Rub. lib. in Scerio & Joan. Eversden.

(g) Mat. Paris, & ex Rot. Claus. & finium an. 12, 13, 15, & 19 Hen. 3. & ex lib. Chart. Cantuar. Episc.

(h) Rot. Pat. anno 8 H. 3.

(i) Ex Tho. Walsingham, & Mat. Paris. Claus. anno 19 H. 3.

(k) Ex Mat. westmonast.

(l) Ex statuto an. 4. c. 17. Dorf. claus. anno 16 H. 3. & Eversden. Episc.

(m) Ex lib. Cantuar. & Eversden & Paris.

(n) Ex Matth. Paris & Eversden & Dorf. claus. anno 16 H. 3.

(o) Ex Matth. Paris & Eversden & Dorf. claus. anno 16 H. 3.

munda Bury all the other *Abbyes* were rated accordingly. (a) And by the accompt of *Willihelmus de Middleton* (b) he received in the time of his Government *de exitu Judaismi* 402000 l. And as in all the fifty six years of his reign (excepting five) either the Church or Commonwealth were charged with contribution-money to relieve the expence of war; so were they grieved with other *Exactures*, either for Carriages, or *Victuals*, or personal attendance. In the sixteenth year the inhabitants of *Winchelsey* were enjoined (c) *ut providerent decem bonas naves & magnas ad transfretandum in Pictaviam in servitium Regis*, to provide ten good and stout ships for the Kings service in *Poictou*. (d) And at another time twenty, *Dunwich* and *Ipswich* five a piece, and the Ports proportionable, all at their own charge. In the same year (e) and for the same service there was transported ten thousand quarters of wheat, five thousand of Oates, and many *Bacons*. The Church not forborn in those charges: For from *Winchester* (f) two thousand quarters of *Wheat* and *Oates*, and one thousand of *Beans* was taken. (g) The other Bishops and Clergy bearing their parts of victuals in the like *Exactions*, coming ——— *ut unda supervenit unda: acsi esset Anglia puteus inexhaustus*, as wave follows wave, as if *England* were a pit never to be drawn dry. (h) In the twelfth and fourteenth the King levieth *Souldiers* for his wars beyond Sea, collecting *pro Exercitu suo de singulis duabus Hidis*, upon every two Hides *unum hominem bona secure*, and to bring *secum victualia* victuals with them: and those for whose service the King dispenced, & quos Rex vult

(a) Ex Walt. Gisborn.
(b) Rad. Cistrensis, ex Eversden, Paris & lib. Chart. Cant. Archiep. anno 8 H. 6.
(c) Ex Joan. Eversden, Pat. an. 3 E. 1. m. 26.
(d) Rot. claus. an. 26 Hen. 3.
(e) Ex H. Mat. Paris. p. 5171.
(f) Ex Rot. lib. an. 26 H. 3.
(g) Ex Hist. Mat. Paris.
(h) Dorf. claus. anno 14 H. 3. n. 8. & claus. 12 H. 3. n. 2.

vult remanere in partibus suis, and such as he pleased should continue at home, to contribute victuals to those that went for forty dayes: commanding the Sheriffs (a) to swear all *ad Arma qui post eum remanebant in Anglia, in forma qua jurati fuerant tempore Joannis Patris sui*, to Armes, who stayed behind him in *England*, after the manner they were sworn in the time of King *John* his father; by which Ordinance of King *John* all able Subjects from Youth to decrepit Age were bound to arm themselves, and be in continual readines, (b) *ad sero usque ad mane* from night to morning, (for so the Record is) to attend the Kings pleasure. And therefore *Henry* the third in anno 14. (c) *mandavit Vicecomitibus quod venire faciant ad exercitum Regis homines juratos ad ferendum*, commanded the Sheriffs to send all those to his Army who had been so sworn, bringing with them *Loricis, Habergiones, &c.* Coats of Maile, Habergeons, &c. and to such as neglected this service he sent his Writs, reprehending them at first, (d) *jurgatoriè eò quòd, &c.* tartly for that, &c. and after fining them according to their abilities and Tenures. Taking (e) *an. 26. of Willihelm. de Umfrevile pro quietatione passagii*, for the securing of his passage into *Gascoign* 100 Marks; and so in proportion of many others.

Edward the first exacted from the land of his Subjects four times *Scutage*, assessed every time at forty shillings the Knights Fee. And once an Aide called *Auxilium novum*, a new Aide, which he farmed out for ready money. Of the Rents of the Clergy he took a Tenth part twice

(a) claus. an. 14 H. 3. n. 7.

(b) claus. an. 16 H. 3. m. 11.

(c) claus. an. 14 H. 3. m. 9.

(d) claus. in Dorfo, an. 15 Hen. 3.

(e) Rot. finium 26 H. 3. m. 4.

for one year, and once for six; and the twentieth part twice from both the *Provinces*, and once for two years from *Canterbury* only.

The possessions of the *Priors Aliens* he seized once into his own hands, putting the *Monks* to a bare Pension of eighteen pence a week. Of the goods of the *Clergy* he took the thirtieth, the fifteenth, and the fifth part once, the Moiety three times, and the Tenth seven times; whereof the *Grants* was first for two years, and then for three years, and once for six years. (a) Of the goods of the *Commons* the eighth, and the ninth, and the twelfth part he took once, twice severally the tenth and eleventh, the *Seffors* being sworn to levy and rate truly. Three times he had the fifteenth part, and once the moiety of a fifteenth. From the *Clergy* and *Laiety* together the King had granted of their *Moveables* a tenth, a fifteenth, and a thirtieth part. Of the *Cities* and *Boroughs*, besides a great Loan, once the seventh and eighth, and twice the sixth part. From the *Merchants* a twentieth, and a seventh portion once of their *Commodities*; imposing a new *Custom* of a Noble upon every Sack of *Wool* which he let out to Farm. And under pretence of some breach of *Amity* with those parts whither his *Merchants* traded, he seized *anno 22.* (b) all the *Wools* into his hands, and made of them instant Sale to the best value, leaving them upon security to a short price and a long day of payment. He took (c) the same year, to the distaste of the *Pope* and murmur of the *Clergy*, all the money gathered in *subsidium Terra Sancta*, for the succour of the Holy Land, to furnish his *Journeys*. Upon the persons

(a) Rot. Pat.
anno 25 E. 1.
m. 3. sced.

(b) Rot. Vas.
con. anno 22
E. 1. m. 8.

(c) Ex Rot.
Vasco. an. 22
E. 1. m. 17.

fons of his Subjects he imposed one *Tallage*, (a) fessed either in *communi* in general, or *per capita* by the Poll. And twice the like upon the *Jews*: whereof the one amounted to fifty thousand Marks. Neither were his people by continual payment (for there was but one year of intermission all his Reign) freed from attendance in their Persons. For in record there appeareth plentifully his writs to the *Sheriffs*: as (b) *an. 31.* (b) *Rot. Pat. anno 31 E. 1.* *de peditibus eligendis de tota Anglia*, for the chusing of foot-Souldiers throughout all *England*; and to be found and furnished by their several *Countreys*: calling (c) his *Earles*, *Barons* and *Knights* to personal service according to their *Tenures*. (c) *Ex Hist. Joan. Everfden.*

His Son the second *Edward* assessed upon the lands of his Subjects twice *Scutage*; once at two Marks, and once at forty shillings the *Knights Fee*. From the *Revenues* of the *Clergy* rated by the book of *Tenths*, he at distinct times took 4 *d.* 5 *d.* and 12 *d.* in the *Mark*; and once the fifteenth part of the whole. From the goods of the *Clergy* a Tenth for three years. And twice (d) a Loan from the *Abbots* and *Bishops*. (d) *Clas. an. 8 E. 2. m. 9.* From the *Laiety* (besides a *Tallage* of their *Moveables*) in *Cities* and *Burroughs* once a tenth, twice a fifteenth, and twice a twentieth part of their goods. Besides a Loan from the *Commons*, and ten shillings borrowed upon every Sack of *Wool* from *Merchant*, *Strangers*, and a Noble from others. (e) From the *Clergy* and *Laiety* together of their goods a tenth, a fifteenth, and twice an eighteenth part, besides a *Loane*. He augmented his fathers new *Custom* with an *Imposition* of a Noble more

more upon every Sack of Wool. And anno 10. (a) *Ex memor. Secrii. an. 10 E. 2. ex parte Rem. Thesaur.* (a) *quia exitus Regni sui & terrarum*, because the profits of his Realm and dominions elsewhere, together with all the money granted by the Church and Laiety, *ad sumptus Belli sufficere noluit*, was not enough to defray the charges of his wars, and that he must *infinitam pecuniam effundere*, spend a vast deal of money; he lesseth and increaseth an Imposition upon all Commodities inward and outward to an extream Rate; and caused the Commons in every Shire to lay down money *in deposito* to pay his Souldiers; and took from the Nobility and Gentry a large contribution towards his wars; and seized (b) *omnes Lanas & Coria Mercatorum, data securitate Possessoribus de rationabili pretio postea solvendo*, All the Wools and Hides of the Merchants, giving security to the Owners that a reasonable price should be paid for them afterwards. He charged the Ports and Sea-Towns twelve several years *ad costas suos & sumptibus villarum*, at their own costs, and the charge of the Villages about them, (as the Record saith) to set to Sea in his service Ships furnished *Armis & victualibus*, with Armes and Victuals; sometimes for one moneth, as anno 11. (c) sometimes for four as (d) anno 12. and sometimes for seven as (e) anno 4. the number of Ships more or less as occasion required. In anno 17. (f) Southampton was charged with six, and an hundred and eighteen Sea-Towns more with rateable proportions for the Kings service. Sometimes, as anno 18. (g) embarguing all the Ships in any Port that were of forty Tuns or upwards,

(a) *Ex memor. Secrii. an. 10 E. 2. ex parte Rem. Thesaur.*

(b) *Rot. Vafcon. anno 22 E. 2. m. 13. in fecd.*

(c) *Rot. Scot. anno 11. m. 17.*

(d) *Rot. Scot. anno 12. m. 8.*

(e) *Rot. Pat. anno 4 E. 2.*

(f) *Dors. Claus. anno 17 E. 2. m. 11.*

(g) *Claus. an. 18. m. 34.*

wards, as an. 20. or of fifty Tuns and upward, as an. 23. (a) *contra hostiles aggressus Gallorum*, against the hostile attempts of the French. Causing the Town of Southampton anno 6. (b) to build a Galley for themselves of an hundred and twenty Oares. Commanding all the Sheriffs for provision of Victual, as (c) anno 1, 2, 3, 4, 9. to provide *de Exitibus Comitatum certum pretium*, at the charge of the County a certain Rate, to the proportion sometimes of thirty thousand five hundred Quarters of Corn and many Bacons, as anno 16. (d) and to send them to the Kings Army. As also (e) *Carrecta & Carracum Equis & Bobus*, Carts and Waggons with Oxen and Horses out of the Counties severally for the use of war. Sometimes he made the Ports to send provision themselves, as anno 7. (f) and not to suffer any Ships with victuals (g) *ibidem discariari*, to be there unladed, but to order them by security for those parts where the Kings Army was lodged.

And not sparing the Church, exacted (h) his three first years *Frumenta & alia victualia pro exercitu suo*, Corn and other Victuals for his Army from them.

Besides the former Charges, the Persons of Men, as well of the Nobility as meaner rank, were at their own Charge often enjoined to serve by reason of the wars. (i) As in an. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 16. (k) of this King, when they were called *singulatim* man by man, as well Widows as Knights (l) and Noblemen, and such as held forty pound land according to their Tenures, (m) *sub forisfactura terrarum & Catallorum, Equis & Armis, sumptibus propriis*,

(a) *Ex Rot. Vafcon. m. 29.*

(b) *Claus. an. 6 E. 2.*

(c) *Rot. Scot. anno 1, 2, 3. m. 10. & an. 4. m. 5. & an. 9. & Rot. Pat.*

anno 10. m. 12.

(d) *Rot. Pat. an. 16. m. 3.*

(e) *Rot. Scot. anno 8. m. 9.*

(f) *Rot. Scot. Dorso, anno 7. m. 8.*

(g) *Dors. Claus. anno 16. m. 3.*

(h) *Rot. Scot. anno 1, 2, 3. m. 8.*

(i) *Rot. Scot. anno 8 E. 2.*

Dors. Claus. anno 9.

(k) *Claus. an. 16 E. 2.*

(l) *Ex Dors. Claus. 7 E. 2. m. 7.*

(m) *Claus. an. 16. m. 20.*

to appear with Horse and Armes, at their own charge, under penalty of forfeiting their Lands and Chattels; and to provide *de hominibus ad Arma ultra famulos suos consuetos*, men for the service besides their ordinary Servants: according to *Augustus* (a) rule, *Viri Fœminæque ex Censu coacta dare Militem*, both men and women were forced to find their Souldiers. And of this the Clergy was not exempted (b) anno 16. of this King. And out of every Town one *sumptibus propriis*, at their own charges, for forty dayes, as anno 15. or for 60. as anno 9. or pro 7. *Septimanis* for seven weeks, as anno 4. (c) Sometimes a thousand in one County, as anno 3. (d) Sometimes an entire Army of eighteen thousand three hundred, an. 11. and (e) forty eight thousand eight hundred at the charge of all the Counties anno 15. (f) *London sumptibus Civitatis* at the Cities charge, found 500. men for forty days anno 12. and the like anno 18. *contra insultus Regis Francia*, against the invasions of the King of France. (h) The King commanded anno 16. that all of forty shillings land and upwards should rateably send to his service men; (i) And an. 9, 10, 15, and 16. that all *jurati ad arma*, sworn to Armes, or from sixteen to sixty, *secundum Statutum Wincestria*, according to the Statute of Winchester, should attend their Services. (k) And anno 13. injoynd all from twenty to sixty to be armed and victualled at their own charge; (l) And commanded the Sheriffs *annis 6, 7, 8, 12, 16 and 18.* to see all the able men of England so furnished, that *Parati sint & muniti ad veniendum ad Regem quando vocati fuerint*, they should be provided and in a readines to march

(a) Ex Pater-
culo de Aug.(b) Claus. an.
16. m. 11. &
cla. an. 15.
m. 19.(c) Rot. Scotie
anno 3 E. 2.
m. 8. Dorso.(d) Rot. Scotie
an. 11. m. 16.(e) Rot. Pat.
an. 15. m. 19.(f) Rot. Scotie
anno 12. m. 13.(g) Claus. an.
18. m. 13.(h) Rot. Pat.
an. 16. m. 27.(i) Rot. Pat.
anno 9. m. 22.Dors. Cla. 10.
m. 26. Claus.anno 15. m. 13.
Rot. Pat.

anno 16. m. 27.

(k) Rot. Scotie
anno 13. m. 2.(l) Dors. Claus.
anno 6. m. 28.Rot. Scotie
anno 7. m. 2.Claus. anno 8.
m. 30.Claus. an. 16.
m. 12.Rot. Scotie
an. 12. m. 6.Rot. Pat. anno
18. m. 21.

march to the King when he should call them, their weapons to be provided *ad sumptus Incolarum*, at the charge of their neighbour dwellers: and themselves enjoyned to muster and train every six weeks. If any neglected his appointed service, there was sent to the Sheriff a Writ *de habenda illos coram Concilio, qui præmoniti cum venerunt in expeditione Regis*, to bring them before the Council, who knowing of it before, refused the expedition, as anno 15. 1. the parties imprisoned, and their goods seized into the Kings hands, as anno 9. & 16. or else redemption by fine, as the Sheriffs of Buckingham and Bedford did their men for six hundred Marks anno 15. The owner of forty shillings land to redeem his first default *cum tertia parte Bonorum*, with the third part of his Goods; the second *cum tota residua*, with the remaining parts; at the third, *sint Corpora eorum ad voluntatem Regis*, their Bodies to be at the Kings disposal; and of Knights, *qui non fuerunt in exercitu Regis*, 20*l. de qualibet Hida*, which were not in the Kings Army, 20*l. for every Hide*, as e anno 13.

I have the longer insisted upon this King, that *tanquam in speculo*, as in a glasse we may behold the intolerable miseries of the Nobility and Commons inseparably accompanying the times of War.

Edward the third charged f the lands of his Subjects twice forty shillings of every Knights Fee; and five pound sixteen shillings of every Parish in the forty eighth year of his Reign. Out of the Goods of the Commons he took once the ninth part, and fifteenth of Forrest and Waste; twice the tenth, thirteen times a fifteenth for one year, and

a Rot. Claus.
anno 15 E. 2.n. 14.
Rot. finium,
anno 15. m. 16.

anno 15. m. 16.

b Rot. Claus.
anno 9.Rot. Pat. anno
16. m. 12.c Rot. Claus.
anno 15. m. 19.d Rot. Scotie
anno 13 E. 2.

m. 1.

anno 13 E. 2.

m. 1.

e Claus. an. 13.

m. 20.

Edward 3.

f Pat. an. 48

E. 3. m. 10.

and twice for three years : and once the twentieth part of all moveables, and thirty thousand Sacks of Wooll upon conditions. Of the *Burroughs* and *Cities*, four Tenths, and one for three years. From the *Lords* the tenth Sheaf, Lamb, and Fleece : who with the Bishops and Knights grant twenty thousand Sacks of Woll for payment of the Kings debts, giving in the *interim* security themselves by Bond to the *Earl of Brittain*, to whom their Sovereign stood engaged. Of the *Clergie* alone one Tenth for four years, three for three years, and one for one year. Besides a Contribution in the twelfth of his Reign, seizing in the same year all the Goods of the *Cluny* and *Cistertian Monks*. Of the *Church* and *Laitie* together he received six times the tenth of all their Moveables. From the *Merchants* and State a Subsidy of Wooll for three years. Imposing *anno 33. 26 s. 8 d.* upon every Sack transported : which doubled the Impositions of his Father and Grandfather. Advancing it after for six years to forty shillings : and in *anno 38.* (being the year he resumed his Stile of *France*) to *46 s. 4 d.* the Sack of Wooll. Taking Poudage *6 d.* of all Commodities inward and outward and enjoying the Merchants for every Sampler of Wooll transported to return in forty shillings Bullion to his Mint. *a* Himself becoming Merchant of all the Tinne in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall* *anno 12. in auxilium supportationis onerum Belli*, to help him bear the burthen of his wars : assessing upon the heads of his Subjects a fine of *4 d.* severally *anno 51.* Besides in *b anno 20.* he took a Loan of the Bishops, Abbots, Justices, & *aliis potentioribus Regni, de diversis pecuniarum Summis, inter Summas de 1000 l. & 40 l.* and other

a Ex Rot. Alman. an. 12. m. 17.

b Claus. an. 20 E. 3. m. 22. in dorso.

other wealthy men of his Realm , in several summs of money, betwixt the summs of 1000 l. and 40 l.

In the first of his Reign *a* he commandeth all the Sea-towns to attend with Ships his service, *a Claus. an. 1 E. 3. Rot. Sco. anno 1 E. 3.* *sumptibus propriis & duplici Eskeppamento*, at their own proper charge, and with double Skippage, and to provide as many as they can of sixty Tun and upwards. And the year following *b* layeth the like charge upon seventy six Port-Towns *b Claus. an. 2 E. 3.* for all Ships of forty Tun and more. And *an. 10.* *c* the like at their own charge, besides a contribution of money, *d* for payment whereof the Officers are commanded, *ut eas per districtiones & alias punitiones prout expedire viderint compellent*, to force it by distraining, and what other punishments they shall find expedient. Injoyning such Merchants of *London*, *qui ex transmarinis passagiis lucra adquirunt*, who had traffick in foreign parts, to furnish Ships for war at their own Charge. *e* And *anno 13.* the *Cinque-Ports* set out to sea thirty Ships, and maintain them during the service, half at their own, half at the Councils charge. Fourscore Ships being furnished and defrayed by the *Out-Ports*, the Admiral directed to embargue all other Ships for the Kings service. *f* And although the Subject found this an infinite grievance, yet could he (upon humble complaint in *Parliament*) receive no further relief, than that the King would not have it otherwise than before. *g*

For Provision of his Arms, the King took at one time, and at a rate of loss to the Subject, nineteen thousand quarters of Grain, two thousand two hundred Oxen salted, and three thousand Bacons ;

c Rot. Scotie anno 13 E. 3. m. 15.

f Rot. Scotie anno 10 E. 3.

g Rot. Alman. an. 1 E. 3. m. 2.

a Rot. Scotie
anno 10. m. 17.

cons; besides of other Provisions an infinite quantity. a The like very frequent all his Reign, *pro guerris necessariis, ubi id magis commode fieri poterat*, for the necessities of his wars, where it could be done with more conveniency.

b Rot. Scotie
anno 1. m. 2.

