

The Governace of England:

OTHERWISE CALLED

The Difference between an Absolute
and a Limited Monarchy

By SIR JOHN FORTESCUE, K.T.

SOMETIME CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE KING'S BENCH

A Revised Text

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND APPENDICES

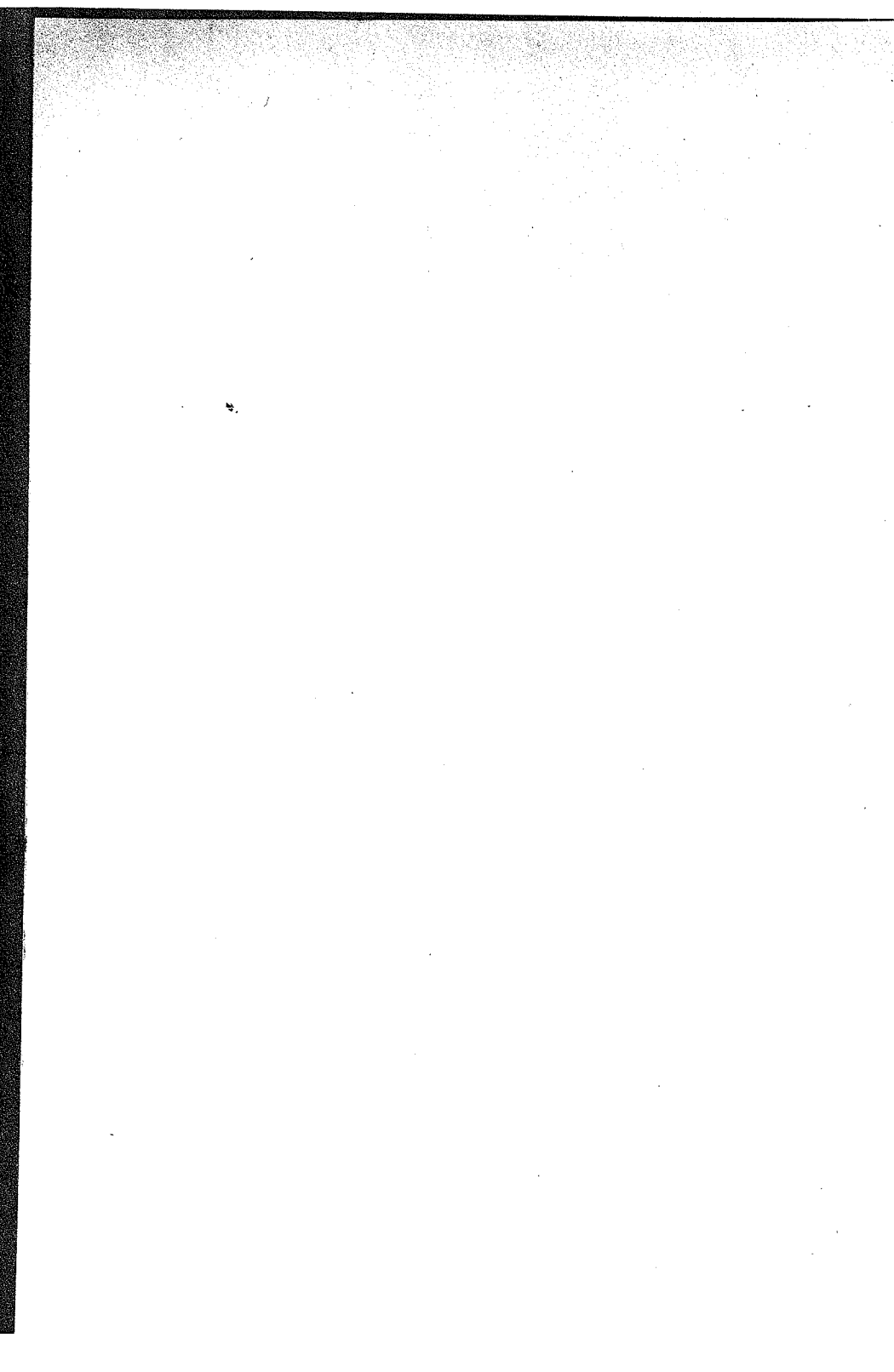
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OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON : HUMPHREY MILFORD



Preface.

THE work here presented to the reader has been three times previously printed ; twice, in 1714 and 1719 by Mr., afterwards Sir John, Fortescue-Aland, who ultimately became Lord Fortescue of Credan, and once by Lord Clermont in his edition of the collected works of Fortescue¹. Of these editions the two first have become very scarce, while the third is only printed for private circulation. Of all three the value is very much impaired by the fact that the text is based on a comparatively late manuscript ; while no attempt has ever been made to bring out the historical significance and relations of the treatise. It is hoped therefore that the appearance of the present edition, which aims at supplying these deficiencies, will not be considered to be without justification.

Had the treatise 'On the Governance of England' no other claims on our attention, it would deserve consideration as the earliest treatise on the English Constitution written in the English language. But as a matter of fact, its historical interest is very high indeed ; far higher, I venture to think, than that of the author's better-known Latin treatise *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*. We here see that

¹ From two notices in Heame's Collections (ed. Doble, i. 46, 154) it would appear that Lord Fortescue of Credan at one time entertained the idea, ultimately carried out by Lord Clermont, of printing a collected edition of the works of their ancestor.

Fortescue, while remaining true to those liberal principles of government which he had previously enunciated, was yet keenly sensible of the evils of Lancastrian rule, and that in the various remedies suggested by him, which have for their object the strengthening of the powers of the Crown and the reduction of the influence of the nobles, he was, consciously or unconsciously, helping to prepare the way for the New Monarchy.

This connexion of the work with the history of the time I have endeavoured to draw out, by bringing together from contemporary authorities whatever seemed to illustrate the meaning of the author. The closeness of the connexion is shown by the fact, more than once pointed out in the notes to the present edition, that the language of Fortescue is often identical with that of the public documents of the period. And this in turn illustrates another point of some importance to which I have also drawn attention; the fact namely that Fortescue, first of mediæval political philosophers, based his reasonings mainly on observation of existing constitutions, instead of merely copying or commenting on Aristotle.

It follows from this that the inspiration which Fortescue derived from literary sources is subordinate in importance to that which he drew from the practical lessons of history and politics. But I have endeavoured to illustrate this point also. The four works of which Fortescue seems to have made most use are: the *De Regimine Principum* which goes under the name of St. Thomas Aquinas, though only a portion of it is by him; the treatise with the same title by Ægidius Romanus; the *De Morali Principum Institutione* of Vincent of Beauvais; and the *Compendium Morale* of Roger of Waltham. The first two works have been often printed, and are more or less well known; the two last exist only in manuscript. It has added interest to my study of Vincent of Beauvais' treatise that I have been

able to read it in the very manuscript used by Fortescue himself. The *Compendium Morale* of Roger of Waltham I think I may almost claim to have discovered; for though it is mentioned by Leland and his copyists, it is clear that they cannot have had much acquaintance with its contents, otherwise they would not have fixed the author's *floruit* as they have done. Of Aristotle, except so far as Aristotelian doctrines are embodied in the above-named works, I have shown that Fortescue knew nothing beyond the collection of quotations which goes by the name of the *Auctoritates Aristotelis*.

One of the most important sources from which an author can be illustrated is himself. From this point of view I am under the greatest obligations to the collection of Fortescue's Works printed—I wish I could have added, published—by his descendant, Lord Clermont. It is I trust in no captious spirit that I have occasionally pointed out what seem to me omissions and mistakes on the part of the noble editor. If all representatives of historic houses would imitate the example set by Lord Clermont, light would be thrown on many a dark corner of English history. I have also derived much assistance from the scholarly notes on Fortescue's longest work, the '*De Naturâ Legis Naturæ*', with which Lord Carlingford, then Mr. Chichester Fortescue, enriched his brother's edition of that treatise.

In regard to the Appendices, the first and third are merely reprints from older and completer MSS. of documents already given by Lord Clermont; the second and fourth are new, though I have given reasons for believing that the last is a fragment of a treatise of which other fragments have been printed by Lord Clermont. From the second a brief extract was printed by Sir Henry Ellis in his *Historical Letters*, though without recognising either its author or its importance. It is however, as I have shown, closely connected with the present work, the

historical bearing and significance of which it illustrates in a very striking manner.

In reference to the life and times of Fortescue I have been able to glean some facts which have escaped previous biographers. These are derived chiefly from French and Burgundian sources. I cannot help thinking that the value of these authorities for English history, though long ago pointed out by Mr. Kirk in his *History of Charles the Bold*, has hardly been sufficiently appreciated by English historians; while if the archives of France contain many more documents bearing on English history equal in importance to those printed by Mdlle. Dupont in her edition of *Waurin* and by M. Quicherat in his edition of *Basin* (both published under the auspices of the *Société de l'Histoire de France*), much light may be hoped for from that quarter. A visit to the Record Office enabled me to clear up some mistakes and obscurities in regard to Fortescue's landed property.

It will be seen that I have edited this work from a historical and not from a philological point of view. Of the MSS. employed in the formation of the text a sufficient account will be found in the Introduction. A few words may here be said as to the manner in which I have dealt with them. I have, I believe, noted all cases in which I have departed from the reading of the MS. on which I have based my text. In other instances I have only given such various readings as seemed to me to have some historical or philological interest, or to be of importance as illustrating the relations of the MSS. to one another. *Forms* of words which appeared to me worthy of notice I have frequently included in the Glossary, with an indication of the MS. from which they are taken. Stops and capitals are introduced in conformity with modern usage; quotations have been indicated, as in MS. Y, by the use of Gothic letters. I have not attempted to distinguish between Early English þ and Middle-English ȝ, as they are sometimes called;

they are used promiscuously, they fade imperceptibly into one another, and after all the *y* is only *þ* badly written. I have printed *þ* throughout. In regard to the junction and separation of words the MS. has been closely followed. The only exception is in the case of the indefinite article *a* or *an*, which in the MS. is sometimes joined with and sometimes separated from the word to which it belongs; I have always separated it. In the case of words just hovering on the verge of becoming compounds, and neither completely joined nor completely separated in the MS., I have followed the example of Professor Earle and divided the elements by a half-space, objecting with him to the use of hyphens as a purely modern invention. In the MS. the word *and* is sometimes abbreviated, sometimes written in full; it is here always printed in full. With these exceptions the peculiarities of the MS. followed are, I believe, faithfully reproduced, extended contractions being marked in the usual way by italics.

The Glossarial Index is merely intended to give help to those who, reading the text for historical purposes, may be puzzled by Middle-English forms or meanings. It makes no pretensions to any philological value.

I trust that this work may prove useful both to teachers and students of history in Oxford and elsewhere. But my main object has been to illustrate my author, and that is the point of view from which I would desire to be judged.

