

SIR THOMAS OVERBURY
HIS
OBSERVATIONS
IN HIS TRAVAILES
VPON THE STATE OF
THE XVII. PROVINCES
AS THEY STOOD
ANNO DOM. 1609.

The Treatie of Peace being then
on foote.



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TRAVELS VPON THE STATE
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And first of the PROVINCES
United.



ALL things Concurr'd
for the rising and main-
tenance of this State;
the Disposition of the
people, beeing, as mute-
nous, so industrious and
frugall; the Nature of
the Countrey, euery
where Fortifiable with
water, the Scituation of
it, hauing behinde them the Baltique Sea, which
yeelds them all materials for Ships, and many other

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Commodities, and for Men, hard before them, *France*, and *England*, both fearing the Spanish greatnesse; and therefore, both Concurring for their Ayde; the remotenesse of their Master from them; the Change of Religion falling out about the time of their Reuolt, and now the Marquise of *Brandenburgh*, a Protestant, like to become Duke of *Cleue*. The discontentments of the *Low-Countries* did first appeare, soone after the going away of the Kings of *Spaine*, while the Dutchesse of *Parma* Governed; to suppress which beginnings, the Duke of *Alva* being sent, inflamed them more, vpon attempting to bring in the Inquisition and Spanish Decimation, vpon the Beheading Count *Horne*, and Count *Egmont*, persecuting those of the Religion, and vndertaking to build Cittadels vpon all their Townes, which hee effected at *Antwerpe*, but enterprising the like at *Flushing*, that Towne reuolted first and vnder it began the Warre.

But the more generall reuolt of the Prouinces happened after the Death of *Don Lewis de Requesens*, and vpon the comming downe of *Don Iohn of Austria*, when all the Prouinces, excepting *Luxenburgh*, vpon the sacke of *Antwerpe* and other Insolencies, Proclaimed the *Spaniards* Rebels and Enemies to the King; yet the abjuring of their obedience from the Crowne of *Spaine* was not in a yeare or two after.

Holland and *Zealand*, vpon their first standing out, offered the Soueraigntie of themselves to the Queene, then the Protection, both which shee neglected,

lected, and that while the *French* sent greater ayde, and more men of qualitie then wee; but after the Ciuill Warre began in *France*, that kept them busie at home, and then the Queene, seeing the necessitie of their being supported, vpon the pawning of *Brill* and *Flushing*, sent Money and Men; And since that, most part of the great exploits there haue beene done by the *English*, who were commonly the third part of the Armie, being foure Regiments, besides eleuen hundred in *Flushing*, and the *Ramekins*, and five hundred in the *Brill*. But of late the King of *France* appearing more for them then ours, and paying himselfe the *French* that are there, they giue equall, if not more Countenance to that Nation. But vpon these two Kings they make their whole dependancie, and though with more respect to him that is stronger, for the time, yet so as it may giue no distaste vnto the other.

For the manner of their Government; They haue vpon occasion, an assembly of the generall States, like our Parliament, being composed of those which are sent from euery Prouince, vpon summons; and what these Enact stands for Lawe. Then is there besides, a Counsell of State, residing for the most part at the *Hage*, which attends daily occasions, being rather imployed vpon affaires of State then of particular Iustice. The most potent in this Counsell was *BARNAVILL*, by reason of his Aduocates of *Holland*. And besides both these, euery Prouince and

great Towne haue particular Counsell of their owne. To all which assemblies, aswell of the generall States, as the rest, the Gentry is called for order sake, but the State indeed is Democraticall, the Merchant and the Tradesman being predominant, the Gentry now but few and poore; and euen at the beginning the Prince of *Orange* saw it safer to relie vpon the Townes then them: Neither are the Gentry so much engaged in the cause, the people hauing more aduantages in a free State, they in a Monarchy. Their care in gouernment is very exact and particular, by reason that euery one hath an immediate interest in the State; Such is the equality of Iustice, that it renders euery man satisfied; such the publike regularity, as a man may see their Lawes were made to guide, not to entrappe; such their exactnesse in casting the expence of an Armie, as that it shall bee equally farre from superfluity and want, and as much order and certaintie in their acts of Warre, as in ours of Peace, teaching it to bee both Ciuill and rich, And they still retaine that signe of a Common-wealth yet vncorrupted, *Private Pouertie and publike weale*: for no one private man there is exceeding rich, and few very poore, and no State more sumptuous in all publike things. But the question is; whether this, being a free State, will aswell subsist in Peace, as it hath done hitherto in Warre, Peace leauing euery one to attend his particular wealth, when feare, while the Warre lasts, makes them concurre for their common safety; And *Zealand*, vpon the least securitie, hath