The Persons of all his meaner Subjects from sixteen to sixty he causeth b to be armed in readines *ad pramonitionem 5. dierum*, at five dayes warning; the Decrepite to contribute *ad expensa pramissorum*; towards the expences of the rest: and to arrest the Bodies of the disobedient, that *de ipsis tanquam de inimicis sumat vincictam*, they might be dealt withal as enemies. c The Gentry

c Rot. Scotie
anno 1.

d Parla. an. 13
E. 3. Parla.
anno 14 E. 3.

and Nobility supplying the King in his wars, and at their own charge, d sometimes with seven or eight hundred men at Arms, and two or three thousand Archers, as anno 13. with other proportions at divers years following. And the Bishops ordered e to furnish *Armis & Equis competentibus*, serviceable Arms and Horses, so many as occasion required: and their Persons (together with the Lay Nobility) commanded *f quod sint parati Equis & Armis & toto servitio debito*, with Horse and Arms and all necessary accoutrements to attend the King in his wars.

e Rot. Frans.
anno 45.

f Claus. an. 1
E. 3. m. 1.

g Parla. an. 22
E. 3. n. 9.

These wars (which as Edward the third professeth himself in Parliament, g could not without his great danger and loss of Honour be maintained, unless by perpetual Aid from the Subjects) were so grievous to them, that in anno 22. they complain in Parliament of the miseries they underwent thereby: As of their Aids advanced to forty shillings Fine, that by law should be but twenty shillings. Their setting forth of men, and the Kings taking of their Victuals without pay-
ment;

ment; The Sea left to the charge of their keeping, and from their Wools by way of Subsidy sixty thousand pound yearly exacted without Law; besides the lending of two thousand Sacks, and themselves restrained from transporting any. But such was the Necessity of these times, that neither they had redress of their Complaint, nor the State one year discharged of Contribution all his Reign.

Richard succeeding his Grandfather declareth both a anno 2. and 14. that the great Wars he was left in, and the Territories he inherited beyond Sea could not be maintained, except the Subject of this Realm gave supply of means thereto. He therefore of the Clergy and Laity took once the tenth of all their lands, and thrice of the goods of the Commons the like entirely, and six times the half, twelve times a fifteenth, and six times the moiety: And had anno 21. granted one Tenth to him, and a fifteenth and a half of either of them yearly for the term of life. From out of the Burroughs and Cities thrice a full Tenth, and once a Moiety. Out of all Merchandises he received three years 6 d. in the pound, and once 12 d. And for every Tun of Wine, and such Commodities, for two years six pence, doubling it for as many, and trebling it for three years after. The Custom of Wolls, &c. by Edward the first rated at a Noble the Sack, and under his Son increased as much more, was to this King advanced to twenty two shillings eight pence, which singly for eight years he had granted unto him, besides once for three years, and once for four, having it after improved to thirty four shillings four pence, and again to forty three shillings four pence the Sack.

Richard 2.
a Parla. an. 2.
& 14. Rot. 2.
n. 2.

The

The sum of one of these Subsidies in *anno 14.* amounted to one hundred and sixty thousand pound. From out of the goods of the Clergie he had eight Tenths and a half; and one out of those and the Laiery together; besides a Loan *anno 5.* of sixty thousand pound. By the poll or heads of all his people from above fifteen years, he collected twice a Contribution, assessed proportional from the Begger to the Duke: Besides in strength of *Prerogative* only, of every Ship and Fisherman six pence the Tun: the like of *Newcastle Coals*, and of every Last of Corn inwards or outwards the like sum.

(a) Rot. Pat.
anno 2 R. 2.
m. 3.

To furnish his journey for *Ireland* he took their Horses, Armour, Cattel. (a) *Hinc factus est suis Subditis invisus*, Hereupon he came to be hated by his People, saith the Bishop of *London*. And so it seemed: For at his deposing, it was one of the objected Articles against him.

He the first year of his Reign imposed upon his Subjects, as formerly his Ancestors had done, a personal service *ab anno primo*, That all the Clergie should array *Armis & Equis competentibus*, with serviceable Horses and Arms, from the age of sixteen to sixty, & *eos in Millenis & Centenis ponant faciant*, & cause them to be entred into Regiments and Companies. And two years after commanded all according to their Tenures by service to fit themselves *Equis & Armis*, with Horse & Arms to attend the wars. But these the courses of elder times were about this time much altered, and the King for the most part ever supplied in his wars by contract with the Nobility and Gentry, to serve him with so many men, and so long, and at such a rate as he and they by Indenture accorded; of which

which there are in the *Pell* plenty yet remaining. Thus under grievous burdens did the State labour continually all his time; for his Treasury being wastefully emptied, was, as *Tacitus* saith of *Tiberius*, (a) *Scelere replendum*, to be filled some ill way; by which he meant intolerable racking of the people. Hence it was that often in this Kings time (b) the Subjects humbly beg some ease of the insupportable Tallages.

(a) Tacit.
lib. 2.

(b) Rot. Parl.
annis 3, 4, &
5 R. 2.

But he little regarding the tears or groans of his heartless People, answered them as *an. 4.* That their Petition and his Honour could not consist together. (c) They again plead extream poverty, in barr of further relief; complaining that good money was transported, and the State enforced to use base; and that the price of Wooll by wars (to their utter impoverishing) was fallen, and that the Kings want was only the ill government of his Revenues; and therefore crave to have his present Officers removed: and very hardly would be drawn any more to tax themselves, but conditionally, and with this Limitation, That their money should be received, expended, and accounted for to themselves, and by Treasurers of their own election; and are content to lend in the end; loading this poor Kings dejected Fortune with the reproachful weight of these their many Burthens.

(c) Rot. Parl.
anno 1 H. 4.
n. 32.

Henry the fourth in thirteen years out of the land of his people received twice relief; once *auxilia de medietate Feodorum*, an Aid of the moiety of the Fees, and again a Noble out of every twenty pound throughout all the Realm. Out of the Goods of the Commons four times a Tenth, besides one for three years, and the like one and a half for two. By several grants and years five Fifteens,

Henry 4. 1

Fifteens, besides one for two and one for three years. Out of Staple Commodities of Wools, Fells, &c. one Subsidy for one year, four for two apiece, and one for three years. A Poundage at 8 d. once, four times twelve pence, whereof the last was for two years. The like number and years of the Tunnage, the first only rated at two shillings, the rest at three shillings the Tun. Out of the Moveables of the Clergie thrice a Tenth, and twice a moiety, as also of every stipendary Minister, Frier, and such meaner of persons six shillings eight pence apiece. Besides all these, of all he took *anno 8.* a (a) Contribution *ita gravis*, so heavy, that it was granted *ea conditione, ne trahatur in Exemplum, & ut Evidentia post datum Computum cernerentur*, upon this condition, that it should not be made an Example to following times, and that after the Account the Evidences should be burnt.

(a) *Hist. Tho. Walsingham.*

Henry 5.

Next him succeeded his Son *Henry the fifth*, in whose nine years Reign I find no charge imposed upon the Land of the Subjects. Out of the Goods of the Commons he received six times the tenth and the fifteenth entirely, and once two thirds only of Staple wares, a Subsidy once for four years, and after for life: three shillings Tunnage, and twelve pence poundage for the like terms as the former Subsidies. Thrice he had the Tenth of his Clergy. And in the eighth of his Reign, when the *Chancellor* bewailed to him in Parliament the Feebleness and Poverty of the People by reason of wars and scarcity of money, he (who of as many attempts as he undertook, *avidem fecit Monumenta victoria*, raised himself so many Monuments of Victory,) yet for redress and ease of those

those miseries (as *Livy* saith of an excellent Soldier) *Pacem voluit etiam quia vincere potuit*, he preferred Peace because he knew he could overcome. And left in the ninth year of his Reign a peaceable succession and *Heir, nimium felix malo* Henry 6. *suo*, too happy to his own undoing, as the event proved. For retaining nothing *ex paterna Majestate prater speciem nominis*, of his Fathers Greatness more than the specious Name of a Great King, by Fear and Facility he laid the way open to his Factious Ambitious Kindred, to work themselves into popular Favour, and himself into Contempt: which was soon done by leading the easie King by Expence into Extremity, and the People into Burdens. For besides the Resumptions he took of his own and Fathers Grants, (which was of purpose plotted to make a consumption of Duty and Affection towards him) he out of the old inheritance of his Subjects exacted six pence in the pound *anno 14.* and doubled twice that valuation, not only on all lands purchased from the entrance of *Edward the first*, but of all Free-hold and Copsy-hold under 200^l. and two in twenty of all above. He further imposed first six shillings eight pence, and then twenty shillings upon every Knights Fee. Out of the goods of the Commons he had six tenths, whereof one for three years, besides three moieties, and one third; of fifteens three halves, one third, and eight entire, of which there was of two a three years grant. Besides these former, out of the Wools he had 37107 ^l. raised by a moiety of a tenth and fifteenth, and again of all goods six shillings eight pence in the pound. Of the Merchant, of Subsidies rated as in former times, he had them by grant once but for a year,

E the

the like doubled for two, and trebled for three and a half. This Subsidy advanced to thirty three shillings four pence of *Denizens*, and fifty three shillings four pence of *Aliens*. The Sack of Wooll was twice granted for four years at a time, and *anno* 31. for term of the Kings life. Besides a Subsidy alone of *Aliens* goods, Tonnage and Poundage improved to six shillings eight pence he took in his eighteenth year. And after the Rates of his Fathers time he had it first thrice by his several grants and years, then as often for two years, and again by a new grant for five years, and in the end for term of his life. Of the Clergie he had besides one half of *Dismes*, four entire tenths. And by the State in general *an.* 31. two thousand Archers maintained for half a year at the common Charge. By the *Poll* he exacted *anno* 18. of every Merchant Stranger if a householder sixteen shillings apiece, if none six pence. And *anno* 27. six shillings eight pence of every such Stranger, and twenty pence of their Clerks. *An.* 31. he had granted for term of life ten pounds a year of all Inhabitants meer *Aliens*, and a third less of *Denizens*, and twenty shillings of every Stranger Merchant that came into the land. The first *Monopolies* I find were grounded upon the extremities of these times; for in *anno* 29. the *Spinellos*, Merchants of *Genua*, had by grant for eight thousand pound the sole Trade of many Staple-Commodities. As the Merchants of *Southampton* had all *Allome* for the like sum. Yet for all the Contributions, Taxes and Shifts, (whereby the impoverished People were enforced to petition redress; for which a Parliament was *anno* 10. summoned only,) the Kings Coffers were so empty, and the yearly Revenues so short, as the Lord Treasurer

Nota First
Monopolie.

Treasurer was constrained * *an.* 11. to complain in Parliament of the one, and declared there the other to want thirty five thousand pound of the needful expence, as the best motive to work a Relief from the Common-wealth: which was by the people in part effected. (a) But by *anno* 18. the debts were swoln again so great, that the Parliament was reinforced not only to see them, but to support and victual his household. Thus was this unhappy Princes Reign all war and waste: and in the end, as one saith of (b) *Lepidus*, à *Militibus* & à *fortuna deserebatur*, being forsaken both of Souldiers and Fortune, he was left a while to a disgraced life, *spoliatus quam tueri non poterat dignitate*, and despoiled of that Dignity which he was not able to maintain.

Edward the fourth, (c) besides two resumptions not only of the Grants of such Kings as he accounted *de facto*, and not *de jure* to Reign, but also of those made by (d) himself, and that Sea of profit that by infinite *Attaintures* flowed daily into his Treasury, took notwithstanding of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal only a Tenth of their yearly possessions, and of the Commons six Tenths, three quarters; and the like proportion of Fifteens: A *Benevolence* in *anna* 14. which (e) *Fabian* calleth a new Contribution: And charged them (f) *anno* 12. with wages of his Archers to a summ of 51117 l. Of the Merchant he had Tonnage and Poundage for term of life. Besides of Strangers, as well *Denizens* as others, a Subsidy the (g) twenty second year of his Reign. Leaving his Kingdom in the next to the few dayes of his son *Edward* the fifth. For,

E 2

Ostendunt

* Rot. Parl.
an. 11 H. 6.(a) Rot. Parl.
an. 18 Hen. 6.
n. 38.(b) Ex Patere
culo.Edward 4.
(c) Rot. Parl.
an. 2, & 3
E. 4.
(d) Placita
Corone.(e) Chron.
Fabiani.(f) Rot. Parl.
anno 12 E. 4.
n. 8.

(g) Rot. Parl.

Edward 5.

*Ostendunt terris hunc tantum Fata, nec ultra
Esse sinunt.*—The Fates only shewed him to
the world, and took him away again.

Richard 3.

Richard his Brother succeeded, *homo ingenio-
sissime nequam, & facundus malo publico*; a
man most ingeniously mischievous, and full of
Art to beguile the people. He to make a just sem-
blance of his unjust entry, besides his Act of Parli-
ament full of dangerous Untruths, dissembled the
part of an excellent Prince, making the Commons
believe by a Statute, to which he gave first form, as
life, discharging them for ever from all exactions
called *Benevolences*, that his opinion was, *Ditare
magis esse Regium quam ditescere*, that it was more
King-like to enrich his Subjects, than to grow rich
himself. Whereas he did but lively imitate
Nero, that took away the law *Manlia de vecti-
galibus*, only *ut gratiosior esset populis*, to ingratiate
himself the more with the people. And so all
his short Reign I find recorded but once any Tax
upon the people, and that was Tenths granted by
the Clergie of both Provinces.

Henry 7.

Henry the seventh succeeding, resumed in the
third of his Reign most of the grants of Office
made by the Usurper or his Brother, and assessed
upon the land only of his Subjects but one Aid in
anno 19. out of their Goods and Lands a tenth
peny, and of their Goods only three times the
Tenth, five Fifteens, besides a Tenth and Fifteenth
arising to 120000*l.* He took three Subsidies,
whereof the last was not above 36000*l.* (a) and
one *Benevolence*, the proportion of every Alder-
man being 300*l.* and the entire summ of the
City of London 9688*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* Of the
Clergie he had twice the Tenth, and 25000*l.*

(a) Fabian.

by

by way of *Subsidy*. (a) And of them and the Com-
mons two Loans, the City of Lond. rated at 6000*l.*
the other not definite in proportion, but so assessed
as Commissioners and the Lenders could agree.

(a) Ex literis
missa Abba-
tibus. Bark-
ing
manu Regis
H. 7.

And as well to ease the expence of wars, as
issue of the good money going over to Bullen, (b)
he stamped an allayed Coin then usually termed
Dandeprats: A course that necessity after enfor-
ced his Son and Successors to practise, and is an
apparent *Symtome* of a consumed State. But that
whereby he heaped up his mass of Treasure, ((c)
for he left in Bullion four millions and a half, be-
sides his Plate, Jewels, and rich attire of hou-
se) was by sale of Offices, redemption of Penalties,
dispensing with Laws, and such like, to a yearly
value of 120000*l.*

(b) Ex literis
Ducis Norfol-
cie.

(c) Ex lib.
Acquit. int.
Regem &
Dudly R. C.

His Successor, reaping the fruit of his Fathers
labour, gave ease of burthen to the Subjects his
first two years; taking within the compass of
his other thirty four three Tenths of the Com-
mons, four Fifteens, six Subsidies, whereof that
an. 4. amounted to 16000*l.* and that *anno 7.*
110000*l.* *Tonnage* he had and *Poundage* once for
a year, and after for term of life. Of the Clergie
four Tenths by one grant, and three by several,
every of them not less than 25084*l.* Of *Subsidies*
he had one of the Province of *Canterbury*, another
of both; the *Stipendary* Ministers there to be
taxed according to the rate of their wages. In
anno 22. they granted a moiety of all their Goods
and Lands, payable by equal portion in five years,
every part arising to 95000*l.* And not long
after he had added 150000*l.* to the yearly
Revenues of his Crown, by an inhumane spoil
of sacred Monuments, and impious ruine of holy

E 3

Churches,

Churches, if Gods blessing could have accompanied so foul an Act. And as these former Collections he grounded upon Law, so did he many upon *Prerogative*: As *Benevolences* and Loans from the Clergie and Commons. Of the first there were two remarkable, that in *anno 17.* acted by Commissioners, who as themselves were sworn to Secrecy, so were they to swear all those with whom they conferr or contract. The Rates directed by instructions, as the thirds of all Goods, Offices, Land above 20 *l.* and the fourth under. And although the Recusants (whether from Disobedience or Inability) are threatened with Convention before the Council, Imprisonment, and Confiscation of Goods: yet in the (a) *Design* Original under the Kings hand, it hath so fair a name as an *Amicable Grant*. The other about (b) *an. 36.* exacteth out of all Goods, Offices, land from forty shillings to 20 *l.* 8 *d.* in the pound, and of all above 12 *d.* And amongst the many Loans, there is none more notorious than that of *an. 14.* (c) which was 10 *l.* in the hundred of all Goods, Jewels, Utensils, and Land from 20 *l.* to 300 *l.* and twenty marks of all above, as far as the Subjects Fortune, revealed by the extremity of his own Oath, would extend. And to stop as well intentions if any had been, as expectations of repayment of such Loans, (d) the Parliament in *an. 21.* acquitteth the King of every Privy Seal or *Letter Missive*.

Edward 6. *Edward* the sixth his Son, besides Tonnage and Poundage for life, *an. 1.* received of his Lay-Subjects six Fifteens, and of both three Subsidies, leaving one of the Temporalty ungathered: which his Sister *Mary* remitted in *an. 1.* of her reign; yet after

(a) Ex originali signat. manu Regis.

(b) Ex originali Instructi-one.

(c) Ex instruct. originali an. 14 H. 8.

(d) Rot. Parl. an. 21 H. 8.

Edward 6.

Q. Mary.

after (incited by the *French King* succouring her Rebels, and suffering her money adulterated in his Dominions, purposely to be hither transported, as also to side the quarrel of *Philip* her husband against him) being drawn into wars, she was inforced to press upon her people, who besides the Loan in *an. 3.* and Tonnage and Poundage *an. 1.* for term of life granted unto her by *Parliament*, took five Fifteens of the Commons, and of them and the Clergie three years Subsidies.

Her Sister of happy memory succeeding, besides divers Loans of her people and others in forreign parts, (as *anno 5.* when *William Herle* was dispatched into *Germany* to take up at Interest for six years great summs of money, the like *anno 18.* from the Merchants of *Colen* and *Hamburgh* upon Bond of the City of *London*, and again of *Spinello* and *Pallavicini* upon the former security, strengthened with the assurance also of many of her chiefest Councillors) had by grant of her Subjects thirty eight Fifteens, twenty Subsidies of the Commons, and eighteen of the Clergie. All which together rose to a sum of two Millions and 800000 *l.*

Q. Elizabeth.

HAVING thus far (with as light a hand as I could) drawn down the many and mighty burdens of the Common-wealth, if but with a touch of the Princes Extremities beyond the ease of these former helps I heighten up this draught, it will with much more life and lustre express the Figure of wars Misery. (a) The Credit of Kings it hath brought to so low an ebb, that when by Princes extremities beyond the ease of their people by reason of wars. Credit of Kings so much impaired, that they could not borrow, but upon surety and extream interest. (a) *Matth. Paris.*

(b) Rot.
Pat. anno 13
E. 3. m. 13.

force of necessity they borrowed money, they could not take it up but by collateral security, and extream Interest. As *Edward* the third in the Patent to (b) *William de la Poole* confesseth that *propter defectum pecunia negotia sua fuerunt periculosissime retardata*, for want of money his affairs were dangerously delayed, (they are the words of the record) and the honour of him and his Royal Army *magne fuit depressioni patenter expositus, & progressus non sine dedecore suo perpetuo impeditus*, he was brought to a manifest low condition, and his proceeding to his great dishonour had been constantly hindered; if *De la Poole* had not as well supplied him with the credit of his Security, as with the best ability of his own Purse. For which service he honoured him and his posterity with the degree of *Baronets*, and five hundred pound land of inheritance.