In a body of notes ranging over so many subjects, some of them lying far outside the sphere of my ordinary studies, it is hardly possible that there should not be slips and blunders. For the correction of these, whether publicly or privately, I shall always be grateful; and I should wish to adopt as my own the words of one of the most unselfish labourers in the field of learning, Hermann Ebel: 'opprobret nobis, qui volet, modo corrigat.'

It only remains for me to pay the tribute of my hearty

thanks in the many quarters where that tribute is due. I have to thank the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for the generous confidence with which they accepted the work of an untried hand, and for the liberality with which they permitted an extension of its scope much beyond what was originally contemplated. To the Lord Bishop of Chester I am under special obligations; who not only encouraged me to undertake the work, but both as a Delegate of the Press and in his private capacity helped it forward at a great expenditure of trouble to himself; to his published writings I, in common with all students of history, owe a debt of gratitude which can never be adequately expressed. To the Rev. C. W. Boase, Fellow of Exeter College, I am indebted for constant encouragement and assistance; nor am I the first who has profited by his wealth of historical learning; while Professor Skeat gave me much kind help and advice with reference to points of philology. Mr. Edward Edwards, the well-known and accomplished author of the *Life of Raleigh*, took more trouble than I like to think of, in the endeavour to clear up some points in which I was interested. That his researches were not always crowned with success does not diminish my sense of gratitude. The help which I have received in regard to special points is acknowledged in the book itself. I am indebted to Lord Calthorpe for the facilities which he afforded me in consulting the Yelverton MS., to Mr. Henry Bradshaw for similar favours in regard to the Cambridge MS., and to the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, for the loan of their MS. containing the *Epitome*; while to the Provost and Fellows of Queen's College, Oxford, my thanks are due for allowing me even a larger use of their valuable library than that which they so liberally accord to all Graduates. I have to thank Mr. W. D. Selby, who directed my researches at the Record Office; and Mr. E. J. L. Scott, of the Department of MSS., who did me the like service at the British

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Museum. At the Bodleian I received constant help from Mr. Madan the Sub-Librarian, while Mr. Macray was an unfailing oracle on all points of palæography. I should like also to thank generally the officials of all the three institutions which I have named, for their unfailing courtesy, attention, and helpfulness. To the many friends who have helped me, if indirectly, yet very really by their sympathy and the interest they have taken in my work, I would also here return my grateful thanks. To one of them this work would probably have been dedicated, were it not that dedications are said to be somewhat out of date in this enlightened age.

C. C. C., OXON.,
July 29, 1885.

CHAPTER I.

THE DEFERENCE BI TWENE DOMINIUM REGALE AND
DOMINIUM POLITICUM ET REGALE.

THER bith ij kyndes off kyngdomes, of the wich that on is a lordship callid in laten dominium regale, and that other is callid dominium politicum et regale. And thai diuersen in that the first kyng me rule his peple bi suche lawes as he makyth hym self. And therefore he me sett vppon thaim tayles and other imposicions, such as he wol hym self, with owt thair assent. The secounde kyng may not rule his peple bi other lawes than such as thair assenten unto. And therefore he me sett vpon thaim non imposicions with owt thair owne assent. This diuersite is wel taught bi Seynt Thomas, in his boke wich he wrote ad regem Espri de regimine principum. But yet it is more openly tredid in a boke callid compendium moralis philosophie, and sumwhat bi Giles in his boke de regimine principum. The childeryn of Israell, as saith Seynt Thomas, aftir that God hade chosen thaim in populum peculiarem et regnum sacerdotale, were ruled bi hym vndir Juges regaliter et politice, in to the tyme that thair desired to haue a kyng, as tho hade al the gentiles, wich we cal peynymes, that hade no kyng but a man that reigned vppon thaim regaliter tantum. With wich desire God was gretly offendyd, as wele for thair folie, as for thair vnkyndnes; that

sithyn thai had a kyngē, wich was God, that reigned vpon thaim politekily and roialy, and yet wold chaunge hym for a kyngē, a verray man, that wolde reigne vpon hem only roialy. And therfore God manassyngē hem made them to be ferde bi thondres and oþer gasteful thynges from the hevene. And whan thai wolde not therby lese thair folissh desire, he charged þe profet Samuel to declare vnto them the lawe of such a kyngē as thai askyd; wich amonge oþer thynges said that he wolde take from thaim thair lande and gyf it to his servantēs, and sett thair childeryn in his cartis, and do to thaim such oþer many harmeful thinges, as in the viijth chapter of the first boke of kynges it mey apere. Wher as bi fore that tyme, while thai were ruled bi God roialy and politikely vndir Juges, it was not lefull to any man for to take from thaim any of thaire godis, or to greve thair childrenen þat hade not offendid. Wereby it mey appere that in tho dayis regimē politicū et regale was distyngued a regemē tantum regale; and that it was bettir to the peple to be ruled politekely and roialy, than to be ruled only roialy. Seynt Thomas also in his said boke prasith dominium politicū et regale, bi cause the prince that reigneth bi such lordshippe mey not frely falle into tyrannye, as mey the prince that reigneth regaliter tantum. And yet thai both bith egall in estate and in poiar, as it mey lightly be shewed and provid by infallyble reason.

CHAPTER II.

WHI OON KING REGNETH REGALITER, AND ANOTHER
POLITICE ET REGALITER.

HIT meý *peraventur* be mérvellid be some men, whi on reame is a lordshippe only roialle, and the prince therof rulith it bi his lawe callid *Jus regale*; and a nother kyngdome is a lordshippe roiall and politike, and the prince therof rulith hit bi a lawe callid *Jus politicum et regale*; sithin thes ij princes bith of égal estate. To this doute it meý be answerde in this maner. The first institucion of thes ij realmes vppon the incorporacion of thaim is cause of this diuersite. Whan Nembroth be myght for his owne glorie made and incorporate the first realme, and subdued it to hymself bi tyrannye, he wolde not have it gouernyd bi any *oper* rule or lawe, but bi his owne wille; bi wich and for the accomplishment *perof* he made it. And therefore though he hade thus made hym a realme, holy scripture disdeyned to call hym a kyngé, *quia rex dicitur a regendo*; wich thyngé he did not, but oppressyd the peple bi myght, and therefore he was a tirraunt and callid *primus tirannorum*. But holy write callith hym *robustus benator coram Domino*. Ffor as the hunter takyth the wilde beste for to sle and ete hym, so Nembroth subdued to hym the peple with myght, to haue *per* seruice and thair godis, vsing vppon thaim the lordshippe that is callid *dominium regale tantum*. Aftir hym Belus that was first callid a kyngé, aftir hym is

sone Ninus, and aftir hym other paynemes, þat bi ensample of Nembroth made hem realmes, wolde not haue thaim ruled bi *oper* lawes then be ther owne wylls. Wich lawes ben right gode vndir gode princes, and thair kyngdomes bethe than most resembled to the kyngdome of God, wich reigneth vpon man rulyngē hym bi his owne will. Wherefore mony cristen princes vsen the same lawe; and therefore it is that þe lawes seyn, *quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem*. And thus I suppose first began in Realmes *dominium tantum regale*. But aftirwarde, whan mankynde was more mansuete, and bettir disposid to vertu, grete comunaltes, as was the felowshippe that came in to this lande *witʰ* Brute, willyngē to be vnite and made a body pollitike callid a reawme, hauyngē an hed to gouerne it;—as aftir the sayngē of the philisopher, euery comunalte vnyed of mony parties must nedis haue an hed;—than they chese the same Brute to be *per* hed and kyngē. And thai and he vpon this incorporacion, institucion, and onyngē of hem self into a reawme, ordenyd the same reawme to be ruled and justified by suche lawes as thai all wolde assent vnto; wich lawe therfore is callid *polliticum*, and bi cause it is ministrid bi a kyngē, it is callid *regale*. *Policia dicitur a poles, quod est plures, et pcos, scientia; quo regimen politicum dicitur regimen plurium scientia siue consilio ministratum*. The kyngē of Scottis reignith vpon is peple bi this lawe, *videlicet, regimine politico et regali*. And as Diodorus Siculus saith in is boke *de prisctis historis*, the reawme of Egipte is ruled bi the same lawe, and therefore the kyngē therof chaungith not his lawes *witʰ* owt the assent of his peple. And in like fourme as he saith is ruled the kyngdome of Saba in *Felici*

Arabia, and the londe of Libie; and also the more parte of all the reawmes of Affrike. Wich maner rule and lordshippe the said Diodorus in that boke praisith gretly; ffor it is not only good for the prince, that mey therby þe more surely do justice than bi is owne arbitrment; but it is also good for his peple þat resseyue thair bi such justice as thai desire thaim self. Now as me semyth it is shewid openly ynough, whi on kynge reignith vpon is peple *dominio tantum regali*, and that other reignith *dominio politico et regali*; ffor that on kyngdome be ganne of and bi the might of the prince, and that *oper* be ganne bi the desire and institucion of the peple of the same prince.

CHAPTER III.

HERE BIEN SHEWED THE FRUYTES OF *JUS REGALE* AND
THE FRUYTES OF *JUS POLITICUM ET REGALE*.

AND how so be it that þe Ffrenche kynge reignith vpon is peple *dominio regali*, yet Seynt Lowes some tyme kynge ther, nor eny of his *progenitors* sette neuer tayles or *oper* impositcion vpon the peple of þat lande with owt the assent of þe iij estates, wich whan thai bith assembled bith like to the courte of the *parlement* in Ingelonde. And this ordre kepte many of his successours in to late dayis, that Ingelonde men made suche warre in Ffraunce, that the iij estates durst not come to gedre. And than for

that cause and for gret necessite wich the Ffrench kyng^e hade of goode for the defence of þat lande, he toke vpon hym to sett tayles and oþer imposicions vpon the commons *with* out the assent of the iij estates; but yet he wolde not sett any such charges, nor hath sette, vpon the nobles for fere of rebellion. And bi cause the commons *þer*, though thai haue grucched, haue not rebellid or beth hardy to rebelle, the Ffrench kynges haue yerely sithyn sette such charges vpon them, and so augmented the same charges, as the same commons be so impouerysshid and distroyed, þat thai mowe vnneth leve. Thai drinken water, thai eyten apples, *with* brede right browne made of rye; thai eyten no flesshe but yf it be right seldon a litle larde, or of the entrales and heydes of bestis slayn for the nobles and marchauntes of the lande. Thai weren no wolen, but yf it be a pouere cote vndir thair vttermest garnement, made of grete *caunuas*, and callid a frokke. Thair hausyn beth of lyke *caunuas*, and passyn not thair kne, wher fore thai beth gartered and ther theis bare. Thair wyfes and childeren gone bare fote; thai mowe in non oþer wyse leve. For somme of thaim þat were wont to pay to his lorde for his tenement, wich he hiryth by the yere, a scute, payith nowe to the kyng^e ouer þat scute .v. scutes. Wher thurgh thai be arted bi necessite so to wacch, labour, and grubbe in the ground for thair sustenance, that thair nature is wasted, and the kynde of hem broght to noght. Thai gon crokyd, and ben feble, not able to fight, nor to defende þe realme; nor thai haue wepen, nor money to bie thaim wepen *with* all. But verely thai liven in the most extreme pouertie and miserie, and yet dwellyn thai in on the most fertile reame of the