hath euer beene enuious at the predominancie of *Holland* and *Witrich*, ready to Mutinie for Religion: and besides, it is a doubt, whether the same care and sinceritie would continue, if they were at their Consistence, as appeares yet whiles they are but in rising. The Reuenue of this State ariseth chiefly from the Earle of *Hollands* Demaynes, and Confiscated Church liuings, the rising and falling of Money, which they vse with much aduantage, their Fishing vpon our Coasts, and those of *Norway*, Contribution out of the Enemies Countrie, Taxes vpon all things at home, and Impositions vpon all Merchandizes from abroad. Their expences vpon their Ambassadours, their Shippings, their Ditches, their Rampiers and Munition, and commonly they haue in pay by Sea and Land 60000. men.

For the strength; The nature of the Countrie makes them able to defend themselues long by land, neither could any thing haue endangered them so much as the last great Frost, had not the Treatie beene then on foot, because the Enemy being then Master of the field, that rendred their Ditches, Marshes, and Riuers as firme ground.

There belongs to that State 20000. Vessells of all sorts, so that if the *Spaniards* were entirely beaten out of those parts, the Kings of *France* and *England* would take as much paines to suppress, as euer they did to raise them: For being our Enemies, they are able to giue vs the Law at Sea, and eate vs out of all trade, much more the *French*, hauing at this time three Ships for our one, though none so good as our best.

Now

Now that whereupon the most part of their Renew and strength depends, is their Traffique, in which myserie of State they are at this day the wisest; for all the Commodities that this part of the world wants, and the *Indies* haue, as Spice, Silke, Jewells, Gold, they are become the Conueyers of them for the rest of Christendome, except vs, as the *Venetians* were of old; And all those Commodities that those Northerne Countries abound with, and these Southerne stand in need of, they likewise conuey thither, which was the auncient Trade of the Easterlings: And this they doe, hauing little to export of their owne, by buying of their Neighbour Countries the former, and selling them againe what they bring backe at their owne prises, and so consequently liue vpon the idlenesse of others. And to this purpose their Scituation serues fitly; for Riuer of the *Rhene*, the *Maze*, and *Skeld* end all in their Dominions; and the *Baltike* Sea lies not farre from them: All which affoord them what euer the great Continent of *Germany*, *Russia*, and *Poland* yeelds; then they againe lying betweene *Germany* and the Sea, doe furnish it backe with all Commodities forraigne.

To remember some pieces of their Discipline as patternes of the rest; The Watches at night are neuer all of one Nation, so that they can hardly con-
 curre to giue vp any one Towne. The Commissaries are no where so strict vpon Musters, and where he findes a Company thither hee reduceth them, so that when an Armie marcheth the List and the Poll,
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are neuer farre disagreeing. Their Army is euer well Clothed, well Armed, and had neuer yet occasion to mutinie for Pay or Victualls. The Souldiers commit no where fewer Insolencies vpon the Burgers, fewer Robberies vpon the Countrie, nor the Officers fewer deceits vpon the Souldiers. And lastly, they prouide well that their Generall shall haue small meanes to inuade their liberties: For first their Army is composed of many Nations, which haue their seuerall Commanders, and the Commands are disposed by the States themselves, not by the Generall. And secondly he hath neuer an implicit Commission left to discretion, but, by reason their Countrie hath no great bounds, receiues daily Commands what to doe.

Their Territory containes fixe entire Prouinces, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Vriek*, *Gröninghen*, *Ouerisell*, and *Ariezland*, besides three parts of *Gelderland*, and certaine Townes in *Brabant* and *Flanders*; the ground of which is for the most part fruitfull; the Townes no where so equally beautifull, strong, and rich, whichequality growes by reason that they appropriate some one Staple Commodity to euery Town of note; only *Amsterdam* not only passeth them all, but euen *Siuil*, *Lisbone*, or any other Mart Towne in Christendome, and to it is appropriated the trade of the *East Indies*, where they maintaine commonly forty Ships, besides which there goe twice a yeare from it, and the adioyning Townes, a great Flecte to the *Baltique Sea*: Vpon the fall of *Antwerp*, that rose rather then *Middleborough*, though it stand at

the same Riuer's mouth, and is their second Mart towne, to which is appropriated our *English* Cloth.