Nota

The interest of *Henry 3.* *ad plus quam centum quotidie libras ascenderat, ita ut immineret tam Clero quam Populo Angliæ Desolatio & Ruina*, came to more than a hundred pound a day, so that present ruine and desolation hung over the heads as well of the Clergie as the People.

(a) Ex Instruct. Thomæ Gresham, anno 1557.

Queen Mary (a) borrowed in *Flanders* at fourteen in the hundred, besides *Brocage* upon collateral security.

(b) Ex Instruct. Wilhelm. Herle 16. Augst. an. 5. Eliz. Similiter.

(c) Thomæ Gresham. 1563 & 76.

The late *Queen* was enforced (b) to the like thrice with Strangers upon the City of *Londons* assurance, as before, and with her (c) own Subjects after upon Mortgage of Land. A course more moderate than either that of the first *William*, that took out of *Churches* such money as several men had committed thither for more security:

security: (a) or that of *Charles* the fifth, that to repair the waste of his *Italian* wars, went in person to *Barcelona*, to seize into his hands a Mass of money called *Depositum Tabula*, which as well Strangers as Subjects had there laid up in Sanctuary. But these are not the conditions of Princes of our times only: for in the lives of *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Vespasian*, *Suetonius* of them severally writeth, *Exhaustus & egenus Calumniis rapinisque intendit animum*, being drawn dry and grown poor, they bent their minds to Calumnies and Rapines. For *Perniciosa res est in Imperante tenuitas*, Want in a Prince is a dangerous thing; and as *Theodoricus* said, *Periculosissimum animal est Rex pauper*, a Poor King is the most dangerous creature living.

It hath abated the Regalities of Houses; an. 16. of *Richard* the second and 18. (b) of *Henry 6.* when as well from want of means, as the Subjects Petitions in Parliament, (for *Expeditissima est ratio augendi Censuum detrahere Sumptibus*, the readiest way to raise the Revenue is to take down Expences,) they have much lessened their Hospitality; their Tables being either defrayed by their Subjects, as of *Henry* the sixth, or as *Henry* the third, when by necessity (c) *ita consueta Regalis Mensæ hospitalitas abbreviata fuit, ut (postposita solita verecundia) cum Abbatibus, Clericis, & viris satis humilibus hospitalia quesivit & prandia*; the wonted hospitality of the Kings Table was sunk so low, that (without farther shame) he many times lodged and dietted with Abbots, Clerks, and very mean Persons.

(a) Ex literis Edm. Lee orat. Regis H. 8. in Hisp. anno 28.

Kings enforced to abate their hospitality. (b) Ex Rot. Par. 18 H. 6.

(c) Ex hist. majori Matth. Paris.

It

Kings enforced to pawn and sell their Dominions.

(a) Rot. Pat. anno 51 H. 3. m. 17.

(b) Ex con- tract. orig. & Hist. Norman.

(c) Rot. Vasc. 5 E. 2. Rot. finium an. 8.

Rot. cui titulus, ex tract. de donationib.

a. 9. & 10 E. 2.

Kings enforced to make Resumption of their Lands.

(d) Rot. Parl. anno 1 R. 2.

(e) Rot. Parl. anno 1 Hen. 5. n. 12.

(f) Rot. Parl. anno 28 H. 6. & E. 4.

(g) Ex legibus Theodos. & Valentinian. in Codice.

Kings enforced to pawn and sell their Jewels.

It hath caused our Kings to sell and alienate the possessions of the Crown: as Henry the third, (a) who gave to Edward his son *Licentiam impignorandi terram Vasconia*, leave to pawn the

Duchy of Gascoign; And caused himself not long after by the like occasions, to sell for 300000 l. (except some pittances reserved) the

(b) entire Signiory of Normandy. What our late Mistris and her Father did, is yet fresh in memory. But this mischief hath trenched deep

into the Fortunes and Affections of the Subjects, when Princes to repair the breach of their own Revenues, have often resumed the possessions of

their people; as (c) Edward the second an. 5, 8, & 10. *Omnes donationes per Regem factas ad damnum & diminutionem Regis & Corone sue*,

all the Grants made by the King to the lessening and prejudicing of the King and his Crown. (d) Richard the second anno 1. did the like of all

Grants made to unworthy persons by his Grandfather, and recalled all Patents dated since the fortieth of Edward the third. Thus did Henry 5.

(e) an. 1. and (f) Hen. 6. in the twenty eighth of his Reign, Edward 4. in anno 3. and 12. And

Hen. 7. in an. 3. with all Offices of his Crown granted either by the Usurper or his Brother. Neither is this in it self unjust, since as well by

reason of State as Rules of best Government, the Revenues and Profits (g) *quæ ad sacrum Patrimonium Principis pertinent*, which belong to the sacred Patrimony of the Prince, should remain firm and unbroken.

But when neither Credit, Frugality, or Sale of Lands would stop the gulf of want, our Princes have been so near beset, as with *Nerva* and

and Antonius the Emperours to sell and pawn their Jewels. The Archbishop of York had power from Henry the third an. 26. (a) (in wars

beyond Sea) *impignorandi focalia Regis ubicunque in Anglia pro pecunia perquirenda*, to pawn the Kings Jewels any where in England to

raise money. (b) Edward the first sendeth *Egidius Andevan ad focalia sua impignoranda*, to pawn his Jewels. (c) Edward the third pawneth his Jewels to pay the L. Beaumont and the

Strangers their wages in war. The Black d Prince was constrained to break his Plate into Money to pay his Souldiers.

(e) Richard the second pawned *Vasa aurea & diversa focalia*, Vessels of Gold and divers Jewels to Sir Robert Knowles. (f) Henry the

fourth anno 3. to a Merchant for money *invadavit Tabellam & Trifellas suas Argenteas de Hispania*, ingaged his Tablet and stools of Silver

which he had from Spain. (g) Henry the sixth gageeth and selleth to the Cardinal of Winchester and others an. 10, 12, and 29. (h) many parcels of his rich Jewels. And the late Queen in the end of her dayes (to ease her Subjects) did the

like with many in the Tower. And Extremity hath yet stretched some of our Kings to so high a strain of Shift, that Edward

the third (i) *invadavit magnam Coronam Anglia*, pawned his Imperial Crown three several times; an. 17. *in partibus transmarinis* in forraign parts, and twice to Sir John Weseham his

Merchant, first in the (k) twenty fourth, and after (l) an. 30. in whose custody it remained eight years. To Henry Bishop of Winchester Henry the fifth *invadavit magnam Coronam auream,*

(a) Rot. Pat. anno 26 H. 3. m. 1. Similiter an. 56 H. 3. in 21. m.

(b) Rot. Pat. Claus. an. 2 E. 1. m. 7.

(c) Claus. an. 1 E. 3.

(d) Tho. Walsingham.

(e) Ex origin. de anno 6 R. 2. Rot. 17.

(f) Pat. an. 3 H. 4. m. 3.

(g) Pat. an. 10 Hen. 6.

Pat. anno 12 H. 6. m. 13.

(h) Pat. an. 29 H. 6. m. 20.

(i) Pat. Pars 1. an. 17 E. 3.

(k) Pat. an. 24. m. 21.

(l) Claus. an. 30 E. 3. Com. de Ter. Hill. 38

E. 3. ex parte Rem. Regis.

ream, gaged his Imperial Crown of Gold in the fifth of his Reign. And when Henry the third had laid to gage (a) *omnia Insignia Regalia*, all his Robes and Kingly Ornaments, and upon assurance of redelivery or satisfaction had pawned *Aurum & Jocalia Feretri S. Edwardi Confessoris*, the Gold and Jewels belonging to the Shrine of S. Edward the Confessour, (A course more moderate than by force to have taken, as William the Conquerour did the Chalice and Shrines of other Churches, or as (b) Clement the seventh, who to pay the Souldiers of Charles the fifth melted the Consecrated Vessels) was in the end, when he had neither means of his own left nor reputation with others, constrained to beg relief of his Subjects in this low strain, (c) *Pauper sum, omni destitutus Thesuro; necesse habeo ut me juvetis: nec aliquid erigo nisi per gratiam*: I am poor, and have no Treasure left; ye must needs relieve me: neither do I demand any thing but of your meer love and courtesie: And turning to the Abbot of Ramsay, to say, *Amice, obnixè supplico quatenus me juvas mihi centum libras conferendo*, My friend, I beseech thee for Gods sake to help me with an hundred pound: adding withall *majorem Eleemosynam fore sibi juvamen conferre pecuniamve, quam alicui ostiatim mendicanti*, that it would be a greater deed of Charity to contribute to his Wants, than to give to one that begged from door to door. So that of the waste of these times and want of those Princes I may truly with the Satyrist say,

Ossa vides Regum vacuis exuta medullis.

Thou seest the Bones of Kings spoil'd of their Marrow.

It

(a) Pat. an. 5
H. 3. m. 23.
& similiter
an. 9. Rot. Pat.
an. 51 H. 3.
m. 17. & 18.

(b) Ex historia
Guicciardini.

(c) Ex hist.
S. Albani.

IT now resteth by some few particulars to observe with what Wealth we have returned home, loaden with the Spoils of our Enemies; since no motives are so powerful to the Common greedy People as the hopes of gain, which will easily enforce them

In place of
spoil the
Souldiers re-
turn oppres-
sed with ex-
tream Beg-
gery.

(a) *Ire super gladios, superque Cadavera patrum,*
Et casos calcare Duces, ———

(a) Lucan. de
Bello Civili
lib. 7.

Tread upon Swords, and on their Fathers
Graves,
And spurn their slaughter'd Captains——

In the Expeditions of Henry the third, their purchases were so great, that the (b) Londoners were more grieved at the intolerable Beggeries that the King and his Army brought back, than for the expence of their own moneys: For

(b) Mat. Paris
pag. 580.

Cum labor in damno est crescit mortalis egestas,

When Toil brings Loss, Begg'ry must needs increase.

The same King, although called in by the Nobility of France (c) in Faction against their Master, returned no better rewarded than *Consumpta pecunia infinita, & Nobilibus & Militibus innumerabilibus vel Morti datis vel infirmitati, vel fame attenuatis, vel ad extremam redactis paupertatem*, with the having spent an infinite deal of money, his Nobles and Souldiers with-

(c) Hist. Mat.
Paris p. 1358.

out

out number being either slain, or sickly, or maimed, or half-starved, or else reduced to extreme poverty.

Innocentius the Pope repayed the expence of *Henry* the third and his people in his *Sicilian* Service with no better wages than this Scoffe, That *England* was (a) *Putens inexhaustus quem nullus poterat exsiccare*, a Well not to be emptied which no man could draw dry. What the succeeding times afforded may be well gathered out of the many Petitions in Parliament, in the twenty second of *Edward* the third, the fourth and seventh of *Richard* the second, the eighth of *Henry* the fifth, and tenth of *Henry* the sixth, ever complaining of the extreme Beggery the people brought home, and desiring some speedy Relief.

(a) *Mat. Paris* pag. 909.

(b) *Ex lit. Cardin. Wolfvi ad Card. Sordin.*

The Treasure (b) *Henry* the eighth spent in aid of *Maximilian* about recovery of *Verona* *nullum aliud factum nisi damnum & dedecus peperit*, brought him nothing else but Loss and Dishonour. For the *Emperour* having his turn served, delivered contrary to Contract, that City to the *French*, threatening to Confederat with them, *ni Rex ei continuo persolveret*, unless the King would forthwith pay him down a great sum of money; believing (as the words are) *Minis & terrore ab hoc Rege pecuniam posse haberi*, that this King would part with his money upon threatnings and great words. For the great Army of this King sent over into *France*, and the Million almost of Crowns he supplied the *Emperour* and *Duke* of *Bourbon* with in their wars of *Millan*, his People enduring new and unheard of Taxes at home, and his Souldiers great Extremity abroad,

he

he was himself at the last of all, (their ends effected) having spent the Treasure of his Father, and the Bounry of his Subjects, forsaken and left as the Pasquil painted him, *inter Moysen, Christum & Mahometem*, betwixt *Moses*, *Christ* and *Mahomet*, with this word, *Quo me vertam nescio*, Which way to turn me I know not. For two Millions of (a) *Crowns* bestowed in purchase of *Tourney*, not without suit of his own, he delivered it with little or no recompence: and rated his potential Interest of *France* at no greater Summ than an Annuity (b) of 100000 *Crowns*. What from the thirtieth of this King until the last of his son *Edward* the sixth for (c) 3173478 *l.* 15 *s.* 4 *d.* spent at Sea and Land in Forraign wars, this State received of inrichment, it seemeth so mean, as not worthy any place either in Story or Accompts.

(a) *Ex Instruct. Rich. Wingfield.*

(b) *Ex lit. Tho. Wolfey Episc. Lincoln.*

(c) *Ex computo in Archivis Rob. Com. Salisb.*

Until the late *Queen* was drawn into wars, she had in Treasure 700000 *l.* but after she was once intangled, it cost her before the thirtieth of her Reign 1517351 *l.* at which time she was but entering into the vastness of her future Charge: For the annual expence of 126000 *l.* in the *Low-Countries*, from 1587. until 1593. the yearly disbursement for (d) *Flushing* and the *Brill* 28482 *l.* the debts of the States 800000 *l.* and the Aides of the *French* King since he attained to that Crown to above 401734 *l.* was after that time. Thus by reason of war, besides Taxes upon her People to the Summ of two Millions, and eight hundred thousand pounds by Subsidies, Tenths and Fifteens, she hath spent of her Lands, Jewels and Revenues an infinite proportion.

(d) *Ex tractat. an. 1598.*

As

for the imaginary Profit grown by the many rich Spoils at Sea and Attempts in Spain, it may be well cast up by two examples of our best Fortunes. The Journey of *Cales* (a) defrayed not the Charge to her Majesty by 64000 l. And our times of most advantage by Prizes between *b* anno 30, and 34 of the *Queen*, wherein we received but 64044 l. defrayed not the Charge of her Navy, arising in the same years to 275761 l. As to the greatest Loss, expence of *Christian Blood*, it may well suffice to bemoan with * *Horace*,

*Parumne Campis atque Neptuno superfusum est
Latini sanguinis?*

*Neque hic Lupis mos nec fuit Leonibus
Unquam, nisi in dispar, feris.*

Is there as yet so little Latine Blood
Spilt on the Fields and Floods?
Nor Wolves nor Lions do we ever find
So cruel to their kind.

Forraign Dominions alwaies charge, no benefit.

Example in Normandy.

(c) *Mat. Paris.*

The last motive from Utility is, increase of Revenues to the publick Treasury by addition of Forreign Dominions. Which can receive no answer so full of satisfaction, as to instance the particular Summs, exhausted in every Age to retain them. Beginning first with the *Duchie of Normandy*: For retention whereof *William the Conquerour* from hence, (as the (c) Author saith) laden *Theauris innumeris*, with unaccountable Treasure, exacted *sive per fas sive per nefas*, in *Normanniam transfretavit*, gathered together by hook or by crook, wasted

over

over into *Normandy*. His Son (a) *ad retinendam* (a) *Ex legibus antiquis.* *Normanniam, Angliam excoriavit*, to retain *Normandy* flayed off *Englands* skin. To the same end by (b) *Henry* the first; *Anglia fuit bonis spoliata*, *England* was despoiled of its Goods. His (c) Grand-child took *Scutagium pro Exercitu Normannia*, a Scutage for his army in *Normandy* three times at a high rate: and was enforced then against incursions of the *French* to build and man (d) thirteen Castles *de novo & integro*, (d) *Ex lib: Pipnell.* intirely new.

Richard the first (e) exacted heavily upon his people, *ut potentes homines Regis Francie sibi conciliaret, ut terram propriam Normannia tutaretur*, therewith to make himself friends amongst the most powerful Courtiers of *France*, so to keep quietly his possessions in *Normandy*.

King John (f) as wearied with the Charge neglected it: And his Son (g) feeling a burden more than benefit, resigned his interest there for a little Money. When it was again reduced by *Henry* the fifth, (h) the judgement in Council was, That the keeping of it would be no less of expence than to war forth for all *France*. In the quiet possession of his Son *Henry* (i) (*John Duke of Bedford* then Regent) this *Duchy* cost the Crown of *England* 10942 l. yearly. (k) In an. 10. it appeareth by the Accompts of the Lord *Cromwel* Treasurer of *England*, that out of the Kings Exchequer at *Westminster* the entertainment of the Garrison and Governour was defrayed, the Rents of the *Duchy* not supporting the charge ordinary. (l) When *Richard Duke of York* was in the fifteenth year of *Henry* the sixth Regent, the certain Expence over-ballanced the

F

Receipt

(a) Rot. Parl. an. 17 H. 6. n. 27. Receipt 34008 l. And an. 27. (a) the Lord Hastings Chancellour of France declareth in Parliament, that Normandy was not able to maintain it self. But thus it continued not much longer; for this Crown was both eased of the Duchy and Charge shortly.

Aquitain,
Gascoign,
Guien.

Of the Principality of Aquitain, the Duchy of Gascoign, Guien and the Members, I find the state thus in record. In the twenty sixth of Henry the third, (b) there was issued from the Treasurer and Chamberlains at Westminster 10000 l. for payments in Gascoign; besides an infinite proportion of Victuals and Munition thither sent. To retain this Duchy in Duty and possession, (c) this King was inforced to pawn his Jewels, being *ere alieno graviter obligatus, Theauris, Donativis, Tallagiis, & extortionibus in Anglia consumptis*; very much indebted, and having spent all his Treasures, Grants, Tallages, and other Extortions in England. Besides the people there at his departure *extorserunt ab eo confessionem quadraginta millia Marcarum*, forced an acknowledgment from him of 40000 Marks. And a Story of that time saith of anno 38.

(d) Mat. Paris pag. 578. (d) Ille per multos labores & expensas inutiliter recuperavit Castra sua propria Vasconia, with a great deal of toile and expence, he unprofitably recovered his own Castles in Gascoign; of which the Labour was more than ever the Benefit could be.

(e) Ex Comput. Willielm. de Othelhampton, anno 17 H. 2. And thus it appeareth to have continued; for an. 17. (e) of Edward the second, the money disbursed out of England to defray the surcharge there came to 46595 l. 9 shillings 7 d. besides 29660 Quarters of Grain, and of Beeves and Bacons

Bacons an infinite proportion. In the first of Edward the third (a) the issues of Gascoign were 10000 l. above the Revenues. The Signiories in Aquitain (b) cost in eight years, ending the thirty sixth of this King, 192599 l. 4 shill. 5 d. *de receptis forinsecis* only, it was delivered in Parliament, an. 1 Rich. 2. (c) that Gascoign, and some few other places that were then held in France, cost yearly this Crown 42000 l. And in the seventeenth of this King (d) a Parliament was summoned for no other cause especial, than to provide money to clear the annual expences of those parts. The charge of Bordeaux (e) but one Town, surmounting in half a year all Rents and perquisites there 2232 l. As Fronsack in Aquitain 5787 l. for double that time; when the intire Duchy exceeded not 820 l. in yearly Revenues.

The Charge of Guien all the Reign of Henry the fourth (f) was 2200 l. annually out of the Exchequer of England. By accompt Aquitain (besides Guien 6606 l.) was the (g) first of Henry the fifth in surplufage of charge 11200 l. and the Town of (h) Bordeaux the five first years of the same King 6815 l. In the eleventh of (i) Henry the sixth, Sir John Ratcliffe Steward of Aquitain received from the Treasury of England *pro vadiis suis, &c.* 2729 l. and for expence in custody of Fronsack Castle only he payed 666 l. 13 shill. the profits of the Duchy no wayes able to clear the Accompts.