worlde. Werthurgh the Ffrench kynge hath not men of his owne reame able to defende it, except his nobles, wich beyren non such impositiōns, and ther fore thai ben right likely of thair bodies; bi wich cause the said kynge is compellid to make his armeys and retenues for the defence of his lande of straungers, as Scottes, Spaynardes, Arrogoners, men of Almeyn, and of *oper* naciōns, or ellis all his enymes myght ouerrenne hym; for he hath no defence of his owne except is castels and fortresses. Lo this is the frute of his *Jus regale*. Yf the reame of Englonde, wich is an Ile, and therfor mey not lyghtly geyte soucore of other landes, were rulid vndir such a lawe, and vndir such a prince, it wolde be than a pray to all *oper* naciōns þat wolde conqwer, rōbbe, or deuour it; wich was well provid in the tyme of the Bretons, when the Scottes and the Pycetes so bete and oppressid this lande, þat the peple therof sought helpe of the Romayns, to whom thai hade be tributori. And when thai coude not be defende be thaim, thai sought helpe of the Duke of Bretayn tho called litle Bretayn, and grauntid therfore to make his brother Costantyne *per* kynge. And so he was made kynge here, and reigned many yeres, and his childirren aftir hym, of wich gret Artour was one of thair issue. But blessyd be God, this lande is rulid vndir a bettir lawe; and therefore the peple therof be not in such peynurie, nor therby hurt in thair persons, but thai bith welthe, and haue all thinges nescessarie to the sustenance of nature. Wherefore thai ben myghty, and able to resiste the aduersaries of this reame, and to beete *oper* reames that do, or wolde do them wronge. Lo this is the fruyt of *Jus politicum et regale*, vndre wich we live.

Sumwhat now I haue shewid the frutes of both lawes,
ut ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos.

CHAPTER IV.

HERE IS SHEWED HOW THE REUENUES OF
 FFRAUNCE BYN MADE GRETE.

SITHYN our kynge reignith vpon vs be lawes more fauerable and good to vs, þan be the lawes by the whiche þe Ffrench kynge rulith his peple, hit is reason þat we be to hym more good and more profitable than be the sugettes of the Ffrench kynge vnto hym; wich it wolde seme that we be not, considerynge þat his subiecttes yelden to hym more in a yere, than we do to owre soferayn lorde in ij yeres, how so be it þat thai do so ayenst thar willes. Neuer the lesse when it is considerid, how a kynges office stonidith in ij thynges, on to defende his reaume ayen þair enemyes outwarde bi the swerde; an other that he defende his peple ayenst wronge doers inwarde bi justice, as hit apperith bi the said first boke of kynges; wich þe Ffrench kynge dothe not, though he kepe Justice be twene subiet and subget; sithin he oppressith thaim more hym self, than wolde haue done all the wronge doers of þe reaume, þough thai hade no kynge. And sithyn it is a synne to gyve no meyte, drynke, clothyng or other almes to hem that haue nede, as shal be declared in the day off dome; how mucche a greter

synne is it to take from the pore man is meyte, is drinke, his clothyng, and all that he hath nede off. Wich werely doth the Ffrench kynge to mony a thowsande of his subiectes, as it is be fore openly declared. Wich thyng, pough it be nowe colourid *per jus regale*, yet it is tyranne. Ffor, as Seynt Thomas saith, *whan* a kynge rulith his reame only to his owne *profite*, and not to the good off is subiectes, he is a tyrant. Kynge Heroude reignid vppon þe Jues *dominio regali*; yet when he slowe the childeren off Israell, he was in that a tyrant, though the lawes seen, *quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem*. Wherefore Acab, wich reigned vppon the childeren of Israell bi like lawe, and desired to haue hade Naboth his subjectes vyne yerde, wolde not by that lawe take it ffrom hym, but *proferid* hym the value thereof. Ffor theys wordes seid to the *profete*, *predic eis jus regis*, beth not ellis to say but, *predic eis potestatem regis*. Wher fore as ofte as such a kynge dothe any thyng ayenst the lawe of God, or ayenst þe lawe off nature, he dothe wronge, not *wit* stondyng the said lawe declared by the *prophete*. And it is so, that the lawe off nature woll in this case, þat the kynge shulde do to his subgett^s, has he wolde ben done to hym self, yff he were a subget; wich mey not be that he wolde be almost distroied as bith þe commons off Ffraunce. Wherefore, al be it that the Ffrench kynges reuenues ben by suche meanes moche gratter than be the reuenues wich þe kynge owre souerayn lorde hath off vs, yet thai ben not goodly taken, and the myght of his reame is nerehande distroyed ther by. By wich consideracion I wolde nat that the kynges reuenues of this reame were made grette by any

such meane. And yet of necessite thai muste be gratter than thai bith at this day. And trewly it is veray necessarie that thay be alwey grete; and that the kynge haue habundantly wherewith his estate may be honorably kepte ffor ryght mony causes, off wech some shall nowe be remembred.

CHAPTER V.

THE HARME THAT COMYTH OFF A KYNGES POVERTE.

FFIRST, yff a kynge be pore, he shall bi nescessite make his expences, and by all þat is necessarie to his estate, by creauce and borowyngē; wher through his creauncers wolle wyne vpon hym the iiijth or the vth pene of all that he dispendith. And so he shall lese whan he payith, the iiijth or the vth pene of his revenues, and thus be ther by alway porer and porer, as vser and chevisaunce encressith the pouerte off hym that borowith. His creauncers shul alway grucche ffor lake of thair paymente, and defame his highnes off mysgouernance, and defaute of kepyngē of days; wich yf he kepe, he most borowe also much at the dayis, as he didd firste; ffor he shalbe than pouerer than he was by the value of the iiijth or vth parte of his first expences, and so be alway pouerer and pouerer, vnto the tyme he be the pouerest lorde of his lande. Ffor such maner of borowyngē makith the grete lordis to

be pouerer than thair tenants. What dishonour is this, and abatyng of the glorie of a kynge. But yet it is most to his vnsuyrte. For his subgettes woll rather goo with a lorde þat is riche, and mey pay thair wages and expenses, then with thair kynge þat hath nocht in his purse, but thair most serue hym, yf thair wil do so, at thair owne dispenses. Item, yf the kynge be pouere, he shall of necessite make his giftes and rewardes by assignementes, for wich he shall haue but litle thanke. For the pouere man hade leuer an c. marke in hande, then an c. xi. bi assignement, wich perauentur shall cost hym right miche or he can gete his payment, and perauentur be neuer paid therof. And often tymes for lake of money the kynge shall be fayne to gyf away his lande to such as wolde haue ben feyner of a c. xi in hand, than of xl. xi worth lande yerely, to the grete abatyng of his revenues and depopolacion of his reame. But the grettest harme that comyth of a kynges pouerte is, that he shal bi necessite be arted to fynde exquysite meanes of gevinge of good; as to putt defaute in some of his subgettes þat bith innocentes, and vpon the riche men more þen the pore, by cause that he mey bettir pay; and to shew rigoure þer as fauour awght to be shewid, and fauour þer as rigour shuld be shewid, to peruersion of Justice, and perturbacion of the peas and quiete of the reame. For, as the philosepher saith in his Eytikes, *Impossibile est indigentem operari bona.* Hit nedith not now to specifie mo of the harmes wich comyth to a reame bi the pouerte of þer kynge, how be it thair bith mony mo than we haue shewid yet; for euery wise man mey se ham openly i now. But we most holde it for vndouted, þat ther

mey no reame *prosper*e, or be worshipfull, vndir a poure kyng.

CHAPTER VI.

ORDINANCE FFOR THE KYNGES ORDINARIE CHARGES.

AND sithyn it is necessarie that the kyng be alway riche, wich may not be *wit*h owt he haue revenues sufficient for the yerely mayntenance of his estate; it is behouefull that we furst esteme, what his erly charges and expences bith likely to drawe vnto. Ffor aftir that nedith his reuenues to be *proporcion*ed; but yet thai nedun to be *gretter* than woll be the charges, for doute of soden cases, wich mey falle to hym and to his reame. Ffor Seynt Bernarde saith, *pat* yf a mannes expences be egall to his livelode, a soden chaunce mey distroye his estate. The kynges yerely expences stonden in charges ordinarie, and in charges extra ordinarie. His charges ordinary mey not be eschewed, and therfore it nedith *pat* ther be lyvelode asseigned ffor the payment therof; wich lyvelode be in no wyse putte to no other vse. And yff it happen that any patent be made of any *parte* therof to *oper* vse, *pat* thanne *pat* patent be voided and of non effect. Wich thyng yff hit be ffermely established, the kynges ordinarie charges mey alway be paid in hande, and the *pro* vision ffor hem mey alway be made in seson; wich shalbe worth to the kyng the

iiijth or the vth parte of the quantite of his expenses for ordinarie charges. This may in nothings restraine the kyngis pover. Ffor it is no poiare to mowe aliene and put away; but it is power to mowe haue and kepe to hym self. As it is no poiare to mowe synne, and to do ylle, or to mowe to be seke, wex olde, or that a man may hurte hym self. Ffor all thes poiars comen of impotencie. And therefore thay mey *properly* by callid nown poiars. Wherefore the holy sprites and angels, þat mey not synne, wex old, be seke, or hurte ham selff, haue more poiare than we, that mey harme owre selff *with* all thes defautes. So is the kynges power more, in that he may not put ffrom hym possescions necessities for his owne sustenance, than yff he myght put ham ffrom hym, and aliene the same to his owne hurte and harme. Nor this is ayen the kynges *prerogatif*, be wich he is exaltid above his subgettes; but rather this is to hym a *prerogatif*. Ffor no man saue he mey haue ayen the lande þat he hath onis aliened. This livelode asseigned ffor the ordinarie charges shall aftirwarde be *neuer* askid off the kyng, nor his highnes shall thynke ffor þat, that he hath þe more livelode to be given away; but be reason hereoff he will þe more restrayn his yeftis off *oper* off his livelod, *considerynge* þat than it woll not be grette, and therefore he shall haue more nede off it then thai that will aske it. The ordenarie charges, wich þe writer hereoff can nowe remenbr, be thies; the kynges housholde, his warderobe. And how so be it þat the kyng liste now, or will hereaftir, make his howshold lesse than it was wonned to be; yet his highnes shall þan haue therefore a bouute his *persone*, ffor his honour and suyrt, lordes, knyghtes,

