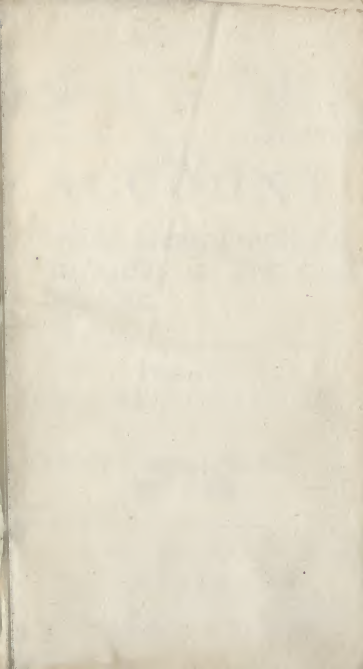




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S O M E  
L E T T E R S.  
*Chambre* *Containing an* *Brabazon*  
1687—  
A C C O U N T

Of what seemed most Remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, &c.

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Written by  
G. BURNET, D. D. to T. H. R. B.

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To which is annexed his Answer to  
Mr. Varillas.

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At AMSTERDAM,  
Printed in the Year, 1686.

1700

LETTERS

ACCOUNT

Of the ...  
... in ...

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THE FIRST  
LETTER.

*Zurich, the first of September, 1685.*

S I R,

**I**T is so common to write Travels, that for one who has seen so little, and as it were in haste, it may look like a presumptuous affectation to be reckoned among Voyagers, if he attempts to say any thing upon so short a Ramble, and concerning places so much visited, and by consequence so well known: yet having had Opportunities that do not offer themselves to all that Travel, and having joined to those a Curiosity almost equal to the advantages I enjoyed, I fancy it will not be an ingrateful entertainment if I give you some account of those things that pleased me most in the places through which I have passed: But I will avoid saying such things as occur in ordinary Books, for which I refer you to the Prints; for as you know that I have no great inclination to copie what others have said, so a Traveller has not leisure nor humour enough for so dull an Employment.

As I came all the way from *Paris* to *Lions*, I was amazed to see so much misery as appeared, not only in Villages, but even in big Towns, where all the marks of an extream Poverty,

shewed themselves both in the Building, the Clothes, and almost in the Looks of the Inhabitants: And a general dispeopling in all the Towns, was a very visible Effect of the Hardships under which they lay.

I need tell you nothing of the irregular and yet magnificent situation of *Lions*, of the noble Rivers that meet there, of the Rock cut from so vast a height for a Prison, of the *Carthusians* Gardens, of the Town-house, of the *Jesuits* Colledge and Library, of the famous Nunnery of *S. Peter*, of the Churches, particularly *S. Irene's*, of the remnants of the Aqueducts, of the Columns and the old Mosaick in the Abbey *Dene*. In short, Mr. *Spon* has given such an Account of the Curiosities there, that it were a very presumptuous Attempt to offer to come after him.

The Speech of *Claudius* engraven on a Plate of Brass, and set in the end of the low Walk in the Town-house, is one of the noblest Antiquities in the World, by which we see the way of writing and pointing in that age very copiously. The shield of Silver of 22 pound weight, in which some remains of gilding do yet appear, and that seems to represent that generous action of *Scipio's*, of restoring a fair Captive to a *Celtiberian Prince*, is certainly the noblest piece of Plate that is now extant, the embossing of it is indeed invaluable: and if there were an Inscription upon it to put us beyond conjecture, it were yet much more inestimable.

A great many Inscriptions are to be seen of the late and Barbarous ages, as *Bonum Memorium*

and *Epitaphium hunc*, there are 23. Inscriptions in the Garden of the *Fathers of mercy*, but so placed as it shews how little those who possess them do either understand or value them. I shall only give you one, because I made a little reflection on it, tho it is not perhaps too well grounded, because none of the Criticks have thought on it.

The Inscription is this, *D. M. Et Memoriae Aeternae Sutiae Anthidis. Quae vixit Annis XXV. M. XI. DV. Quae dum Nimia piæ fuit, facta est impia: & Attio Probatolo, Cecalius Calistio Conjux & Pater, & sibi vivo ponendum curavit & sub ascia dedicavit.* This must be towards the barbarous Age, as appears by the false Latine in *Nimia*: But the Inscription seems so extravagant, that a man dedicating a Burial-stone for his Wife and Son, and under which himself was to be laid, with Ceremonies of Religion, should tax his Wife of impiety, and give so extraordinary an account of her becoming so throw an excess of piety, that it deserves some consideration.

It seems the impiety was publick, otherwise a Husband would not have recorded it in such a manner, and it is plain that he thought it rose from an excess of piety.

I need not examine the Conjectures of others, but will chuse rather to give you my own, and submit it to your censure.

It seems to me that this *Sutia Anthis* was a Christian, for the Christians, because they would not worship the Gods of the Heathens, nor participate with them in their sacred Rites, were accused both of Atheism and Impiety. This is so

often objected, and the Fathers in their Apologies have answered it so often, that it were lost labour to prove it: so this Wife of *Cerealius Calistio* having turned *Christian*, it seems he thought he was bound to take some notice of it in the Inscription: But by it he gives a honourable Character of the Christian Doctrine at the same time that he seems to accuse it; that through an excess of Piety his Wife was carried to it: since a mind seriously possessed with a true sense of Piety could not avoid the falling under a distaste of Paganisme, and the becoming Christian.

At *Grenoble* there is not much to be seen, the Learned Mr. *Chorier* has some Manuscripts of considerable antiquity. In one of *Vegetius de re Militari*, there is a clear correction of a passage that in all the printed Editions is not sense. In the chapter of the life of the Souldiers he begins: *Scio semper mensuram a Mario Consule exactam*: *a* is in no MS. and *Mario Consule* is a mistake for *trium Cubitorum*, for III which are for *trium* have been read *M.* and *C.* which stands for *Cubitorum*, as appears by all that follows, was by a mistake read *Consule*; so the true reading of that passage is: *Scio mensuram trium Cubitorum fuisse semper exactam*. He shewed me another M.S. of about 5 or 6 hundred years old, in which *S. John's Revelation* is contained all exemplified in Figures, and after that come *Esop's Fables*, likewise all designed in Figures, from which he inferred that those who designed those two Books, valued both equally, and so put them together.

I will not describe the Valley of *Dauphine*, all to *Chambery*, nor entertain you with a Land-

Landſchape of the *Country*, which deſerves a better Pencil than mine, and in which the height, and rudeneſs of the Mountains that almoſt ſhut upon it, together with the beauty, the evenneſs and fruitfulneſs of the Valley, that is all along well watered with the River of *Liferre*, make ſuch an agreeable mixture, that this vaſt diverſity of Objects that do at once fill the Eye, gives it a very entertaining Proſpect.

*Chambery*, has nothing in it that deſerves a long Deſcription, and *Geneva* is too well known to be much inſiſted on. It is a little State, but it has ſo many good *Conſtitutions* in it, that the greateſt may juſtly learn at it. The Chamber of the Corn has always too years Proviſion for the City in ſtore, and forces none but the Bakers to buy of it at a taxed price, and ſo it is both neceſſary for any Extremities, under which the State may fall, and is likewise of great Advantage, for it gives a good yearly Income, that has helpt the State to pay near a Million of Debt contracted during the Wars, and the Citizens are not oppreſs'd by it, for every Inhabitant may buy his own Corn as he pleaſes, only *Publick Houſes* muſt buy from the Chamber. And if one will compare the Faith of *Rome* and *Geneva* together by this particular, he will be forced to prefer the latter, for if *Good Works* are a ſtrong preſumption, if not a ſure indication of a *Good Faith*, then Juſtice, being a *Good Work* of the firſt Form, *Geneva* will certainly carry it.

At *Rome* the Pope buys in all the Corn of the Patrimony, for none of the Landlords can ſell it either to Merchants or Bakers. He buys it at 5  
Crowns

Crowns their Measure, and even that is slowly and ill payed, so that there was 800000 Crowns owing upon that score when I was at *Rome*. In selling this out, the Measure is *lessened* a fifth part, and the Price of the whole is doubled, so that what was bought in at five Crowns, is sold out at twelve: and if the Bakers, who are obliged to take a determined quantity of Corn from the Chamber, cannot retail out all that is imposed upon them, but are forced to return some part of it back, the Chamber discounts to them only the first price of five Crowns: whereas in *Geneva* the Measure by which they buy and sell is the same, and the gain is so inconsiderable, that it is very little beyond the common Market-Price, so that upon the whole matter the Chamber of the Corn is but the *Merchant* to the State. But if the Publick makes a moderate gain by the Corn, that and all the other Revenues of this small Commonwealth are so well employed, *that there is no cause* of Complaint given in the administration of the Publick Purse: which with the Advantages that arise out of the Chamber of the Corn, is about 100000. Crowns Revenue. But there is much to go out of this: 300 Souldiers are payed, an *Arsenal* is maintained, that, in proportion to the *State*, is the greatest in the world, for it contains Arms for more men than are in the *State*: There is a great number of Ministers and Professors (in all 24) payed out of it, besides all the *Publick Charges* and Offices of the Government. Every one of the lesser Council of 25. having a 100 Crowns, and every Syndic having 200 Crowns Pension: and after all this, come the Accidental Charges of the Deputies



Deputies, that they are obliged to send often to *Paris*, to *Savoy*, and to *Switzerland*, so that it is very apparent no man can Enrich himself at the Cost of the Publick. And the Appointments of the little Council are a very small Recompence for the great attendance that they are obliged to give the Publick, which is commonly 4 or 5 hours a day. The salary for the Professors and Ministers is indeed small, not above 200 Crowns, but to ballance this, which was a more *Competent Provision* when it was first set off 150 years ago, the price of all things, and the way of living being now much heightned, those Employments are here held in their due reputation, and the richest Citizens in the town breed up their *Children* so as to qualifie them for those Places. And a Minister that is suteable to his Character is thought so good a match, that generally they have such Estates either by succession or marriage as support them suitably to the rank they hold. And in *Geneva* there is so great a Regulation upon Expences of all sorts, that a small sum goes a great way. It is a surprising thing to see so much learning as one finds in *Geneva*, not only among those whose profession obliges them to study, but among the Magistrates and Citizens, and if there are not many of the *first form of Learning* among them, yet every body almost here has a good *tincture of a Learned Education*, insomuch that they are Masters of the Latin, they know the Controversies of Religion and History, and they are generally men of good sense.

There is an universal Civilitie, not only towards strangers, but towards one another, that

reigns all the Town over, and leans to an excess: so that in them one sees a mixture of a *French* openness, and an *Italian* exactness: there is indeed a little too much of the last.

The publick Justice of the City is quick and good, and is more commended than the private Justice of those that deal in Trade: a want of sincerity is much lamented by those that know the Town well. There is no publick leudness tolerated, and the disorders of that sort are managed with great address. And notwithstanding their neighbourhood to the *Switzers*, drinking is very little known among them. One of the best parts of their Law is the way of selling Estates, which is likewise practised in *Switzerland*, and is called *Subhastation*, from the *Roman Custom* of selling *Sub hasta*. A man that isto buy an Estate agrees with the Owner, and then intimates it to the Government; who order *Three several Proclamations* to be made *six weeks* one after another, of the *intended Sale*, that is to be on such a day: when the day comes, the Creditors of the Seller, if they apprehend that the Estate is sold at an under-value, may out-bid the Buyer; but if they do not interpose, the Buyer delivers the mony to the State, which upon that gives him his Title to the Estate, which can never be so much as brought under *a debate in Law*, and the price is paid in to the State, and is by them given either to the Debtors of the Seller, if he owes money, or to the Seller himself.

This Custom prevails likewise in *Swisse*, where also twelve years possession gives a Prescription, so that in no place of the world are the

the titles to Estates so secure as here. The Constitution of the Government is the same both in *Geneva*, and in most of the Cantons. The Sovereignty lies in the Council of 200, and this Council chuses out of its number 25. who are the lesser Council; and the Censure of the 25 belongs to the great Council, they are chosen by a sort of Ballot, so that it is not known for whom they give their Votes, which is an effectual method to suppress Factions and Resentments; since in a Competition no man can know who voted for him or against him: yet the *Election* is not so carried, but that the whole Town is in an intrigue concerning it: for since the being of the little Council leads one to the *Sindicat*, which is the Chief Honour of the State: this Dignity is courted here, with as active and sollicitous an ambition as appears elsewhere for greater matters. The 200 are chosen and censured by the 25. so that these two Councils, which are but for life, are checks one upon another. The Magistracy is in the one, and the Sovereignty in the other. The number of 25 is never exceeded in the lesser Council, but for the greater, tho' it passes by the name of the Council of 200, yet there are commonly 8 or 10 more, so that notwithstanding the absence or sickness of some of the number, they may still be able to call together near the full number. There is another Council besides these two, composed of 60. consisting of those of the 200. that have born Offices such as Auditors, Attorney-Generals, or those that have been in other Employments, which are given for a determinate number of years: This Court has no Authority, but is called together by  
the

the 25, when any extraordinary occasion makes it advisable for them to call for a more General Concurrence, in the Resolutions that they are about to form. And this Council is of the nature of a Council of State that only gives advice, but has no power in it self to enforce its advices. The whole Body of the Burgesſes chuse the Sindics the first Sunday of the year, and there are some other Elections that do likewise belong to them. The difference between the Burgesſes and Citizens is, that the former Degree may be bought or given to Strangers, and they are capable to be of the 200, but none is a Citizen but he that is the Son of a Burgesſ, and that is born within the Town.