Concerning the people, they are neither much deuout, nor much wicked, giuen all to drinke, and eminently to no other vice; hard in bargaining, but Iust, surly and respectlesse, as in all Democracies, thirstie, industrious and cleanly, dishartened vpon the least ill successe, and insolent vpon good; Inuentiue in Manufactures, cunning in Traffique, and generally for matter of Action, that naturall slownesse of theirs sutes better, by reason of the aduisednesse and perseuerance it brings with it, then the rashnesse and changeablenesse of the *French* and *Florentine* wits, and the equality of spirits which is among them and the *Swissers*, renders them so fit for a Democracie, which kinde of Gouvernement, Nations of more stable wittes, being once come to a Consistent greatnesse, haue seldome long endured.

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*Observations upon the State of the
Arch-Dukes Countrie, 1609.*

By Sir THO. OVERBURY.

AS soone as I entred into the Arch-Dukes Countrie (which begins after *Lillo*) presently I beheld workes of a Prouince, and those of a Prouince distressed with Warre; the people heartlesse, and rather repining against their Governours, then reuengefull against the Enemies, the brauery of that Gentry which was left, and the Industry of the Merchant quite decayed; the Husbandman labouring only to liue, without desire to be rich to anothers vse; the Townes (whatsoeuer concerned not the strength of them) ruinous; And to conclude, the people here growing poore with lesse taxes, then they flourish with on the States side.

This Warre hath kept the King of *Spaine* busie euer since it began (which some 38. yeares agoe) and spending all the Money that the *Indies*, and all the Men that *Spaine* and *Italy* could afford, hath withdrawne him from perseuering in any other Enterprise; Neither could he giue over this, without forgoing the meanes to vndertake any thing hereafter vpon *France* or *England*, and consequently the hope of the Westerne Monarchy. For without that handle the Mynes of *Peru*, had done little hurt in these parts, in comparison of what they haue. The cause of the expensfulnes of it, is the remotenesse of those Prouinces from *Spaine*, by reason of which, euery

Souldier of *Spain* or *Italy*, before he can arriue there, costs the King an hundred Crownes, and not aboue one of ten that arriues prooues good; besides, by reason of the distance, a great part of the Money is drunke vp betwixt the Officers that conuey it and pay it. The cause of the continuance of it, is, not only the strength of the Enemy, but partly by reason that the Commanders themselves are content the War shall last, so to maintaine and render themselves necessities, and partly because the people of those Countries are not so eager to haue the other reduced, as willing to be in the like state themselves.

The vsuall Reuenew of those Prouinces which the Arch-Duke hath, amounts to 1200000. Crownes a yeare, besides which, there come from *Spaine* euery Moneth to maintaine the War, 150000. Crownes. It was at the first 300000. Crownes a moneth, but it fell by fifties to this at the time when the Treaty began: *Flanders* payes more toward the warre then all the rest, as *Holland* doth with the States. There is no *Spaniard* of the Counsell of State, nor Gouvernour of any Prouince, but of the Counsell of Warre, which is only actiue; There they only are, and haue in their hands all the strong Townes & Castles of those Prouinces, of which the Gouvernours haue but only the Title.

The Nations of which their Armie consists, are chiefly *Spaniards* & *Italians*, emulous one of another there, as on the other side the *French* and *English*, and of the Country, chiefly *Burgundians* and *Wallons*. The Popes Letters, and *Spinola's* inclination keepe
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the *Italians* there, almost in equality of Command with the *Spaniard* himselfe.

The *Gouernors* for the King of *Spain* there successiuely haue bin the D. of *Alva*, *Don Lewis de Requesens*, *Don Iohn d' Austria*, the Prince of *Parma*, the Arch-Duke *Ernestus*, the Cardinall *Andrew* of *Austria*, and the Cardinall *Albers*, till he married the *Infanta*.

Where the Dominion of the Arch-Duke and the States part, there also changeth the nature of the Country, that is, about *Antwerp*: For all below being flat, and betwixt Medow and Marsh, thence it begins to rise and become Champion, and consequently the people are more quicke and spiritfull, as the *Brabanter*, *Flemming*, and *Wallon*.