Sir John Fortescue on

and squiers, and *oper*, in also grete nombr, or gretter than his howsolde was wonned to be, to his charges *peraduentur* also gretly, as his household well ruled was wonned to stonde hym inne. Wher fore here-inne it nedith not to considre or to purvey, but only ffor the kynges house, wich he may resume or chaunge in to his new *maner*, or other fourme at his pleasur, and as it shalbe thought aftir the seasons most expedient. The expenses off wich housholde mey sone be estemed by the wich off olde tyme haue be officers therin, and bi the clerkys off theschekquer. The secounde ordinarie charge is the payment off the wages and ffees off the kynges grete officers, his courtes, and his counsell. Wich charge woll alwey be grete, and thies men nedun to be alwey redely payid. Ffor indigens in ham is not only vnworshipfull, but it mey do the most harme *pat* mey falle of eny nede in any estate of the lande, aftir the kynges most grete estate. *pe* thirde charge ordinarie is the payment of the keypyng of the marches, wher in we beyre moch gretter charges yerely than done the *Scottis*, wich often tymes is for the ffauour *pat* we do to the *persones pat* kepe ham, wich ffauoure *pe* *Scottis* do not. The *iiijth* charge is the keypyng off Caleis, wich charge is welynoghe knowen. *pe* *vth* charge is ffor the kynges werkes, off wich *pe* yerely expenses mey not be estemed, but yet *pe* accoumptes off the clerkes off the werkes wollyn shewe *pe* likenes *peroff*, wile *pe* kyng makith no new werkes. The keypyng off the see I reken not amonge the ordinarie charges, how be it the charge *peroff* is yerely borne, bi cause it is not estimable, and the kyng hath therefore *pe* subsidie off pondage and tonnage. Nor the lesse

be that reason pondage and tonnage mey not be rekened as *parcell* off the revenues wich the kynge hath ffor the mayntenance off his estate, bi cause it aught to be applied only to þe kepyng off the see. And though we haue not alwey werre vppon the see, yet it shalbe necessarie þat the kynge haue alway some ffloute apon the see, ffor the repressyng off rovers, sauynge off owre *marchantes*, owre ffishers, and the dwellers vppon owre costes; and þat the kynge kepe alway some grete and myghty vessels, ffor the brekyng off an armye when any shall be made ayen hym apon þe see. Ffor thanne it shall be to late to do make such vessailles. And yet *wit*h owt thaym all the kynges navey shallnot suffice to borde with carrikkes and oþer grete vessailles, nor yet to mowe breke a myghty ffloute gadered off purpose. Now, as I suppose, we haue rekened þe grettest parte off the kynges ordinarie charges. Wherefore we woll considre next his extra ordinarie charges, also ferre as mey be possible to vs.

CHAPTER VII.

THE KYNGES EXTRAORDINARIE CHARGES.

THE kynges *extra*ordinarie charges bith so casuelle, þat no man mey knowe hem in certaynte. But yet he may esteme what *somme* thai bith not like to excede, but yff þer ffall a case ouer moch exorbitant;

and than it shalbe reasone, and also necessarie, *þat* all the reaume beyre ffor *þat* case a synguler charge. Such off the said *extraordinarie* charges as the writer hereoff can now remenbr be theis. Ffirst *þe* kyng shall often tymes sende owt off this lande his ambassatours, as well to the pope, as to diuerse kynges, prynces, and nacions; and *oper* while he shall sende his *procuratours* and messengers to the counselles *generalles*. Wich ambassatours, *procuratours*, and messengers shall nede to be honorably accompanied, and well be sene, alsowell ffor the worshippe off *þe* reaume, as ffor the avaunsynge off *þe* maters ffor wich thai shalbe sende, to *þe* kynges right grete charge, wich shalbe more or lesse, aftir thair longe or shorte demure in thair viage. *Item*, the kyng shall beyre yerely charges vnknown in receyvinge off *ligates* and messengers sende ffrom the pope, and off ambassatours sende ffrom kynges and *oper* princes, and also ffrom grete *communalities* bi yonde *þe* see, wich will putt *þe* kyng to grete expenses while thai bith here, and at thair departynge thai most nedis haue grete giftes and rewardes; ffor *þat* be sitith *þe* kynges magnificence and liberalite, also it is necessarie ffor the worship off his reaume. *Item*, sithen it is not gode *þat* he rewarde such as do, and shall do to hym *seruice*, or *oper* maner off pleasures, *with* *þe* possesscions and revenues of his crowne, nor *with* other possesscions off his inheritance;—ffor thai be moch more necessarie for the sustenance off his grete estate;—hit sha'll ther fore be necessarie, *þat* the kyng make such rewardes *with* money owt off his cofers, and *þat* *somme* off hem haue so largely *perðff*, as thai mey bie thaim lande *with* all, yff thai will. Ffor be this meane *þe*

kynges estate shall alwey be kept vnblemished. And off *somme* man is, highnes shall haue more thanke ffor money then ffor lande; and also money is the most convenient rewarde to hym þat hath not longe *serued*. This charge woll all wey be grete, and so inestimable grete, þat in *somme* yere a grete lordes lyvelod shalnot suffice to beyre it, though he wolde selle grete parte þerof. And trewly, when þe kyng rewardith is *servantes* in this *maner*, he shewith grete ffauour to all his reaume. *Item*, it shall nede þat the kyng haue such tresour, as he mey make new bildynges whan he woll, ffor his pleasure and magnificence; and as he mey bie hym riche clothes, riche furies, *oper* than be wonned to fall vndre þe yerely charges off his warderobber, rich stones, serpes, bauderikes, and *oper* juels and ornamentes conuenyent to his estate roiall. And often tymes he woll bie riche hangynges and other apparell ffor his howses; vessaill, vestmentes, and *oper* ornamentes for his chapell; bie also horses off grete price, trappers, and do *other* suche nobell and grete costes, as bi sitith is roiall mageste, off wich it is not now possible to the writer hereof to remenbr the especialiteis. Ffor yff a kyng did not so, nor myght do, he lyved then not like his estate, but rather in miserie, and in more subgeccion than doth a *priuat* person. *Item*, the kyng shall often tymes sende his comissioners in gret myght, and also his juges, to repress and punysh riatours and risers; ffor wich cause he shall odre whiles ride in his owne *person* myghtely accompanied. Wich thyng wolnot be done *with* owt grete costes; ffor no man is bounde to *serue* hym in suche cases at his owne dyspenses. *Item*, yff ther come a sodayne armye vpon this londe by see

or by lande, þe kyng most encomptre them *with* a lyke armye, or a gretter; ffor þe expenses wheroff he shall not so sadanly haue any eyde off his peple. Wherefore he most than do the expences *with* money owt off his cofers, or put all is lande in jopardie. Loo now we haue remembred grete parte off the kynges extraordinary charges; and be ffore we haue shewid grete parte off his ordinarie charges. Wherefore now it is tyme þat it be shewid, how the kyng mey haue revenues and livelode sufficient to beyre theis ij charges.

CHAPTER VIII.

YFF THE KYNGES LIVELODE SUFFICE NOT, HIS
SUBGETTES AUGHT TO MAKE HIT SUFFICIENT.

HIT is shewid be ffore, how necessarie it is þat livelod sufficient be asseigned ffor the kynges ordinarie charges, and that the same livelod be only applied therto, and not aliened in tyme comynge. Ffor that asseignement mey in no wise hurte þe kyng, considerynge þat yff any parte off þe revenues þeroff remayne ouer the paiement of the same ordinarie chargis, that so remaynyng is the kynges owne money, wich he mey than imploye to oþer vse at is owne pleasur. And it is vndouted that the kyng hath livelode sufficient wich mey be soo asseigned for his ordinarie charges. Wherefore we haue now no thyng ellis to be serched, but what lyvelod þe kyng hath ffor the payment off his charges extraordinary, ouer so moche livelod as shalbe asseigned

ffor his charges ordinarie; and yff he haue not livelod sufficient *per*to, how than his livelod may be made sufficient. Ffor his reame is bounde by right to susteyne hym in euery thyng necessarie to his estate. Ffor, as Seynt Thomas saith, *Rex datur propter regnum, et non regnum propter regem*. Wherefore all that he dothe owith to be referred to his kyngdome. Ffor though his estate be þe highest estate temporall in þe erthe, yet it is an office, in wiche he mynestreth to his reame defence and justice. And therefore he may say off hym selff and off his reame, as the pope saith off hym selff and off the churche, in þat he writithe, *seruus seruorum Dei*. By wiche reason, ryght as euery *seruant* owith to haue is sustenance off hym þat he *serueth*, so aught þe pope to be susteyned by the churche, and the kyng by his reame. Ffor *nemo debet propriis expensis militare*. And owre lorde saith, *dignus est operarius cibo suo*. Wherefore þe appostill saith, *communitet is qui catezizatur verbo, et qui se catezizat, in omnibus bonis*. Wherefore sithen euery reame is bounde to susteyn is kyng, yet moch more be we bounde ther to, vpon whom owre kyng reignith by so ffauorable lawes as is beffore declared.

CHAPTER IX.

HERE HE SHEWITH THE PERELLIS THAT MEY COME TO
THE KYNG BY OUER MYGHTYE SUBGETTES.

BUT sithyn the said *extraordinarie* charges bith so vncertayne þat thai be not estymable, hit is not

possible to putt in certayne, what lyvelod will yerely suffice to beyre ham. Wherefore we nede in this case to vse coniecture and ymaginacion, as to thynk that *per* is no lordis livelod in Englonde sufficient to beyre the kynges *extra*ordinare charges. Then nedith it *pat* the kynges livelod, aboff such reuenues as shalbe asseigned for his ordinarie charges, be gretter than the livelod off the grettest lorde in Englande. And *per*aventure, whan livelod sufficient ffor the kynges ordinarie charges is lemitted and asseigned therto, hit shall apere, that diuerse lordis off Englande haue also moch livelode off thair owne, as than shall remayne in the kynges handes ffor his *extra*ordinarie charges; wich were inconvenient, and wold be to the kyng right dredefull. For than such a lord mey dispende more then the kyng, consideringe *pat* he is charged *with* no such charges *extra*ordinarie or ordinarie as is the kyng, except an household, wich is but litle in *comparison* off the kynges house. Wherefore yff it be thus, it shalbe necessarie, *pat* ther be *purveyid* ffor the kyng moch gretter livelod than he hath yet. For *manis* corage is so noble, *pat* naturally he aspirith to high thinges, and to be exaltid, and *perfore* enforsith hym selff to be alway gretter and gretter. Ffor wych the philosopher saith, *omnia amamus sed principari maus*. Wherof it hath comyn *pat* oftyn tymes, when a subget hath hade also gret livelod as his prince, he hath anon aspired to *pe* estate of his prince, wich by such a man mey sone be gote. Ffor the remenante off the subgettes off such a prince, seyng *pat* yff so myghty a subget myght opteyne *pe* estate off thair prince, thai shulde than be vndir a prince double so myghty as was thair old prince;—wich encrease any subget

desirith, ffor his owne discharge off þat he beyrith to the sustenance off his prince;—and therefore wolbe right gladdē to help such a subgett in his rebellion. And also such an enterprise is the more ffeseable, when such a rebell hath more riches than his souerayne lorde. Ffor the peple will go *with* hym þat best mey susteyne and rewarde ham. This maner off doynge hath be so ofte practised nerehande in euery reame, þat thair cronicles be full off it. In the reame off Ffraunce was neuer change off thair kyng, sithyn it was ffirst inabyted by Ffrench men, but by þe rebellion off such myghty subgettes; as Hyldericus kyng off Ffraunce, dissended off Clodone, wich was ffirst Cristen kyng off Ffraunce, was putt doune by Pepyne son to Carollus Marcellus, wich was the most myghty subget þat into that tyme was euer sene in þe reame off Ffraunce. And aftirwarde Charles, discended off Carolus Magnus, sonne to the said Pepyne by ix. or by x. generacions, was put ffrom the kyngdome of Ffraunce by Hugh Capite, sonne to Hugo Magnus, Erle of Paris, wich tho was the myghtieste subgett off Ffraunce, and therefore create and callid *Dux Franciæ*. And in owre dayis we haue sene a subgett off the Ffrench kynges in such myght, þat he hath gyven bataill to the same kyng, and putt hym to flight, and aftirwad be segett hym beyng in Paris is grettest cete, and soo keppid thair, vnto þe tyme his said kyng hade made such ende *with* hym, his adherentes, and fauctours, as he desired. We haue also sene late in owre reame, somme off the kynges subgettes gyff hym bataill, by occasion þat thair livelod and offices were þe grettest off þe lande, and ellis thai wolde not haue done soo.