I need say no more of the Constitution of this little Republick, its chief support is in the firm alliance that has stood now so long between it and the Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich*, and it is so visibly the interest of all *Switzerland* to preserve it as the Key, by which it may be all laid open, that if the Cantons had not forgotten their Interest so palpably in suffering the *French* to become Masters of the *Franche Comté*, one would think that they would not be capable of suffering *Geneva* to be toucht: for all that can be done in fortifying the Town, can signifie no more, but to put it in case to resist a surprise or scalade: since if a *Royal Army* comes against it to besiege it in form, it is certain, that unless the *Switzers* come down with a force able to raise the Siege, those within will be able to make a very short Resistance.

From *Geneva* I went through the Country of *Vaud* or the Valley, and *Lausanne* its chief Town

in my way to *Bern*. The Town of *Lausanne* is situated on three Hills, so that the whole Town is ascent and descent, & that very steep, chiefly on the side on which the Church stands, which is a very noble Fabrick. The South-wall of the Cross was so split by an Earthquake about 30 years ago, that there was a rent made from top to bottom above a foot wide: Which was so closed up ten years after by another Earthquake, that now one only sees where the breach was. This extravagant situation of the Town was occasion'd by a Legend of some Miracles wrought near the Church: which prevailed so much of the Credulity of that Age, that by it the Church, and so in consequence the Buildings near it were added to the old Town, which stood on the other Hill, where there was a Town made on the high-way from the Lake into *Switzerland*, to which the Chief Priviledges of the Town, particularly the *Judicature of life & death* do still belong. Between *Geneva* and this lies the Lake which at the one end is called the Lake of *Geneva*, and at the other the Lake of *Lausanne*. I need not mention the dimensions of it which are so well known, only in some places the depth has ne're been found, for it is more than 500 fathom, the banks of the Lake are the beautifullest plots of ground that can be imagined, for they look as if they had been laid by Art, the sloping is so easie and so equal, and the grounds are so well cultivated and peopled, that a more delightful prospect cannot be seen any where: the Lake is well stockt with excellent Fish: But their numbers do sensibly decrease, and one sort is quite lost, it is not only to be ascrib'd to the ravenousness of the  
Pikes

Pikes that abound in it: but to another sort of Fish that they call *Montails* which were never taken in the Lake till within these six years last past, they are in the Lake of *Neuf-châstel*, and some of the other Lakes of *Switzerland*, and it is likely that by some conveyance under ground they may have come into Channels that fall into this Lake: The Water of the Lake is all clear and fresh. It is not only a great Pond made by the *Rhosne* that runs into it, but does not pass through it unmixed as some *Travellers* have fondly imagined, because sometimes a soft gale makes a *curling* of the Waters in some places, which runs *smooth* in the places over which that soft breath of Wind does not pass, the gale varying its place often. But it is believed that there are also many great *Fountains* all over the Lake, these Springs do very probably flow from some vast Cavities that are in the neighbouring Mountains, which are as great Cisterns that discharge themselves in the Valleys which are covered over with Lakes. And on the two sides of the *Alpes* both North and South, there is so great a number of those *little Seas*, that it may be easily guessed they must have vast *Sources* that feed so constantly those *Huge Ponds*. And when one considers the *height* of those Hills, the *chain* of so many of them together, & their *extent* both in length and breadth; If at first he *thinks* of the old Fables of *laying one Hill upon the top of another*, he will be afterwards apt to imagine according to the ingenious conjecture of one that travelled over them oftner than once, *That these cannot be the primary Productions of the Author of Nature: But are the vast Ruines of the first World.*

World, which at the Deluge broke here into so many inequalities.

One Hill not far from Geneva, called *Maudit*, or Cursed, of which one third is always covered with Snow, is 2 Miles of perpendicular height, according to the Observation of that incomparable Mathematician and Philosopher, *Nicolas Fatio Duilier*, who at 22 years of age is already one of the greatest men of his Age, and seems to be born to carry Learning some *Sises* beyond what it has yet attained.

But now I will entertain you a little with the State of Bern, for that Canton alone is above a 3d part of all Switzerland. I will say nothing of its Beginning nor History: nor will I inlarge upon the Constitutions which are all well known. It has a Council of 200 that goes by that Name, tho it consists almost of 300, and another of 25 as Geneva. The chief Magistrates are two Advoyers, who are not annual as the *Sindics* of Geneva, but are for life; and have an Authority not unlike that of the Roman Consuls: each being his year by turns the Advoyer in Office. After them there are the 4 Bannerets, who answer to the Tribunes of the People in Rome; then come the two Bursars or Treasurers, one for the ancient German Territory, the other for the French Territory, or the Countrey of Vaud, and the two last chosen of the 25 are called *The Secrets*; for to them all Secrets relating to the State are discovered: and they have an Authority of calling the 200 together when they think fit, and of accusing those of the Magistracy, the Advoyers themselves not excepted, as they see cause: tho this falls out seldom.

There

There are 72 *Bailiages* into which the whole Canton of *Bern* is divided, & in every one of those there is a Bailif named by the Council of 200, who must be a Citizen of *Bern* and one of the 200, to which Council no man can be chosen till he is married: these *Bailiages* are Employments both of Honor and Profit: for the Bailif is the Governour and Judge in that Jurisdiction: since tho he has some Assessors who are chosen out of the *Bailiage*, yet he may by his Authority carry matters which way he will, against all their Opinions, & the Bailifs have all the *Confiscations* & *Fines* so that drinking being so common in that Country, and that producing many Quarrels, the Bailif makes his advantage of all those disorders: and in the 6 years of his Government, according to the quality of his *Bailiage*, he not only lives by it, but will carry perhaps 20000 Crowns with him back to *Bern*: on which he lives till he can carry another *Bailiage*: for one is capable of being twice Bailif, but tho some have been thrice Bailifs, this is very extraordinary. The exactions of the Bailif are the only Impositions or Charges to which the Inhabitants are subjected, and these falling only on the Irregularities and disorders of the more debauched, makes that this Grievance tho in some particular cases it presses hard, yet is not so universally felt: for a sober and regular man is in no danger. Many in this Canton are, as in *England*, Lords of Castles or Mannors, and have a Jurisdiction annexed to their Estates, and name their Magistrate who is called the *Castellan*. In matters of small consequence there lies no Appeal from him to the Bailif, but beyond the value of two Pistols



an Appeal lies, and no sentence of death is executed till it is confirmed at *Bern*. There lies also an Appeal from the Bailif to the Council at *Bern*. There are many *Complaints* of the Injustice of the Bailifs: but their Law is short and clear, so that a suit is soon ended, two or three Hearings is the most that even an *intricate* suit amounts to, either in the first instance before the Bailif, or in the second Judgment at *Bern*. The Citizens of *Bern* consider these Bailiages as their Inheritance, and they are courted in this State perhaps with as much Intrigue as was ever used among the *Romans* in the distribution of their Provinces: and so little signify the best Regulations, when there are intrinsic Diseases in a State, that tho' there is all possible precaution used in the nomination of these Bailifs, yet that has not preserved this State from falling under so great a mischief by those little Provinces; that as it has already in a great measure corrupted their Morals, so it may likely turn in conclusion to the ruine of this Republick: all the *Electors* give their Voices by *Ballot*, so that they are free from all *After-game* in the nomination of the Person: all the Kindred of the *Pretenders*, even to the remotest degrees, are excluded from Voting, as are also all their Creditors, so that none can vote but those who seem to have no Interest in the Issue of the Competition; and yet there is so much Intrigue, and so great a Corruption in the distribution of these Employments, that the whole Business in which all *Bern* is ever in motion, is the catching of the best Bailiages, on which a Family will have its Eye for many years before they fall; for the Counsellors

lors of *Bern* give a very small ; share of their Estates to their *Children* when they marry them : all that they propose is to make a Bailliage sure to them : for this they feast and drink, and spare nothing by which they may make sure a sufficient number of Votes ; but it is the Chamber of the Bannerets that admits the Pretenders to the Competition. When the Bailif is chosen, he takes all possible methods to make the best of it he can, and lets few Crimes pass, that carry either Confiscations or Fines after them ; his Justice also is generally suspected. It is true, those of the Bailliage may complain to the Council at *Bern*, as the oppressed Provinces did anciently to the Senate of *Rome*, and there have been severe Judgments against some more exorbitant Bailifs ; yet as Complaints are not made except upon great occasions, which are not often given by the Bailifs, so it being the general Interest of the Citizens of *Bern* to make all possible Advantages of those Employments, the Censure will be but gentle, except the Complaint is crying.

In *Bern* there is very little Trade, only what is necessary for the support of the Town. They maintain Professors in the Universities of *Bern* and *Lausanne*, the one for the *German* Territory, which is the ancient Canton ; and the other for the new Conquest, which is the *French* : In the former there are about 300 Parishes, in the other there are but about 150 : But in the Benefices of the *German* side the ancient Rights of the Incumbents are generally preserved, so that some Benefices are worth 1000 Crowns : Whereas in the *Pais de Vaud* the Provisions are  
set

set off as Salaries, and are generally from 100 to 200 Crowns. It is visible that those of *Bern* trust more to the Affections and Fidelity of their Subjects, than to the strength of their Walls; for as they have never finished them, so what is built cannot be brought to a regular Fortification, and it is not preserved with any care, nor furnished with *Cannon*; but if they have none on their *Ramparts*, they have good store in their *Arsenal*, in which they say there are Arms for 40000 Men.

The Peasants are generally rich, chiefly in the *German* side, and are all well armed, they pay no Duties to the Publick, and the Soil is capable of great Cultivation, in which some succeed so well, that I was shewed some that were by accident at *Bern*, who, as I was told, had of Estate to the value of 100000 Crowns, but that is not ordinary, yet 10000 Crowns for a Peasant is no extraordinary matter; they live much on their Milk and Corn, which in some places, as about *Payern*, yields an encrease of 15 measures after one, they breed many Horses, which brings them in a great deal of money. The worst thing in the Countrey is the moisture of the Air, which is not only occasioned by the many Lakes that are in it, and the Neighbouring Mountains that are covered with Snow, some all the Summer long, and the rest till Midsummer: But by the vast quantity of Woods of Fir-trees, which seem to fill very near the half of their soil, and if these were for the most part rooted out, as they would have much more soil, so their Air would be much purer, yet till they find either Coal or Turf for their fuel, this cannot be done. I was told that they had found Coal  
in

in some places : If the Coal is conveniently situated, so that by their Lakes and Rivers, it can be easily carried over the Countrey, it may save them a great extent of ground, that as it is covered with Wood, so the Air becomes thereby the more unwholesome.

They have some Fountains of Salt-water, but the making Salt consumes so much Wood, that hitherto it has not turn'd to any account.

The Men are generally sincere but heavy, they think it necessary to correct the moisture of the Air with liberal Entertainments, and they are well furnished with all necessary ingredients; for as their soil produces good Cattle, so their Lakes abound in Fish, and their Woods in Fowl, the Wine is also light and good. The Women are generally imploy'd in their domestick affairs, and the Wives even of the chief Magistrates of *Bern*, look into all the concerns of the House and Kitchen, as much as the Wives of the meanest Peasants. Men and women do not converse promiscuously together, and the women are so much amused with the management at home, and enter so little into intrigues, that among them, as an eminent Physitian there told me, they know not what Vapours are, which he imputed to the idleness and the intrigues that abound elsewhere, whereas he said, among them the Blood was cleansed by their labour, and as that made them sleep well, so they did not amuse themselves with much thinking, nor did they know what Amours were: The third Adultery is punished with death, which is also the punishment of the fifth act of Fornication; of which I saw an instance while I

was

was in *Bern*: For a Woman who confessed her self guilty of many Whoredoms, and designed to be revenged on some Men, that did not furnish her liberally with Money, was upon that condemned and executed; the manner was solemn, for the Advoyer came into an open Bench in the middle of the Street, and for the satisfaction of the people, the whole Process was read, and Sentence was pronounced in the hearing of all: the Councillors both of the Great and Lesser Council standing about the Advoyer, who after Sentence took the Criminal very gently by the hand, and prayed for her Soul, and after Execution there was a Sermon for the instruction of the people.

The whole State is disposed for war, for every man that can bear Arms is listed, and knows his post and arms; and there are Beacons so laid over the Country, that the signal can run over the whole Canton in a night: And their Military Lists are so laid, that every man knows whether he is to come out upon the First or Second, or not till the General Summons. They assured me at *Bern*, that upon a General Summons they could bring above 80000 Men together. The Men are robust and strong, and capable of great hardship and of good Discipline, and have generally an extream sense of Liberty, and a great love to their Countrey; but they labour under a want of Officers. And tho the Subjects of the State are rich, yet the Publick is poor, they can well resist a sudden Invasion of their Countrey; but they would soon grow weary of a long War, and the soil requires so much cultivation, that they could not spare from their labour

bour the Men that would be necessary to preserve their Countrey : they were indeed as happy as a People could be, when the Emperour had *Alsace* on the one hand, and the *Spaniards* had the *Franche Comté* on the other, they had no reason to fear their Neighbours ; but now that both these Provinces are in the hands of the *French*, the case is quite altered ; for as *Basil* is every moment in danger from the Garrison of *Hunningen*, that is but a Cannon-shot distant from it, so all the *Pais de Vaud* lies open to the *Franche Comté*, and has neither fortified Places, nor good Passes to secure it, so that their Error in suffering this to fall into the hands of the *French* was so gross, that I took some pains to be informed concerning it, and will here give you this Account, that I had from one who was then in a very eminent Post, so that as he certainly knew the Secret, he seemed to speak sincerely to me. He told me that the Duke of *Lorrain* had often moved in the Councils of War, that the Invasion of *France* ought to be made on that side, in which *France* lay open, and was very ill fortified : this he repeated often, and it was known in *France* ; so that the King resolved to possess himself of the *Comté*, but used that precaution, that fearing to provoke the *Switzers*, he offered a Neutrality on that Side : but the *Spaniards*, who judged right, that it was as much the Interest of the *Cantons*, as it was theirs, to preserve the *Comté* in their hands, refused to consent to it ; but they took no care to defend it, and seemed to leave that to the *Switzers*.