The most remarkable place in that side is *Antwerp* (which rose vpon the fall of *Bruges*) equally strong and beautifull, remaining yet so, vpon the strength of its former greatnesse; twice spoyled by the *Spaniard*, and the like attempted by the *French*. The Citadell was built there by the D. of *Alva*, but renued by the Prince of *Parma* after his 18. moneths besieging it, the Towne accepting a Castle rather then a Garrison to mingle among them. There are yet in the Towne of Citizens 30000. fighting men, 600. of which kept Watch nightly, but they allowed neither Cannon vpon the Rampier, nor Megazins of powder. In the Castle are 200. peeces of Ordnance, and commonly seuen or eight hundred Souldiers. *Flanders* is the best of the seuentene Provinces, but the Havens thereof are naught.

*Observations on the State of France,
1609. under Henry the Fourth.*

By Sir THOMAS OVERBURY.

HAuing seene the forme of a Commonwealth and a Prouince, with the different effects of Warres in them, I entred *France*, flourishing with Peace, and of Monarchies the most absolute, because the King there, not only makes Peace and Warres, Calls and dissolues Parliaments, Pardoneth, naturalizeth, Innobleth, Names the value of Money, Presseth to the Warre; but euen makes Lawes, and imposes Taxes at his pleasure: And all this he doth alone: for as for that forme that his Edicts must be authorized by the next Court of Parliament, that is, the next Court of soueraigne Iustice; first the Presidents thereof are to be chosen by him, and to bee put out by him; and secondly, when they concur not with the King, he passeth any thing without them, as he did the last Edict for the Protestants: And for the assembly of the three Estates, it is growne now almost as extraordinary as a generall Counsell; with the losse of which their Liberty fell, and when occasion vrgeth, it is possible for the King to procure, that all those that shall bee sent thither, shall be his Instruments: for the Duke of *Guise* effected as much at the assembly of *Bloys*.

The occasion that first procured the King that Supremacie, that his Edicts should be Lawes, was,
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the last Inuasion of the *English*, for at that time they possessing two parts of *France*, the three Estates could not assemble, whereupon they did then grant that power vnto *Charles* the Seuenth during the Warre; And that which made it easie for *Lewis* the Eleuenth and his Successors to continue the same, the occasion ceasing, was, that the Clergie and Gentry did not runne the same fortune with the people there, as in *England*; for most of the Taxes falling only vpon the people, the Clergie and Gentry being forborne, were easily induced to leaue them to the Kings mercy. But the King hauing got strength vpon the Pefants, hath beene since the bolder to inuade part of both their liberties.

For the succession of this Monarchie, it hath subsisted without intermission these 1200. yeares, vnder three Races of Kings. No Nation hath heretofore done greater things abroad in *Palestine* and *Egipt*, besides all parts of *Europe*; but for these last 400. yeares, they haue only made Sallies into *Italie*, and often suffered at home.

Three hundred yeares the *English* afflicted them, making two firme Inuasions vpon them, and taking their King prisoner; the second greatnesse of Christendome, next the Emperour, being then in competition betwixt vs and them; And to secure themselves against vs, rather then the House of *Austria*, as it then stood, they chose to marry the Heire of *Bretaigne* before that of *Burgundy*. And for this last hundred yeares, the *Spaniard* vndertaking them, hath eaten them out of all but *France*, and endangered that

that too. But for this present, *France* had neuer, as *France*, a more entire greatnesse, though it hath often beene richer. For since the Warre the King is only got afore hand, the Country is but yet in recovering, the War hauing lasted by spaces 32. yeares, and so generally, that no man but had an *Enemie* within three miles, and so the Countrey became Frontier all ouer. Now that which hath made them, at this time, so largely great at home, is their adopting into themselues the lesser adioyning Nations, without destruction, or leauing any marke of strangenesse vpon them, as the *Bretons*, *Gascoignes*, *Provincalls*, and others which are not *French*; towards the which Vnions, their nature, which is easie and harborous to strangers, hath done more then any Lawes could haue effected, but with long time.

The King (as I said) enioying what *Lewis* the 11. did gaine, hath the entire Soueraigntie in himselfe, because hee can make the Parliament doe what he please, or else doe what he please without them. For the other three Estates; The Church is there very rich, being estimated to enioy the third part of the Reuenew of *France*, but otherwise nothing so potent as else-where, partly because the Inquisition is not admitted in *France*, but principally because the Popes ordinary power is much restrayned there, by the Liberties which the *French* Church claymeth; Which Liberties doe not so much enfranchise the Church it selfe, as conferre the Authority the Pope looseth vpon the King, as first frutes,
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and the disposing of all Spirituall preferments. And by reason of this neutralitie of Authoritie, the Church-men suffer more there, then either in *England*, where they wholly depend vpon the King, or in *Spain* and *Italie*, where they wholly subsist by the Pope; because the Pope is not able totally to support them, and the King takes occasion euer to suppress them, as beeing not entirely his Subjects: and to him they pay yearely both the tenth of all their Tithe, and of all their Temporall land.