The Benefit we reaped by any footing in Brittany, may in a few Examples appear. (k) Henry the third confesseth that *ad defensionem Britannie non sufficiebant Angliae Theauri, quod jam*

F 2

per

(a) Pat. an. 1 E. 3.
(b) Ex Comput. Richardi Longley an. 36 E. 3. in The-saur. Regis Westmon. in Rot. Aquitaniae.
(c) Rot. Parl. anno 7 R. 2. m. 24.
(d) Rot. Parl. anno 17 R. 2.
(e) Ex Comput. Walt. de Weston.
(f) Ex Comput. Tho. Swinburn anno 10 H. 4.
(g) Ex Comput. Joannis Tiptoft an. 1 H. 5.
(h) Ex Comput. Will. Cliford & Robert. Holme an. 5 H. 5.
(i) Ex Rot. Parl. an. 11 H. 6.

(k) Ex Mat. Paris.

per triennium comprobavit, that the Treasurie of England would not suffice to maintain Britany, which he had found to be true upon three years tryal: and left in the end *tam laboriosis expensis amplius fatigari*, to tire himself farther with such toilsome expences.

Brest.

(a) Rot. Parl.

anno 2 R. 2.

Ex Comput.

Tho. Parry

Cust. Castr. de

Brest, a. 9 R. 2.

Callis.

(b) Ex Com-

put. Williel.

Horwell in

Thesaur. Regis.

(c) Ex Com-

put. Richardi

Ecclesball de

an. 28, 29, &

30 E. 3.

(d) Ex Rot.

Par. anno 2

R. 2.

(e) Ex Com-

put. Rob.

Thorley.

(f) Ex Com-

put. Simonis

de Burg.

(g) Ex Comp.

Rog. de Wald.

an. 13 R. 2.

et 15.

(h) Ex Comp.

Joannis Ber-

nam, an. 23

R. 2.

(i) Ex Comput.

Rob. Thorley.

(k) Ex Comp.

Nich. Uske.

The Town of Brest (a) cost Richard the second 12000 marks a year, and it stood him in an. 9. in 13118 l. 18 shill.

For Callis, I will deliver with as much shortness as may be, from the first acquisition until the loss, in every age the Expence (for the most part either out of the Treasurie or Customs of England,) disbursed. (b) From the eighteenth of Edward the third, until the one and twentieth, in which space it was taken, the charge amounted to 337400 l. 9 shill. 4 d. Anno 28.

of the same King for little more than a year 17847 l. 5 shillings. In anno 29. 30581 l. 18 d. for two years compleat. (c) In the thirtieth re-

ceived by Richard de Ecclesball Treasurer of Callis from the Bishop of Winchester Treasurer of England, 17847 l. (d) And in the year following

26355 l. 15 shill. (e) In the second of Richard the second *de receptis forinscecis*, which was money from the Exchequer at Westminster,

20000 l. for three years compleat. (f) Anno 5. 19783 l. For three years ending (g) anno 10.

77375 l. For the like term until an. 13. 48609 l. 8 shill. And (h) for the four succeeding years 90297 l. 19 shill. And for the last three years of his Reign, 85643 l.

From the end of (i) Richard the second until the fourth of Henry the fourth for three years (k) 62655 l. 17 shillings. And for one succeeding,

19783 l.

19783 l. The Charge in Victual and Provyion for two years five months in this Kings Reign (a) (a) Ex Comp. 46519 l. 15. shillings. Rob. Thorley.

In the first four and peaceable years of his Son there was issued from the Treasurie of England (b) 86938 l. 10 shill. for this place. And from (b) Ex Comp. anno 8. until the 9. 65363 l. It cost Henry the sixth (c) above all Revenue 9054 l. 5 shill. in (c) Rot. Parl. an. 11. The Subsidies in England were an. 27. (d) levied in Parliament to defray the wages and reparation of Callis. And the (e) one and thirtieth of this King there was a Fifteen and 2 shill. of every Sack of Wool imposed upon the Subjects here to the same end. (f) And the Parliament of (f) Rot. Parl. 33. was assembled of purpose to order a course for discharge of wages and expence at Callis: and the like authority directed the fourth of Edward the fourth, (g) that the Souldiers there should receive (g) Rot. Parl. Victuals, and salary from out of the Subsidies of 4 E. 4.

England. The disbursement thereof one year being 12771 l. (h) And in the sixteenth of the same King for like term there was (h) Ex Comp. *de Portu London, Hull, Sancti Botolphi, Poole, & Sandwico*, by Majoris Statute anno 1 R. 3.

the Ports of London, Hull, Boston, Pool, and Sandwiche, 12488 l. paid to the Treasurie of Callis. (i) And in an. 20. from out of the Customs of (i) Ex Comp. the same Ports to the same end 12290 l. 18 shill. origin. inter Chartas Roberti Cotton.

(k) And in 22. 11102 l. And the year following 10788 l. The seled ordinary wages of the Garrison in this Town yearly was 24 Hen. 8. (l) 8834 l. And about the thirtieth, when the Viscount (l) Ex Comp. Lisle was Deputy, 8117 l. And from the thirtieth (l) Ex lib. de expens. Bellor. H. 8. & E. 6. in Museo Com.

of this King to the end of his Son Edw. 6. this place did cost the Crown 371428 l. 18 shill. From (m) the first purchase of it by Edw. 3. until the loss thereof

thereof by *Queen Mary*, it was ever a perpetual issue of the Treasure of this Land, which might in continuance have rather grown to be a burthen of Danger to us, than any Fort of Security. For from the waste of money, which is *Nervus Reipublicæ*, the Sinew of a Common-wealth, as *Ulpian* saith, we may conclude with *Tacitus*, *Dissolutionem Imperii docet, si fructus quibus Respub. sustinetur diminuantur*, it foreshews the ruine of an Empire, if that be impaired which should be the sustenance of the Common-wealth. And therefore it was not the worst opinion (at such time as the Captivity of *Francis* the French King incited (a) *Henry* the eighth to put off that Kingdom, although in the close *major pars vicit meliorem*, the greater party out-voted the better,) that to gain any thing in *France* would be more chargeable than profitable, and the keeping more than the enjoying. The issue was in *Tournay*, *Bullen*, and this Town manifest. Besides the jealousy that Nation ever held over our designs and their own liberty. For as *Græcia libera esse non potuit dum Philippus Græcia Compedes tenuit*, *Greece* could never be free so long as *Philip* had the Fetters of *Greece* in his custody; so as long as by retention of *Callis* we had an easie descent into, and convenient place to trouble the Countrey, a Fetter to intangle them, they neither had assurance of their own quiet, nor we of their Amity. And it was not the least Argument from *Conveniency* in the detention of *Callis* (after the eight years expired of Redelivery) used by the *Chancellor* of *France*, (b) That we should gain much more in assured peace, which we could never have so long as we were

(a) Ex litera
Archiep. Cant.
Card. Wolsey.

(b) Ex litera
Thomæ Smith
Secret. anno
1567. 3 Maii.

Lords

Lords of that Town, than by any benefit it did or could yield us. It was never but a Pique and Quarrel between the two Realms: For upon every light displeasure, either Princes would take by and by to *Callis*, and make war there. God hath made a separation natural betwixt both *Nations*, a sure wall and defence,

Et penitus toto divisos Orbe Britannos;

That is, the English were divided from all the world.

But a little more to inform the weight of these Charges, it is not amiss to touch (by way of comfort that from which we are so happily by (a) *Ex Comp. Joannis Tiptoft.* the infinite blessings of God and benignity of a Gracious King delivered; and also that other of (b) *Ex Comp. Hen. Percy, anno 1 H. 4.* burthen still, (though much lightened) until conformity of Affections and designs of Councils (c) *Parl. an. 11 H. 6.* shall further effect a Remedy.

The Charge of *Barwick* and the *Frontiers* in (d) *Ex museo 20 Edward 3. was 3129 l. for three years. Com. Salisbury.* In the end of *Richard 2.* and entrance of *Henry 4.* (e) *Ex comp. Williel. de Brunleigh.* (b) 10153 l. And (c) 11 *Henry 6.* the Custody of the *Marches* 4766 l. In the 2 *Maria* (f) *Ex comp. Nicol. Episc. Meth, an. 30 Ed. 3.* the annual Charge of *Barwick* was 9413 l. (d) And in *an. 2 Elizabeth* 13430 l. And *an. 26 Ed. 3.*

The Kingdom of *Ireland*, beyond the Revenues, (g) *Ex Comp. Tho. Scurley, an. 50 E. 3.* was 29 E. 3. (e) 2285 l. *An. 30.* (f) 2880 l. and (g) *an. 50. 1808 l.* All the time of *Richard 2.* (h) *Ex Comp. Joan. Spencer, de annis R. 2.* (b) it never defrayed the charges; And came short in 11 *Henry 6.* 4000 Marks (i) of annual issues. The Revenue there in *omnibus exitibus* (i) *Ex Rot. Par. an. 11 H. 6.* & *proventus*, in all the rents and profits yearly,

F 4

by

by Accompt of *Crommel* Lord Treasurer, not above 3040 *l.* But passing over these elder times: in the Reign of the late *Queen*, when the yearly Revenue was not 15000 *l.* the expence for two years (a) ending 1571. amounted to 116874 *l.* In an. 1584. for less than two years came it to 86983 *l.* (b) The charge there in two years of Sir *John Parrots* Government ending 1586. was 116368 *l.* In anno 1597. the Receipt not above 25000 *l.* the issue was 91072 *l.* And when in 35 *Elizabeth* the Rents and Profits of that Kingdom exceeded not 27118 *l.* the Disbursement in seven moneths were 171883 *l.* The Charge 1601. (c) for nine moneths 167987 *l.* And for the two years following accounted by the allayed money 670403 *l.* And in the first of the King, 84179 *l.* Whose Government although it hath blessed both us and that Kingdom with the benefit of Peace, yet hath it not delivered himself from a large and yearly expence here for supportation of that State out of his own Treasure. And thus far in answer of the Argument from increase of Revenue by forraign Dominions,

Addition of any forraign Title no Honour.

As to the Arguments of Honour by addition of Titles and forraign Territories; it may suffice in answer, That so long as this Crown was actually possessed of any such Signiory, the Tenure and Service did ever bring with it a note and badge of Vassalage; than which nothing to so free a Monarch as the King of England (who is

(d) *Monarcha in Regno, & tot & tanta habet Privilegia quot Imperator in Imperio*, a Monarch

(d) *Baldus.*

narch in his Kingdom, and hath as many and as large Priviledges therein as an Emperour in his Empire,) could be more in blemish or opposition. To write *Domino Regi nostro Francie*, To our Lord the King of France, as during the time we held the Provinces in France, we usually did in all our Letters and publick Contracts with that Crown, can be called no addition of Honour. And whether upon every command to act in person those base services of *Homage* and *Fidelity*, as first in putting off the *Imperial Crown*, the kneeling low at the foot of that King, and taking an Oath to become *Homme liege du Roys de France*, a liege subject to the Kings of France, &c. we in performing so the duties of a subject, do not much more disparage the dignity of a Sovereign, is no question of doubt. From these considerations of Reputation and Honour, (the greatest stayes that support Majesty, and retain Obedience) our Kings of England have as far as to the forfeit of those Signiories, either avoided or refused the services. As King *John* did *Normandy*; and *Edward* the second resigned to his Son the *Duchy of Aquitain*, to put off the act of homage from himself, to whom it could not in respect of his Regality but be a dishonour. As appeareth in *Henry* the second, who having made his Son *Consortem Imperii*, a King of England with him, *Homagium à Filio noluit* (saith the Record) *quia Rex fuit, sed securitatem accepit*; would not receive Homage of him, because he was a King, but took his Security. In the seventeenth of *Richard* the second, the Lords and Justices would not consent to a Peace with France, unless the King

Stile of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, accounted by our Kings a Vassalage.

King might not do *Homage*, they held it so base, supposing thereby the liberty of the Kings Person and Subject wronged. And thus much of the little Reputation that either in Title or Territory those subordinate *Duchies* in *France* added to this Crown.

Stile of France restrained by petition in Parliament.

As for the *Kingdom* of *France*, the people of *England* were so little in love with that Title, as any Honour to them, that by Acts of Parliament 14 Ed. 3. and 8 Ed. 5. they provided that the Subjects of *England* should owe no Obedience to the King as King of *France*, nor the Kingdom of *England* be in any wise subjected by such Union to that Crown.

France possessed would leave us to the misery of a Province.

And so much we have ever been in fear of that place, lest it might leave this State to the misery of a *Provincial* Government: as in 17 H.6. the Commons urged to contribute for the recovery of that Crown, answered, that the gaining of any footing in *France* would induce the Kings abroad there, and by such absence cause great decay and desolation in this State; besides the transport of our money in the mean time, which would enrich that Countrey, and impoverish the Realm at home, whereby we should justly again say, (a) *Britannia servitutem suam quotidie emittit, quotidie postulat*, The Britains are every day begging to be slaves, every day giving money for it.

(a) Tacit. in vita Agricola.

To enterprize any war, not so easie.

The last motive is, the advantage we now have of greater Facility and assurance of Success in any forreign enterprize, by this happy Union of both Kingdoms, than ever any of our Ancestors had.

To

To which in answer nothing can be more full, Means of success formerly. than laying down the motives and means that led on the Kings of this Realm to attempt and prosperously effect their undertakings in other parts, weigh how they suit these times, and whether that any or all the advantages we now have, may be to them of equal worth and valuation. The first consideration is in Place, the next in Person. In the wars of *France* (whether those for the defence of particular *Signiories*, or competition of the intire Kingdom) we had ever Ports to land at, and Forts to retire to, which now we have not. The coast of *Normandy* was our own, by which we might enter the midst of *France*. And *Edward* the third when he intended to annoy the East part, sided with *Montfort* against *Charles de Bloys*, whom he invested with the *Duchy* of *Britain*, that so he might have there an easie footing. Thus by leave of his Confederates in *Flanders* he had safe entrance for all his Army to invade the other side, and a sure retreat, when upon any occasion he would come back, as he did to *Antwerp*. And wheresoever any Army may have a quiet descent, the greatest difficulty is overcome; for the rest consisteth in Chance, wherein Fortune is rather wont to prevail than Vertue. But (a) *ibi grave est Bellum gerere, ubi nullus est Classis Portus apertus, non ager pacatus, non Civitas socia, non consistendi aut procedendi locus, quocumq; circumspexeris hostilia sunt omnia*; There 'tis a hard task to wage war, where there is no Port open for our Navy, the Countrey our enemy, no City our Confederate, no place to make a stand or to march out from, but whithersoever a man looks, he can see nothing but hostile intentions against us. And this must be now our case, which was never our Ancestors. Ad.

Advantage of Place and Party. Advantage of Place.

(a) Liv. lib. 28.

A Party

For the Persons considerable, the are the Subjects to our enemies, or our own Confederates. Of the first, our Kings heretofore did either work on the opportunity of any dissention ministred, or by Pension and Reward either make a fraction in Obedience, or Neutrality in Assistance with the Subjects of their Adversary. The Dukes of Burgundy, Earls of Britain, Dreux and others in France, offended with their Sovereign, (a) *Confederati erant Comiti Britannia Henrico & Regi Anglia*, became Confederates with Henry Earl of Britain and King of England; and thereupon drew him over into Britain. (b) The same King by yearly Pensions of 7000 l. kept divers in Poitou in fraction against their Lord and their own Loyalty. Edw. 3. had never undertaken the conquest of France, if (c) Robert de Artoys (displeased with the Sentence of Philip his Master for that Earldom) had not incited and complotted for him, as Godfrey of Harecourt did after. Nor Henry (d) 5. if the unsound memory of the French King, the jealousy of those Princes and Orleantial Faction had not made his way and Fortune.

(a) Matth. Paris in vita H. 3.

(b) Matth. Par. vita H. 3.

(c) Froissard.

(d) Walsingham. T. Livius Foroliviensis in vita H. 5.

Confederates were the only ground of all the good success.

Advantage personal was either

Confederates. **T**he Confederates our Kings held formerly for mutual Aid were of such consequence in all their affairs,

fairs, that those so best strengthened achieved ever the greatest and most glorious victories. As the first and third Edwards, the fifth and eighth Henries. Whereas Henry the sixth, that was of all the rest left most naked to himself, although the greatest otherwise in opportunity, lost all the purchase of his Ancestors in the end. It is not amiss in such a foundation of Greatness as Confederacy, to lay down successively, first, with whom we tyed that knot of love; then, what were the motives, or assurances; and lastly, whether the same in both is left to our occasions, and will now or no.

Henry the first, but to assure his own possessions beyond Sea, (a) *adscivit in presidium Comitem Britannia, & Theobaldum Comitem Blesensem*, called to his aid the Earl of Britain, and Theobald Earl of Bloys.

Henry the second did the like with (b) Robert Earl of Flanders. And again (c) *cum Theodorico Comite Flandriae, Baronibus, Castellanis, & ceteris hominibus Comitibus*, with Theodoric Earl of Flanders, the Barons, Governours of Castles, and other the Subjects of the said Earl; who stood bound to serve him *in summonitione sua, sicut Domino, pro feodis que de ipso teneant*, upon a summons, as well as their own Lord, for the Fees which they held of him.

Baldwin Earl of Flanders contracteth under Bond (d) *mutui subsidii, quod sine Rege Richardo Angliae non componeret cum Rege Francorum*, of mutual aid, that he would not come to agreement with the French King without Richard King of England. And the (e) Britains

A list of all the Confederates from Hen. the firsts Reign to the end of the last Queen. Henry 2.

(a) Ex Contract. orig. in Arch. Thef. west.

(b) Ex Radulph. de Dico.

(c) Ex orig. signat. a Comite & Castellanis, in Thef. west.

Richard 2. (d) Ex Radulph. de Dico.

(e) Matth. Paris 184.

tains relicto Rege Francie Regi Richardo adhaerunt, forsaking the King of France, did joyn with King Richard.

King John.

(a) Indorso Cla. an. 1 fo- annis.

(b) Ex orig. in Thes. westm.

Henry 3.

(c) Dorf. pat.

11 H. 3. m. 11.

(d) Rot. lib. an.

14 H. 3. m. 7.

ex originali.

Between King John (a) and the Earl of Flanders there was a Combination *mutui auxilii contra Regem Francorum*, of mutual assistance against the French King. (b) The like with the City of Doway and Earl of Holland.

Hen. 3. anno 11. drew (c) Peter Duke of Britany into Confederacy against the French; and Fernand Earl of Flanders with a Pension annual of five hundred Marks. (d) And anno 38. Alfonsus King of Castile combineth with him and his heirs *contra omnes homines in mundo*; against all the men in the World. To whom he remained so constant, that an. 8. and 10 Edw. 1. he would not grant a Truce to the French King, but *ad preces & instantiam* at the instant suit of the King of England.

Edward 1.

(e) Claus. an.

13 Edw. 1.

(f) Ex origin. in Thesaur.

(g) Rot. Vasc.

con. an. 20.

m. 19.

(h) Rot. Alman. de an. 22.

& 31. m. 13.

(i) Ex origin. sub sigillo in Thes. westm.

(k) Rot. Alman. an. 31.

m. 14.

(l) Dorf. Rot. Alman. 18.

Edward 1. an. 13. (e) by a pretence of inter-marriage drew Florence Earl of Holland from the French to his party; (f) and the year following, by the mediation of the Lord of Black-mont, the Earl of Flanders, who in (g) an. 20. assisted him in the wars of Gascoign. (b) In the 22. he combined with Adolph King of the Romans, and the Earl of Gueldres; tying the Nobility of Burgundy with a yearly donative of 30000 l. *Turonensium* to aid him *contra Regem Francie*, against the French King. (i) He had Guido Earl of Flanders and Philip his son for 100000 l. *Turonensium* in pay against the French King, an. 24, 25, and 31. of his Reign; (k) retaining the Earl of Gueldres by pay of 1000000 l. the Duke of Lorrain by 1600000 l. (l) the Nobility

Nobility of Burgundy by a Pension of 30000 l. and Wallerand Lord of Mantay by 300 l. *Turonensium* in his service the same year. (a) And (a) Rot. Pat. in anno 34. *Reginaldum Comitem Montis Belliardi & alios de Burgundia contra Regem Francie*, Reginald Earl of Mont-Belliard and other Burgundians against the King of France.