In the mean while the *French* Money went about very liberally at *Bern*, and after

ter those who were most likely to make opposition were gained, the *French* Minister proposed to them the necessity in which his Master found himself engaged to secure himself on that side; but that still he would grant a Neutrality on their account, if the *Spaniards* would agree to it; and with this all the Assurances that could be given in words were offered to them, that they should never find the least prejudice from the Neighbourhood of the *French*, but on the contrary all possible protection. There was just cause given by the *Spaniards* to consider them very little in their Deliberation: for they would neither accept of the Neutrality, nor send a considerable Force to preserve the *Comté*, so that it seemed almost inevitable to give way to the *French* Proposition; but one proposed that which an unbiassed Assembly would certainly have accepted, That they should go themselves and take the *Comté*, and by so doing they would secure the Neutrality, which was all that the *French* pretended to desire; and they might easily satisfy the *Spaniards*, and reimburse themselves of the Expence of the Invasion, by restoring the *Comté* to them, when a General Peace should be made. He laid out the Misery to which their Country must be reduced by so powerful a Neighbour; but all was lost labour: so he went out in a rage, and published through the Town, that the State was sold, and all was lost. They now see their errour too late, and would repair it, if it were possible,

but

but the truth is, many of the particular Members of this State, do so prey upon the publick, that unless they do with one consent reform those abuses, they will never be in condition to do much: for in many of their Bailiages, of which some are Abbeyes, the Bailifs not only feed on the Subjects, but likewise on the State, and pretend they are so far super-expended, that they discount a great deal of the Publick Revenue, of which they are the Receivers, for their reimbursement; which made Mr. *d'Erlack* once say, when one of those Accounts was presented, that it was very strange if the Abbey could not feed the Monks. It is true, the power of their Bannerets is so great, that one would think they might redress many abuses. The City of *Bern* is divided into four Bodies, not unlike our Companies of *London*, which are the Bakers, the Butchers, the Tanners, and the Blacksmiths, and every Citizen of *Bern* does incorporate himself into one of these Societies, which they call Abbeyes, for it is likely they were antiently a sort of a Religious Fraternity: every one of these chuses two Bannerets, who bear Office by turns, from 4 years, to 4 years, and every one of them has a Bailiag<sup>e</sup> annexed to his Office, which he holds for life. They carry their Name from the Banners of the several Abbeyes, as the Gonfaloniers of *Italy*: and the Advoyers carry still their Name from the ancient Titles *Ecdic<sup>us</sup>* or *Advocate*, that was the Title of the Chief Magistrates of the Towns in the times  
of



of the Roman Emperors. The Chamber of the four Bannerets that bear Office, has a vast Power, they examine and pass all Accounts, and they admit all the Competitors to any Offices, so that no man can be proposed to the Council of 200 without their Approbation, and this being now the chief Intrigue of their State, they have so absolute an Authority in shutting men out from Employments, that their Office, which is for life, is no less considerable than that of the Advoyer, tho they are inferior to him in rank. They manage matters with great address, of which this Instance was given me in a Competition for the Advoyer-ship not long ago, there was one whose temper was violent, that had made it so sure among those who were qualified to Vote in it, as being neither of his Kindred, or Alliance, that they believed he would carry it from the other Competitour, whom they favoured, so they set up a third Competitour, whose Kindred were the Persons that were made sure to him, whose advancement they opposed, and by this means they were all shut out from Voting, so that the Election went according to the design of the Bannerets. The chief man now in *Bern*, who was the reigning Advoyer when I was there is Mr. *d'Erlack*, Nephew to that Mr. *d'Erlack* who was Governour of *Brisack*, & had a Brevet to be a Marishal of *France*; this is one of the noblest Families in *Bern*, that acted a great part in shaking off the *Austrian* Tyranny, and they have been ever since very much distinguished there from all the rest of their

Nobility; The present Head of it is a very extraordinary Man, he has a great authority in his Canton, not only as he is Advoyer, but by the particular Esteem which is payed him: For he is thought the Wisest and Worthiest Man of the State; tho it is somewhat strange how he should bear such a Sway in such a Government, for he neither Feasts nor Drinks with the rest. He is a Man of great Sobriety and Gravity, very reserved, and behaves himself liker a Minister of State in a Monarchy, than a Magistrate in a Popular Government. For one sees in him none of those Arts, that seem necessary in such a Government. He has a great Estate and no Children, so he has no Projects for his Family, and does what he can to correct the abuses of the State, tho the disease is inveterate and seems past cure.

He had a Misfortune in a War that was 30 years ago, in the year 1656. between the *Popish* and the *Protestant* Cantons, the occasion of which will ingage me in a short Digression. The Peace of *Switzerland* is chiefly preserved by a Law agreed on among all the Cantons, that every Canton may make what Regulations concerning Religion they think fit, without prejudice to the general League. Now the *Popish* Cantons have made Laws, that it shall be capital to any to change their Religion, and on a set day every year they go all to Mass, and the Masters of Families swear to continue true to the State, and firm in their Religion to their lives end, and so they pretend they punish their falling into Heresie with death.

and confiscation of goods, because it is a violation of the Faith, which is so solemnly sworn. But on the other hand, in the *Protestant* Cantons such as turn are only obliged to go and live out of the Canton; but for their Estates they still preserve them, and are permitted to sell them. One cannot but observe more of the Merciful Spirit of the Gospel in the one than in the other. In two Cantons *Appenzel* and *Glaris* both Religions are tollerated, and are capable of equal Priviledges, and in some Bailiages that were conquered in common by the Cantons of *Bern* and *Friburg*, in the Wars with *Savoy*, the two Cantons name the Bailifs by turns, and both Religions are so equally tollerated, that in the same Church they have both Mass and Sermon, so equally, that on one Sunday the Mass begins and the Sermon follows, and the next Sunday the Sermon begins and the Mass comes next; without the least disorder or murmuring.

But in year 1656, some of the Canton of *Schwitz* changing their Religion, and retiring to *Zurich*, their Estates were Confiscated, and some others that had also changed, but had not left the Canton, were taken and beheaded. *Zurich* demanded the Estates of the Refugees, but instead of granting this, the Canton of *Schwitz* demanded back their Subjects that they might proceed against them as Delinquents, and they founded this on a Law, by which the Cantons are obliged to deliver up the Criminals of another Canton when they come among them, if they are demanded by the

Canton to which they belong; but those of *Zurich* and *Bern* thought this was both Inhuman and Unchristian, tho the Deputy of *Basle* was of another mind, and thought that they ought to be delivered up, which extreemly disgusted those of *Zurich*. Those of *Schwitz* committed some Insolences upon the Subject of *Zurich*, and refused to give Satisfaction. Upon all which a War followed between the Protestant and Popish Cantons. The Canton of *Bern* and *Zurich* raised an Army of 2500 Men, which was commanded by Mr. *d'Erlack*, but was dispersed in several Bodies: And the Papists had not above 6000, yet they surprised Mr. *d'Erlack* with a Body not much superior to theirs, both sides after a short engagement run, the Cannon of the Canton of *Bern* was left in the Field a whole day, at last those of *Lucern*, seeing that none stayed to defend the Cannon, carried them off; this Loss raised such a Tumult in *Bern* that they seemed resolved to sacrifice Mr. *d'Erlack*; but he came with such a Presence of Mind, and gave so satisfying an Account of the Misfortune, that the Tumult ceased, and soon after the War ended. Upon this many thought, that tho the Papists acted cruelly, yet it was according to their Laws, and that no other Canton could pretend to interpose or quarrel with those of *Schwitz* for what they did upon that occasion. Within these few years there were some Quarrels like to arise in the Canton of *Glaris*, where it was said that the equal Priviledges agreed to both Religions were not preserved, but

this occasion the Popes *Nuntio* acted a very different part, from that which might have been expected from him: For whereas the Ministers of that Court have been commonly the Incendiaries in all the Disputes that concern Religion, he acted rather the part of a Mediator, and whereas it was visible that the injustice lay on the side of the Papists, he interposed so effectually with those of *Lucern*, which is the chief of the Popish Cantons, that the Difference was composed.

But to return to *Bern*, the Buildings have neither great Magnificence nor many Apartments, but they are Convenient, and suited to the way of living in that Countrey. The Streets, not only of *Bern* and the bigger Towns, but even of the smallest Villages, are furnished with Fountains that run continually, which as they are of great use, so they want not their Beauty. The great Church of *Bern* is a very noble Fabrick: but being built on the top of the Hill on which the Town stands, it seems the ground began to fail, so to support it they have raised a vast Fabrick, which has cost more than the Church it self; for there is a Platform made, which is a Square, to which the Church is one side, and the further side is a vast Wall, fortified with Buttresses about 150 foot high. They told me that all the ground down to the bottom of the Hill was dug into vaults; this Platform is the chief Walk of the Town, chiefly about Sun set; and the River underneath presents a very Beautiful Prospect: or there is a Cut taken off from it for the

Mills, but all along as this Cut goes the Water of *Aar* runs over a sloping bank of Stone, which they say, was made at a vast charge, and makes a noble and large Cascade!

The second Church is the *Dominican's* Chapel, where I saw the famous hole that went to an Image in the Church, from one of the Cells of the *Dominicans*, which leads me to set down the Story at some length: For as it was one of the most signal cheats, that the World has known, so it falling out about twenty years before the Reformation was received in *Bern*, it is very probable that it contributed not a little to the preparing of the Spirits of the people to the change. I am the more able to give a particular account of it, because I read the Original process in the Latine Record, signed by the Notaries of the Court of the *Delegates* that the Pope sent to try the matter. The Record above 130 sheets writ close and of all sides, being indeed a large Volume, and I found the Printed accounts so defective, that I was at the pains of reading the whole process, of which I will give here a true abstract.

The two famous Orders that had possessed themselves of the esteem of those dark Ages were engaged in a mighty rivalry. The *Dominicans* were the more Learned, they were the eminentest Preachers of those times, and had the conduct of the Courts of Inquisition, and the other chief Offices in the Church in their hands. But on the other hand the *Franciscans* had an outward appearance of more severity, a ruder habit, stricter rules, and greater

ter poverty : all which gave them such advantages in the eyes of the simple multitude, as were able to ballance the other honours of the *Dominican* Order. In short, the two Orders were engaged in a high rivalry, but the devotion towards the Virgin being the prevailing passion of those times, the *Franciscans* upon this had great advantages. The *Dominicans*, that are all engaged in the defence of *Thomas Aquinas's* Opinions, were thereby obliged to assert that she was born in Original Sin ; this was proposed to the people by the *Franciscans* as no less then blasphemy, and by this the *Dominicans* began to lose ground extreamly in the minds of the people, who were strongly prepossessed in favour of the Immaculate Conception.

About the beginning of the 15th Century, a *Franciscan* happened to Preach in *Frankfort*, and one *Wigand* a *Dominican* coming into the Church, the *Cordelier* seeing him broke out into exclamations, praising God that he was not of an Order that profained the Virgin, or that poysoned Princes in the Sacrament, (for a *Dominican* had poysoned the Emperour *Henry* the VII. with the Sacrament,) *Wigand* being extreamly provoked with this bloody reproach gave him the lie, upon which a dispute arose which ended in a tumult, that had almost cost the *Dominican* his life, yet he got away. The whole Order resolved to take their revenge, and in a Chapter held at *Vimpsen* in the year 1504. they contrived a method for supporting the credit of their Or-

der ; which was much sunk in the opinion of the People, and for bearing down the Reputation of the *Franciscans*. Four of the Juncto undertook to manage the design ; for they said since the People were so much disposed to believe Dreams and Fables they must dream of their side, and endeavour to cheat the People as well as the others had done. They resolved to make *Bern* the Scene in which the project should be put in execution ; for they found the people of *Bern* at that time apt to swallow any thing, and not disposed to make severe Enquiries into extraordinary matters. When they had formed their Design, a Fit Tool presented it self, for one *Feizer* came to take their Habit as a Lay-brother, who had all the dispositions that were necessary for the execution of their Project : For he was extream simple, and was much inclined to Austerities, so having observed his Temper well, they began to execute their project, the very night after he took the Habit, which was on *Lady-day* 1507. One of the Friars conveyed himself secretly into his Cell, and appeared to him as if he had been in Purgatory, in a strange Figure, and he had a Box near his mouth upon which as he blew Fire seemed to come out of his mouth. He had also some Dogs about him that appeared as his Tormentors, in this posture he came near the Friar while he was a Bed, and took up a celebrated Story that they used to tell all their Friars, to beget in them a great dread at the laying aside their Habit, which was, that one of the Order, who  
was



was Superior of their House at *Soloturn* had gone to *Paris*, but laying aside his Habit was killed in his Lay-habit. The Friar in the *Vi-  
zar* said, he was that Person, and was condemned to Purgatory for that Crime; but he added that he might be rescued out of it by his means, and he seconded this with most horrible Cries expressing the miseries which he suffered. The poor Friar *Jetzer* was excessively frightened, but the other advanced and required a promise of him to do that which he should desire of him, in order to the delivering him out of his Torment. The frightened Friar promised all that he asked of him, then the other said he knew he was a great Saint, and that his Prayers and Mortifications would prevail, but they must be very extraordinary. The whole Monastery must for a Week together discipline themselves with a Whip, and he must lie prostrate in the form of one on a Cross in one of their Chappels, while Mass was said in the sight of all that should come together to it; and he added, that if he did this, he should find the effects of the love that the B. Virgin did bear him, together with many other extraordinary things; and said he would appear again accompanied with two other Spirits, and assured him that all that he did suffer for his deliverance should be most gloriously rewarded. Morning was no sooner come than that the Friar gave an account of this Apparition to the rest of the Convent, who seemed extreamly surpris'd at it, they all pressed him to undergo the Discipline

pline that was enjoined him, and every one undertook to bear his share, so the deluded Friar performed it all exactly in one of the Chappels of their Church: This drew a vast number of Spectators together, who all considered the poor Friar as a Saint, and in the mean while, the four Friars that managed the Imposture magnified the Miracle of the Apparition to the Skies in their Sermons. The Friars Confessor was upon the Secret, and by this means they knew all the little passages of the poor Friars Life, even to his Thoughts, which helped them not a little in the Conduct of the matter. The Confessor gave him an *Hostie*, with a piece of Wood that was, as he pretended, a true piece of the Cross, and by these, he was to fortifie himself, if any other Apparitions should come to him, since evil Spirits would certainly be chained up by them. The Night after that, the former Apparition was renewed, and the Masqued Friar brought two others with him in such Vizards, that the Friar thought they were Devils indeed. The Friar presented the *Hostie* to them, which gave them such a Check, that he was fully satisfied of the Vertue of this preservative.