The Gentry are the onely entire Body there, which participate with the Prerogatiues of the Crowne; for from it they receiue Priuiledges aboue all other men, and a kinde of limited Regality vpon their Tenants, besides reall supply to their estates, by Gouvernements and Pensions, and freedom from Tallies vpon their owne Lands; that is, vpon their Demaines, and whatsoever else they manure by their Seruants; but so much as they let to Tenants is presently Tallie-able, which causeth proportionable abatement in the Rent; and in recompence of this, they owe to the King the *Ban* and the *Arriereban*; that is, to serue him and his Lieutenant three Moneths within the Land at their owne Charges. And as in Warre they vndergoe the greatest part of the danger, so then is their power most pre-emptorie aboue the rest, whereas in time of Peace, the King is ready to support inferiour persons against them, and is glad to see them to waste one another by Contention in Law for feare they grow
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rich, because hee fore-sees, that as the Nobilitie onely can doe him seruice, so they onely misapplied can doe him harme.

The auntient Gentry of *France* was most of it consumed in the Warres of *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, and some in those of *Saint Lewis*, because vpon their setting out they pawned all their *Feifs* to the Church, and few of them were after redeemed; by reason whereof the Church possesseth at this day the third part of the best *Feifs* in *France*; and that Gentry was after made vp by Aduocates, Financiers, and Merchants innobled, which now are reputed auntient, and are dayly eaten out againe and repayed by the same kinde of men.

For the people; All those that haue any kinde of profession or Trade, liue well; but for the meere Peasants that labour the ground, they are onely Spunges to the King, to the Church and the Nobilitie, hauing nothing to their owne, but to the vse of them, and are scarce allowed (as Beasts) enough to keepe them able to doe seruice; for besides their Rent, they pay vsually two thirds to the King.

The manner of Government in *France*, is mixt, betwixt Peace and Warre, being composed as well of Military Discipline, as Ciuill Iustice, because hauing open Frontiers and strong Neighbours, and therefore obnoxious to sodaine Inuasions, they cannot (as in *England*) ioyn euer Peace & security together.

For the Military part, there is euer a Constable and a Marshall in being, Troupes of Horse and Regiments of Foot in pay, and in all Prouinces and places

places of strength, Gouvernours and Garrisons distributed, all which are meanes for the preferment of the Gentry; But those as they giue security against the enemy, so when there is none they disturbe the enioying of Peace, by making the Countries taste somewhat of a Prouince. For the Gentry finde a difference betwixt the Gouvernours fauour & disfauor, and the souldiers commit often Insolencies vpon the people.

The Governments there are so well disposed by the King, as no Gouvernour hath meanes to giue ouer a Prouince into the Enemies hand, the Commands thereof are so scattered: for the Gouvernour Commands the Country, and for the most part the chiefe Towne; then is there a Lieutenant, to the King, not to him of the same, and betwixt these two there is euer Icalousie nourished; then hath euery Towne and Fortresse particular Gouvernours, which are not subalterne to that of the Prouince, but hold imediately from the Prince, and many times the towne hath one Gouvernour and the Castle another.

The aduantages of Gouvernours (besides their pay from the King) are Presents from the Country, dead payes, making their Megazins of Corne and powder more then they need at the Kings price, and where they stand vpon the Sea, ouerseeing of vnlawfull goods: Thus much in Peace: In Warre they are worth as much as they will exact. *Languedoc*, is the best, then *Bretaigne*. *Prouince* is worth by all these means to the D. of *Guise* 20000. Crownes a yeare; but *Prouince* only he holds without a Lieutenant.

Concerning the Ciuill Iustice there, it is no where more Corrupt nor expencefull. The Corruptnesse of it proceeds, first by reason that the King sells the places of Iustice at as high a rate as can bee honestly made of them; so that all thriuing is left to Corruption, and the gaine the King hath that wayes, tempts him to make a multitude of Officers, which is another burthen to the Subiect. Secondly, the Presidents are not bound to judge according to the written Law, but according to the Equitie drawne out of it, which Libertie doth not so much admit Conscience, as leaue wit without limits. The expencefulnessse of it ariseth from the multitude of Lawes, and multiplicite of formes of Processes, the which two both beget doubt, and make them long in resolving. And all this *Chiquanerey*, as they call it, is brought into *France* from *Rome*, vpon the Popes comming to reside at *Avignon*.