Edward the second had (b) *auxilium tam maritimum quam terrestre à Genoesibus*, assistance as well by Sea as by Land from the Genoeses. (c) And in anno 18. besides his Alliance with Flanders, John Protector of Castile aideth him *contra Gallos cum 1000. equitibus & peditibus, & Scutiferis 10000.* against the French with 1000. horse and foot, and 10000. other armed men.

Edward the third (d) had by the Marriage of Edward 3. Philip, the Earl of Henault and Holland her Father assured to him; and retained John of Henault and his Followers, (e) *qui venerunt in auxilium ad rogatum Regis*, who came to assist the King at his call, with a Salary of 14000 l. yearly. Before he adventured to avow and maintain his Challenge to the Kingdom of France, (f) he made up to his party Lodowick the Emperour, (who the better to countenance his enterprize, elected him *Vicarium Imperii*, Vicar of the Empire.) (g) Reginald Earl of Gueldres, Lewis Marques of Brandenburg, Conrade Lord of Hard, who served him with fifty men at Arms, the Cardinal of Genoa and his Nephew, who aided him with Gallies, the Magistrates of Colen, Bruxells, Lorrain and Mechlin, and (h) Jaques de Artevile head of the Gantois Faction; who having

(a) Rot. Pat. an. 34. m. 24.

Edward 2. (b) Rot. Vasc. an. 9. & 11.

(c) Dorf. Claus. an. 18.

m. 7.

(d) Froisard.

(e) Rot. libera 2. m. 6.

(f) Rot. Alman. anno 11.

(g) Rot. Antwer. anno 12.

(h) Froisard.

quitted

quitted all duty to the banished *Earl*, submitted themselves and most of *Flanders* to the service and protection of *Edward* the third, who to free them of two Millions of Crowns, wherein, as a Caution of obedience to the Crown of *France*, (a) they stood bound as well by Oath as Obligation, took upon him the Title of King of *France*, and imployed *John* Duke of *Brabant* and *Lorraine*, *William* Marquess of *Juliers*, and the *Earl* of *Henault* and *Holland*, his assured Friends, *Procuratores suos ad vendicandum Regnum Francia*, his Procurators to claim the Crown of *France*.

(a) *Ex Rot. Antwerp. an. 12.*

(b) *Rot. Parl. anno 14. n. 8.* (b) These his Allies not long after meeting him at *Tournay* with one hundred thousand men, as *Robert de Artoys* did with fifty thousand at *S. Omers* against the *French* King. And thus he attired and furnished his first enterprize, weaving into his Faction and support more and more, as often as either pretence or just occasions would give him leave. By (c) colour of Marriage he drew in the King of *Sicily* in the eighteenth year, the Duke of *Millain*, and the King of *Castile* for mutual aid; and (d) *Simon Butangre* Duke of *Genoa*, and his Subjects for hire and reward. In the nineteenth year (e) the questionable Title of the *Duchy* of *Britain* assured him of *John de Montford*; against whom the (f) *French* King maintained *Charles de Bloys* for that *Duchy*. In anno 24. (g) he renewed the Contract with the *Genoeses*; and in the thirtieth made a convention of Peace, & *mutui auxili cum Rege Navarre*, and of mutal aid, with the King of *Navarre*. In (h) the thirty seventh with *Peter* King of *Castile*; and in that and the one and fortieth (i) an alliance of Aid and Amity he entered with the Duke

(c) *Claus. an. 18. m. 25.*

(d) *Dors. Claus. an. 18. m. 20.*

(e) *Dors. Claus. an. 19. m. 14.*

(f) *Froisard.*

(g) *Rot. Pat. an. 24. n. 8.*

(h) *Ex originali de an. 7. in lib. Rob. Cot.*

(i) *Ex orig. in Thes. west. de an. 37. & 41.*

Duke of *Britain*: and anno 45. (a) again with the *Genoeses* and *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders* and Duke of *Brabant*; (b) and an. 46. with *Ferdinand* King of *Portugal*.

(a) *Ex orig. sub sigillo.*
(b) *Ex Contr. tract. origin. in Archiv. Thes. westm.*

Richard the second reneweth (c) in anno 1. the confederation that his Grandfather had with the Duke of *Britain*; and with whom anno 3. he contracted anew, as he had done anno 2. with *Lewis* (d) Earl of *Flanders*. In the sixth (e) year he combineth with the *Flemings* (f) *contra inimicos communes*, against the enemies of them both; with (g) the Kings of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Navarre* and *Arragon*, *de mutuis auxiliis*, for mutual aid; (h) and with *Winceflaus* the Emperor *Contra Carolum Regem Francie & Robertum Regem Scotie*, against *Charles* King of *France*, and *Robert* King of *Scotland*. In anno 8. (i) with the Kings of *Jerusalem*, *Sicily*, and *Portugal*. In the tenth with *Portugal*, who at his own charges aided this King with ten *Galleys*. And with *William* Duke of *Gueldres* *de mutuis auxiliis*, for mutual aid. And anno 12. (k) 18. and 19. with *Albert* Duke of *Bavaria*. (l) And an. 20. with the Earl of *Ostrenant* *de retinentiis contra Regem Francie*, against the King of *France*. And *Rupertus* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhene* anno 20. became a *Homager* for term of life to this King.

(c) *Claus. an. 1 R. 2. Richard 2.*
(d) *Rot. Franc. anno 2.*
(e) *Ex orig. in Thes.*
(f) *Rot. Parl. anno 6. n. 11.*
(g) *Ex Contr. tract. in lib. Italico Rob. Cotton.*
(h) *Rot. Franc. an. 6. m. 28.*
(i) *Rot. Franc. an. 12. m. 16. & an. 18. & 19.*
(k) *Rot. Franc. an. 12. m. 16. & an. 18. & 19.*
(l) *Rot. Franc. an. 20. m. 2.*

(m) *Rot. Claus. an. 2 H. 4. & Rot. Franc. an. 2 & 3 H. 4. m. 6. Henry 4.*
(n) *Rot. Franc. an. 12 H. 4. m. 21. Henry 5.*
(o) *Tho. Walsingham.*

Henry the fourth entred alliance (m) of mutual aid in two years with *William* Duke of *Gueldres* and *Mons*. (n) In the twelfth with *Sigismund* King of *Hungaria*. (o) And in the thirteenth by siding with the Factions of the Dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans*, laid the basis upon which his Son that succeeded reared the *Trophies* of his Renown.

For

For Henry the fifth going forward upon the Advantage left and daily offered, strengthened himself anno 4. (a) by a League perpetual with Sigismund the Emperour; renewing that of Richard the second. (b) with John King of Portugal, as his Father had done. He entred a contract with the Duke of Britain, and with the Queen of Jerusalem and Lewis her Son for the Duchy of Anjou and Mayn; and with the King of Portugal and Duke of Bavaria for supply of Men and Munition by them performed. (c) And the year before the Battel of Agincourt sendeth the Lord Henry Scrope to contract with the Duke of Burgundy (d) and his Retinue for Wages in *servitio suo in Regno Francie vel Ducatu Aquitanie*, in his service in the Kingdom of France, or the Duchy of Aquitain; esteeming the alliance of that house the readiest means to attain his end.

Henry the sixth (e) so long as he held the Amity of Britain (for which he contracted) and the confederacy of Burgundy, his friend of eldest assurance and best advantage, which he did to the sixteenth year of his Government, there was no great decline of his Fortune in France. But when Burgundy (f) brake the bond of our assurance, and betook him to the Amity of France, and dealt with this Crown; but as a Merchant by way of intercourse, first at the Treaty of Bruges 1442. then at (h) Callis 1446. the reputation and interest we held in France declined faster in the setting of this Son, than ever it increased in the rising of the Father.

And Edward the fourth who succeeded, sensible of this loss, wooed by all the means either of Intercourse or Marriage to win again the

(a) Ex Rot. Parl. an. 4.

(b) Ex Orig. in Thes. westm.

(c) Ex Chron. Rogeri wall. in vita H. 5. an. 5. & 8.

(d) Ex Instr. orig. 31 aug. 5 H. 5.

Henry 6. (e) Ex Contract. origin.

(f) Ex Tractat. Alrabatenfi.

(g) Ex Tract. Brugens. 1442.

(h) Ex Tract. Callisve 1445.

Ex Tractat. Bruxellens. 1446.

house of Burgundy (a) which in anno 7. he did, to joyn for the recovery of his right in France. (b) And drew in the year following the Duke of Britain to that Confederacy. In the (c) eleventh year he renewed with Charles of Burgundy the bond of mutual Aid; and contracted the next (d) year the like with the King of Portugal. And in an. 14. *pro recuperatione Regni Francie contra Ludovicum Usurpantem*, for the recovery of the Kingdom of France out of the hands of Lewis the Usurper, (e) as the Record is) entred a new Confederacy with the Dukes of Burgundy and Britain: (f) And in the end wrought from them a round Pension of money, though he could not any portion of land.

Henry the seventh (g) anno 5. & 6. entertaineth an Alliance with Spain against the French King. The like in the eighth with the King of Portugal: and in the tenth (h) with the house of Burgundy for Intercourse and mutual Aid.

Henry the eighth in anno 4. (i) reneweth the Amity of Portugal; and the next year combineth with the Emperour Maximilian against Lewis the French King, who aideth him out of Artoys and Henault with four thousand horse and six thousand foot; whereupon he winneth Tournay, (k) *Consilio, Auxilio, & favoribus Maximiliani Imperatoris*, with the advice, assistance, and countenance of the Emperour Maximilian. In anno 7. (l) to weaken the French King, he entereth league with the Helvetian Cantons by his Commissioners Wingsfeld and Pace; and with (m) Charles of Spain for Amity and mutual Aid: into which Maximilian the Emperour and Joan of Spain (n) were received the year following.

(a) Parl. an. 7 E. 4. n. 28.

(b) Rot. Franc. an. 8. m. 22. & ex contract. originali.

(c) Rot. Franc. an. 11 E. 4. m. 7

(d) Rot. Franc. an. 12. m. 22. & ex orig. in Thes. westm.

(e) Rot. Franc. an. 14. m. 18. & 19.

(f) Ex Contr. de an. 1487. pro solutione

50000 scutorum ad 100 annos.

Henry 7. (g) Rot. Franc. an. 5. & 6 H. 7. & Contr. orig. an. 8 H. 7.

Henry 8. (h) Ex magno intercessu de an. 1495.

(i) Ex tract. origin. de dat. 1513.

(k) Ex literis Max. Imp. Car. Fhor. dat. 15. anno 7 H. 8.

(l) Rot. Franc. anno 7 H. 8.

(m) Ex tract. Bruxellens. 1515.

(n) Ex orig. subscript. card. Sedunensi de dat. 1516.

(a) *Ex tract. Callis. an. 1521* (a) In an. 12. with the Emperour Charles and (b) Margaret Regentess of Burgundy he maketh a Confederation against Francis the French King, as the common enemy: & quia Rex Angliae non possit ex propriis Subditis tantum equitum numerum congenere, the King of England could not furnish such a quantity of Horse of his own Subjects, as was mentioned in the contract; the Emperour giveth leave that he levy them in any his Dominions in Germany. And the Pope in furtherance of his intendment, interdicteth the French Territories, calleth in aid Brachii Secularis, of the Secular power, (c) those two Princes; appointeth the Emperour Protectorem & advocatum Ecclesiae, the Churches Advocate and Protector; and stileth their Attempt sancta expeditio, an holy expedition. (d) And this is by the Treaty at Windsor the next year confirmed and explained. Renewing in the years (e) twenty one, thirty five and thirty eight the association, and bond of mutual aid with the same Princes, and against the French King, if he brake not off his Amity with the Turk.

(b) *Ex tract. orig. subscript. manu Card. Ebor. & Marg. Regent. 24. August. 1521.*

(c) *Ex tract. Winsor. 1522.*

(d) *Ex tract. Cambrensis. 1529.*

(e) *Ex tract. ultrajectensi.*

(f) *Ex tract. de anno 1543. Ex originali dat. ultima. Janu. 1547.*

(g) *Ex tract. Rich. Morison. Edward 6.*

(h) *Ex litera Ducis Somers. Magist. pag. 1549.*

(i) *Ex contr. Matrimoniali. 1554.*

And although (f) Edward the sixth in the first year of his Reign made the Contract between the Crown of England and the house of Burgundy perpetual; yet (g) forbore he to aid the Emperour in the wars of France, disabled (as he pretended) by reason of the Poverty the troubles of Scotland had drawn upon him; (h) And therefore offered the Town of Bullen to the Imperial Protection.

During the Reign of Queen Mary, there was no other but that (i) of Marriage, Aid and Entercourse with the Emperour, Spain and Burgundy;

gundy; (a) and besides that tripartite bond at Cambray of Amity and Neutrality. Our late Renowned Mistris entertained with the Prince of Conde (b) about New-haven, and (c) with Charles the ninth 1564. and at (d) Bloys 1572. with the King of Navarre before the accession of the Crown of France to him, and after Britain, and lastly by the Duke of Bullen (e) in ninety six. And with the States of the Netherlands in the years eighty five (f) and ninety eight, divers Treaties of Amity, Confederation and Assistance.

By all these passages, (being all that well either our Story or Records can discover) it appeareth manifest the Kings of England never to have undertaken, or fortunately entertained any Forreign Enterpize without a party and confederate. Amongst which by situation, those of best advantage to us have been the Dukes of Britain, Lords of the Netherlands, the City of Genoa, the Kings of Portugal and Spain, and the Empire, since knit into the house of Burgundy.

As for the remote and in-land Princes of Germany, the Kings of Denmark, Poland and Sweden, (so far removed) I have seldome observed that this Crown hath with them contracted any League of Assistance or Confederacy, but of Amity and Entercourse only.

(a) *Ex tract. Matr. 1555. Queen Mary.*
 (b) *Ex artic. subscript. a Vidame de Chartres 1562 Elizabeth.*
 (c) *Ex foeder. Trecenti. 1564.*
 (d) *Ex tract. Plajensi.*
 (e) *Ex tract. Londini. 1596.*
 (f) *Ex tract. cum ordin. Belgiae de an. 1585. & 1598.*

Confederates of most benefit to England.

Princes whose Confederation are of least benefit. Bonds of Confederation cannot be the same they were before. As with the State of Genoa.

(a) Liv. Dec. 4. l. 2.

(b) In Relation de Statu Genev. an. 1595.

Navarre. Britain.

IT remaineth to observe a little, what were the reasons that first induced, and then preserved the Affection and Alliances of these several Nations respectively to this Crown. The assurance we had of the State of Genoa was their Pensions and Traffick here. All which time by equality of Neighbourhood they stood of themselves without any jealousy of Surprize. But as soon as *Vicinum Incendium*, the fire began in *Millain*, they put themselves into the protection of Spain, foreseeing how dangerous it would be for a weak State to stand *Neutral*, according to *Aristhenus* counsel to the *Atolians*, (a) *Quid aliud quam nusquam gratia stabili prada victoris erimus?* What else will become of us, being in firm friendship with neither side, than to be made a prey to the Conquerour? Since which time Spain by estating *Doria*, *Grimaldi*, and the *Spinellos*, chief Families of that City, with great Patrimonies in *Naples*, retaining their Gallies in his perpetual service and salary, the Inhabitants of all sorts in beneficial Trade, and (no less in Policy to ingage that City, than to supply his own Wants) continually owing the wealthiest Citizens such vast summs of money, as the Interest of late exceeded (b) twenty five Millions; he hath tyed it more sure to the Spanish party, than if it were commanded by a *Cittadel*; so that it must ever now follow the faction and fortune of that Crown.

Navarre and Britain (while States of themselves) were so long firm to our Confederacy, as they were tyed with the bond of their own Calamity,

Calamity, occasioned by that power, which incorporating lately the one by Descent, the other by Contract, is by that Union and return of all the *Appennagii*, more potent than ever it hath been under the House of *Capet*.

Burgundy was so long our friend, as either *Burgundy*. they were enriched by Staple of our Commodities, or had protection of our Swords against *France*, who not only claimed Sovereignty over most, but a proprietary interest in part; and therefore had reason to give Aid and Arms to such a Confederate as did by a diverse War secure, and by particular Immunities enrich that State. But now growing into *Spain*, they need no such assurance in the one; and we almost undone by their draping of our Wooll, (which is happily called home,) not able to return them the benefit of the other, cannot presume upon any such assurance of their aid as heretofore.

Spain may seem to give us the best hope of a *Spain*. fast Confederate for two respects. *First*, for that he is absolute, and that we be equally devoid of demand, neither having against the other any Titles. *Next*, for that the intercourse of Trade is more reciprocal between us than *France*, and our Amity founded upon long love and old blood. To this may be made a two-fold answer, from the change of their Dispositions: *First*, for that they never assist any now, but to make themselves Master of their State. Thus ended they the strife between the Competitors of *Portugal*. And when they were called into *Naples* by the *Queen* against the *French*, they combined with her Adversary, and divided the Kingdom.

Kingdom. And after upon the River of *Garrigon*, under their Leader *Gonsalves*, taking an advantage, they defeated the whole Army of the *French*, holding ever since that entire Kingdom themselves. For *Spain* will admit neither Equality nor Fellowship, since upon Union of so many Kingdoms, and famous Discoveries, they begun to affect a fifth Monarchy. The other; that the late hostility between them and us hath drawn so much blood, as all forms of ancient Amity are quite washed away: and as

(a) *Paterculus*, *Paterculus* (a) faith of *Carthage* to *Rome*, so may we of *Spain* to *England*, *Adeo odium Certaminibus ortum ultra metam durat, ut ne in victis quidem deponitur, neque ante inuisum esse desinet quam esse desit*: The hatred begot by former quarrels doth endure so lastingly, that the very conquered party cannot forget it: and in such a case the very places must cease to be, before the hatred and envy towards it can cease.

Dangers in Confederacy by diversity of Ends. Examples, that ends served, Confederates quit all bonds of Combination.
(a) *Matth. Paris* 1242.

Besides these local considerations, there will be two other Dangers now fall out from any Contract of mutual aid: The one from diversity of Intention, and the other of Religion. In the one, when either the Confederate hath safely attained his own secret End, (whatsoever he pretendeth in the entrance,) he leaveth the other to work out his own designs. Thus was *Henry* the third served, called over by the Earls of *Toulouse* and *March*: they in the mean time having made their Peace with *France*: (a) *Et expertus jam infidem, imo perfidiam Pictavensium, turpiter recessit, & festinans non pepercit Calca-*
ribus,

ribus, infomuch that having found the treachery and perfidiousness of the *Poictovins*, he was forced dishonourably to retreat, and for haste to spurr away; the peril the poor King was left in being so great. He was handled like to this by *Pope Alexander* the fourth, who having drawn him into the wars of *Apulia* against *Manfred*, in the end, *depauperato Regno Anglia, & undique bonis suis spoliato*, his Kingdom of *England* being impoverished, and wholly despoiled of its Goods, left him to his own shift. The King of *Navarr* calling in the aide of *Edward* the third (a) against *France*, and appointing the Isle of *Gersey* the Rendezvous of their forces, revolteth to the *French*, after he had by countenance of that preparation wrought his Peace. *Maximilian* the Emperour to induce *Henry* the eighth not only contracteth to aide him in person to recover the Crown of *France*, & *pro tyrannico Rege repellendo*, and to remove the tyrannical King, (they are the words of the League;) but conferreth upon him in the same *Coronam Imperialem & Imperium Romanum*, the Imperial Crown and the *Roman* Empire in reversion; and estateth the *Duchy* of *Millain* after recovery upon his person, & *suorum naturalium masculini sexus heredum, modo feodorum Imperialium*, and his heirs male lawfully begotten, to hold in Fee of the Empire: yet in the close left the King to his own fortune, his turn for *Millain* and *Verona* served. *Charles* the fifth when by the incurfion of the *French* he saw his portion in *Italy* distressed, in safety whereof consisted the whole Pulse of the *Spanish*, (as he used himself to say,) for it supplied his Army with great Levies,

(a) *Rot. Parl. anno 29 E. 3. n. 6.*

Suspecting
that an Allie
may grow too
great, dissol-
veth alliance.