The Friar that pretended he was suffering in *Purgatory*, said so many things to him relating to the secrets of his Life, and Thoughts, which he had from the Confessor; that the poor Friar was fully possessed in the Opinion of the reality of the Apparition. In two of these Apparitions, that were both managed in the same manner, the Friar in the Masque talked

talked much of the *Dominican* Order, which he said was excessively dear to the *B. Virgin*, who knew her self to be conceived in Original sin, and that the Doctors who taught the contrary, were in *Purgatory*: That the Story of *St. Bernards* appearing with a spot on him, for having opposed himself to the Feast of the Conception, was a Forgerie: but that it was true that some hideous Flies had appeared on *St. Bonaventure's* Tomb, who taught the contrary, that the *B. Virgin* abhorred the *Cordeliers* for making her equal to her Son, that *Scotus* was damned, whose Canonisation the *Cordeliers* were then soliciting hard at *Rome*, and that the Town of *Bern* would be destroyed for harbouring such Plagues within their Walls. When the enjoined Discipline was fully performed, the Spirit appeared again, and said he was now delivered out of *Purgatory*, but before he could be admitted to Heaven he must receive the Sacrament, having died without it, and that he would say Mass for those, who had by their great Charities rescued him out of his Pains. The Friar fancied the Voice resembled the *Priors* a little; but he was then so far from suspecting any thing, that he gave no great heed to this suspicion. Some days after this, the same Friar appeared as a Nun all in Glory, and told the poor Fryar that she was *St. Barbara*, for whom he had a particular devotion, and added, that the *B. Virgin* was so much pleased with his Charity, that she intended to come and visit him: He immediately called the  
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Convent together, and gave the rest of the Friars an account of this Apparition, which was entertained by them all with great joy; and the Friar languished in desires for the accomplishment of the Promise that *St. Barbara* had made him. After some days the longed for Delusion appeared to him, cloathed as the Virgin used to be on the great Feasts, and indeed in the same Habits: there were about her some Angels, which he afterwards found were the little Statues of Angels which they set on the Altars, on the great Holy Days. There was also a Pulley fastned in the Room over his head, and a Cord tied to the Angels, that made them rise up in the Air, and flie about the Virgin, which increased the delusion. The Virgin, after some Endearments to himself, extolling the merit of his Charity and Discipline, told him that she was conceived in Original Sin, and that Pope *Julius* the second, that then reigned, was to put an end to the Dispute, and was to abolish the Feast of her Conception, which *Sixtus* the Fourth had instituted, and that the Friar was to be the Instrument of perswading the Pope of the truth in that matter: She gave him three drops of her Sons blood, which were three Tears of blood that he had shed over *Jerusalem*, and this signified that she was three hours in Original Sin, after which she was, by his mercy, delivered out of that State: For it seems the *Dominicans* were resolved so to compound the matter, that they should gain the main point of her Conception in sin, yet they would

would comply so far with the Reverence for the Virgin, with which the World was possessed, that she should be believed to have remained a very short while in that State. She gave him also five drops of Blood in the form of a Cross, which were Tears of Blood that she had shed while her Son was on the Cross. And, to convince him more fully, she presented an Hostie to him, that appeared as an ordinary Hostie, and of a sudden it appeared to be of a deep red colour. The cheat of those supposed Visits was often repeated to the abused Friar, at last the Virgin told him that she was to give him such marks of her Sons love to him, that the matter should be past all doubt. She said that the five Wounds of St. *Lucia* and S. *Catherine* were real Wounds, and that she would also imprint them on him, so she bid him reach his hand; he had no great mind to receive a Favour in which he was to suffer so much; but she forced his hand and struck a Nail thro' it, the hole was as big as a grain of pease, and he saw the Candle clearly thro' it, this threw him out of a supposed Transport into a real Agony; but she seemed to touch his hand, and he thought he smelt an Ointment, with which she anointed him, tho' his Confessor persuaded him that that was only an Imagination; so the supposed Virgin left him for that time.

The next night the Apparition returned, and brought some Linnen Clothes, which had some real or Imaginary Vertue to allay his Torment, and the pretended Virgin said, they were some of the Linnen in which Christ was wrap-

wrapped, and with that she gave him a Soporiferous Draught, and while he was fast a sleep, the other four Wounds were imprinted on his Body in such a manner that he felt no pain.

But in order to the doing of this the Friars betook themselves to Charms, and the Subprior shewed the rest a Book full of them, but he said, that before they could be effectual they must renounce God; and he not only did this himself, but by a formal Act put in Writing signed with his Blood, he dedicated himself to the Devil; it is true, he did not oblige the rest to this, but only to renounce God. The composition of the Draught was a mixture of some Fountain-water and Chrism, the Hairs of the Eyebrows of a Child, some Quicksilver, some Grains of Incense, somewhat of an *Easter* Wax-Candle, some consecrated Salt, and the Blood of an unbaptised Child. This Composition was a Secret, which the Subprior did not communicate to the other Friars. By this the poor Friar *Jetzer* was made almost quite insensible: when he was awake, and came out of this deep sleep, he felt this Wonderful Impression on his Body, and now he was ravished out of measure, and came to fancy himself to be acting all the parts of our Saviour's Passion; he was exposed to the People on the great Altar, to the amasement of the whole Town, and to the no small mortification of the *Franciscans*. The *Dominicans* gave him some other Draughts that threw him into Convulsions, and when he came out of those a  
Voice

Voice was heard, which came through that hole which yet remains and runs from one of the Cells along a great part of the Wall of the Church; for a Friar spoke thro' a Pipe, and at the end of the Hole, there was an Image of the Virgin, with a little Jesus in her Arms, between whom and his Mother the Voice seemed to come, the Image also seemed to shed Tears, and a Painter had drawn those on her Face so lively, that the People were deceived by it. The little Jesus askt why she wept, and she said it was because his Honour was given to her, since it was said, that she was born without Sin; in Conclusion the Friars did so over-act this matter, that at last even the poor deluded Friar himself came to discover it, and resolved to quit the Order.

It was in vain to delude him with more Apparitions, for he well nigh killed a Friar that came to him personating the Virgin in another shape with a Crown on her Head: He also over-heard the Friars once talking amongst themselves of the Contrivance and Success of the Imposture, so plainly, that he discovered the whole Matter; and upon that, as may be easily imagined, he was filled with all the horror with which such a discovery could inspire him.

The Friars fearing that an Imposture which was carred on hitherto with so much success, should be quite spoiled, and be turned against them, thought the surest way was to own the whole Matter to him, and to engage him to carry on the Cheat. They told him  
in

in which esteem he would be, if he continued to support the Reputation that he had acquired, that he would become the Chief Person of the Order, and in the end they persuaded him to go on with the Imposture: but at last they, fearing lest he should discover all, resolved to poyson him: of which he was so apprehensive, that once a Loaf being brought him that was prepared with some Spices, he kept it for some time, and it growing green he threw it to some young Wolves whelps that were in the *Monastery*, who died immediately. His Constitution was also so vigorous, that tho they gave him Poyson five several times he was not destroyed by it. They also prest him earnestly to renounce God, which they judged necessary, that so their Charms might have their Effect on him; but he would never consent to that, at last they forced him to take a poisoned Hosty, which yet he vomited up soon after he had swallowed it down; that failing, they used him so cruelly, whipping him with an Iron Chain, and girding him about so strait with it, that, to avoid further torment, he swore to them in a most imprecating stile, that he would never discover the Secret; but would still carry it on; and so he deluded them till he found an opportunity of getting out of the Convent, and of throwing himself into the hands of the Magistrates, to whom he discovered all.

The four Friars were seised on, and put in Prison, and an account of the whole Matter was sent, first to the Bishop of *Lausanne*, and



and then to *Rome*, and it may be easily imagined that the *Franciscans* took all possible care to have it well examined, the Bishops of *Lausanne* and of *Zyon*, with the Provincial of the *Dominicans*, were appointed to form the Process. The four Friars first excepted to *Fetzer's* Credit; but that was rejected, then being threatened with the Question they put in a long Plea against that; but tho the Provincial would not consent to that; yet they were put to the Question, some endured it long, but at last they all confessed the whole progress of the Imposture. The Provincial appeared concerned; for though *Fetzer* had opened the whole matter to him, yet he would give no Credit to him, on the contrary he Charged him to be obedient to them, and one of the Friars said plainly, that he was on the whole Secret, and so he withdrew, but he died some days after at *Constance*, having poisoned himself as was believed. The Matter lay asleep some time, but a year after that a *Spanish* Bishop came, authorised with full Powers from *Rome*, and the whole Cheat being fully proved, the four Friars were solemnly degraded from their Priesthood, and Eight days after, it being the last of *May* 1509, they were burnt in a Meadow on the other side of the River over against the great Church; the place of their Execution was shewed me, as well as the Hole in the Wall, thro which the Voice was Conveyed to the Image. It was certainly one of the blackest, and yet the best Carried on Cheat, that has been

been ever known, and no doubt had the poor Friar died before the discovery, it had passed down to posterity as one of the greatest Miracles that ever was, and it gives a shrewd suspicion that many of the other Miracles of that Church were of the same nature, but more successfully finished.

I shall not entertain you any further with the State of *Bern*, but shall only add one general remark, which was too visible not to be observed every where, and of too great importance not to deserve a particular reflection; it belongs in general to all the *Cantons*, but I give it here, because I had more occasion to make it in *Bern*, having seen it more, and staid longer in it, than in the other *Cantons*.

*Switzerland* lies between *France* and *Italy*, that are both of them Countries incomparably more rich, and better furnished with all the Pleasures and Conveniences of Life than it is, and yet *Italy* is almost quite dispeopled, and the People in it are reduced to a misery that can scarce be imagined by those who have not seen it; and *France* is in a great measure dispeopled, and the Inhabitants are reduced to a poverty that appears in all the marks in which it can shew it self, both in their Houses, Furniture, Cloaths and Looks.

On the contrary, *Switzerland* is extream full of People, and in every place in the Villages, as well as in their Towns one sees all the marks he can look for of Plenty and Wealth, their Houses and windows are in good case, the Highways

ways are well maintained, all People are well Cloathed, and every one lives at his ease. This Observation surpris'd me yet more in the Countrey of the *Grisons*, who have almost no Soil at all, being situated in Valleys that are almost all washed away with the torrents that fall down from the Hills, and swell their Brooks sometimes so violently and so suddenly, that in many places the whole Soil is washed away, and yet those Valleys are well peopled, and every one lives happy and at ease, under a gentle Government, whilst other rich and plentiful Countries are reduced to such misery, that as many of the Inhabitants are forced to change their Seats, so those who stay behind can scarce live and pay those grievous Impositions that are laid upon them, the rude People generally reason very simply when they enter into speculations of Government, but they feel true, tho they argue false, so an easie Government tho joy'n'd to an ill Soil, and accompanied with great inconveniences, draws, or at least keeps People in it, whereas a severe Government, tho in general Ideas it may appear reasonable, drives its subjects even out of the best and most desirable Seats.