The Erlis of Lecestir and Glocestre, wich were þe

grettest lordes off Englund, rose ayenest thair kyng
 Herre the iij^{de}, and toke hym and his sonne prisoners
 in the ffelde. Wich maner off demeynyng the kyng
 off Scottis þat last dyed dreddyng to be practysed in
 his lande, putt owt off the same lande þe Erle
 Douglas whos livelod and myght was nere hande
 equivalent to his owne, moved þerto be no other
 cause, saue only drede off his rebyllion. The crony-
 cles off euery reaume, and in especiall off Spayne and
 Denmarke, bith full off such ensamples; and so
 bith also the bokis off kynges in holy scripture;
 wherfore it nedith not to write mor herein. And
 also it mey not be eschewid, but þat the grete lordis
 off þe lande by reason off nev dissentes ffallyng vnto
 ham, by reason also off mariages, purchasses, and
 oper titles, shall often tymes growe to be gretter
 than thai be now, and *perauentur* somme off hem to be
 off livelod and poiar like a kyng; wich shalbe right
 god ffor the lande while thai aspire to non hygher
 estate. Ffor such was þe Duke of Lancastre, þat
 warred þe kyng off Spayne, on off the myghtiest
 kynges off Cristendome, in his owne reaume. But
 this is writun only to the entent þat it be well vnder-
 stande, how necessarie it is þat the kyng haue grete
 possesscions, and peculier livelod ffor his owne suirte;
 namely, whan any of his lordis shull happen to be so
 excessyuely grete, as ther mought therby groue
 perell to his estate. For certainly ther mey no
 grettir perell growe to a prince, than to haue a
 subgett equopolent to hym selff.

CHAPTER X.

HOW THAT THE CROVNE IS BESTE TO BE INDOWED.

Now that the lykennes off the kynges charges ordinarie and extraordinarie bith shewid, and *ouer* that, how necessarie it is that he haue grete livelod aboff þe same charges, in wich it nedyth þat he excede gretly *euery* man off the lande, wych livelod vndoutedly he hath not at þis day; hyt is therfore byhouefull þat we now serch how the kyng mey haue such livelod; but ffirst, off what comodites it mey best be take. The kyng off Ffraunce myght not sumtyme dyspende off his demaynes, as in lorde-shippes, and *oper* patrimonie peculier, so mich as myght tho the kyng off England; wich mey well appere be that the qwene off Ffraunce hath but v. $\overset{\dagger}{M}$ marke yerely to huыр douer, wher as the qwene off Englund hath x. $\overset{\dagger}{M}$ marke. Ffor in tho dayis ther was but litle more off the reaume off Ffraunce in the kynges handes, but þat parte wich is callyd the Ile off Ffraunce. Ffor all the remenant off the reaume as Burgonye, Normandye, Guyne, Cham-payne, Langdoke, and Fflaunders, *with* mony *oper* such grete lordshippes, were than in the handes off the Dussepers, and off *oper* princes and grete lordis. Ffor wych cause the gabell off the salt, and the quaterimes of the wyne were graunted to the kyng by the iij estates off Ffraunce, wych was no litill subsidie. Ffor ther is no man in Ffraunce þat mey eyte salt, but yff he bie it off the kyng; and that is now sett to so grete *prise*, þat the bushell, wich the

kyng bieth ffor iij^d or iiij^d, is solde to his peple ffor ij^s and a j^d, and other while more. And the iiijth pype off the wyne that be made in Ffraunce may be no lityll thyng, sithyn the tylling off the vyne is the grettest comodite off the reame; but þat comodite we haue not in this lande. Wher fore ther is no parte off tho maners off subsidie þat myght be gode ffor owre souerane lorde, but yff it were that he myght sell to his subgettes the salte þat comyth hyder. In wich thyng he shall haue more grochyng off the peple than proffett. Ffor in Ffraunce the peple salten but lytill mete, except thair bacon, for thair wolde bie litil salte; but yet thair be arted to bye more salte than thair wolde. Ffor the kynges officers bryngen to thair houses euery yere, also moche salte as by thair coniecture is resnable to the nombre off þe men, women, and childeren that dwellen therin, ffor wich thair shall pay though thair wolnot haue so muche. This rule wolde be sore aborred in Englonde, as well by the marchaunts þat bithe wonned to haue thair ffredome in biyng and sellyng off salte, as by the peple þat vsen moche to salte thair meytes more than do þe Ffrenchmen; by occasion wheroff thair woll than at euery mele groche with the kyng, þat entreteth hem more rygoursly than his progenitors haue done. And so his hyghnes shall haue þeroff, but as hadd þe man þat sherid is hogge, muche crye and litil woll. In Fflaunders, and in oþer lordeshippes off the Dukes off Burgoigne downwarde, he takith certayn impositiōns made by hym self vpon euery oxe, euery shepe, and vpon oþer thynges solde; and also vpon euery vesail off wyne, euery barrell off bere, and oþer vitalles solde in his lordeshippes, wich is no litil revenue to hym;

but yet he dothe it maugre the peple, wiche God defende *þat* the kynges oure souerayn lorde shulde do vpon is peple, *with* owt ~~thair~~ grauntes or assent. Nertheles *with* thair assent suche maner off subsidie, yff *þer* coude not be ffounde a better meane off þe encressynge off the kynges revenues, were not vnresnoble. Ffor therin and in the gabell off þe salte, euery man shal beyre þe charge *þer* off eyegally. But yet I wolde not *þat* suche a newe charge were put apon þe peple in owre souerayn lordis dayis, *with* wiche is progenitours charged hem neuer, yff a better remedie coude be ffounde. Kynges Salamon charged is peple *with* gretter ymposicions than thai were wonned to beyre be ffore his dayis. And by cause his sonne kynges Roboham wolde not ease hem theroff, the x. parties off the peple, devided in xii. parties, de *partide* ffrom hym, and chese hem a new kynges, and come neuer aftir *þat* tyme vndre is subiection. Off wiche departyng God said hym selff aftirwarde, *a me factum est istud*. Wiche is an ensample *þat* it is not good a kynges to ouer sore charge his peple. Wherefore me thinkith, *þat* yff þe kynges myght haue is livelod ffor the sustenance off his estate in grete lordshippes, maneres, ffee ffermys, and such other demaynes, his people not charged, he shulde kepe to hym hollych thair hertes, excede in lordshippes all the lordes off his reame, and ther shulde non off hem growe to be like vnto hym, wiche thynges is most to be fered off all þe worlde. Ffor then *with* in ffewe yeres *þer* shulde not remeyne lordshippes in is reame, by wiche þai myght growe so grette. Ner thai myght growe soche be mariages, but yff the kynges wolde hit. Ffor to hym fallen all þe grete mariages off his lande, wiche he mey dispose

as hym liste. And by discente *þer* is not like to ffalle gretter heritage to any man than to þe kyng. Ffor to hym bith cosens þe most and grettest lordes off þe reaume. And by escheittes *þer* mey not so muche lande fall to any man as to þe kyng, by cause þat no man hath so many tenantes as he; and also no man mey haue the escheittes off treson but hym selff. And be purchas, yff this be done, *þer* shall no man so well encesse his livelod as the kyng. Ffor ther shall non off his tenantes aliene livelod *wit*h out is licence, wheryn he mey best *preferre* hym selff. Nor *þer* shall no livelod be kept so holl as þe kynges, consideryng þat he mey not onestly selle is lande, as oþer men mey doo; and also his sellyng wolde be the hurte off all his reaume. Soche was þe sellyng off Chirke and Chirkes landes, weroff neuer manne see a *president*, and God defende that any man see mo soche hereaftir. Ffor sellyng off a kynges livelod is *propirly* callid delapidacion off his crowne, and therefore is off gret infame. Now we haue ffounde vndoutably, what maner reuenez is best ffor the indowment off the crowne. But sithyn it is said be fore, þat the kyng hath not at this day sufficient therto, it is most convenient that we nowe serch, how is hyghnes mey haue sufficient off suche reuenez, wiche we ffounde now best ther fore.

CHAPTER XI.

HERE IS SHEWID, WHAT OFF THE KYNGES LIVELOD GEVEN
AWAY, MEY BESTE BE TAKEN A GEYN.