Liv. lib. 34.

vies, and was fitly seated for a fifth *Monarchy*; he then engaged *Henry* the eighth in the wars of *France*, and bound himself (as *Bourbon* his Confederate) that he would assist him to the full Conquest of that Kingdom, and the other should become *Homager* to *Henry* the eighth as to his Sovereign. But after that *Bourbon* had advanced his Army and distressed the *French* King, he in his answer to *Master Pace* the Kings Ambassadour refused that assurance of duty, and gave a just suspicion, that he by help of his Party intended to usurp upon that State himself, which the *Emperour* never meant to the King of *England*; lest by such footing in *France*, he might grow so great as to give Law to his neighbours. And to fall off upon such grounds hath ever been excusable, howsoever the bonds of Alliance were. Thus did *Henry* the eighth as often change his hand of help, as either Princes of *Spain* and *France* got ground of the other. And the *Spaniard* now, to keep the States in *Italy* disunited, compoundeth differences at his pleasure, or taketh part with the weaker, not suffering any, though his own dependant, to grow too strong: which was lately seen in patronizing the *D. of Mantua* against *Savoy*, according to the Rule of *Quinctius* in *Livy*, *Non tantum interest Aetolorum opes minui*, it doth not stand us so much in hand to break the strength of the *Aetolians*, (yet they were enemies,) *quantum, non supra modum Philippum crescere*, as it doth to see that *Philip* grow not too potent, who was their friend.

The difference in *Religion* may bring likewise a twofold danger. The one with our Confederates, the other with the Subjects of this Crown.

For

Danger by difference in Religion, in respect of the

Confederates, who

may break by dispensation, though both Catholics.

For whensoever we shall attempt upon a *Catholick Prince*, as *France*, where we have the fairest pretences, for with any other we are like to have no question; then is all Contract of mutual aide left to the election of our

Confederate, who may with all easiness procure from the See of *Rome* a discharge of all Contracts, although they were by Oath. For if in Leagues where either party have been Catholics, as that between *Edward 3.* and *John* King of *France*, and that between *John* of *Gaunt* and the King of *Castile*; they ever out of such suspect inserted this Clause, That neither side should procure *dispensationem, &c. either per Ecclesiam Romanam, vel per aliquam aliquam*, a Dispensation either by the Church of *Rome*, or any other way, to do *contra formam Tractatus*, contrary to the form of Agreement: How much more must their jealousy be to us? And therefore in a Consultation in *Henry* the eighths time, (a) whether with best security we should Confederate with *France* or *Spain*, it was resolved that either of them may slip of their advantage by colour of our Separation from the

(a) Ex original. in manu Domini Cromwell.

Doctrine of
the See of
Rome touch-
ing leagues
with Here-
ticks.

(a) Ex Bulla
origin. sub
sigillo urbane
6. an. pont. 4.

Danger by difference in Religion, in respect of the

Confederates, who

ought to
break
out of the
Roman
doctrine,
one ac-
counted
heretick.

the Church of Rome, if there be no better hold in their Honesties than in their Bonds. For it will be held not only worthy dispensation, but merit to break all Leagues with the enemies of that Church, by the Doctrine of that See; which teacheth all Contracts with any Catholick Prince to be *instanti* dissolved, because we are by them ranked in the list of *Hereticks*; which holds proportion with the Rule and Direction that *Urban* the sixth sent by (a) *Bull* to *Wenceslaus* King of *Bohemia*, and *Charles* the *Emperour*, (before the Council of *Constance*,) declaring all Confederations, Leagues and Conventions to be *Lege Divina temeraria, illicita, & ipso jure nulla, etiamsi forent fide data firmata, aut Confirmatione Apostolica roborata*, to be by the Law of God invalid, void, and in Law null, although confirmed by the plighting of faith, nay though strengthened by confirmation Apostolical, if the parties were *separati ab Unitate sancte Ecclesie*, separate from the Unity of Holy Church, when

Danger by difference in Religion, in respect of the

Confederates, who

ought to
break
out of the
Roman
doctrine,
one ac-
counted
heretick.

when the league was made; or, *si postea sint effecti*, if they become so after. What assurance can there then be either with *France*, who is received, by his *Rebenediction*, into the Bosome of the *Church*, and his son made *Adoptivum Filium Ecclesie*, an adopted Son of the Church; or against him with *Spain*, who being *Protector* and *Champion* of that See *Apostolick*, submiteth himself (as he hath ever done) to the Popes pleasure and design, and must not only forsake, but aide against us in any war we should there undertake?

Besides it is considerable, how- Subjects obedi-
soever all sides of our own will- dient to the
joyn in point of defence to a mu- Popes Cen-
tual aide; whether they will so in- sure a dange-
a forraign Invasion; (especially rous Party.
when the party assailed shall be of
their own Religion.) For when
the Interdiction of the Pope could
draw against *John* King of *England*
and (a) *Lewis* the twelfth a side of (a) Ex *Eno-*
their own Subjects, (as it did after *gio Hist.*
in the same Kingdom against *Henry*
the third, though all three confor-
mable in points of Religion to that
See;) how much more will it
work

Danger by difference in Religion, in respect of the

Subjects

work with the people devoted to their opinions in a State divided from their obedience? For amongst us the *Catholick Church* hath many *Jesuits* to raise Faction, and divert people from duty; the *Recusants* many, and *Malecontents* not few; all which with war will discover themselves, but now by this happy calm unassured of assistance, lock up their riches in security, and their hearts in silence. And therefore by any enterprize, it is not with the rule of *Seneca* safe, *concutere felicem statum*. For by provoking of some adversary in respect of Papal protection, they pick advantage to ground a quarrel of Religion: and then the *sancta expeditio*, the holy expedition against *Lewis*, will be made *Bellum Sacrum*, a holy War against us.

But admitting no less than in former times an easiness to attempt; it is not a meditation unnecessary to think in general of the dangers and impossibilities to retain. For first we must more than transgress *Limites quos posuerunt Patres*, the Bounds which our Fathers owned; and relinquish that defence of Nature, wherewith she hath incircled, divided, and secured us from the whole world;

(a) (Te

(a) (*Te natura potens Pelago dividit ab omni Parte orbis, tuta ut semper ab hoste fores.*

(a) *Festus A-*
menius.

From all the Earth Nature hath parted thee
With Seas, and set thee safe from Enemy.)

and commit our Frontiers (had we never so much upon the next Continent) to the protection of an Army, which besides the continual Charge, if we give Ambitious and able Commanders, (as unable, for our Interest we will not,) how ready shall it be in such a Leader, and so backt, if he please, to give Law to his own Countrey? For Trifles will be quarrels good enough for such as can make them good by Power; And whensoever means and Ambition leads any to trouble the State, he will be sure to colour his pretext with honest Titles. (b) *Alii, sicuti Jura populi defenderent; Pars, quo Senatus auctoritas maxima foret, bonum publicum simulantes*: some declaring to maintain the rights of the People, others to uphold the authority of the Senate, all pretending to act for the publick good. Hence was it that *Augustus* (c) refused to add any more of the Barbarous Nations to the body of his Empire, which with great facility he might have done; (d) and to restrain that infinite and unsafe desire of enlarging, left in Charge to his Successors that especial point of advice, (e) *coercendi intra Terminos Imperii*, to keep the Empire within due and fitting bounds. The like moderation from the same ground was in the late *Queen*, who refused the sovereignty of the *Netherlands*, (f) so often and earnestly offered to her, fore-seeing well, that as

Danger of
large Fron-
tiers.

(b) *Salust. in*
Bello Catil.

(c) *Suetonius*
in vita Au-
gusti.

(d) *Dion cas-*
sius.

(e) *Tacitus.*

(f) *Ex proposit.*
Statuum de
anno 1589.

her

What State
may best ad-
mit addition.

her State should grow more respective by addition of People, and augmentation of Territory ; so Factions and Discontents (a common accident in worldly affairs) would arise from superfluity. The State that may best admit increase is that, unto which addition may be on every part indifferently. Such was the advantage of *Rome*, by being situate in the midst of *Europe* : whereas we are thrust out of the world ; to which we have no other contiguity, than an unsure element of fluxible foundation, the Sea, subject to tempest, contrariety of wind, and more commodious for a potent enemy to intercept, than our selves to secure. For how large soever any Kingdom is, all great directions move from one place, commonly from one man, as the Heart in the Body. It is therefore necessary that the seat be so placed, that as well Intelligence as Dispatch may safely pass with indifferency and assured Speed : And those Forms are most quick and easie in motion, whose extrems are all equally distant from the Centre ; for the more different from the Circle, the more slow and hard. *Rome* may sufficiently example this : For so long as the *Orbe* of that Empire so moved about her, all things kept on their course with order, and ease ; but after the Seat was by (a) *Constantine* removed to an extremity of the Circle, it stood a while still, and in the end dissolved. For either through the mass of Business, the limitedness of any mans sufficiency, or impossibility to consider all due Circumstances but in *re presenti*, there must fall out infinite defects in the directions. Or if none, either by reason of Distance they come too late, or if not, by reason of remissness, he who is to execute will be bolder with his Instructions than

(a) *Zozimus*
in *vita Con-*
stantini.

than is fit for a Minister to be. How dangerous is it then by addition of Territories for our Master, (a) *Alterum pene Imperio nostro & suo quarenti Orbem*, whilst he is seeking to joyn another world, in a manner to his and our Empire, to alter either the settled order of directions, or walls of our security ? Besides, as in the Frames of Nature *Anima rationalis*, the rational soul cannot *informare*, give life, sense, or discourse to the matter of an *Elephant* or a *Fly* ; (or any other body disproportionable to a form so qualified :) so is there as well a bound of amplitude and strictness wherein the soul of Government is comprised ; (b) Between which extrems there are many degrees of Latitude, some approaching to the greatest (that nature seldome or never produceth) some to the least, and some to the mean ; beyond which proportions respectively though some may have a will to affect, they never can have a power to attain. And this we may see in the former accession of so much to us in *France*, which we could never either with Profit or Assurance retain, being gotten by Conquest, and buttacked to by Garrison, contrary to the nature of Hereditary *Monarchies*. For some Kingdoms (in which number this may be accounted) are of the same condition that *Demosthenes* (c) maketh the *Athenians* : *Non ea vestra ingenia sunt, ut ipsi aliis vi oppressis Imperia teneatis ; sed in eo magna sunt vires vestrae, ut alium potiri principatu prohibeatis, aut potitum exturbetis* ; It is not your way, violently to oppress other States and seize the Government ; but in this is your strength manifest, that you can hinder another from possessing the Government, or when he is possessed of it,

(a) *Velleius*
Paterc. de Ex-
peditione Ca-
saris.

(b) *Bodin. de*
Repub. lib. 6.

(c) *Ex orat.*
Demosth. ad
Athenienses.

H

throw

Safety in
Neutrality.

(a) Tacitus &
Dion Cassius.

throw him out again. Since then by *Situation* and *Power* we are the fittest, either to combine or keep several the most potent and warlike Nations of the *West*, it is the best for *Safety*, and the most for *Honour*, to remain as we were, *Arbiters* of *Europe*, and so by *Neutrality* sway still the Balance of our mightiest Neighbours: which by holding of our hands, and only looking on, we shall easily do, since *Spain* and *France* hang so indifferently, that a little weight will cast the Beam; imploying ours, as *Claudius* did his Forces in (a) *Germany*, *ut subsidio victis, Victoribus terrori essent, ne forte elati Pacem turbarent*, to assist the Conquered party, and to over-awe the Victor, lest he should be puffed up with pride, and disturb our peace. Thus did *Henry* the eighth with the *French* and *Spanish* Princes, using as his *Motto* of Honour and Power this, *Cui adhaereo praest*, He rules whom I stick to. And the late *Queen* studied rather how to guard her Allies, than to enlarge her Dominions, multiplying her Leagues more by giving than receiving gratuities: winking at her own wrongs, rather than willing to revenge. And (as the great Mistress of the world once) did what rather became her Greatness, than what severity of Armes required. Hence were her Seas for the most part freed from Pirates, and her Land here cleared of Enemies. For according to *Miscipsae's* counsel to *Jugurth*, *Non exercitus, neque Thesauri praesidia Regni sunt*; Neither Armies nor Treasure are the safety of a Kingdom: but such Allies as neither Armes constrain, nor moneys purchase, *sed officio & fide pariuntur*. And since by fortune of the times succeeding, this State hath grown more upon Opinion than Deed, and that we

we

we know *Magis fama quam vi stare res nostras*, that our affairs stand rather by Fame than Force; it is most safe, neither to discover weakness, nor hazzard los by any attempt. Besides, standing as we do no wayes obnoxious by *Site* to any of our Neighbours, they will alwayes be ready to refer the judgement and order of their differences to us. As the (a) *Brabanters* and *Henowayes* did to the Arbitrement of *Edward* the third: and (b) *Charles* the fifth and *Francis* the *French* King the decision of their quarrel to *Henry* the eighth. Thus every part shall woove us, all Princes by their Orators shall resort unto us, as to the Common *Consistory* of judgement in their debates, and thereby add more to our Reputation than any power of our own. For as well in States as in Persons, Suitors are an infallible token of Greatness; which *Demosthenes* (c) told the *Athenians* they had lost, since none resorted to their *Curia* or *Pratorium*. By this way shall we gain the Seat of *Honour*, *Riches*, and *Safety*; and in all other but endless *Expence*, *Trouble* and *Danger*.

Honour attained by
Neutrality, in being the
Arbiter of all differences
between the mightiest
Neighbours.
(a) Froisard.
(b) Ex Regist.
& Libris Tra-
ctatum.

(c) Ex Demost.
4 Philip.

Robert Cotton Bruceus.

FINIS.

A
SHORT VIEW
OF
King HENRY
The Third's
REIGN.

Written by S^r Robert Cotton.

LONDON,
Printed for *Henry Mortlock* at the *Phœnix* in
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White Hart in *Westminster Hall*.
1 6 7 5.



A
 SHORT VIEW
 OF THE
 LONG REIGN
 OF KING
Henry III.



Carried with the lingring calamities of Civil Arms, and affrighted at the sudden fall of a licentious Sovereign, all men stood at gaze, expecting the event of their long desires (Peace) and issue of their new hopes (Benefit.) For in every shift of Princes there are few, either so mean, or modest, that please not themselves with

WILLIAM
 KING HENRY
 THE THIRD
 REIGN

Hist. Minor.
Matth. Paris.

with some probable object of preferment. To satisfy all, a Child ascendeth the Throne, mild and gracious, but easie of nature, whose Innocency and natural goodness led him safe along the various dangers of his Fathers Reign: Happy was he in his Uncle the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Guide of his Infancy, and no less than for thirty years after, whilst *De Burgo*, that fast servant of his Fathers against the *French*, both in *Normandy* and *England*, with *Bygod* Earl of *Norfolk*, and others of like gravity and experience did mannage the affairs. Few and no other were the distempers then in State, but such as are incident to all, the Commons greedy of liberty, and the Nobility of Rule, and but one violent storm raised by some old and constant followers of his Father, *Fulco de Brent, de Fortibus*, and others, men that could only thrive by the Wars, misliking those dayes of sloth (for so they termed that calm of King *Henries* Government;) and the rather because the Justice of quiet times urged from them to the lawful owners, such Lands and Castles, as the fury of War had unjustly given them; for finding in the uprightness of the King, that power of protection should not be made a wrong doer, they fell out into that rebellion, that with it ended their lives and competitions; professing that those their swords that had set the Crown upon their Sovereigns head, when neither Majesty nor Law could, should now secure those small pittances to their Masters, when Majesty or Law would not. Dangerous are the too great benefits of Subjects to their Princes, when it maketh the mind only capable of merit, nothing of duty. No other disquiet did the State

Matth. Paris.
Hist. Major.

Hist. S. Alban.

State after this feel, but such as is incident in all, the malice to Authority: Good and great men may secure themselves from guilt, but not from envy: for the greatest in trust of publick affairs are still shot at by the aspiring of those that deem themselves less in imployment, than they are in merit. These vapours did ever and easily vanish so long as the helm was guided by temperate Spirits, and the King tyed his Actions to the Rule of good Counsel, and not to young, passionate, or single advice.

Thirty years now passed, and all the old guides of his youth now dead, but *De Burgo*, (a man in whom nothing of worth was wanting but moderation,) whose length of dayes giving him the advantage of sole power, his own ambition and age gave him desire, and art, to keep out others, which wrought him into the fatal envy of most, and that increased in the Title of Earl, and great Offices the King then gave him. Time by this, had wrought, as in it self, so in the hearts of the people, a Revolution, the afflictions of their Fathers forgotten, and the surfeit of long peace perchance having let in some abuses; from hence, the Commons, to whom dayes present seem ever worst, commend the fore-gone ages they never remembred, and condemn the present, though they knew neither the disease thereof, nor the remedy.

To these idle and usual humours, fell in some of the young and noble Spirits, warm and overweaning (who being as truly ignorant as the rest) first by fulying the wisdom of the present, and greatest Rulers, (making each casual mishap their errors:) seem to decipher every blemish

Chron. de Dunest.
Joan. de Wallingford.

Chron. de Litchfield.

blemish in Government, and then by holding certain imaginary and fantastick forms of Common-wealths, flatter their own belief and ability, that they can mold any State to these general rules, which in particular application will prove idle and gross absurdities.

Next confirmed in their worth by *Sommery* and *Spencer*; they take it a fit time to work themselves into action, and authority, a thing they had long desired, and now (though unwilling to seem so) do sue for; and doubtless, the furthest of their aim was yet, to become quiet instruments in serving the State, if they had been then held fit and worthy.

But the King taught by the new Earl, That *Consilia senum hastas juvenum esse*; and that such wits, (for so they would be stiled) were *Novandis quam gerendis rebus aptiores*; fitter in being factious to disorder, than to settle affairs, either denyed or delayed their desires; for wise Princes will ever choose their Instruments *Par negotiis*, and not *supra*, Creatures out of meer election, that are only theirs, otherwise, without friends or power.

Amongst this unequal medly, there were of the Nobility, *Richard* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Glocester*, and *Hartford*, darlings of the multitude; some for the merit of their Fathers, whose memories they held sacred, as Pillars of publick liberty, and opposers of encroaching Monarchy: at *Runemede* the Armies met. And of the Gentry, *Fitz-Geoffry*, *Bardolph*, *Grisley*, *Maunsel* and *Fitz-John*, Spirits of as much Acrimony and Arrogant spleen, as the places from whence they were elected, Camp, Court, or Countrey, could afford

Gual. de Con-
ven.

Matth. Paris
Hist. Minor.

Chron. Petri
Pictaviem.

afford any: These by force would effect what the other did affect by cunning; but all impatient, to see their ends thus frustrate, and that so long as the King followed the direction of the Earl of *Kent*, they had small hope of their desires, they made often meetings; and as one saith of them, *Clam & nocturnis colloquiis aut flexo in vesperum die.*

In the end, *Sommery* and *Spencer*, two that were fair in opinion with the rest, Gentlemen, by Foreign education and imployment, more qualified than usually men of these times; and that set upon their own deserts, the best places when the Stream should turn, (which one of them, *Spencer*, did unworthily obtain, for he dyed in actual Rebellion, *Justiciarius Angliae*, against his Master) advised that the best means to remove that great and good obstacle, the Earl of *Kent*, out of the way of their advancement, was by sifting into his actions, and siding with his opposite, *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, (an ill man, but gracious with the King) making still their ends, that the worst being driven out by the worst, they shall either be able to mate him with his own vices, which will be ever more visible, as he is more potent, and so remove him at pleasure; or else give over the King to such Ministers leisure, as losing him the hearts of his people, might smooth them a way to their bad desires, *Honores quos Cicero in Cat. quieta Republica desperant, perturbata consequi se posse arbitrantur.* Thus, Counsel heard, approved and put in practice, the corrupt, and ambitious Bishop is easily insnared to their part, for money, and opinion of increase of power.