In my way from *Bern* to this place I pass'd by *Solothurn*, as I came through *Fribourg* in my way from *Lausanne* to *Bern*, these are two of the chief of the Popish Cantons, after *Lucerne*, and one sees in them a heat and bigotry beyond what appears either in *France* or *Italy*; long before they come within the Church Doors they kneel down in the Streets when

when Mass is a saying in it. The Images are also extream gross. In the Chief Church of *Soloturn* there is an Image of God the Father, as an Old Man with a great black Beard, having our Saviour on his knees, and a Pigion over his head. Here also begins a devotion at the *Ave-Mary-Bel* which is scarce known in *France*, but is practised all *Italy* over : At noon and at Sun set the Bell rings, and all say the *Ave-Mary*, and a short Prayer to the Virgin ; but whereas in *Italy* they content themselves with putting off their Hats, in *Switzerland* they do for the most part kneel down in the Streets, which I saw no where practised in *Italy*, except at *Venice*, and there it is not commonly done. But notwithstanding this extream bigotry, all the *Switzers* see their common interest so well, that they live in a very good understanding in one with another. This is indeed chiefly owing to the Canton of *Lucern*, where there is a Spirit in the Government very different from what is in most of the other Popish Cantons : the Residence of the *Spanish* Ambassadour and of the Nuntio in that Town, contributes also much to the preserving it in so good a temper, it being their interest to unite *Switzerland*, and by thir means the heat and indiscretion of the rest is often moderated : The Jesuits begin to grow as powerful in *Switzerland* as they are elsewhere : they have a noble Colledge and Chappel situated in the best place of *Friburg*. It is not long since they were received at *Soloturn*, where there was a Revenue of 1000 Livres a year, set off for the main-

maintenance of ten of them, with this Provision that they should never exceed that Number ; but where they are once settled, they find means to break through all Limitations, and they are now become so rich there, that they are raising a Church and Colledge, which will cost before it is finished above 400000 Livres to which the *French* King gives 100000 Livres for the Frontis-piece: For this being the Canton in which his Ambassadour resides, he thought it suitable to his Glory to have a Monument of his Bounty raised by an Order that will never be wanting to flatter their Benefactors, as long as they find their Account in it.

In the same Canton there is an Abbey that has 100000 Livres of Revenue, there is also a very rich House of Nuns that wear the Capuchins Habit, that as I was told had 60000 Livres of Revenue, and but 60 Nuns in it, who having thus 1000 Livres a piece, may live in all possible Plenty, in a Countrey where a very little Money goes a great way: But that which surprizes one most at *Soloturn*, is the great Fortification that they are building of a Wall about the Town, the noblest and solidest that is any where to be seen, the Stone with which it is faced is a sort of coarse Marble, but of that bigness, that many Stones are 10 foot long, and two foot of breadth and thickness: But tho this will be a Work of vast expence and great beauty, yet it would signify little against a great Army that would attack it vigorously. The Wall is finished on the side of the River on which the Town stands,

stands, the Ditch is very broad, and the Counterscarp and Glasier are also finished, and they are a working at a Fort on the other side of the River, which they intend to fortifie in the same manner. This has cost them near two Millions of Livres, and this vast Expence has made them often repent the Undertaking ; and it is certain that a Fortification that is able to resist the Rage of their *Peasants* in the case of a Rebellion is all that is needful. This Canton has two Advoyers as *Bern*, the little Council consists of 36, they have 12 Bailiages belonging to them, which are very profitable to those that can carry them, they have one Bursar, and but one Banneret. All the Cantons have their Bailiages, but if there are disorders at *Bern* in the choice of their Bailifs, there are far greater among the *Popish* Cantons, where all things are sold, as a Foreign Minister that resides there told me ; who, tho he knew what my Religion was, did not stick to own franckly to me, that the *Catholick* Cantons were not near so well governed as the *Protestant* Cantons. Justice is generally sold among them, and in their Treaties with Foreign Princes, they have sometimes taken Money both from the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors, and have signed contradictory Articles at the same time.

*Baden* has nothing in it that is remarkable, except its convenient situation which makes it the seat of the general Dyet of the Cantons, tho it is not one of them, but is a Bailiage that belongs in common to eight of the Ancient

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Cantons. At last I came to this place, which as it is the first and most honourable of all the Cantons, so with Relation to us it has a Precedence of a higher Nature, it being the first that received the Reformation.

This Canton is much less than *Bern*, yet the Publick is much Richer: They reckon that they can bring 50000 Men together upon 24 hours warning, their Subjects live happy: for the Bailifs here have regulated Appointments, and have only the hundredth Penny of the fines, so that they are not tempted as those of *Bern* are, to whom the Fine belongs entirely, to strain Matters against their Subjects, and whereas at *Bern* the constant Intrigue of the whole Town is concerning their Bailiages, here on the contrary it is a Service to which the *Citizens* are bound to submit according to their Constitution, but to which they do not aspire. The Government is almost the same as at *Bern*, and the Magistrate that is called the Advoyer at *Bern*, is here called the Bourgo-master. The Revenue of the State is here justly accounted for, so that the Publick Purse is much Richer than at *Bern*; the *Arsenal* is much better furnished, and the Fortifications are more regular. There is a great Trade stirring here, and as their Lake, that is 24 Miles long, and about two or three broad, supplies them well with Provisions, so their River carries their Manufacture to the *Rhine*, from whence it is conveyed as they please. One of their chief Manufacturies is Crape, which is in all respects the best I ever saw. I will not describe  
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the situation of the Town, but shall content my self to tell you that it is extream pleasant, the Countrey about it is Mountainous, and the Winters are hard, for the Lake freezes quite over, only in some places the Ice never lies, which is believed a mark that some Springs rise there, which cause that heat, so also in the Lake of *Geneva*, though it is never quite frozen, yet great boards of Ice lie in several parts, but these are never seen in some parts of the Lake, which is supposed to flow from the same Cause.

But to return to *Zurich*, one sees here the true antient simplicity of the *Switzers*, not corrupted with Luxury or Vanity, their Women not only do not converse familiarly with men, except those of their near Kindred, but even in the Streets do not make any Returns to the civility of Strangers, for it is only Strangers that put off their Hats to Women, but they make no Courtesies: and here, as in all *Switzerland*, Women are not saluted, but the Civility is expressed by taking them by the Hand. There is one thing singular in the Constitution of *Zurich*, that is their little Council consists of 50 persons, but there sit in it only 25 at a time, and so the two halves of this Council, as each of them has his proper *Bourgomaster*, have also the Government in their Hands by turns, and they shift every six Months, at Midsummer, and at Christ-mass. The whole Canton is divided into nine great Bailiages and 21 Castellaneries, in the former the Bailif resides constantly, but the Castellan, who is also one of the great Coun-



Council, has so little to do that he lives at *Zurich*, and goes only at some set times of the year to do Justice.

The Vertue of this Canton has appeared signally in their adhering firmly to the Ancient Capitulation with the *French*, and not slackening in any Article, which has been done by all the other Cantons, where Money has a Sovereign influence; But here it has never prevailed. They have converted the Ancient Revenues of the Church more generally to pious uses than has been done any where else, that I know of. They have many Hospitals well entertained, in one as I was told, there was 650 Poor kept: but as they support the real Charities, which belongs to such Endowments, so they despise that vain Magnificence of buildings which is too generally affected elsewhere; for theirs are very plain, and one of the Government there said to me very sensibly, that they thought it enough to maintain their Poor as Poor, and did not judge it proper to lodge them as Princes.

The Dean and Chapter are likewise still continued as a Corporation, and enjoy the Revenues which they had before the Reformation, but if they subsist plentifully they labour hard, for they have generally two or three Sermons a day, and at least one: The first begins at five a Clock in the Morning. From *Geneva*, and all *Switzerland* over, there are daily Sermons, which were substituted upon the Reformation to the Mass. But the Sermons are generally too long, and

the Preachers have departed from the first design of these Sermons, which were intended to be an Explication of a whole Chapter, and an Exhortation upon it, and if this were so contrived that it were in all not above a quarter of an hour long, as it would be heard by the people with less weariness and more profit, so it would be a vast advantage to the Preachers; For as it would oblige them to study the Scriptures much, so having once made themselves Masters of the practical parts of the Scripture, such short and simple discourses would cost them less pains, than those more laboured Sermons do, which consume the greatest part of their time, and too often to very little purpose.

Among the Archives of the Dean and Chapter there is a vast Collection of Letters, written either to *Bullinger* or by him; they are bound up, and make a great many Volumes in Folio, and out of these no doubt but one might discover a great many particulars relating to the History of the Reformation: For as *Bullinger* lived long, so he was much esteemed. He procured a very kind reception to be given to some of our *English* Exiles in Queen *Mary's* Reign, in particular to *Sands* afterwards Arch-Bishop of *York*, to *Horn* afterwards Bishop of *Winchester*, and to *Jewel* Bishop of *Salisbury*. He gave them Lodgings in the Close, and used them with all possible kindness, and as they presented some Silver-Cups to the Colledge, with an Inscription acknowledging the kind reception they had found

found there, which I saw, so they continued to keep a constant correspondence with *Bulenger*, after the happy re-establishment of the Reformation under Queen *Elizabeth*: Of which I read almost a whole Volume while I was there: Most of them contain only the general news, but some were more important, and relate to the disputes then on foot, concerning the Habits of the Clergy, which gave the first beginnings to our unhappy divisions, and by the Letters, of which I read the Originals, it appears that the Bishops preserved the ancient Habits rather in compliance with the Queens Inclinations, than out of any liking they had to them; so far they were from liking them, that they plainly express their dislike of them. *Jewel*, in a Letter bearing date the 8. of *February* 1566. wishes that the Vestments together with all the other Remnants of Popery might be thrown both out of their Churches, and out of the minds of the people, and laments the Queens fixedness to them: so that she would suffer no change to be made. And in *January* the same year, *Sands* writes to the same purpose. *Cotenditur de vestibus Papisticis utendis vel non utendis, dabit Deus his quoque finem.* Disputes are now on foot concerning the *Papish* vestments whether they should be used or not, but God will put an end to those things. *Horn* Bishop of *Winchester* went further: For in a Letter dated the 16 of *July*, 1565. He writes of the Act concerning the Habits, with great regret, and expresses some hopes

that it might be repealed next Session of Parliament, if the *Popish* Party did not hinder it, and he seems to stand in doubt whether he should conform himself to it or not, upon which he desires *Bullinger's* advice. And in many Letters writ on that subject, it is asserted, that both *Cranmer* and *Ridley* intended to procure an Act for abolishing the Habits, and that they only defended their Lawfulness, but not their fitness, and therefore they blamed private persons that refused to obey the Laws. *Grindal* in a Letter dated the 27 of *August* 1566. writes, that all the Bishops, who had been beyond Sea, had at their return dealt with the Queen to let the matter of the Habits fall, but she was so prepossessed that tho they had all endeavoured to divert her from prosecuting that matter, she continued still inflexible. This had made them resolve to submit to the Laws, and to wait for a fit opportunity to reverse them. He laments the ill effects of the opposition that some had made to them, which had extremely irritated the Queens spirit, so that she was now much more heated in those matters than formerly, he also thanks *Bullinger* for the Letter that he had writ justifying the Lawful use of the Habits, which, he says, had done great service. *Cox*, Bishop of *Ely*, in one of his Letters, laments the aversion that they found in the Parliament to all the propositions that were made for the Reformation of abuses. *Jewel*, in a Letter dated the 22 of *May* 1559. writes, That the Queen refused to be called Head of the Church, and adds

adds. That, that Title could not be justly given to any Mortal, it being due only to Christ, and that such Titles had been so much abused by Antichrist, that they ought not to be any longer continued. On all these Passages I will make no reflections here : For I set them down only to shew what was the sense of our Chief Church-men at that Time concerning those Matters, which have since engaged us into such warm and angry Disputes, and this may be no inconsiderable Instruction to one that intends to write the History of that time. The last particular with which I intend to end this Letter, might seem a little too learned, if I were writing to a less knowing Man than your self.

I have taken some pains in my Travels to examine all the Antient Manuscripts of the New Testament, concerning that doubted passage of St. Johns Epistle; *There are three that bear witness in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and these three are one.* Bullinger doubted much of it, because he found it not in an Antient Latin Manuscript at Zurich, which seems to be about 800 years old: For it is written in that hand that began to be used in Charles the Great's Time. I turned the Manuscript, and found the Passage was not there; but this was certainly the error or omission of the Copier: For before the General Epistles in that Manuscript the Preface of St. Jerome is to be found, in which he says that he was the more exact in that Translation, that so he might discover the

fraud of the *Arrians* who had struck out that passage concerning the Trinity. This Preface is printed in *Lira's Bible*: but how it came to be left out by *Erasmus* in his Edition of that Father's works, is that of which I can give no account: For as on the one hand *Erasmus's* sincerity ought not to be too rashly censured, so on the other hand that Preface being in all the Manuscripts Antient or Modern of those Bibles that have the other Prefaces in them that I ever yet saw, it is not easie to imagine what made *Erasmus* not to publish it, and it is in the Manuscript Bibles at *Basle*, where he printed his Edition of *St. Jerome's* works. In the old Manuscript Bible of *Geneva*, that seems to be above 700 years old, both the Preface and the passage are extant, but with this difference from the common Editions, that the common Editions set the verse concerning *the Father, the Word, and the Spirit*, before that of *the Water, the Blood, and the Spirit*; which comes after it in this Copy: And that I may in this place enquire all the readings I found of this passage in my Travels, there is a Manuscript in *St. Mark's Library* in *Venice* in three Languages, Greek, Latin, and Arabick, that seem not above 400 years old, in which this passage is not in the Greek, but it is in the Latin set after the other three with a *sic* to join it to what goes before. And in a Manuscript Latin Bible in the Librarie of *St. Laurence* at *Florence* both *Jerome's* Preface and this passage are extant, but this Passage comes after the other, and is pinned to it with a *sic* as is that of *Venice*: yet

*sic*

*sicut* is not in the *Geneva* Manuscript. There are two Greek Manuscripts of the Epistles at *Basle*, that seem to be about 500 years old, in neither of which this passage is to be found: they have also an Ancient Latine Bible, which is about 800 years old, in which tho *St. Jerom's* Prologue is inserted, yet this passage is wanting. At *Strasburg* I saw 4 very Ancient Manuscripts of the New Testament in Latine: three of these seemed to be about the time of *Charles* the Great, but the fourth seemed to be much Antienter, and may belong to the seventh Century: in it neither the Prologue nor the place is extant: but it is added at the foot of the page with another hand. In two of the other the Prologue is extant, but the place is not: only in one of them it is added on the Margent. In the fourth as the Prologue is extant, so is the place likewise, but it comes after the verse of the other three, and is joined to it thus, *sicut tres sunt in cælo*.