THE holy patriarke Joseph, while he, vnder Pharaoh kyng, governed þe lande off Egipte, rulid and so entredid þe peple þeroff, þat thai graunted to pay, and paid to the same kyng, the vth parte of thair graynes, and off all oþer thyng that growed to thaim yerely off þe erthe; wich charge thai berun yet, and euer shall beyre. Wherthro thair prince, wich now is the Saudayn off Babilon, is on off the myghtyest princes off þe worlde; and that notwithstandinge þe same Egipcians bith the most riche commons þat liuen vndre any prince. Wherby we bith lerned þat it shalnot only be goode to owre prince, but also to vsself, that he be well indowed; ffor ellis the patriarke wolde not haue made such a trefy. The Ffrench kyng in on thyng, þat is to say in wyne, takyth more off is peple than dothe þe Saudan; ffor he takith þe iiijth peyne þeroff. But yet he takith no thyng off thair graynes, wolles, or off any other gode þat growith to hem off thair lande. The kyng owre souerayn lorde hade be tymes, sithen he reigned vpon vs, livelod in lordshippes, landes, tenementes, and rentes, nerehand to the value off þe vth parte off is reaume, aboff the possescions off þe chirche. Off wich livelod, yff hit hade abiden still in his handes, he hade ben more myghty in good revenues than any off þe said ij kynges, or any kyng þat now reigneth vpon cristen

men. But this was not possible to haue ben done. Ffor to some parte *per* off the eyres off thaim þat some tyme owed it be restored; some bi reason off tayles, some bi reason off *oper* titles, wich the kyng hath considered and thought hem good and resonable. And some off þe said luelod is god *grace* hath geuen to such as haue *serued* hym so notably, þat as thair renoune wolbe eternall, so it besate the kynges magnyficence to make thair rewardes euerlastynge in their heyres, to thair *perpetuall* memorie and honour. And also the kyng hath geuen parte off this luelod to his moste worshipfull brotherryn, wich not only haue *serued* hym in the *maner* ffor said, but bith also so nygh in blode to his highnes, that it besatte not is magnyficence to haue done in *oper* wyse. Neuerthelesse somme men haue done hym *seruice*, ffor wych it was resonable þat his *grace* hade rewarded hem; and ffor lakke off money, the kyng than rewarded þam *with* lande. And to some men he hath done in lyke wyse aboff thair *merites*, through ymportunite off thair *suyttes*. And it is supposed þat some off hem haue goton an c. li. worth lande, þat wolde haue holde hym content *with* cc. li. in money, yff thai myght haue hade it in hande. Wherfore it is thought, þat yff suche gyftis, and namely tho wich haue be made inconsideratle, or aboff the *merytes* off hem that haue thaim, were refourmed; and thai rewarded *with* money, or offices, and some *with* luelode *terme* off lyff, wich aftir thair dethis wolde than retorne to the Crowne, þe kyng shulde haue suche luelod as we now seke ffor, sufficiente ffor the mayntennance off his estate. And yff it wolde not than be so gret, I holde it for

vndouted, þat the people off his lande woll be well wyllunge to graunte hym a subsidie, vppon suche comodites off his reame as bith be ffore specified, as shall accomlishe that wich shall lakke hym off such luelod; so that is highnes woll establyshe þe same luelod than remaynyng, to abide perpetuelly to his crowne, with owt translatyng þeroff to any oþer vse. Ffor ellis whan þat shall happen hereaftir to be gyven away, it shall nede þat is commons be charged with a newe subsidie, and thus be kept alway in pouerte.

CHAPTER XII.

HERE IS SHEWID WHAT HARME WOLDE COME TO ENGLAND,
YFF THE COMMONS THER OFF WERE POUERE.

SOME men haue said þat it were good ffor the kyng, þat the commons off Englande were made pore, as be the commons off Ffraunce. Ffor than thai wolde not rebelle, as now thai done oftentimes; wich the commons off Ffraunce do not, nor mey doo; ffor thai haue no wepen, nor armour, nor good to bie it with all. To this maner off men mey be said with the phylosopher, *ad pauca respicientes de facili enunciant*. This is to say, thai that see but ffew thynges, woll sone say thair advyses. Ffor soth this ffolke consideren litill the good off the reame off Englund, wheroff the myght stonidith most vppon archers, wich be no ryche men. And yff thai were made more pouere than thai be, thai shulde not

haue wherwith to bie hem bowes, arroes, jakkes, or any oþer armour off defence, wherby thai myght be able to resiste owre enymes, when thai liste to come vppon vs; wich thai mey do in euery side, consideringe þat we be a Ilelonde; and, as it is said before, we mey not sone haue soucour off any oþer reame. Wherfore we shull be a pray to all owre enymyes, but yff we be myghty off owre selff, wich myght stondith most vppon owre pouere archers; and therefore thai nedun not only haue suche ablements as now is spoken off, but also thai nedun to be much excersised in shotyng, wich mey not be done with owt ryght grete expenses, as euery man experte þer in knowith ryght well. Wherfore þe making pouere of þe commons, wich is þe making pouere off owre archers, shalbe þe distruccon of the grettest myght off owre reame.) Item, yff pouere men mey not lightly rise, as is the openion of thes men, wich ffor þat cause wolde haue þe commons pouere; how than, yff a myghty man made a rysinge shulde he be repressed, whan all the commons ben so pouere, þat aftir such openyon thai mey not ffeight, and be þat reason not helpe the kyng with ffeightyng? And whi makith the kyng þe commons euery yere to be mustered; sithen it were god thai hade non harnes nor were able to ffeight? O, howe vnwyse is þe oppenyon off thes men; ffor it mey not be mayntened be any reason! Item, whan any rysinge hath be made in this londe be ffor theis dayis by commons, the pouerest men þer off haue be þe grettest causers and doers ther in. And thryfty men haue ben loth therto, ffor drede off lesyng off thair gode. But yet oftentymes thai haue goo with thaym, through manasheyng þat

ell's the same pouere men wolde haue toke thair godes, wher in it semyth þat pouerte hath be þe holl cause off all suche rysynges. The pouere man hath be sturred þerto be occasion off is pouerte, for to gete gode and þe riche men haue gone *with* hem, be cause thai wolde not be pouere be lesynge off þer gode. What than wolde ffall, yff all the commons were pouere? Trewly it is lyke that this lande then shulde be like vnto þe reame off Boeme, wher the commons ffor pouerte rose apouon the nobles, and made all thair godis to be comune. Item, hit is the kyngis honour, and also is office, to make is reame riche; and it is dishonour whan he hath but a pouere reame, off wich men woll say þat he reigneth but vpon beggers. Yet it were moch gretter dishonour, yff he ffounde is reame riche, and then made it pouere. And it were also gretly ayenest his conciens, þat awght to defende hem and her godis, yff he toke ffro hem thair godis *with* out lafull cause; ffrom the infame wheroff God defende owre kyng, and gyff hym grase to augmente is reame in riches, welth, and prosperite, to his perpetuell laude and worshipp. Item, the reame off Ffraunce givith neuer ffrely off thair owne gode will any subsidie to thair prince, be cause þe commons þeroff be so pouere, as thai meynot give any thyng off þair owne godis. And the kyng ther askith neuer subsidie off is nobles, ffor drede þat yff he charged hem so, thai wolde confedre *with* þe commons, and *per*auentur putt hym doune. But owre commons be riche, and þerfore thai give to thair kyng, at somme tymes quinsimes and dessimes, and ofte tymes *per* grete subsidies, as he hath nede ffor þe gode and defence off his reame. How gret

a subsidie was it, when the reame gaff to thair kyng a quinsime and a desime quinqueniale, and the ixth fflese off thair wolles, and also the ixth shefe off *per* graynes, ffor the *terme* off v. yere. This myght thai not haue done, yff thai hade ben impouershed be thair kyng, as be the commons off Ffraunce; nor such a graunte hath be made by any reame off cristendome, off wich any cronicle makith mencion; nor non oþer mey or hath cause to do so. Ffor thai haue not so much ffredome in thair owne godis, nor be entreted by so ffauerable lawes as we be, except a ffewe regions be ffore specified. *Item*, we se dayly, how men þat haue lost thair godis, and be ffallen into pouerte, be *comme* anon robbers and theves; wich wolde not haue ben soche, yff pouerte hade not brought hem *þerto*. Howe many a theff then were like to be in this lande, yff all the commons were pouere. Þe grettest surete trewly, and also the most honour þat mey come to the kyng is, þat is reame be riche in *euery* estate. Ffor nothyng mey make is people to arise, but lakke off gode, or lakke off justice. But yet sertainly when thay lakke gode thai woll aryse, sayng that thai lakke justice. Neuer þe les yff thai be not pouere, thay will neuer aryse, but yff *per* prince so leue justice, that he give hym selff all to tyranne.

CHAPTER XIII.

ONLY LAK OFF HARTE AND COWARDISSE KEPEN THE
FFRENCHMEN FFRO RYSYNGE.

POUERTE is not the cause, whi the commons off Ffraunce rise not ayen thair souerayn lorde. Ffor *per* were neuer people in *pat* lande more pouere, then were in owre tyme the commons off the contre off Caux, wich was tho almost diserte ffor lakke off tillers; as it now well apperith be the new husbondry *pat* is done *per*, namely in grobbyng and stokkyng off treis, busses, and groves, growen whill we were ther lordes off the contray. And yet the said commons off Caux made a *mervelous* gret rysinge, and toke owre townis, castelles, and ffortresses, and slowe owre capitans and soudiours, at soche a tyme as we hade but ffewe men off werre lyeing in *pat* contray. Wich *provith* *pat* it is not pouerte *pat* kepith Ffrenchmen ffro rysinge, but it is cowardisse and lakke off hartes and corage, wich no Ffrenchman hath like vnto a Englysh man. It hath ben offten tymes sene in Englande, *pat* iij. or iiij. theves ffor pouerte haue sett apon vj or vij trewe men, and robbed hem all. But it hath not bene sene in Ffraunce, *pat* vj. or vij. theves haue be hardy to robbe iij. or iiij. trewe men. Wherfore it is right selde *pat* Ffrenchmen be hanged ffor robbery, ffor thai haue no hartes to do so *terable* an acte. Ther bith therfore mo men hanged in Englande in a yere ffor robbery and manslaughter, then *per* be hanged in Ffraunce ffor such *maner* of crime in vij yeres.

Ther is no man hanged in Scotlande in vij yere to gedur ffor robbery. And yet thai ben often tymes hanged ffor larceny, and stelynge off good in the absence off þe owner þeroff. But þer hartes serue hem not to take a manys gode, while he is present, and woll defende it; wich maner off takynge is callid robbery. But þe Englysh man is off anoþer corage. Ffor yff he be pouere, and see another man havynge rychesse, wich may be taken ffrom hym be myght, he will not spare to do so, but yff þat pouere man be right trewe. Wherefore it is not pouerte, but it is lakke off harte and cowardisse, that kepith the Ffrenchmen ffro rysynge.

CHAPTER XIV.

HERE HIT IS SHEWID, WHI IT NEDITH þAT THER BE A RESUMPCION, AND A GRAUNT OFF GODE MADE TO THE KYNGE.