For the strength of *France*, It is at this day the greatest Vnited force of Christendome; The particulars in which it consists are these: The shape of the Countrey, which beeing round, no one part is farre from succouring another; The multitude of good Townes and places of strength therein are able to stay an Army, if not to waste it, as *Metz* did the Emperours; the masse of Treasure which the King hath in the *Bastile*; The number of Arsenals distributed vpon the Frontiers, besides that of *Paris*, all which are full of good Armes and Artillerie: And for ready men, the 5. Regiments bestowed vp & down in Garrisons, together with the 2000. of the Guard;
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the Troupes of ordinary and light Horse, all euer in pay; besides their Gentry all bred Souldiers, and of which they thinke there are at this present 50000. fit to beare Armes: And to Command all these, they haue at this day the best Generalls of Christendome, which is the only commodity the Ciuill wars did leaue them.

The weaknesse of it are, first the want of a sufficient Infantry, which proceeds from the ill distribution of their wealth; for the Peyfant, which contains the greatest part of the people, hauing no share allowed him, is heartlesse and feeble, and consequently vnseruiceable for all Military vses, by reason of which, they are first forced to borrow ayde of the *Swissers* at a great Charge, and secondly to compose their Armies for the most part of Gentlemen, which makes the losse of a battaile there almost irrecoverable. The second is the vnproportionable part of the land which the Church holds, all which is likewise dead to Militarie vses. For, as they say there, *The Church will loose nothing, nor defend nothing*. The third is the want of a Competent number of Ships and Gallies, by reason of which defect, first the *Spaniard* ouermasters them vpon the Mediterranean, and the *English* and *Hollander* vpon the Ocean, and secondly it renders them poore in foraine Trade, so that all the great actions of Christendome for these fifty yeares, hauing beene bent vpon the *Indies*, they only haue sate idle. The fourth is the weaknesse of their Frontiers, which is so much the more dangerous, because they are possessed, all

but the Ocean, by the *Spaniard*: for *Savoy* hath beene alwaies as his owne for all vses against *France*. The last is the difference of Religion among themselves, which will euer yeeld matter of ciuill dissention, and consequently cause the weaker to stand in neede of forraigne succours. The ordinarie Reuenue of the King, is, as they say now, some 14. Millions of Crowns, which arise principally from the Demaines of the Crowne, the gabell of Salt, tallies vpon the Countrie, Customes vpon the Merchandize, sale of Offices, the yearely Tithe of all that belongs to the Church, the rising and falling of Money. Fines and Confiscations cast vpon him by the Law; but as for Wardships, they are only knowne in *Normandy*. His expence is chiefly Ambassadours, Munition, Building, Fortifying, and maintaining of Gallies. As for Ships when he needs them, he makes an Embarque; In Pay for Souldiers, Wages for Officers, Pensions at home & abroad, vpon the entertaining his House, his State, and his priuate pleasures. And all the first, but the Demaynes were granted, in the beginning, vpon some vrgent occasion, and after by Kings made perpetuall, the occasion ceasing; and the Demaynes it selfe granted, because the King should liue vpon their owne without oppressing their Subiects. But at this day, though the Reuenue bee thus great, and the taxes vnsupportable, yet doe they little more then serue for necessary publike vses. For the King of *Spains* greatnes & Neighbourhood, forceth the King here to liue continually vpon his Guard; and the treasure which the *Spaniard* receiues from his *Indies*,
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constraines him to raise his Reuenew thus by Taxes, so to be able in some proportion to beare vp against him, for feare else he should be bought out of all his Confederates and seruants.

For the Relation of this State to others, It is first to be considered, that this part of Christendome is ballanced betwixt the three Kings of *Spaine*, *France*, and *England*, as the other part betwixt the *Russian*, the Kings of *Poland*, *Sweden*, and *Denmarke*. For as for *Germany*, which if it were entirely subiect to one Monarchy, would be terrible to all the rest, so being deuided betwixt so many Princes, and those of so equall power, it serues only to ballance it selfe, and entertaine easie Warre with the *Turke*, while the *Persian* with-holds him in a greater. And euery one of those first three, hath his particular strength, and his particular weakenesse: *Spaine* hath the aduantage of both the rest in Treasure, but is defectiue in Men, his Dominions are scattered, and the conueyance of his Treasure from the *Indies* lyes obnoxious to the power of any Nation that is stronger by Sea. *France* abounds with Men, lyes close together, and hath Money sufficiently. *England* beeing an Island, is hard to be Inuaded, abounds with Men, but wants Money to imploy them. For their particular weaknesse: *Spaine* is to be kept busie in the *Low-Countries*: *France* is to bee afflicted with Protestants, and *England* in *Ireland*. *England* is not able to subsist against any of the other hand to hand, but ioyned with the *Low-Countries* it can giue Lawe to both by Sea, and ioyned with either of them two it is able

able to oppresse the third as *Henry* the Eight did.