Matth. Paris.

Articles

Articles are in all haste forged, and urged against the Earle, as sale of Crown land; waste of the Kings Treasure; and lastly, (that which these doubtful times held capital) his giving allowance to any thing that might breed a rupture between the Sovereign and the Subjects, as he had done in making way with the King, to annihilate all Patents granted in his non-age, and enforced the Subject to pay as the Record saith, *Non juxta singulorum facultatem, sed quicquid Justitarius aestimabat.*

*Ib. Bermonsey
vita Abbatis.
Albani.*

Well! he cleared himself of all, but the last, and did worthily perish by it; for acts that fill Princes Coffers, are ever the ruines of their first Inventers; bad times corrupt good Counsels, and make the best Ministers yield to the lust of Princes, therefore this King cannot pass blameless, that would so easily blemish all former merits, of so good a servant, for that wherein himself was chief in fault.

But Princes natures are more variable, and sooner cloid than others, more transitory their favours, and as their minds are large, so they easily over-look their first election, tying their affections no further than their own satisfactions.

The Bishop now alone manageth the State; chooseth his chief instrument, *Peter de Rivallis*, a man like himself; displaceth the natives, and draweth *Poitions* and *Brittons* into Offices of best trust, and benefit; and the King into an evil opinion of his people. For nothing is more against the nature of the *English*, than to have Strangers rule over them: of this mans time, *Wendover*, an Author then living saith, *Judicia commu-*

committuntur injustis, Leges exlegibus, Pax discordantibus, justitia injuriosis. Thus the plot of the tumultuous Barons went clear, and had not the discreeter Bishop calmed all by dutiful perswasions, and informing the King that the support of this bold mans power (whose carriage before had lost his Father *Normandy*, the love of his people, and in that his Treasure, his Crown) would by teaching the Son to reject in passion the just petitions of his loyal Subjects, (as of late the Earl of *Pembrooke* his Earl Marshal of *England* the due of his Office) drive all the State into discontent by his bad advice, and corrupt manners; doubtless the rebellious Lords had ended this distemper, as their design was, in a civil War.

*Regis Roffen.
Annalis de
Ely.*

Denials from Princes must be supplied with gracious usage, that though they cure not the sore, yet they may abate the sence of it, but best it is, that all favours come directly from themselves; denials and things of bitterness from their Ministers.

Thus are the Strangers all displaced and banished, *Rivallis* extortions ranfact, by many strict Commissions of enquiry; the Bishop sent away disgraced, finds now that *Nulla quaesita scelere potentia diuturna*; and that in Princes favours there is no subsistence between the highest of all, and precipitation. Dangerous are the waies of Majesty, and men still foolish to run to ruine. The Lords still frustrate of their malicious ends, began to sow upon these late grounds of the peoples discontent, *Querelas & ambiguos de Principe sermones & alia queque turbamenta vulgi*, and took it up a fashion to endear and glorifie themselves with the senceless multitude, by depraving the Kings

*Claus. anno 37
H. 3. M. 26.
Chron. Holl.*

Kings discretion, and Government, whose nature too gentle for such insolent Spirits, was forced (as *Trevet* saith) to seek as he presently did, advice and love amongst strangers, seeing no desert could purchase it at home, all bore themselves like Tutors and Controllers, few like Subjects and Councillours. God we see holdeth the hearts of Princes, and sendeth them such Councillours as the quality of the Subject meriteth.

Chron. Litchf.

For *Mountford* a *Frenchman* became the next Object of the Kings delight, a Gentleman of choice blood, education, and feature, on this mans content, the heady affection of the Sovereign did so much dote, that at his first entrance of Grace, in envy of the Nobility, he made him Earl of *Leycester*; and in no less offence of the Clergy, by violating the rites of the holy Church, gave him his vowed, veiled sister to wife: More of Art than usually some have deemed this act of the Kings, making the tye of his dependency, the strength of his assurance, so both at his will.

Mat. Paris,
Roger Wendover.

Chron. Ioan.
Sulgrave.

Mountford made wanton thus with dalliance of his Master, forgetteth moderation, for seldome discretion in youth attendeth great and sudden fortunes, he draweth all publick affairs into his own hands, all favours must pass from him, all preferments by him, all suits addressed to him, the King but as a cipher set to add to this figure, the more of number. Great is the Sovereigns error, when the hope of Subjects must recognize it self beholden to the servant, which ought immediately to be acknowledged, from the goodness and good election of himself: Though Princes may take above others some reposeful friend, with whom they may participate their nearest passions; yet ought

ought they so to temper the affairs of their favour, that they corrupt not the effects of their principalities.

At this the great and gravest men began to grieve, knowing the unworthy without honour, or merit, thus to deal alone in that which should pass through their hands, and to leap over all their heads, to the greatest Honour and Offices, and therefore run along with the then rising grace of the Kings half brethren, (though strangers) hoping thereby to divide that power, which otherwise they saw impossible to break.

Leycester confident of his Masters love, and impatient to bear either rival in favour, or partner in rule, opposeth them all, but findeth in his ebb of favour, the Fortune of others, and that this King could ever as easily transfer his fancy, as he had settled his affection. Great we see must be the art and cunning of that man, that keeps himself a float in the stream of Sovereigns favour, since the change of Princes wills, which for the most part are full of fancy and soon satiate, are hardly arrested: Who so would effect this, must only attend the honour and service of his Master, and despoiled of all other respects, transform himself into his inward inclination, and work into necessity of imployment, by undergoing the Offices of most secrecy, either of publick service, or Princes pleasures; he must also beat down Competitors of worth by the hands of others, conceal his own greatness in publick with a fained humility, and what in potency or Government he affecteth, let it rather seem the work of others, out of conveniency, than any appetite of his own.

Chron. Reading.

Thus

H. Knighton.
Mab. Leycest.

Thus were the reins of rule, fitly taken by this advantage, by these rebellious Lords, put alone into the hands of the Kings half brethren: Adam, Guido, Godfray, and William; himself as before, *Ex magna Fortuna licentiam tantum usurpans*: For to act his own part, he was ever wiew-drawn when he had such worthy servants as would often for his Honour urge it. For these Masters, (as Wallingford termeth them) *Tanta elati jactantia quod nec superiorem sibi intelligunt, nec parem, mellitis & mollitis adulationibus animum Regis prohibito voluntatis à rationis tramite declinantes*; do alone what they list. They fill up the place of Justice and Trust, with their Country-men, strangers put out the English, exact of whom, how, and what they please, waste the Treasure and Crown Lands on themselves, and their followers; set prices on all offences, and reine the Law within the rule of their own Breasts. The usual reply of their servants, to the plaints of the Kings Subjects, being *Quis tibi rectum faciet? Dominus rex vult; quod Dominus meus vult*; these Strangers seemed in their Lawless carriage not to have been invited, but to have entred the state by Conquest; The great men they enforced not to obey, but to serve, and the mean to live so as they might justly say, they had nothing; yet least the King should hear the groans of his people, and the wickedness of his Ministers, which good and able men would tell him, they bar all such access: Suspicion being the best preserver of their own defects, aimeth at those, who have more of verue than themselves, as fearing them most. Thus is the incapacity of Government in a King, when it falls to be a prey to such Lawless Minions, the ground of infinite

Job. de Wallingford.

Wil. de Rishanger.

Lib. Monast'ij Ramsay.

cor-

corruption in all the members of the State; all take warrant generally from Princes weakneses, of licentious liberty, and greatness makes profit particularly by it, and therefore give way to increase it, to increase their gains.

A Famine accompanieth these corruptions, and that so violent, that the King is enforced to direct Writs to all the Shires, *Ad pauperes sepeliendos famis inedia deficientes*: Famine proceeds, *Fames præcessit & secutus est gladius tam terribilis ut nemo inermis secure possit Provincias peragrare*. For all the Villages of the Kingdom were left a prey to the lawless multitude: Who *Per diversas partes itinerantes velut per Consencum aliorum*, (as the Record saith) did imply that the factious Lords suspected by the King, had given some heat to that commotion; Seditious Peers bringing ever fewel to such popular fires.

Neither was the Church without a busie part in this Tragick work; for Walter Bishop of Worcester, and Robert of Lincoln, to whom Mountford and his faction, *Præcordialiter adharebant*, were far ingaged. In such designs, Church-men are never wanting, and the distaste of the present Government, (as well in the Church as in the Common-wealth) will ever be a knot of strength for such unquiet Spirits, who as well frame to themselves some other form of Government, than the present in the Church, as in the temporal state, as that with which the giddy multitude winneth best opinion, and did at this time fitly suit the peoples humours, so much detesting the new Courts of the Clergy, their pomp, their greediness, and the Popes extortions.

Clauſ. anno 42 Hen. 6.

Chro. London.

Will. de Rishanger.

I

A

A fair pretext was it to those factious Bishops, to use their bitter pens and speeches, so far against Religious Orders, Ceremonies, and State of the Church, that one of them incurred the sentence of Excommunication at Rome, and Treason at home; for he enjoyed the Earl of Leycester, *In remissione peccatorum ut causam illam* (meaning his Rebellions) *usque ad mortem assumeret, asserens pacem Ecclesie Anglicanae nunquam sine gladio materiali posse firmari.* It was not the best Doctrine that this man could plant by liberty or war, when the first Church rose by fasting and prayer.

Matth. Paris.

will. de Ri-
shanger.

True Piety binds the Subject to desire a good Sovereign, but to bear with a bad one, and to take up the burthen of Princes with a bended knee, rather in time so to deserve abatement, than resist authority.

Church-men therefore ought not alwayes to lead us in the rule of Loyalty, but a knowledge of our own duties. In difficult points of Religion, where an humble ignorance is a safe and secure knowledge, we may rely upon them.

Barth. de Cot-
ton.Chron. Norwic.
Chron. Worc.

To suppress these troubles, and supply the Kings extremity, a Parliament was called, much to the liking of those Lords, who as little meant to relieve the King, as they did to quiet the State. Their end at that time, being only to open at home the poverty of their Master, to lessen his reputation abroad, and to breath out their own passions freely, whilst those times of liberty permit.

Matth. Paris.

Here they began to tell him he had wronged the publick State, in taking to his private election the Justice, the Chancellor, & Treasurer, that should be

be only by the Common Council of the Realm, commending much the Bishop of Chichester, for *wendovers* denying delivery of the great Seal, but in Parliament where he received it.

They blame him to have bestowed the best places of trust and benefit in his gift on Strangers, *wallingford* and to leave the English unrewarded, to have undone the trade of Merchants, by bringing in Maltoles, and heavy Customs, and to have hurt the Common liberty, by *Paris.* *will. de Ri-* *shanger.* *non obstantes* in his Patents, to make good Monopolies for private favourites.

That he hath taken from his Subjects, *Quicquid habuerunt in esculentis & poculentis. Rusticorum enim equos, bigas, vina, victualia, ad libitum cepit.* *Chro. S. Albani*

That his Judges were sent in Circuits, under pretext of Justice, to fleece the people, *Causis fictitiis quoscunque poterant diripuerunt.*

And that Sir Robert de Punsflowe had wrung from the Borderers of his Forrest, (under pretence of encroachments or assarts,) great summs of money.

And therefore, they wonder, that he should now demand relief from his so pilled and polled Commons, who by their present extremities, *Gual. de Cō-* *Et per ventry.* *auxilia prius data ita depauperantur, ut parum aut nihil habeant in bonis.* And therefore advised him, that since his needless expence, (*Postquam regni cepit esse dilapidatio,*) was summed up by *will. de Ri-* *shanger.* them to above 800000 l. it were fitting to pull from his favourites, who had gleaned the Treasure of his Kingdom, and shared the old Lands of the Crown, some one of them, whom the Lords there described to be *Miles literatus, or Cleri-*

A short view of the long Reign

Chron. Litchf.

Hist. Minor. Will. de Rishanger. Epist. Robert. Lincolne.

Matth. Paris.

Regis Rosen.

Johan. de Walsingham.

Chron. de Litchf.

cus militaris, who had in short space from the inheritance of an acre, grown to the Possession of an Earldom; and Mansel another inferiour Clark that (besides other promotions with the cure of souls) rose to dispend in annual revenue four thousand marks, whereas more moderate Fees would have become a pen-man, no better qualified than with the ordinary fruits of a Writing-School; yet if a moderate supply would suit with the Kings occasions, they were content to perform so far relief in Obedience, as the desert of his carriage should merit toward them: And so as the Record saith, Dies datus est in tres septimanas ut interim Rex excessus suos corrigeret, & Magnates voluntati ejus obtemperarent.

At which day upon new grant of the Great Charter, admittance to his Council, of some persons elected by the Commons, and promise to rely upon his Natives, and not Strangers for advice hereafter; they spare him such a pittance as must tye him to their Devotion, for a new supply.

Thus Parliaments that before were ever a medicine to heal up any rupture in Princes fortunes, are now grown worse than the malady, sith from thence more malignant humours began to reign in them, than well composed tempers.

The King by this, experienced of the intents of his rebellious Lords, and finding that the want of Treasure was the way whereby they inthrall'd his Majesty, begins now to play the good husband, closeth his hand of waste, and resolves himself (too late) to stand alone. Such experience is pernicious to the private, and dangerous to the publick good of a State, when it never learns to do, but by

of King Henry the third.

by undoing, and never sees order, but when disorder shews it. Yet still, alas, such was his flexibility, when he came to be pressed by his French Minions, that he could not hold his hand any longer, from their vast desires, and endless waste. So that an Author then living, saith, it became a by-word, Our inheritance is converted to Aliens, and our houses to Strangers. Followers to a King excessive in gifts, are excessive in demands, and cut them not out by reason, but by example: Favours past are not accounted, we love no bounty but what is meerly future; the more that a Prince weakneth himself in giving, the poorer he is of friends. For such prodigality in a Sovereign, ever ends in the rapine and spoil of his Subjects.

Yet before the King would again submit himself, as he had the last Parliament, to so many braves and strict inquiries of his disloyal Subjects, he meaneth to pass through all the shifts, that extremity of need, with greatness of mind could lay upon him. He beginneth first with sale of Lands, and then of Jewels, pawneth Gascoigne, and after that, his Imperial Crown, and when he had neither credit to borrow, (having so often failed the trust he had made,) nor Gage of his own, he then layeth to pawn the Jewels and Ornaments of St. Edwards Shrine; and in the end, not having means to defray the dyet of his Court, was enforced to break up house, (and as Paris saith) with his Queen and Children, Cum Abbatibus & Prioribus satis humiliter Hospitia quesivit & prandia.

This low ebb, which again the Kings improvidence had brought him to, gave great assurance

Will. de Rishanger.

Claus. anno 46, & 47 Hen. 3.

Claus. anno 37. Hen. 3.

rance to the Rebellious Lords, that they should now at the last, have the Sovereign power left a prey to their ambitious designs; and to bring it faster on, they desire nothing more, than to see the Kings extremity constrain a Parliament, for at such times, Princes are ever less than they should be, Subjects more.

will. de Ri-
shanger.

To hasten on the time, and adapt the means, there are sown certain seditious rumours, that the Kings necessity must repair it self upon the fortunes and liberty of his people, that having nothing of his own left, he might and meant to take of others: For Kings may not want, as long as the Subjects have means to supply.

claus. an. 49
Hen. 3.

This took fire just to their minds, and wrought a little moving in the State, which doubtless had flamed higher, if the King had not asswaged it by his Proclamations, wherein he declared, *Quod quidam malevoli sinistra predicantes, illis falso suggererant, illum velle eos indebite gravare, ac jura & libertates Regni subvertere, & per suggestiones dolosas & omnino falsas eorum corda a sua dilectione & fidelitate avertere*, but desireth, that, *Hujusmodi animorum suorum perturbatoribus ne fidem adhiberent*, for that he was every ready to defend them from the oppression of the great Lords, *Et omnia jura & consuetudines eorum debitas, bonas, & consuetas, in omnibus & per omnia plenius observare*, and that they may rest of this secure: *De voluntate sua libera literas suas fecit patentes*. But seeing still, that Majesty and right subsist not without means and power, and himself had of neither so much as would stop the present breach in his own wants, or his Subjects loyalties, he flyeth
to

to the bosom of his people, for relief and Counsel.

At Oxford they met in Parliament, where his necessities met so many undutiful demands, that he was forced to render up to their Rebellious will, his Royal power. Parl. Oxon.

Here the Commons knowing that, *Quum eligere inceperunt*, they were *Loco libertatis*, stood with the King to have the managing of the State put to the care of twenty four, whereof twelve by their election, (whereto they look strictly) and the other by him, who in all things else, was left a Cipher, and in this, whether by fear, or remifness, filled up his number with *Mountford, Gloucester, and Spencer*, which besides the weakening of his own part, won to those his late opposites, an opinion of great interest they had got in his favour. He now hath left neither election of publick office, nor private attendants, his half brethren and their followers, he must despoil of all fortune, and exile by prescription under his own hand, commanding his writs, *Pro transportatione fratrum suorum*, to be directed to the Earls of Hartford and Surrey, and not to pass either their Money, Armes, or Ornaments, *Nisi in forma quam dicti Comites injunxerint*, and after their departure enjoyned the men of Bristol, that they should not permit any Strangers, *Sive propinquos Regis applicare in portu*, but so to behave themselves therein, that as well the King, *Quum Magnates sui eos merito debeant commendare*. Matth. Paris.
Chron. Worc.
Chron. Litchf.
claus. anno 49
Hen. 3.

Thus we see, how easily mens states do change in a moment, and how hard it is to make use of all things ill gotten.

Chron. S. Alban. Richard elect of the Empire, the Kings full brother, and then beyond Sea, must be wrought by letter, as his free desire to confirm by oath those former restrictions of regal power; which though performed, yet would the Lords suffer neither the one or the other, to enter *Dover* Castle (the key of the Kingdom) which they had furnished, as most of the other Forts of reputation in the Realm with Guardians of their own, sworn respectively to the State; taking the like assurance of all the Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Coroners, and other publick Ministers, searching the behaviour of many by strict Commission upon oath, to win opinion in shew among the Vulgar, who groaned under their late Extortions, whereas their end was truly, as it after proved, by displacing the faithful servants of the King, to open a way, to their own dependants.

Rot. in Scio. wil. de Rishanger.

This changing sole power into the rule of many, and those by popular election, made the State believe, that by this form of limited policy, they had utterly suppressed the mind of man, for ever dreaming more upon the imaginary humours of licentious Sovereignty: But it fell out nothing so, for now every man began to estimate his own worth, and to hammer his head on every design, that might enlarge his power and command.

Then began the great men to rent from the body of the Crown, and regal Signiories, all such royal Suitors as neighboured any of their own own seats, whereto they enforce their service, and so (as the Record saith) *Ad sectas indebitas, & servitutes intolerabiles subditos Regis compulerunt*: Thus raising mean manners to become great Honours, and renting asunder the regal

Scaccar.

gal Justice, they made themselves of so many subjects whilest they lived in duty, *Totidem Tyranni* (as the book of Saint *Albans* saith) when they had left their loyalties *Magnas induxerunt Magnates Regni super subditos Regis servitutes, & oppressiones*, which they bore patiently; for excess of misery having no ease but Custome, made men willing to lay the foundation of servitude by the length of sufferance, which found no ease or end, until the quiet of this Kings reign.

Rot. Regis in Schoa. 56 H. 3.

Mountford, Gloucester, and Dispencer, the heads of this Rebellious design, having by the late provisions drawn to the hands of the twenty four *Tribunes* of the people, the entire managing of the Royal State, and finding this power too much dispersed, to work the end of their desires, forced again the King at *London* to call a Parliament, where they delivered over the authority of the twenty four unto themselves, and create a *Triumvirate, non constituenda Reipublica causa*, as they first pretended, (for their own ends, and so in the interest of some private contented, the publick was stayed) but to make a speedier way to one of them as it fatally did, to become *Dictator perpetuus*: Ambition is never so high, but she thinks still to mount; that station which seemed lately the top, is but a step to her now, and what before was great in desiring, seems little being once in power.

will. de Rishanger. Chron. de Dunst.