THIS serche wich we nowe haue made, ffor to vnderstonde how harmefull it wolde be to the kyng, and to his reaume, yff his commons were pouere, hath be a digression ffrom the mater in wich we labour; þat is to say, ffor to vndirstonde howe the kyng mey best haue sufficient and perdurable livedod ffor the sustentacion off his estate. Wherefore it be houyth þat we nowe resorte to the poynte in wich we lafte, wich, as I remenbr, was this. We ffounde be grete causes, þat it was nedefull, þat all suche giftes

as haue be made off the kynges luelod inconsederatly, as not deseruēt, or aboff the meretes of hym þat haue getun hym, were reformed; so as thai wich haue done any seruice, be not vnrewarded. Wich thyng, as me thynkith, mey not perfityly be done, withowt a generall resumpcion, made be auctorite off parlement; and þat ther be gyven to the kyng by the same auctorite, a grete subsidie, with wich is hyghnes, be þe advise off his counsell, mey rewarde tho þat haue deserued rewardes, and awght not þefore to haue parte off his revenues, by wich is estate moste nedis be mayntened; or awght not haue so moch off þe revenues, as thai haue now, or not so grete astate in the same. Considerynge þat all such gyvinge away off the kynges luelod is harmefull to all is legemen, wich shall þerby, as is be ffore shewid, be arted to a newe charge ffor þe sustenance off is estate. But yet, or any suche resumpcion be made, it shalbe gode þat a worshipfull and a notable counsell be stablished, be the advise off wich all new gyftes and rewardes mey be moderated and made, as yff no such gyftes or rewardes had be made be ffor this tyme. Provided alway, that no man be harmyd, be reason off such resumpcion, in the arrerages off such luelod as he shall þan haue, wich shall renne aftir þat resumpcion, and bi fore þe said new gyftes and rewardes. And whan such a counsell is ffully create and established, hit shalbe gode þat all supplicacions wich shalbe made to þe kyng ffor any gifte or rewarde, be sende to þe same counsell, and þer debatid and delibered; ffirst whether þe supliant haue deserued such rewarde as he askith; and yff he haue deserued hit, yet it nedith þat it be delibered, whether the kyng mey gyve such rewarde as he

askith off his revenues, savyngē to hym selff sufficient ffor the sustenance off his estate. Ffor ellis such givingē were no vertu, but a spice of *prodigalite*, and as ffor so moch it were delapidacion off his crowne: Wherefore no *prīuat person* woll, be reason off libera-
lite, or off rewarde, so abate is owne livelod, as he mey not kepe such estate as he did beffore. And trewly it were bettir, þat a *prīuat person* lakked is rewarde wich he hath well *deserued*, then that be his rewarde þe gode publike and all the lande were hurte. Wherefore to eschewe theis ij harmes, it mey then be advised be the counsell, how such a *person* mey be rewarded *with* office, money, mariage, ffraunches, *prīuelage*, or such *oper* thyngē, off wich þe crowne hath grete riches. And verely yff this ordre be kept, the kyngē shalnot be greved be importunite of suytours, nor thai shall be importunite or brocage optayne any vnresonable desires. O what quiete shall growe to þe kyng by this ordre; and in what reste shall than his people lyff, hauyngē no colour off grochyngē *with* soche as shall be aboute is *person*, as thai were woned to haue, ffor þe gyvyngē away off his londe, and also ffor the mys counsellyngē off hym in many *oper* cases; nor off *marmor* ageynes the kynges *person*, ffor þe mys gouernance off his reame! Ffor in this counsell mey be determynyd euery case off deficulte, or the kyng do any thyng þerin. And the wise man saith, *ubi multa consilia, ibi salus*. And trewly such a *contenuall* counsell mey wel be callid, *multa consilia*, ffor it is ofte, and euere day counsellith.

CHAPTER XV.

HOW THE KYNGES COUNSELL MEY BE CHOSEN AND ESTABLESHED.

THE kyngis counsell was wonned to be chosen off grete *princes*, and off the gretteste lordes off þe lande, both *spirituelles* and *temporellis*, and also off *oper* men that were in grete auctorite and offices. Wich lordes and officers had nere hande also many maters off thair owne to be treded in the counsell, as hade þe kyng. Wherthrough, when thai come to gedre, thai were so occupied *with* thair owne maters, and *with* the maters off thair kynne, *seruantes*, and *tenantes*, þat thai entendet but litle, and *oper* while no thyng, to þe kynges maters. And also *per* were but ffewe maters off the kynges, but yff þe same maters toucheden also þe said counsellers, thair cosyns, *per seruantes*, *tenantes*, or such *oper* as thai owed ffauor vnto. And what lower man was *per* sytinge in þat counsell, þat durste say ayen the openyon off any off the grete lordis? And whi myght not then men make be meanes off corrupcion *somme* off the *seruantes* and counsellers off *somme* off the lordes to moue the lordes to *parciallite*, and to make hem also ffauorable and *parcial* as were the same *seruantes*, or the *parties* þat so moved hem? Then coude no *mater* treded in the counsell be kept *prive*. Ffor the lordes oftentyms tolde ther owne counsellours and *seruantes*, that hade suyd to hem ffor tho maters, how thai had sped in ham, and who was ayen ham. How mey

þe kyng be counsellyd to restrayne gyvinge a wey off his londe, off gyvinge off offices, corodeis, or pencions off abbeyis, by suche grete lordes to *oper* menys *servantes*, sithyn thay most desire such giftes ffor thaim selff, and thair *servantes*? Wich thynges considered, and also many *oper* wech shall be shewid hereaftir, hit is thought gode, that þe kynge had a counsell chosen and established in the fourme that ffollowith, or in some *oper* ffourme like þerto. Ffirst, þat ther were chosen xij *spirituell* men, and xij *temporell* men, off þe wysest and best disposed men þat can be ffounde in all the *parties* off this lande; and that thai be sworne to counsell the kynge aftir a ffourme to be devysed ffor þer owthe. And in especiall, þat thai shall take no ffee, nor clothyng, nor no rewardes off any man, except only off þe kynge; like as þe Justices off þe kynges benche, and off þe Common place be sworne, when thai take ther offices. And þat thes xxiiij. be alway counsellors, but yff þer be any defaute ffounde in hem, or þat hit lyst the kynge, be the advise off þe more *parte* off hem, chaunge any off hem. And þat euery yere be chosen be þe kynge iiij. lordes *spirituell*, and iiij lordes *temporall*, to be ffor þat yere off þe same counsell, in like ffourme as þe said xxiiij^{ti} shall be. And that thai all haue an hed, or a cheeff to rule þe counsell, on off þe said xxiiij^{ti}, and chosen be the kynge, havyng is office at the kynges pleasur; wich mey thanne be callid, *Capitalis consiliarius*. It shall not be necessarie, þat the xij *spirituell men* off this covnsell, haue so gret wages as the xij *temporall men*; be cause thai shull not nede to kepe an houshold in thair contray, while thai ben absent, as the *temporell men* moste nedes

doo, ffor thair wyffes and childeren. By wich consideracion the *spirituell* juges in the courte off parliament off Parys, taken but cc. ffrankes by þe yere, where as þe *temporell* juges þeroff taken by the yere cc. ffrankes. The said viij.^{to} lordes also, wich be reason off þer baronyes and estates, bith to þe kyng, *consiliari nati*, and þerfore awghton to counsell hym at all tymes when he woll, nede not to haue gret wages ffor thair attendance to is covnsell, wich shall last but ffor a yere. Ffor *temporell* men, wich be reason off þer enheritaunce and livelod bith made shyreffes ffor a yere, taken off þe kynges litle, and all most nothyng ffor thair *seruice* off þat yere. And thoughe þat wages off the said xxiiij.^{ti} counsellers seme a newe and a grete charge to þe kyng, yet when hit is considered, how gret wages the grete lordes and other men, wych were off the kynges counsell in tymes passede, toke ffor thair attendance therto, wich *maner* off counsell was nothyng so behouefull to the kyng and to his reame as this will be, wich wages shall than forthwarde cesse; þe wages off þe xxiiij.^{ti} counsellours shall apere no gret charge to the kyng. And I can suppose, þat some kynges be ffor this tyme, haue gyven to some on man þat hath *serued* hym, also moche livelod yerely, as the said wages wyll com to. And if the same wagis be thought to grete charge vnto þe kyng, þe forsaid counsellours mowe be in lesse nowmbre, as to be xvj counsellours off *privatis* personis, with ij lordes *spirituell*, and ij lordes *temporell*; so as then thai be in all but xx.^{ti} persones. Thies counsellors mowe *contenually*, at soche owres as shal be assigned to thaim, comune and delibre vpon the *materis* of defeculte that ffallen to the kyng; and

then vpon þe *materes* off þe pollycye off þe reaume; as how þe goyng owt off þe money may be restrayned, how bullyon may be brought in to þe lande, how also plate, juelles, and mony late borne owt, may be geytun ageyn; off wich right wyse men mowe sone fynde the meanes. And also how þe *prises* off marchandise growen in this lande may be holde vp and encressed, and the *prises* off merchandyses browght in to this lande abatid. How owre nauy may be mayntened and augmented, and vpon suche *oper* poyntes off police, to the grettest profyte and encresse, þat euer come to this lande. How also þe lawes may be amendet in suche thynges as thay neden reformacion in; wher through þe *parlementes* shall mowe do more gode in a moneth to þe mendyngge off the lawe, then thai shall mowe do in a yere, yff þe amendyngge þeroff be not debatyd, and be such counsell ryped to thair handes. *Per* may be off this covnsell, when thai liste come þerto, or þat thai be desired be þe said counsellours, þe grete officers off þe lande, as Chaunceler, tresourer, and prive seell; off wich þe chaunceler, when he is present, may be *presydent*, and haue þe supreme rule off all þe counsell. Also the Juges, the Barones off þe exchequier, þe clerke off the rolles, and suche lordes as þe forsaid counsellours woll desire to be *with* thaym for *materes* off gret deficulte, may be off this counsell when thai be so desyred, and ellis not. All *oper* *materes* wich shall conserne this counsell, as when a Counsellour dyeth, how a new counsellour shall be chosen, how mony owres off the day this counsell shall sytt, when thai shall haue any vacation, how longe any off hem may be absent, and how he shall haue his leue, *with* all *oper* artycles

necessarye ffor the demeynyngē and rule off this counsell, mowe be conseuyed be layser, and putt in a boke, and that boke kept in this counsell as a registir or a ordinarye, howe thai shall doo in euery thyngē.

CHAPTER XVI.

HOW THE ROMAYNES PROSPERED WHILES THAI HADE
A GRETE COUNSELL.

THE Romaynes, while thair counsell callid þe senate was gret, gate, through þe wysdome off that counsell, the lordshippe off gret partye of the world. And aftirward Julyus, thair ffirst emperowre, counselled by þe same senate, gate the monarchie nerhande off all þe world. Wherthrough Octavian, þer secounde emperour, commounded all þe world to be discribed as subget vnto hym. But aftir this, when yll dysposed emperours, as Nero, Domician, and oþer had slayn grete parte off þe senatours, and dyspiced the counsell off þe senate, the estate off þe Romans and off þer emperours beganne to fall doune, and hath ffallen alwey sythyn, in to suche decay, þat nowe the lordeshippes off þe emperour bith not so gret, as be þe lordeshippes off some kyngē, wich, while þe senate was hole, was subget to þe emperour. Be wich ensample it is thought, þat yff the kyng haue such a Counsell as is beffore specified, his lande shall not only be ryche and welthy, as were

þe Romans, but also is hyghnes shalbe myghty, and off poiar to subdue his ennemyes, and all *oper* that he shall liste to reygne uppon. Off such ensamples mony of the bokes off cronycles be full; and in especiall þe cronycles off þe Lacidemonies, and off þe Authenences, wich, whill thai prospered, were best counselled, and most dyd aftir counsell off any people off þe world, excepte the Romayns. But when thai laste such counsell, thai ffell into non poiar and pouerte; as off the Cite off Athenes it mey well apere, be that it is nowe but a poure vilage, and some tyme was the moste worshipfull Cyte off Grece.