It seem'd strange to me, and it is almost incredible, that in the *Vatican* Library there are no Antient Latin Bibles, where above all other places they ought to be lookt for: but I saw none above 400 year old. There is indeed the famous Greek Manuscript of great value, which the *Chanoine Shelftrat*, that was Librarie-keeper, asserted to be 1400. year old, and proved it by the great similitude of the Characters with those that are upon *S. Hippolites* Statue, which is so evident, that if his Statue was made about his time the Antiquitie of this Manuscript is not to be disputed.

ted. If the Characters are not so fair, and have not all the marks of Antiquity that appears in the Kings Manuscript at St. James's, yet this has been much better preserved, and is much more entire. The passage that has led me into this digression, is not to be found in the *Vatican* Manuscript, no more than it is in the Kings Manuscript. And with this I will finish my account of *Zurich*. The Publick Library is very noble; the Hall in which it is placed, is large and well contrived; there is a very handsome Cabinet of Medals, and so I will break off; but when I have gone so much farther that I have gathered Materials for another Letter of this Volume, you may look for a second Entertainment, such as it is, from

Your, &c.

*Postscript.*

I told you, that in *Bern* the Bailiages are given by a sort of Ballot, which is so managed that no Mans Vote is known; but I must now add, that since I was first there, they have made a considerable regulation in the way of Voting, when Offices are to be given, which approaches much nearer the *Venetian* Method, and which exposes the Competitours more to chance, and by consequence may put an end to the Intrigues, that are so much in use for obtaining those Employments. There is a number of Balls put into a Box, equal to the number of those that have right to Vote, and that are present; of these the third part is Gilt, and two parts are only Silvered, so every one takes out a Ball; but

none



none can vote except those who have the gilt Balls, so that hereafter a man may have more then two thirds sure, and yet be cast in a Competition.

There is one thing for which the *Switzers*, in particular those of *Bern*, cannot be enough commended, they have ever since the Persecution began first in *France*, opened a Sanctuary to such as have retired thither, in so generous and so Christian a manner, that it deserves all the honourable remembrances that can be made of it : such Ministers and others that were at first condemned in *France*, for the affair of the *Chevennes*, have not only found a kind reception here, but all the support that could be expected, and indeed much more than could have been in reason expected. For they have assigned the *French* Ministers a Pension of five Crowns a Month, if they were unmarried, have increased it to such as had Wife and Children, so that some had above ten Crowns a month Pension. They dispersed them over all the *Pais de Vaud* : but the greatest number staid at *Lausanne* and *Vevay*. In order to the supporting of this charge, the charities of *Zurich* and the other Neighbouring *Protestant* States, were brought hither. Not only the *Protestant* Cantons, but the *Grisons*, and some small States that are under the protection of the Cantons, such as *Neuf-châtel*, *S. Gall*, and some others have sent in their Charities to *Bern*, who dispence them with great discretion, and bear what further charge this relief brings upon them, and in this last total and deplorable dis-

persion of those Churches, the whole Countrey has been animated with such a Spirit of Charity and Compassion, that every Mans house and Purse has been opened to the Refugees that have passed thither in such numbers, that sometimes there have been above 2000 in *Lausanne* alone, and of these there were at one time near 200 Ministers, and they all met with a kindness and free heartedness, that lookt more like somewhat of the Primitive Age revived, than the degeneracy of the Age in which we live.

I shall Conclude this Postscript, which is already swelled to the bigness of a Letter, with a sad Instance of the Anger and Heat that rises among Divines concerning matters of small consequence.

The middle way that *Amirald*, *Daille*, and some others in *France* took in the matters that were disputed in *Holland*, concerning the Divine Decrees and the extent of the Death of Christ, as it came to be generally followed in *France*, so it had some Assertors both in *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, who denied the imputation of *Adam's* Sin, and asserted the Universality of Christ's Death, together with a sufficient Grace given to all Men, asserting with this a particular and free Decree of Election, with an Efficacious Grace for those included in it; these came to be called Universalists, and began to grow very considerable in *Geneva*: two of the Professors of Divinity there being known to favour those Opinions. Upon this those who adhered strictly to the opposite Doctrine, were inflamed, and the Contention grew to that

that height, that almost the whole Town came to be concerned, and all were divided into Parties. If upon this the Magistrates had enjoined silence to both Parties, they had certainly acted wisely; for these are Speculations so little certain, and so little essential to Religion, that a diversity of Opinions ought not to be made the occasion of Heat or Faction. But tho' the Party of the Universalists was considerable in *Geneva*, it was very small in *Switzerland*, therefore some Divines there, that adhered to the old received Doctrine, drew up some Articles in which all these Doctrines were not only condemned, together with some Speculations that were asserted concerning *Adam's* Immortality, and other Qualities belonging to the State of Innocency; but because *Capel* and some other Criticks had not only asserted the Novelty of the Points, but had taken the Liberty to correct the Reading of the Hebrew, supposing that some Errours had been committed by the Copiers of the Bible, both in the Vowels and Consonants, in opposition to this, they condemned all Corrections of the Hebrew Bible, and asserted the Antiquity of the Points, or at least of the Power and Reading according to them, by which, tho' they did not engage all to be of *Buxtorf's* Opinion, as to the Antiquity of the Points, yet they shut the Door against all Corrections of the present punctuation. If this consent of Doctrine, for so they termed it, had been made only the Standard against which no Man might have taught, without

incurring Censures, the severity had been more tolerable : but they obliged all such as should be admitted either to the Ministry, or to a *Professors* Chair, to sign *sic sentio*, so I think, and this being so settled at *Bern* and *Zurich* it was also carried by their Authority at *Geneva* : but for those in Office, the Moderator and Clerk signed it in all their names : and thus they were not contented to make only a Regulation in those matters, but they would needs, according to a Maxim that has been so often fatal to the Church, enter into peoples consciences, and either shut out young men from employments, or impose a Test upon them, which perhaps some have signed not without strugglings in their Conscience. Yet some that set on this Test or Consent are men of such extraordinary worth, that I am confident they have acted in this matter out of a sincere zeal, for that which they believe to be the truth, only I wish they had larger, and freer souls.

The only considerable Tax under which the *Switzers* lie, is that when Estates are sold the fifth part of the price belongs to the Publick, and all the abatement that the Bailif can make, is to bring it to a sixth part, this they call the *Lod*, which is derived from *alodium* : only there are some Lands that are *Frank-alod*, which lie not under this Tax : but this falling only on the sellers of Estates, it was thought a just punishment, and a wise restraint on ill husbands of their Estates.

I was the more confirmed in the account I have

given you of the derivation of Advoyer, when I found that in some small Towns in the Canton of *Bern* the chief Magistrate is still so called; as in *Payerne*, so that I make no doubt but as the Antient Magistrates in the time of the *Romans*, that were to give an account of the Town, were called Advocates, and afterwards the Judge in Civil Matters, that was named by the Bishops, was called at first Advocate, and afterwards *Vidam* or *Vicedominus*: so this was the Title that was still continued in *Bern*, while they were under the *Austrian* and *German* Yoke, and was preserved by them when they threw it off.

I have perhaps toucht too slightly the last difference that was in *Switzerland* which related to the Canton of *Glaris*. In the Canton of *Apenzel*, as the two Religions are tolerated, so they are separated in different quarters, those of one Religion have the one half of the Canton, and those of the other Religion have the other half, so they live apart: but in *Glaris* they are mixt: and now the number of the Papists is become very low; one assured me there were not above 200 families of that Religion, and those are also so poor that their necessities dispose some of them every day to change their Religion. The other Popish Cantons seeing the danger of losing their interest entirely in that Canton, and being set on by the intrigues of a Court, that has understood well the policy of imbroiling all other States, made great use of some complaints that were brought by the Papists of *Glaris*, as if the pre-  
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vailing of the other Religion exposed them to much injustice and oppression: and upon that they proposed that the Canton should be equally divided into two halves, as *Appenzel* was: this was extremely unjust, since the Papists were not the tenth, or perhaps the 20. part of the Canton. It is true it was so situated in the midst of the *Popish* Cantons, that the *Protestant* Cantons could not easily come to their assistance: but those of *Glaris* resolved to die rather than suffer this injustice, and the *Protestant* Cantons resolved to engage in a War with the *Popish* Cantons if they imposed this Matter on their Brethren of *Glaris*: at last this Temper was found, that in all Sutes of Law between those of different Religions, two Thirds of the Judges should be always of the Religion of the Defendant, but while this Contest was on foot, those who, as is believed, fomented it, if they did not set it on, knew how to make their advantage of the Conjuncture: for then was the Fortification of *Huninghen* at the Ports of *Basle* much advanced, of the importance of which they are now very apprehensive when it is too late. There are six Noble Families in *Bern* that have still this Priviledge, that when any of them is chosen to be of the Council, they take place before all the Antient Counsellors, whereas all the rest take place according to the Order in which they were chosen to be of the Council.

# THE SECOND LETTER.

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*Millan, the first of October, 1685.*

**A**FTER a short stay at *Zurich* we went down the Lake, where we past under the Bridge at *Ripperswood*, which is a very Noble Work for such a Country ; the Lake is there about half a mile broad, the Bridge is about twelve foot broad, but hath no Rails on either side, so that if the wind blows hard, which is no extraordinary thing there, a man is in great danger of being blown into the Lakes : and this same defect I found in almost all the Bridges of *Lombardy*, which seemed very strange ; for since that defence is made upon so small an expence, it was amazing to see Bridges so naked : and that was more surprizing in some places where the Bridges are both high and long : yet I never heard of any mischief that followed on this, but those are Sober Countrys, where drinking is not much in use. After two days journey we came to *Coire*, which is the chief Town of the *Grisons*, and where we found a general Diet of the three Leagues sitting, so that having staid ten days there, I came to be

be informed of a great many particulars concerning those Leagues, which are not commonly known : The Town is but little, and may contain between four and five thousand Souls ; it lies in a bottom upon a small Brook, that a little below the Town falls into the *Rhine*. It is environed with Mountains of all hands, so that they have a very short Summer, for the Snow is not melted till *May* or *June* ; and it began to Snow in *September* when I was there : On a rising ground at the East-end of the Town is the Cathedral, the Bishops Palace, and the Close where the Dean and six Prebendaries live ; all within the Close are Papists, but all the Town are Protestants, and they live pretty neighbourly together. Above a quarter of a mile high in the Hill one goes up by a steep ascent to Saint *Lucius* Chappel ; my Curiosity carried me thither : Tho I gave no Faith to the Legend of King *Lucius*, and of his coming so far from home to be the Apostle of the *Grisons*. His Chappel is a litte Vault about ten foot square, where there is an Altar, and where Mass is said upon some great Festivities ; it is situated under a natural Arch that is in the Rock, which was thought proper to be given out to have been the Cell of a Hermit, from it some drops of a small Fountain fall down near the Chappel ; the Bishop assured me it had a miraculous Vertue for weak-eyes, and that it was Oily : but neither taste nor feeling could discover to me any Oyliness : I believe it may be very good for the Eyes, as all Rock-water



Water is, but when I offered to shew the good old Bishop that the Legend of *Lucius* was a Fable in all the parts of it; but most remarkably in that which related to the *Grifons*; and that we had no Kings in *Brittain* at that time, but were a Province to the *Romans*, that no Antient Authors speak of it; *Bede* being the first that mentions it; and that the pretended Letter to Pope *Eleutherius*, together with his Answer, has evident Characters of Forgery in it, all this signified nothing to the Bishop, who assured me that they had a Tradition of that in their Church, and it was inserted in their Breviary which he firmly believed: he also told me the other Legend of King *Lucius's* Sister *S. Emerita*, who was burnt there, and of whose Veil there was yet a considerable Remnant reserved among their Reliques: I confess I never saw a Relique so ill disguised, for it is a piece of worn linnen Cloath lately washt, and the Burning did not seem to be above a Month old; and yet when they took it out of the Case to shew it me, there were some there that with great Devotion rub'd their Beads upon it. The Bishop had some Contests with his Dean, and being a Prince of the Empire he had proscribed him: The Dean had also behaved himself so insolently, that by an Order of the Diet, to which even the Bishop, as was believed, consented, he was put in Prison as he came out of the Cathedral. By the common consent both of the *Popish* and *Protestant* Communities, a Law was long ago made against

against Ecclesiastical Immunities : this attempt on the Dean was made four year ago as soon as he was let out he went to *Rome* and made great Complaints of the Bishop and it was thought the Popish party intended to move in the Diet while we were there for the repealing of that Law, but they did it not. The foundation of the quarrel between the Bishop and Dean was the Exemptions to which the Dean and Chapter pretended, and upon which the Bishop made some invasion. Upon which I took occasion to shew him the novelty of those Exemptions, and that in the primitive Church it was believed that the Bishop had the authority over his Presbyters by a divine right; and if it was by a divine right, then the Pope could not exempt them from his obedience: but the Bishop would not carry the matter so high, and contented himself with two Maxims; the one was, That the Bishop was Christ's Vicar in his Diocess; and the other was, That what the Pope was in the Catholick Church, the Bishop was the same in his Diocess.