These three, elect nine Councillours, and appoint, *Quod tres ad minus alternatim semper in curia sint*, to dispose of the custody of Castles, *Et de aliis Regni negotiis*. The chief Justice, Chancellour, and Treasurer, with all offices, *Majores & Minores*, they reserve the choice of

Ordinat. inter Rec. Lond.

to

A short view of the long Reign

to themselves, and bind the King to this hard bargain upon such strong security ; that he is contented under the great Seal, and Oath, to loose to them the Regal knot of duty, whensoever he assumeth to himself his Regal dignity, *Liceat omnibus de Regno nostro contra nos insurgere, & ad gravamen nostrum opem & operam dare ac si nobis in nullo tenerentur.* This prodigy of fortune of whom she had set a pittiful example of her inconstancy, finding no part of his Sovereignty left, but the bare Title, and that at their leave, beggeth succour from *Urbane* the fourth, against his disloyal Subjects.

Chron. Origin. sub sigillo.

Chron. Litch. wil. de Rishanger.

The Pope by his Bull cancelleth his Oath and contract, and armed him with Excommunications against all those that return not with speed, to their due and old obedience, since promises made by men, which cannot say they are at liberty, are weak, and force hath no power to make just interest.

The Lords on the other side, that had impeded their wings with Eagles feathers, and liked no game now, but what was raked out of the ashes of Monarchy, made head against their Sovereign, and to mate him the better, called in aid some French forces : Thus the Common-wealth turned again her sword into her own bowels, and invited her ancient Enemy, to the funeral of her liberty ; so that it was a wonder, she should not at this time pass under a forraign servitude.

Chr. Britannie.

Chron. Dunst.

And though these men were more truly sensible of their own disgrace, than of others misery : Yet found they no better pretext for private interest than that of the publick.

And

of King Henry the third.

And therefore at the entry of this War, they cryed liberty, although when they came near to an end, they never spake word of it.

At *Lewis* the Armies met, where the King endeavours a reconciliation, but in vain, for persuasions are ever unprofitable, when Justice is inferiour to force.

The sword decided the difference, and gave the two Kings, and their eldest Sons Prisoners. The person now as well as the regal power, thus in the hands of *Mountford* and *Glocester*, found neither bound of security, nor expectation of liberty, but what the emulous competition of greatness (which now began to break out between these mighty Rivals,) gave hope of, for *Leycester* meaning by ingrossing from his partner, to himself, the person of the King, and to his followers the best portion of the spoil, to draw more fruit from this advantage, than it would in fellowship yield, dissolved the knot of all their amity.

Thus equal Authority with the same power, is ever fatal (we see) to all great actions : For to fit minds to so even a temper, that they should not have some motions of dissenting, is impossible.

Mountford having thus broken all faith with his Confederates and duty to his Sovereign, left the path of moderation and wisdom, to come to the King, by that of pride and distrust. To him he telleth, that his armes and ends had no other object ever but order of the State, and ease of the people, that he did not in this carry affection against duty, but well knew how to reine his desires, to his just power, and so no less to his Majesties

A short view of the long Reign

Majesties content, if he would be ruled; which was to command the Forts and Castles of his now opposite *Glocester*, and the rest into his hands. It was hard to this King thus to take a Law from his inferiour, but necessity in soveraign affairs doth often force away all formality; and therefore this poor Prince, who now at the Victors discretion, seemed to have been only raised to shew the inconstancy of fortune and vanity of man, suited himself with incomparable wisdom according to the necessity of the time; Neither did humility wrong Majesty, when there was no other means to contain Spirits so insolent, but dissembling. He therefore summoneth in his own person the sorts of his fastest friends, to yield to his greatest enemies. These he enters in shew as his lodging, but in effect his prison, and saw himself forced to arm against his friends, and to receive now Law from him, to whom he lately thought to give it. Thus *Leycester* is become a darling of the Common rout, who easily change to every new Master, but the best durst not saile along his fortune, by the light of his glory: Crystal that fairly glistereth doth easily break, and as the ascent of usurping royalty is slippery, so the top is shaking, and the fall fearful. To hold this man then at the entry of his false felicity fully happy, was but to give the name of the Image, to the mettle that was not yet molten, for by this, the imprisoned Prince was escaped, and fast assured of *Glocester*, by the knot of his great mind, and discontent, and both with the torn remainder of the loyal Army united, and by speedy march arrived unlooked for, near *Evesham*, to the unarmed troops of the secure Rebels, whom

of King Henry the third.

whom they instantly assailed, for it was no fit season to give time, when no time did assure so much, as expedition did promise.

Dispencer and other Lords of that faction, made towards the King, with the best speed for mercy, but could not break out, being hurried along the stream of the giddy multitude.

Publick motions depend on the conduct of Fortune; private on our own carriage, we must beware of running down steep hills with weighty bodies, they once in motion, *Suo feruntur pondere*, stops are not then voluntary; but *Leycester* at that instant with the King, and out of the storm might have escaped, if his courage and hope had not made him more resolute by misfortune, so that he could neither forsake his followers, nor his ambition; thus making adversity the exercise of his vertue, he came and fell. Private Cogitations may take more or less of fortune, but thoughts (we see) once raised to the height of rule, are no more in our own power, having no mean to step upon between the highest of all and precipitation.

The King by this blessed Fortune freed, and obeyed, began to search the ground of his former misery, and why that Vertue and Fortune that had so long settled and maintained under his Ancestors the glory of his Empire, had cast her in his time off, and conspired with her Enemies, to her almost ruine, as if the *Genius* of the state had quite forsook her. Here he finds his wasteful hand had been too quick, both over the Persons and fortunes of his People, the griping Avarice of his Civil Ministers and lawless liberty of his Martial followers, the neglect

Rot. par. 53
H. 3. M. 51.
Rishanger.

of

of grace, and breach of his word, to have lost his Nobility at home, and necessity, his Reputation abroad, by making Merchandize of peace and war, as his last refuge; so leaving his old Allies became enforced to betake himself to persons doubtful, or injured, and that by giving over himself to a sensual security, and referring all to base greedy and unworthy Ministers, whose Councils were ever more subtle than substantial, he had thrown down those pillars of soveraignty and safety, Reputation abroad, and Reverence at home.

*Jo. Tuxeter,
Mon. Bury.*

He now therefore maketh sweetness and clemency the entrances of his regained Rule: for the faults of most of the late Rebels he forgot, a gracious kind of pardoning, not to take knowledge of offences; others he forgave, that they might live but to the glory of his goodness, for the fewer killed, the more remains to adorn the Trophee.

*Rot. Cart. 51,
52 Hen. 3.*

Tyrants shed blood for pleasure, Kings for necessity; yet lest his Justice and power might too much suffer in his grace and mercy, some few he punished by small fines, some by banishment, as the two guiltless, yet unpitied Sons of the Arch-traitour. Treason so hateful is to the head, that it draweth (we see in this,) the carriage of the innocent children into an everlasting suspect, and what is suspicion in others is guilt in them: Upon the constant followers of his broken fortunes he bestowed, but with a more wary hand than before, the forfeitures of his enemies: Immoderate liberality he had found but a weak means to win love, for it lost more in the gathering than it gained in the giving. This bounty

*claus. 52 H. 3.
M. 29.*

bounty bestowed without respect, was taken without grace, discredited the receiver and detracteth from the judgement of the giver, and blunted the appetites of such, as carried their hopes out of vertue and service: Thus at last, he learned that reward and reprehension justly laid, do ballance Government, and that it much importeth a Prince, the hand to be equal that holdeth the scale.

Chron. Dunst.

In himself, he reformed his natural errours. Princes manners, though a mute Law, have more of life and vigour than those of letters, and though he did sometimes touch upon the verge of vice, he forbore ever after to enter the circle.

His court wherein at this time, the faults of great men did not only by approbation, but Imitation receive true comfort, and authority; (for their crimes now became examples, and customes,) he purged very judiciously and severely: since from thence proceeds either the regular or irregular condition of the Common state.

Expence of house he measured by the just Rule of his proper revenue, and was heard often to say, that his excess of waste before had been an issue of his Subjects blood. The insolency of his Souldiers made lawless by the late liberties of Civil armes, he spendeth in forraign expedition. Having seen that the quiet Spirits underwent all the former Calamities, and the other never were satisfied but in the misery of Innocents, and would, if they had no enemies abroad, seek out one at home, as they had done before.

*Ordinat. au-
thor. Reg. aulæ
claus. 53 H. 3.
Rishanger.*

The rigour and corruption of his judicial Officers he examineth, and redresseth by strict Commission; For the fence of their severity, became a murmur of his own cruelty. The

*Pat. 53, & 54
H. 3. Comment.
de Trail.
baston.*

The seats of Judgement and Council, he filled up with men nobly born. For such attract with less offence, the Generous spirits to respect and reverence. Their Abilities he measureth not by favour, or by Private Information, as before, but by publick voice, for every man in particular may deceive and be deceived, but no man can deceive all, nor all one.

And to discover now his own Capacity, and what part he meaneth to bear hereafter in all deliberate Expeditions, he sitteth himself in Council daily, and disposeth affairs of most weight in his own person. For Councillours be they never so wise or worthy, are but as accessaries, not principals, in sustentation of the State; their Office must be subjection, not fellowship, in considerations of moment, and to have ability to advise, not authority to resolve.

For as to live, the Prince must have a particular soul; so to rule his proper and intern Council; without the one he can never be truly man, without the other, he shall never be securely a Prince; for it offendeth as well the Minister of merit as the people to force obedience to one incapable of his own greatness, or unworthy of his fortunes. This wonderful change to the general State (so hopeless lately to recover her former liberty, they sought now for nothing but the mildest servitude) brought them home again with admiration to his devotion and their own duty.

He that will lay (we see) the foundation of greatness upon popular love, must give them ease and Justice, for they measure the bond of their obedience, by the good alwayes that they receive.

This

This peace attended ever after his age and hearse, and he happily lived to fashion his Son and Successour, and to make him Partner of his own experience and authority, whose own hard education training him from that intemperance, which makes men inferiour to beasts, framed him to affect glory, and vertue, which made him superiour to men. So that all the Actions of his future Reign were exact grounds of Discipline, and Policy, for his best successour to rule by after, who as he was the first of his name since the Conquest, so was he the first that setled the Law and State, deserving the Stile of *Englands Justinian*, and the proud title to have freed this Kingdom from the wardship of the Peers, shewing himself in all his Actions after, capable to Command not the Realm only, but the whole World.

Thus do the wrongs of our Enemies more than our own discretions, make us sometimes both wise and fortunate.

Robert Cotton Bruceus.

April 29.
1614.

FINIS.

K

THE

Barth. Cotton.
Chron. Normic.

THE
French Charity :

WRITTEN

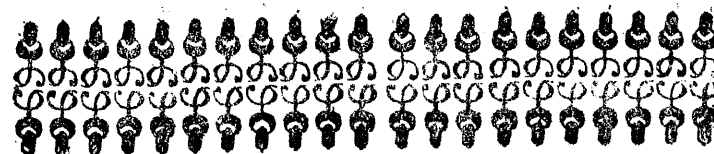
In *French* by an *English* Gentleman, upon
occasion of Prince *Harecourt's* coming into
E N G L A N D.

And translated into English by F.S. J.E.



L O N D O N,

Printed for *Henry Mortlock* at the *Phoenix* in
St. Paul's Church-yard, and at the *White*
Hart in *Westminster Hall*. 1665.



T H E
French Charity.



Lthough we see that natural
causes produce sometimes
contrary effects, that the
Sun which draws up the
Clouds, can also scatter
them, that the same Wind
both lights and blows out the Taper, that
Vipers serve for wholsom Medicaments, and
Scorpions carry about them an Antidote
to their own poison: it is not so neverthe-
less in Moral and Politick affairs, wherein
that which is once ill, is alwayes accounted
such; from whence is begot in us that qua-
lity which we call *Experience*, whereby
wise men are accustomed to judge of pre-
sent and future actions by those that are
past. Which is the foundation wheretupon

K 3

all

The French Charity.

all Monarchies and Republicks have established the Maxims of their subsistence, and found out both what they ought to follow, and what to avoid.

The Charity which *France* hath testified to pacifie our differences, is so great, that it is become incredible, so unseasonable that it is suspected, and so contrary to their former proceedings that it is quite other wayes understood. Philosophers say, we cannot pass from one extremity to another without some mean; I cannot see by what steps they are come to this perfect goodness, nor what good *Genius* can have made them in an instant to good friends of such dangerous neighbours to us. I will pass my censure upon nothing, yet let me have the liberty to judge of all. I find so great a wonder in this change, that I find a conflict in my self to believe it. It is no common marvel, that those who have for so long a time beheld all *Europe* in a flame, and could not be moved by the blood and destruction of so many people to cast thereon one drop of water, should now have their bowels so tender as to compassionate the dissentions arising in a corner of the world which hath alwayes been fatal to them; That those who have made it their chiefest interest to divide us, should
now

The French Charity.

now make it their glory to reunite us; That those who place their rest in our troubles, should now apply their cares for our repose; and that after they have cast us down headlong, they should reach us a plank for to come ashore. Let the wise Reader here (whilst I determine nothing) allow me at least a little distrust; it is the Mother of Safety. The *Trojans*, who could not be overcome by Arms, perisht by a pledge of peace. All the *French* civilities are fair and good; but in the bottom,

Quicquid id est, timeo Gallos, & dona ferentes.

Let us see what reasons can oblige them to interest themselves so passionately in our agreement. Is it Religion? surely no; for that which they profess, is contrary to that of this Kingdom; and the little Charity they have for their own, ought not to perswade us that they have much for ours. Is it for the inclination they have to peace? surely no; for if they esteemed it a benefit, they would seek it first for themselves. It is perhaps for an acknowledgement of their obligations to us in the late wars, and for the assistance we gave to those of *Rochel*. I, this would be truly Christian indeed, to

render us good for evil. They will say, that they are the bands of blood and parentage, which bind them to the *Queen*; and yet they have let the Mother beg her subsistence and retreat among strangers, which she could not find with them, and having beheld her without pitty and succour in her greatest extremities, they advise to offer her a remedy upon the declining of her ill. But if this be the reason of their admittance, I conceive them no lawful nor indifferent Mediators, since they are so much concern'd in one of the parties. They will whisper us in the ear, that the design is to pacifie us, and to engage us in a league with them against the *Spaniard*; although at the same time they design Ambassadors for *Munster* to endeavour a peace with him. O, we should wrong them very much to believe it, though they might seem in an humour to desire it of us; They are too gallant spirited to pretend it, they know that we are better advised than to serve them to pull their Chesnut out of the fire; that a body recovering health from a long sickness ought not to expose it self to a violent agitation; that the State will find it self loaden with debts, and the Subject exhausted by Contributions; that we ought

to prefer the evident profit of traffick before the uncertain vanity of a conquest; that Jealousies being not yet removed, nor emulations suppress'd, all kind of arming would be suspected by the State, fearing lest some under pretence of a forreign War might study private revenge, or the oppression of the publick liberty; and that in the end it will be our gain to see them deal with *Spain*, and to make our advantage of their troubles, or not to meddle at all with them, unless by adding secretly (according to the revolution of affairs) a little weight to them that shall be found the lighter. If then it be none of these motives, it remains that it must be either Generosity, or deceit. O *Generosity* (that hast so long since withdrawn thy self to Heaven, there to keep company with the fair *Astræa*, or rather, who we're buried in *France* in the Sepulchre of Monsieur *Gonin*) is it possible that thou shouldst be risen again, or that *France* should have recall'd thee with her exiles since the death of her King; and that the first labour she should put thee to, should be in favour of *England*, against whom but few dayes since she shewed such violent resentments, for an offence received by a pretended violation of the Treaties which had past between

tween us? Truly if it be she we must reverence her with extraordinary respects; but before we give her the Honour due unto her, we must know her, for fear of Idolatry in adoring her masque for her self, or embracing a cloud instead of a Goddess. Let us give a thrust with our Launce into the *Trojan* horse, to see if there be no ambush within.

In walking lately with some *French* Gentlemen (as this nation is free enough of their discourse) a word escaped from one of the company without making reflexion (as I think) of what Countrey I was, That amongst their Prophets there was one which said, That *the Conquest of England was promised to their young King*. This thought cast into the aire though inconsiderately, seemed to me very considerable; and having given me an occasion to reflect upon all things both past and present, it served me as a light to guide me in the obscurity of this Labyrinth, upon which before I had reasoned but superficially. From thence being returned to my lodging, I opened accidentally a book of Monsieur de Rohan, intitled *The interest of the Princes of Christendom*, and I fell presently upon a passage where he said, That one of the surest wayes to make ones self Master of a State, is to interpose and make himself arbiter of its diffe-

differences. I had no need of any other *Oedipus* to expound to me the riddle of the Prophecie, these first motives of suspicion having cast me into more profound thoughts, I revolved in my mind how *France* had managed the whole business, both before and since the beginning of our troubles, and weighed all the circumstances of this Ambassage. Why such a solemn Ambassage in a time when all things seem most exasperated and furthest from accommodation? Why then not sooner, while differences were not yet irreconcilable between the two parties? Why such a warlike Prince, who is not experienced in the affairs of this Kingdom, to manage a negotiation of a peace the most nice and intricate that the world at this time affords? Why at the same time levying of Souldiers in *Normandy*, when all the other troops are in their quarters? Why therefore should they supply one of the parties with money, when they come to act the persons of Mediators; if not to cast wood and oyle into the flame? Why at the same time an Agent in *Scotland*, who propounds to them openly a League with *France*? Why begin they only to turn their cares upon *England*, when they are upon the point of concluding a peace with *Spain*? May not we well judge that

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it is to prepare themselves for a new employment: since they themselves confess that their boiling and unquiet temper hath need of continual exercise, and that the only means to prevent troubles at home, is continually to furnish them with matter whereupon to evacuate their choler abroad. Why doth only *France* afford us this so suddain and unexpected Charity, after all the fresh wounds which bleed yet among them because of the expulsion of the *Capuchins*, after the continual cares she hath taken for so many years to lay the foundation of our troubles by the secret negotiations of the Marquis of *Blainville*, by the intrigues of the Cardinal of *Richelieu* with *Buckingham*, by the long plots in *Scotland*, and by the open solicitations of the Marquis *de la Fert*? by all which they sometimes incited the Kings ministers to make him independent and absolute, offering to that purpose their assistance, and anon they solicited the States to shake off the yoke of servitude, finally they transformed themselves into a thousand different shapes, till having plunged us deep enough in the gulf, they then call back their Ambassage, to give in appearance some satisfaction to the King, but in truth because his commission was expired. May not we well conclude from all this, that they will

will now reap the fruits they have so carefully sown and cultivated amongst us? From these considerations falling insensibly on those of *England*, what need (said I in myself) have we of the intermeddling of strangers? are they more versed in our interests than our selves? can they afford more expedients? are they more sensible of our Miseries than those that suffer them? Is it to exhort us, or to constrain us? the first is superfluous; the second dangerous. It must needs be that either in the one case they think to go beyond us in wit, or in the other to master us by force. If peace be profitable for us, have we any need either of a Master to make us know our advantage, or of an Oratour to perswade us to it? If it be hurtful to us, we ought to give them thanks for their advice, but follow that which is better. If the peace be feasible, why should we leave the glory of it to others? if impossible, why lose time in making vain propositions? why should we acquaint strong and ambitious neighbours, and trust the *Philistins* with the secret of our force? Must *England*, that hath in times past compelled *France* to purchase peace, be now constrained to beg it of her? that one of the most considerable and flourishing Monarchies of the world should serve for matter of sport to
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the vanity of the *French*, and be the first upon whom they exercise the Title they give themselves of being Arbiters of Christendom? What Counsel then shall we follow in this encounter? That of good and wise Nature, who having separated us from all other Nations by a vast and deep trench, silently teacheth us, that the principle of our subsistence is in our selves, and that we ought not to submit our government to the arbitrement of others.

FINIS.