Now the only entire body in Christendome that makes head against the *Spanish* Monarchy, is *France*; and therefore they say in *France*, that the day of the ruine of *France*, is the Eue of the ruine of *England*: And thereupon *England* hath euer since the *Spanish* greatnesse, enclined rather to maintaine *France* rather then to ruine it; as when King *Francis* was taken prisoner, the King of *England* lent Money towards the payment of his Ransome: And the late Queene (when the Leagers, after the Duke of *Guise* his death, had a designe to Cantonize *France*) though offered a part, would not consent. So then this reason of State, of mutuall preservation, conioyning them, *England* may be accounted a sure Confederate of *France*, and *Holland* by reason it partly subsists by it; the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, because they haue Countenance from it against the house of *Austria*, the Protestant *Swissers* for Religion and Money; the *Venetians* for protection against the *Spaniard* in *Italy*: So that all their friends are either Protestants or enclyning, and whosoever is extreme Catholike, is their enemy, and Factors for the *Spanish* Monarchy, as the Pope, the Cardinalls for the most part, and totally the Iesuites, the Catholike Princes of *Germany*, and the Catholicks of *England* and *Ireland*. For the Iesuites, which are the Ecclesiasticall strength of Christendome, *France*, notwithstanding the many late Obligations, hath cause to despaire of them: for they intending, as one Pope, so one King, to suppress the Protestants, and for the better support

support of Christendome against the *Turke*, and seeing *Spaine* the likelier to bring this to passe, they follow the neerer probability of effecting their end.

No addition could make *France* so dangerous to vs, as that of our *Low-Countries* : for so it were worse then if the *Spaniard* himselfe had them entirely. As for their hopes of regaining *Italie*, it concernes the *Spaniard* immediatly rather then vs.

Concerning the state of the Protestants in *France*, during Peace they are protected by their Edict : For their two Agents at Court defend the Generall from wrong, and their *Chambres-impartyes* euery particular person : And if troubles should arise, some scattered particulars might be in danger, but the maine body is safe, safe to defend themselves, though all *France* ioyne against them, and if it breake out into Factions, the safest, because they are both ready and vnited.

The particulars of their strength are, first their Townes of surety, two of which command the Riuer of *Loyre*.

Secondly, their Scituation, the greatest part of them lying neere together, as *Poitou*, *Zan-ningtonge*, *High Gascoigne*, *Languedoc*, and *Danlphin*, neere the Sea, so consequently fit to receiue succours from abroad, and remote from *Paris*, so that the qualitie of an Armie is much wasted

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before

before it can approach them.

The third, is the sufficiency of their present Gouvernours, *Bulloigne* and *Desdiguers*, and other second Commanders. And for the Princes of the Blood, whom the rest may, in shew, without emulation obey, when they come once to open action, those which want a party will quickly seeke them.

The last, is the ayde they are sure of from forraine Princes : For whosoever are friends to *France* in generall, are more particularly their friends.

And besides, the Protestant partie being growne stronger of late, as the *Low Countries*, and more vnited, as *England* and *Scotland*, part of that strength reflects vpon them; and euen the King of *Spain* himselfe, which is Enemie to *France* in generall, would rather giue them succour, then see them vtterly extirpated : And yet no Forraine Prince can euer make further vse of them, then to disturbe *France*, not to inuade it himselfe. For as soone as they get an Ediēt with better Conditions, they turne head against him that now succoured them, as they did against vs, at *New-haven*.