He was a good natured man, and did not make use of the great Authority that he has over the Papists there, to set them on to live uneasily with their neighbours of another Religion. That Bishop was antiently a great Prince, and the greatest part of the League that carries still the name of *The House of God* belonged to him, tho I was assured that *Pregallia* one of those Communities was a free State above six hundred years ago, and that

that they have Records yet extant that prove this: The other Communities of this League bought their Liberties from several Bishops some considerable time before the Reformation, of which the Deeds are yet extant, so that it is an impudent thing to say, as some have done, that they shook off his yoke at that time.

The Bishop hath yet reserved a Revenue of about one thousand pound sterling a year, and every one of these Prebendaries hath near two hundred pound a year. It is not easie to imagine out of what the Riches of this Countrey is raised, for one sees nothing but a tract of vast Mountains that seem barren Rocks, and some little Vallies among them not a mile broad, and the best part of these is washed away by the *Rhine*, and some Brooks that fall into it: but their wealth consists chiefly in their Hills, which afford much pasture; and in the hot months, in which all the pasture of *Italy* is generally parched, the Cattle are driven into these Hills, which brings them in a Revenue of above two hundred thousand Crowns a year. The Publick is indeed very poor, but particular persons are so rich, that I knew a great many there, who were believed to have Estates to the value of one hundred thousand Crowns. Mr. *Schouestein*, that is accounted the Richest Man in the Country, is believed to be worth a million, I mean of Livres. The Government there is purely a Commonwealth, for in the choice of their Magistrates every man that is  
above

above sixteen years old hath his Voice, which is also the Constitution of some of the small Cantons. The three Leagues are, the League of the *Grisons*, that of the *House of God*, and that of the *ten Jurisdictions*.

They believe that upon the incursions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, as some fled to the *Venetian* Islands, out of which arose that famous Common-wealth; so others came and sheltered themselves in those Valleys. They told me of an Antient Inscription lately found, of a Stone where on the one side is graven, *Omitto Rhetos Indomitos*, and *ne plus ultra* is on the other; which they pretend was made by *Julius Caesar*; the Stone on which this Inscription is, is upon one of their Mountains, but I did not pass that way, so I can make no judgment concerning it. After the first forming of this People, they were cast into little States, according to the different Valleys which they inhabited, and in which Justice was administered, and so they fell under the Power of some little Princes that became severe Masters; but when they saw the Example that the *Switzers* had set them, in shaking off the *Austrian* yoke, above two hundred years ago, they likewise combined to shake off theirs; only some few of those small Princes used their Authority better, and concurred with the people in shaking off the yoke, and so they are still parts of the body; only *Haldestein* is an absolute Sovereignty, it is about two Miles from *Coire* to the West, on the other side of the *Rhine*; the whole Territory is about half a Mile long at the foot

foot of the *Alps*, where there is scarce any breadth. The authority of these Barons was formerly more absolute than it is now, for the subjects were their Slaves: but to keep together the little Village; they have granted them a power of naming a list for their Magistrates, the person being to be named by the Baron; who hath also the right of pardoning, a right of coining, and every thing also that belongs to a Sovereign. I saw this little Prince in *Coire*, in an Equipage not suitable to his Quality, for he was in all points like a very ordinary Gentleman. There are three other Baronies that are Members of the Diet, and subject to it; the chief belonged to the Arch-Dukes of *Inchbruck*; the other two belong to Mr. *Schoenstein* and Mr. *de Mont*, they are the Heads of those Communities of which their Baronies are composed; they name the Magistrates out of the Lists that are Presented to them by their Subjects; and they have the right of pardoning & of confiscations: That belonging to the House of *Austria* is the biggest, it hath five voices in the Diet, and it can raise twelve hundred Men. One *Travers* bought it of the Emperor in the year 1679. He entred upon the Rights of the ancient Barons, which were specified in an agreement that past between him and his Peasants, and was confirmed by the Emperour. *Travers* made many incroachments upon the Privileges of his Subjects, who upon that made their Complaints to the League; but *Travers* would have the matter judged at *Inchbruck*, and the Emperor supported him in this pretension,

sion, and sent an Agent to the Diet: I was present when he had his Audience, in which there was nothing but general Complements: But the Diet stood firm to their Constitution, and asserted that the Emperor had no authority to judge in that matter which belonged only to them, so *Travers* was forced to let his Pretensions fall.

All the other parts of this State are purely Democratical, there are three different Bodies or Leagues, and every one of these are an intire Government, and the Assembly or Diet of the three Leagues, is only a Confederacy like the united Provinces or the Cantons: There are sixty seven Voices in the General Diet, which are thus divided: the League of the *Grisons* hath twenty-eight Voices, that of the House of God hath twenty four, and that of the Jurisdictions hath fifteen. The Jurisdictions belonged anciently to the House of *Austria*, but they having shaken off that authority were incorporated into the Diet, but in the last Wars of *Germany*, the *Austrians* thought to have brought them again under their Yoke, yet they defended their Liberty with so much vigour, that the *Austrians* it seems thought the Conquest not worth the while, and that it would not quit the Cost. They were affrighted by two extraordinary actions; in one Village which was quite abandoned by all the Men belonging to it, who left the Women in it, some hundreds, as I was told, were quartered, and were apprehensive of no danger from their Hostesses; but the Women intend-

to let their Husbands see that they were able of contriving and executing a bold action; tho it must be confest it was a little rough and barbarous for the Sex: They entered into a combination to cut the throats of the Souldiers at one time: the Woman that proposed this, had four lodged with her, and she with her own hands dispatcht them all, and so did all the rest, not one Souldier escaping to carry away the news of so unheard of a rage. In another place a body of *Austrians* came into a Valley that was quite abandoned, for the men that had no Arms but their Clubs and staves, had got up to the Mountains; but they took their measures so well, and possessed themselves so of the Passes, that they came down upon the Souldiers with so much fury that they defeated them quite, so that very few escaped, and it is certain, that the subduing them would have proved a very hard work: it is true, they are not in a condition to hold out long, the Publick is so poor; so that tho particular persons are extream rich, yet they have no publick Revenue, but every Man is concerned to preserve his Liberty, which is more intire here than it is even in *Switzerland*, but this swells often too much, and throws them into great Convulsions. The League of the *Grisons* is the first and most ancient, and is composed of eight and twenty Communities, of which there are eighteen Papists, and the rest are Protestants; the Communities of the two Religions live neighbourly together, yet they do not suffer those of another Religion

gion to live among them, so that every Community is entirely of the same Religion, and if any one changes he must go into another Community. Each Community is an intimate State within it self, and all Persons must meet once a year to chuse the Judge and his Assistants whom they change or continue from year to year as they see cause: There is no difference made between Gentleman and Peasant, and the Tenant hath a Vote as well as his Landlord nor dare his Landlord use him ill when he Votes contrary to his Intentions, for the Peasant would look upon that as a common quarrel. An Appeal lies from the Judge of the Community to the Assembly of the League, where all Matters end; for there lies no Appeal to the general Diet of the three Leagues, except in matters that concern the Conquered Countries which belong in common to all the Three. There is one chosen by the Deputies for the Assembly of the League, who is called the head of the League, that can call them together as he sees cause, and can likewise bring a Cause that had been once judged to a second hearing. *Ilants* is the chief Town of this League, where their Diet meets. The second League is *that of the House of God*, in which there are four and twenty Communities, the Bourgomaster of *Coire* is always the head of this League: This League is almost wholly *Protestant*, and the two Valleys of the upper and lower *Engedine* are pointed out by the Papists, as little less than *Cannibals* towards such Catholics as come among them; but Friar *Sfondrato*, Ne-  
phew



new to Pope *Gregory* the Fourteenth, whose Mother the Marquess of *Bergominero*, that was in *England*, hath married, found the contrary of all this to be true to his great regret. About eighteen year ago he was believed to have wrought Miracles, and he became so much in love with the Crown of *Mardom* that he went through the *Engedin*, not doubting but he would find there that which he desired. His Brother had come sometime before into the Countrey to drink Mineral Waters, and was well known to the Countrey, so some of these hearing of the Friars coming went and waited on him; and he was entertained by them in their Houses, and conveyed through the Country; tho' he took all possible ways to provoke them, for he was often railing at their Religion, but to all that they made answer, only they continued their Civilities still, which did so inrage the warm Friar that he went to *Bormio*, and (there as was believed) died of grief. An accident fell out five year ago, that the People of the Countrey esteemed sort of a Miracle. The *Papists* in their Processions go sometimes out of one Community to another, and when they pass through *Protestant* Communities they lower the Cross, and give over singing till they are again upon *Papish* ground; but then they went on bearing up the Cross, and singing as they went, upon which the *Protestants* stopt them, and would not suffer them to go on in that manner: they finding that they were not equal in number to the *Protestants*, sent to a *Catholick*

Community, and desired them to come to their assistance: Two thousand came, and by appearance the dispute would have had a bloody issue: for the *Protestants* were resolved to maintain the Rights of their Community, and the others were no less resolved to force their way: but an extraordinary thick mist arose, and through it the *Papists* fancied they saw a vast body of men, which was no other than the Wood: but terrified with the appearance of such a number, they retired; and this saved a little battel that probably would not only have ended in the shedding much blood, but might have very much disordered the whole Constitution and Union of their Leagues. The *Papists* of Quality endeavour much to keep their People in order, but they acknowledged to my self, that the *Protestants* were much peaceabler than the *Catholicks*. The Jurisdctions have fifteen Votes in the general Diet, yet they are generally called the Ten Jurisdctions, and the greater part of them are likewise of the Religion, for upon the general computation of the three Leagues, the *Protestants* are about two thirds. In their Diets there are three Tables, one in the middle, and two on either side; at every Table sits the head of the League and Secretary near him, and from the Table there goes down Benches on both hands for the Deputies from the Communities of that League: They hold their Diets by turns in the chief Towns of the several Leagues, and it hapned to be the turn of *The House of God*, when I was there, so they met at Coire.

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The three Leagues have a conquered Country in *Italy* divided into three Districts, the *Valtelline*, *Chavennes*, and *Bormio*. When *John delessé* possessed himself of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and drive out *Barnabas*, *Mastinus* one of *Barnabas's* Sons, to whom his Father had given those three Branches of the Dutchy of *Milan*, retired to *Coire*, and being hospitably received and entertained by the Bishop, when he died he gave his Right to those Territories, the Cathedral of *Coiré*; but here was a Title without a Force able to make it good. But when the Wars of *Italy* were on foot, the three Leagues being much courted by both the Powers, since they were Masters of the Passes, which either the *Switzers* or *Germans* could not come into *Italy*, they resolved to lay hold on that Opportunity: yet they had not zeal enough for their Bishop to engage deep upon his account, so they agreed with him to pay him such a Revenue, and he transferred his Title to them, and they were so considerable to the *Spaniards*, that without so much ado, they sold those parcels of the Dutchy of *Milan* to them, and by this means they are possessed of them. Those Accessions to this State are much better than the Principal, for as certainly the *Valtelline*, which is above forty miles long, and two broad, is one of the richest Valleys in the World, in which there are three harvests some years, so the *Chavennes* and *Bormio* are much preferable to the best Valleys of the *Grisons*; yet the engagement that people have to their native homes appears signally

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here,

here, since the *Grisons* have not forsaken their Countrey that they might situate themselves so advantageously : but they love their rugged *Valleys*, and think the safety they enjoy in them beyond the pleasures of their acquired Dominions, so they govern them by Bailiffs and *Podesta's*, and other Officers whom they send among them : And all the advantages that they draw from them, is that the Magistrate whom they do send to Govern them, do enrich themselves as the Bailiffs in *Switzerland* do. At those Offices go round the several Communities who have the right of Nomination in their turn. But if there is none of the Community proper for the Employment, any one of another Community may buy of them the Nomination for that turn, and the Community distribute among them the Money that he gives them. The Publick draws nothing out of those parts except the Fines, which in some years amount to no considerable sum, and ten or twelve thousand Crowns is thought a great deal to be raised out of them in a year, so that their Subjects live happy and free of all Taxes, which made their last Revolt appear the more extraordinary, and it was indeed the effect of a very surprising Bigotry, when a People under the gentlest yoke in the World, who had no other grievance, but that now and then their Magistrates were of another Religion, and that the *Protestant* Religion was tolerated amongst them, would therefore throw off their Masters, cut the throats of their Neighbours and cast themselves into the hands of the

*Spaniards*

*Spaniards*, who are the terriblest Masters in the World.