CHAPTER XVII.

HERE FOLOWETHE ADUERTYSMENTES FOR THE GEUYNG
OF THE KYNGES OFFYCES.

Yff it woll lyke þe kyng to gyff non office, in to the tyme þat his entente therin be comened *with* his counsell, and thair opiniyon by his hyghnes vnderstonde in the same, he shall mowe so rewarde his *seruantes with* offices, as ther shall be lityll nede to gyff hem moch off his livelod, and his offices shall then be geuen to soche as shall only *serue* hym selff. Wher through he shall haue than a greter myght, and a garde off his officers. when he liste to call thaym, than he hath nowe off his *oper* ffeed *men* vndre the astate off lordes. Ffor the myght off þe lande, aftir the myght off þe grete lordes þeroff.

stondith most in þe kynges officers. Ffor thai mowe best rule þe contreis wheras þer offices ben, wich is in euery partie off þe lande. A pouere baylyff mey do more in his bayille, then any man off his degre dwellynge *with* in his office. Some fforester off þe kynges, that hat^h non *oper* livelod, mey brynge moo men to þe ffelde well areyed, and namely ffor shotyng, then mey some knyght or Squyer off ryght gret lyuelod, dwellynge be hym, and hauynge non offyce. What than mey gretter officers do, stewardes off gret lordeshippes, reseyvors, constables off Castels, maystir fforesters, and such *oper* officers; be sydis the hygher offycers, as Justices off fforestes, Justices and Chambirlayns off Contreis, þe warden off þe portes, and such *oper*? Ffor sothe it is not lightly estymable, what myght þe kyng may haue off is officers, yff euery off hem hade but on office, and *serued* non *oper* man but þe kyng. Nor hit is ease to be estemed, howe mony men mey be rewarded *with* offices, and how gretly, yff thai be discretly geuen. The kyng givyth mo than mth offices, be sydes tho þat my lorde þe prince geuyth, off wich I reken þe officers, as the kynges officers. Off thes officers some mey dispende by þe yere, by reason off is office, cc. *ti.*, some a c. *ti.*, some a c. *marc*, some xl. *ti.*, some l. *marc*, and so downwarde. So as þe lest off hem, þough he be but a *parker*, takynge but ij^d on a dey, yet he hath be þe yere iij. *ti.* x^d, be sydes his dwellynge in þe logge, his cove ffor is mylke, and such *oper* thyng goynge abowte hym, and the ffees off is office, so as þat office is to hym also profitable as wolde be a c. s. off ffee or rente, wich is a feyre lyuyng ffor a yoman. How mony men then off euery estate, and off euery degre, and how gretly,

mey the kynge rewarde *with* offices, *with* owt gyuyng
 away off his livelod. Ffor soth the grettest lordes
 livelod in Englande mey not suffice to rewarde so
 many men, though he wolde *departe* hit *euery* dell
 amonges is *seruantes*; nor ij. the gretteste lordes off
 Englund mey make so gret a myghte as þe kynge
 mey haue only off his officers, yff thai were holliche
 and only is *seruantes*, and *euery* off hem had but on
 office. To this sane suche lordes and *oþer* men, such
 as axen off þe kyng offices ffor thair *seruantes*, that
 thai and all thair *seruantes* shall alwey *serue* þe kynge,
 and is officers shul do hym the bettir *seruyce*, by
 reason thei bith in *þer* *seruice*; ffor thai woll helpen
 hym to do so, and suffre non in thair companye, but
 suche as woll do so. Wher to may be said, that it is
 trewe thai shall do the kyng *seruice* while thai be in
 thair companie; but so shulde thai haue done, though
 the kynge had *neuer* made thaim his officers. Wher
 fore þe kynge *shal* not be the bettir served, þat he
 hath *yeuen* his offices to thair *seruantes*, but *raþer*
 worse. Ffor owre lorde said, *Nemo potest duobus*
dominis seruire. And so þe kynge shall lese the offices,
 as ffor any syngular service he shall haue ffor hem,
 or þat the same officers shulde thynke them selff by
 hold vnto the kynge ffor *þer* offices, wich is hyghnes
 hath *yeuen* them at þe contemplacion off *þer* maisters,
 and ffor no reward off any *seruice* þat thai haue done,
 or shul doo vnto hym selff. Be consideracion wheroff
þer olde maistirs shall be bettir *serued* be thaim
 than thei were be fore; and so be more myghty in
 thair contraes to do what them liste; and the kynge
 in lasse myght, and haue the ffewer officers to
 repress hem when thai do a mysse. And this hath
 causyd mony men to be suche braggers and suytours

to þe kyng, ffor to haue his offices in þer contraes to thaim selff, and to þer men, þat almost no man in sume contray durste take an office off þe kyng, but he ffirst had þe good will off þe said bragers and engrossers of offices. Ffor yff he dyd not so, he shuld not afir þat tyme haue pease in his contray; wheroff hath comyn and growen mony gret trowbels and debates in dyuerse contraes off Englund. Wich materes thrugly considered, it semyth verely good, þat no man haue any office of þe kynges yefte, but he be ffirst sworne that he is *seruant* to non oþer man, or woll *serue* any oþer man, or take is clothyng or ffee while he *seruyth* þe kyng. And þat no man haue mo offices then on, except þat the kynges bretheryn mowe haue ij offices; and suche men as *serue* þe kyng aboute his *person*, or in his counsell, mowe haue in þer contrays a parkershippe ffor þer disporte when thay come whom, or such an oþer office, as thai mey wele kepe by þer deputes.

CHAPTER XVIII.

AUERTYSMENT HOWE CORODIES AND PENCIONS MEY
BEST BE YEVEN.

AND yff hit woll lyke the kynge to yeve no corodie nor pencion, wich he hath be ryght off his crowne, off euery abbey priory, and oþer howses founded vpon hospitalite be any off his *progeni-tours*, in to þe tyme that his entente þerin be co-

muned and delybered *with* his fforsaid counsell, and þat his hyghnes haue vnderstond þer openyon in þe same; than shall men off his howsold be rewarded *with* corodyes, and haue honeste sustenance in þer olde dayis when thai mey no longer serue; and þe clarkes off is chapell þat haue wyfes, or be not avauused, be rewarded *with* pencions *with* owt grete abatynge off þe kynges revenues, ffor þer rewardes or sustenance. Ffor such corodes and pencions were ffirst geven to þe kyng ffor the same entent. But nowe off late tyme, oþer men then þe kynges servauntes haue askyd þem, and be importune sute haue geyten gret parte off thaym, to þe kynges gret harme and hurt off his said seruantes; wich be þe cause þeroff lyuen in þe gretter penurie, and in non suyrtte off þer sustenance in tyme comyng, when thai shall not mowe do þe kyng service.

CHAPTER XIX.

HOWE GRET GODE WOLL GROWE OFF THE FFERME
ENDOWYNGE OFF þE CROWNE.

AND when þe kyng, be þe meanes afor said or oþer wyse, hath gotyn ayen his lyuelod, yff then it wolde lyke is most noble grace to establysh, and as who sayth, amortyse þe same lyuelod to is crowne, so as it mey neuer be alyened þerfro, *with* owt þe assent off his parlement, wych than wold be as a newe ffundacion of is crowne, he shall be þerby the

grettest ffounder off þe world. Ffor þer as oþer kynges haue ffounded byshopriches, abbeys, and oþer howses off releyon, þe kyng shall þan haue ffounded an holl reaume, and endowed it with gretter possesscions, and better then euer was any reaume in cristendome. This maner off ffundacion mey not be ayenste þe kynges prerogatyff, or his liberte, no more than is þe ffundacion off an abbey, ffro wich he mey take no parte off þe possesscions wich he hath onis geve hym, with owt þe assent off þer covent. But this maner off endowment off his crowne shalbe to þe kyng a gretter prerogatyff, in þat he hath then enriched is crowne with such riches and possesscions, as neuer kyng shall mowe take from it with owt þe assent off is holl reaume. Nor this mey be to þe hurte off þe prerogatyff or power off is successours; ffor, as it is shewid be fore, it is no prerogatyff or power to mowe lese any good, or to mowe wast, or put it away. Ffor all such thynges come off impotencie, as doyth power to be syke or wex olde. And trewly, yff þe kyng do thus, he shall do þerby dayly more almes, þan shall be do be all the ffundacions þat euer were made in Englonde. Ffor euery man off þe lande shal by this ffundacion euery day be the meryer, þe surer, ffare þe better in is body and all his godis, as euery wyse man mey well conseyue. The ffundacion of abbeys, of hospitals, and suche other houses, is nothyng in comparisoun herof. For this shalbe a collage, in whiche shul syng and pray for euermore al the men of England spirituuel and temporel. And ther song shalbe suche among other antemes: I blissed be oure lord God, for that he hath sent kyng Edward the iiij to reigne vpon vs. He hath don more for

vs, than euer dide kyng of Ingland, or myght have done before hym. The harmes that hath fallen in getyng of his Realme, beth now bi hym turned into our altheyr goode and profite. We shul nowe mowe enjoye oure owne goode, and live vnder justice, which we have not don of longtyme, God knowith. Wherfor of his almesse it is that wee have al that is in oure wone.

CHAPTER XX.

AUERTISEMENT FOR MAKYNG OF PATENTIS OF GIFTIS.

It is nat ment bi the premisses, but that the kyng without the assent of his *parlement* shal gyve to suche as don hym singuler *service*, land for *terme* of theyr lives. For therby his corowne may nat be disherited; for that land wil sone come ageyn. But than it were goode that the same land be no more gyven; for ellis importune suters wil gape vpon suche *reuer*sions, and oftentimes asken hem or they befall. And whan they bien fal, the kyng shal have no rest with suche suters, vnto the tyme his highnesse have gyven ageyn al suche lond as he hath oonyes gevyn. Bi contynuaunce *per*of, that land shal nat *serve* hym but for giftes, as don offices, corodies, and pensiouns. And triewly it were goode that of al the kynges giftes his patentis maden men-
cion that they were passed, *de auisamento consilii sui*; and namely for a yeere or ij. Ffor if such an ordre

be kept, men wil nat be so hasty to aske rewardis, but if thei be of right goode merites; and many men wil than be of better *gouvernaunce*, for the kynges counseil shuld deme hem worthy to be rewarded. And they that opteyne nat that they desire shal have thanne litel coloure of grucche, considryng that they lak it bi the discrecioun of þe kynges counseil. And the kyng shal have herby grete rest, and be wele defended ageyn suche importune suters. And yit he may leve this ordre whan that hym list.

EXPLICIT.

Second Impression 1926

First Edition 1885

*This impression has been produced photographically by the
MUSTON COMPANY, from sheets of the First Edition*

Printed wholly in England for the MUSTON COMPANY

By LOWE & BRYDONE, PRINTERS. LTD.

PARK STREET, CAMDEN TOWN, LONDON, N.W. 1