Concerning the proportion of their number, they are not aboue the seuentene or eighteenth part of the people, but of the Gentlemen there are 6000. of the Religion; but since the Peace they haue increased in people, as principally in
Paris,

Paris, Normandy, and Daulphin, but lost in the Gentry, which losse commeth to passe, by reason that the King when he findes any Gent. that will but hearken, tempts him with preferment, and those he findes vtterly obstinate, suppresseth: And by such meanes hee hath done them more harme in Peace, then both his Predecessors in Warre. For in all their assemblies hee corrupts some of their Ministers to betray their Counsell in hand; and of the 100 & 6000. Crowns a yeare, which he paies the Protestants to entertaine their Ministers, and pay their Garrisons, hee hath gotten the bestowing of 16000. of them vpon what Gentleman of the Religion he pleaseth, when by that meanes he moderates, if not gaires: and besides, they were wont to impose vpon him their two Deputies which are to stay at Court, but now he makes them propose sixe, out of which he chuseth the two, and by that obligeth those; & yet notwithstanding all this, in some occasions hee makes good vse of them too. For as towards *England* he placeth none in any place of strength but firme Catholics; so towards *spaine* and *Sauoy* he often giues charge to Protestants, as to *la Force* in *Bearne*, *Desdeguiers* and *Boisse* in *Bresse*.

Concerning the King himselfe, hee is a person wonderfull both in War and Peace: for his Acts in Warre, hee hath manumized *France* from the *Spaniard*, & subdued the League, being the most dangerous plot that hath bin layd, weakening it

by Armes, but vtterly dissoluing it by wit, that is, by letting the Duke of *Guise* out of Prison, and Capitulating with the heads of it euery one a part, by which meanes hee hath yet left a continuall hatred among them, because euery one fought, by preuenting other, to make his Conditions the better; so that now there remaines little connexion of it amongst the Gentry, onely there continues some dregges still among the Priests, and consequently the people, especially when they are angred with the increase and prosperitie of the Protestants.

For his Acts of Peace, hee hath enriched *France* with a greater proportion of Wooll, and Silke, erected goodly Buildings, cut Passages betwixt Riuer and Riuer, and is about to doe the same betwixt Sea and Sea, redeemed much of the Mortgaged Demaynes of the Crowne, better husbanded the Money, which was wont to bee drunke vppe two parts of it in the Officers hands, got aforehand in Treasure, Armes and Munition, increased the Infantrie, and suppress the vnproportionable Causalry, and left nothing vndone but the building of a Nauie.

And all this may bee attributed to himselfe onely, because in a Monarchy, Officers are accordingly active or carelesse, as the Prince is able to Iudge and distinguish of their labours, and withall to participate of them somewhat himselfe.

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Sure it is that the Peace of *France*, and somewhat that of Christendome it selfe, is secured by this Princes life : For all Titles and Discontents, all factions of Religion there suppress themselves till his Death ; but what will ensue after ; what the rest of the House of *Bourbon* will enterprise vpon the Kings Children, what the House of *Guise* vpon the House of *Bourbon*, what the League, what the Protestants, what the Kings of *Spaine*, and *England*, if they see a breach made by ciuill Dissention, I chuse rather to expect then Coniecture, because God hath so many wayes to turne aside from humane fore-sight, as hee gaue vs a testimony vpon the Death of our late Queene.

The Countrey of *France*, considering the quantitie, is the fairest and richest of all Christendome, and containes in it most of the Countries adioyning. For *Picardie*, *Normandie*, and *Bretaigne*, resemble *England* ; *Languedoc*, *Spaine*, *Province*, *Italie*, and the rest is *France*.

Besides, all the Riners that passe through it, end in it. It abounds with Corne, Wine, and Salt, and hath a Competency of Silke ; but is defectiue in Wooll, Leather, Mettals, and Horses ; and hath but few very good Hauens, especially on the North side.

Concerning the People ; Their Children at first sight seeme Men, and their Men Children ; but who so, in negotiating, presumes vpon appearance,

pearance shall bee deceiued, Compassionate towards their owne Nation and Countrey; louing to the Prince, and so they may haue liberty in Ceremony, and free access to him, they will be the better content that hee shall be absolute in matter of substance; impatient of Peace any longer then whiles they are in recouering the ruines of Warre; the presentnesse of danger inflames their courage, but any expectation makes it languish; for the most, they are all Imagination, and no Iudgement, but those that proue solid, excell; Their Gentlemen are all good outward men, good Courtiers, good Souldiers, and knowing enough in Men and businesse, but meerly ignorant in matters of Letters, because at fifteene they quit bookes, and begin to liue in the world, when indeed a mediocritie betwixt their forme of education and ours would doe better then either. No men stand more punctually vpon their Honours in matter of Valour, and which is strange, in nothing else; for otherwise in their Conuersation, the Custome and shifting and ouerspeaking, hath quite overcome the shame of it.

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