But to give a more particular relation of that matter, and to tell the circumstances which seem a little to lessen that Rebellion and Massacre, I must give an account of a part of his Constitution that is very terrible, and which makes the greatest men in it to tremble: The Peasants come sometimes in great Bodies and demand a Chamber of Justice from the general Diet, and they are bound to grant it always when it is thus demanded, which comes about generally once in twenty years; commonly this Tumult of the Peasants is set on by some of the male-contented Gentry, and generally there are a great many Sacrifices made. This Court is composed of ten Judges out of every League, and twenty Advocates, who manage such Accusations as are presented to them; this Court is paramount to Law, and acts like a Court of Inquisition, they give the question, and do every thing that they think necessary to discover the truth of such Accusations as are presented to them, and the decisions of this Court can never be brought under a second review, tho there is an exception to this, for about a hundred years ago the Court of Justice reversed all that another had done, but that is a single instance. The Peasants are in as great a jealousy of the *Spaniards*, as the *Switzers* are of the *French*, and the good Men among them are extream sensible of a great dissolution of Morals that the *Spanish* service brings among them: For

there is a *Grison* Regiment kept still in by the *Spaniards*, there are in it twelve Companies of fifty a piece, and the Captains have a thousand Crowns pay, tho they are not obliged to attend upon the service: This upon a matter a Pension paid under a most decent name to the most considerable Men in the Countrey, and this is shared among them without any distinction of *Protestant* and *Papist*, and is believed to sway their Council much. The Peasants are apt to take fire and to believe they are betrayed by those Pensioners of *Spain*, and when rumors are blown about among them, they come in great numbers to demand a Chamber of Justice; a common Question that they give, which is abused all *Switzerland* over, and in *Geneva*, that they tie the Hands of the suspected person behind his back, and pull them up to his Head, and so draw them about, by which the arms and chiefly the Shoulder-blades are dis-jointed, and when a Person put to the Question confesses his Crime, and is upon that condemned to die, he is obliged to renew his Confession upon Oath at the place of Execution, and when he goes off from it then, and saith that his Confession was extorted by the Violence of the Torture, he is put again to the Question: For this passes for a Maxime, that no man must die unless he confesseth himself guilty: Generally when the fury of demanding this Chamber is spread among the people, the *Gentry* run away, and leave the whole matter in the power of the Peasants, for they know not where

ill end, and so the Peasants being named to the Judges, the Justices go quick till some sacrifices appease the Rage. Two year ago, upon the sale of a Common to the Bishop of *Como*, to which he had an ancient preten-  
sion, the Peasants having no more the Liber-  
ty of the Common, were enraged at their Ma-  
gistrates, and a report was spread abroad, of  
which the first Author could never be discov-  
ered, that the *Spaniards* had sent a hundred  
thousand Crowns among them to corrupt all  
their Magistrates, upon this they were so set  
on fire, that it was generally thought there  
would have been many Sacrifices made to this  
Irry: But the Gentry hapned to be then so  
much united, that there was none of them  
engaged among the Peasants, or that managed  
their rage: a Chamber of Justice was granted,  
but the matter was so ordered, that it did not  
appear that any one was guilty, yet some that  
had dealt in that transaction were fined, not  
so much for any fault of theirs, as to raise a  
fund to pay the Expences of the Chamber,  
and because they could not find colour enough  
to raise so much out of the Fines, there was a  
fine of five hundred Livres laid on every one  
of the *Spanish* Companies. I hope this di-  
gression will not appear tedious to you, and  
the rather because you will soon see that it was  
a little necessary to open the matter of the Re-  
bellion and Massacre in the *Valtelline*.

In the year 1618. there was a report set a-  
bout, that the *Spaniards* had a Treatie on foot  
to tear away the *Valtelline* from the Leagues,

this was supported by the Fort *Fuentes*, that the Governour of *Milan* was building upon the Lake of *Como*, near the *Valtelline*. There was one *Ganatz* a Minister, but a bloody and perfidious Man, that set on, and managed the rage of the Peasants, and there was reason to suspect some underhand dealing, tho he threatened which way he pleased. A Chamber of Justice was appointed to sit at *Tassane*, which is a considerable Town twelve miles from *Coire* on the way to *Italy*, near *Alta Rhetia*, which is a high and small Hill, to which there is no access but on one side, where there are yet the Ruines of a Castle and a Church, and which they believe was the Palace of *Rhetus* the first Prince of the Countrey: There was severe Justice done in this Chamber, a Priest was put to the Question, and so ill used, that he died in it, which is a crying thing among them. The chief suspicion lay upon one *Pianta*, who being of one of the best Families of the *Grisons* was then one of the Captains in the *Spanish* Regiment; he withdrew himself from the storm, but the Peasants led on by *Ganatz* pursued him so, that at last they found him and hewed him in pieces. *Ganatz* himself striking the first stroke with an Ax, which was taken up and preserved by his Friends, and four and twenty years after fifty or sixty of his Friends fell upon *Ganatz* in *Coire*, and killed him with the same Ax, which they brought along with them, that they might execute their design by the same Tool with which their Friend was murdered. *Ganatz* had, during the Wars.

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abandoned both his Religion and Profession, being indeed a disgrace to both, and had served first in the *Venetian*, and then in the *Spanish* Troops. After the peace was made, he became so considerable, being supported by the *Spanish* Faction, that he was chosen Governour of *Chavennes*, and was come over to *Coire* to a Diet, he being then in so important a Charge: but he was so much hated, that tho the murdering of a Magistrate in Office, and at a Publick Assembly, in so terrible a manner, ought to have been severely punished, yet no inquiry was made into the Crime, nor was any Man so much as questioned for it. In that Chamber many that were put to the Question, confessed enough to hang them, some indured the Question and escaped with the loss of the use of their Arms. Those of the *Valteline* have made use of this severity, as that which gave the rise to the Massacre, and it is very probable this might have drawn in some, that would have been otherwise more moderate; and that it did likewise precipitate that barbarous action: yet it was afterwards found out that the Plot had been formed long before, so that the industry and rage of the Priests managed by *Spanish* Emisſaries, working upon the bigotry of the people was the real Cause, and this was only made use of as a Pretext to give some more plausible colours to the Massacre, which was executed some months after this Chamber was dissolved. It began while the Protestants were at Church, there were some hundreds destroyed, the rest

got all up to the Mountains, and so escaped into the Countrey of the *Grisons*, and those of *Chavennes* got likewise up to the Hills for they are situated just at the bottom of them.

I shall not prosecute the rest of that War, the *French* saw of what advantage it was to them not to let this Pass from *Italy* into *Germany* fall into the hands of the *Spaniards*; so *Bassompierre* was sent to *Madrid*, and obtained a Promise, that all things should be put in the same state in which they were before the year 1618, but when that Order was sent to the Governour of *Milan*, it was plain he had secret Orders to the contrary, for he refused to execute it; so a War followed, in which the *Grisons* found it was not easie for them to support the Charge of it, without employing the assistance of the *French*. But the *Spaniards* pretended to have no other interest in the Affairs of the *Valtelline* than the preservation of the Catholick Religion, and to shew their sincerity, they put the Countrey into the Pope's hands, knowing that he could not preserve it but by their assistance, nor restore it without securing it from all change of Religion. The *French* willingly undertook the Cause of the *Grisons*, and because the Duke of *Rohan* was like to be the most favourable General, as being of the Religion, he was sent to command some Forces that marched thither: But he saw that if the *French* once made themselves Masters of the Passes of the Countrey, it would turn to their ruine, and

and finding the *Grison* reposed an intimate confidence in him, he thought it unbecoming him to be an Instrument in that which he saw must be fatal to them. The *Spaniards* seeing the *French* ingage in the Quarrel, and fearing lest they should possess themselves of the *Passes*, offered to restore all the Territory in *Italy*, for *Chavennes* and *Bormio* had likewise revolted, only the *Protestants* got away so quick upon the disorders in the *Val-teline*, that they prevented the rage of the *Priests*. The *Spaniards* ask'd these Conditions, that an *Amnesty* should be granted for what was past, that there should be no exercise of the *Protestant* Religion tolerated in the Country, and that even the *Bailifs* and other *Magistrates* of the Religion, that came to be sent into their *Valteline*, should have no exercise of the Religion, and as for other persons, that none of the Religion might stay above six weeks at a time in the Countrey. The Duke of *Rohan* seeing that Conditions of so much advantage to the Leagues were offered to them, did underhand advise those of the Religion to accept of them, at the same time that he seemed openly to oppose the Treaty set on foot on those terms, and that he might get out of this Employment with the less dishonour, he advised their clapping him up in Prison till they had finished their Treaty with the *Spaniards*. So that they very gratefully to this day own that they owe the preservation of their Countrey to the wise advices of that great Man. Many that were of

the Religion return to their Houses and Estates, but the greatest part fearing such another Massacre, having since changed their Religion others have sold their Estates, and left the Countrey, some stay still and go two or three hours journey to some of the Protestant Communities, where they have the exercise of the Religion: And tho they may not stay in the *Valtelline* above six weeks at a time, yet they avoid that by going for a day or two out of the Countrey once within that time, nor is that matter at present so severely examined, so that there is a calm among them as to those matters. But when it comes to the turn of the *Protestant* Communities to send one of the Religion to those Employments, he is often much embarrassed by the Bishop of *Como*, to whose Diocess those Territories belong for if the Bishop fancies that they do any thing contrary to the Ecclesiastical Immunities, he excommunicates them, and tho this may appear a ridiculous thing, since they are already in a worse state for being Hereticks, yet it produces a very sensible effect, for the people that are extreemly superstitious, will not after that come near such Magistrates, so that about three year ago a Bailif found himself obliged to desire to be recalled, tho his time was not out, since being excommunicated he could no longer maintain the Government in his own Person.

Among the *Grisons* the *Roman* Law prevails, modified a little by their Customs: one that was a little particular was executed when

when I was there. A Man that hath an Estate by his Wife enjoys it after her death as long as he continues a Widdower, but when he marries again he is bound to divide it among the Children that he had by her. The Justice is short and simple, but it is oft thought that Bribes go here, tho but meanly in proportion to their poverty, as well as in other places. The Married Women here do scarce appear abroad except at Church, but the young Women have more liberty before they are married. There is such a plenty of all things by reason of the gentleness of the Government and the industry of the people, that in all the ten dayes in which I staid at *Coire*, I was but once askt an Alms in the Streets. There are two Churches in *Coire*, in the one there is an Organ that joyns with their Voices in the singing of the Psalms, and there was for the honour of the Diet, while we were there, an Anthem sung by a set of Musicians very regularly. In all the Churches both of *Switzerland* and the *Grisons*, except in this only, the Minister preaches covered, but here he is bare-headed. And I observed a particular devotion used here in saying of the Lords Prayer, that the Ministers who wear Caps, put them off when this was said. The Women here, as in *Bern*, turn all to the *East* in time of Prayer, and also in their Private Devotions before and after the Publick Prayers: many also bow at the Name of *Jesus*: They Christen discovering the whole head, and pouring the Water on the hind-head, using a true

true aspersions, which is also the practice of the *Switzers*. It was matter of much edification to see the great numbers both here, and all *Switzerland* over, that come every day to Prayers morning and evening. They give here in the middle of the Prayer a good interval of silence for the private devotions of the Assembly. The Schools here go not above *Latin*, *Greek* and *Logick*, and for the rest they send their Children to *Zurich* or *Basil*. The Clergy here are very meanly provided: For most part they have nothing but the benevolence of their People: They complained much to me of a great coldness in their People in the matters of Religion, and of a great corruption in their Morals: The Commons are extream insolent, and many Crimes go unpunished, if the persons that commit them have either great Credit or much Money. The poor Ministers here are under a terrible slavery; for the *Grisons* pretend that in all times they had not only the Patronage of their Churches, but a Power to dismiss their Church-men as they saw cause. How it is among the Papists I cannot tell, but the Dean of the Synod of *the House of God* told me they had an ill Custom of Ordaining their Ministers without a Title, upon an Examination of their Qualifications and Abilities, which took them up generally six or seven hours, and when this Trial was thus dispatched, if the person was found qualified they Ordained him, and it was too ordinary for those that were thus Ordained to endeavour to undermine the Ministers.

nisters already in Employment, if their People grew disgusted at them, or as they became disabled by age, and often the interest and kindred of the Intruder, carried the matter against the Incumbent without any colour or pretence, and in that case the *Synode* was bound to receive the Intruder. In one half of the Countrey they preach in high *Dutch*, and in the other half in a corrupt *Italian*, which they call *Romanish*, that is a mixture of *French* and *Italian*. In every League they have a Synod, and as the people chuse their Ministers, so in imitation of the *Switzers* every *Synod* chuses their *Antistes* or Superintendent, he is called the Dean among the *Grisons*, and hath a sort of an Episcopal Power, but he is accountable to the *Synod*: The Office is for Life, but the *Synod* upon great Cause given may make a change. The People of this Countrey are much more lively than the *Switzers*, and they begin to have some tincture of the *Italian* Temper. They are extream civil to Strangers, but it seems in all Common-wealths Inn-keepers think they have a right to exact upon Strangers, which one finds here as well as in *Holland* or in *Switzerland*.

I shall conclude what I have to say concerning the *Grisons* with a very extraordinary Story, which I had both from the Ministers of *Coire* and several other Gentlemen, that saw in *April* 1685. about five hundred persons of different Sexes and Ages that past through the Town, who gave this account of them-

themselves. They were the Inhabitants of a Valley in *Tirol*, belonging for the greatest part to the Arch-bishoprick of *Salzburg*, but some of them were in the Diocesses of *Trent* and *Bresse*, they seemed to be a remnant of the old *Waldenses*, they worshipped neither Images nor Saints, and they believed the Sacrament was only a Commemoration of the death of Christ, and in many other points they had their peculiar opinions different from those of the Church of *Rome*, they knew nothing neither of *Lutherans* nor *Calvinists*; and the *Grisons*, tho their Neighbours, had never heard of this nearness of theirs to the *Protestant* Religion. They had Mass said among them, but some years since some of the Valley going over *Germany* to earn somewhat by their Labour, happened to go into the *Palatinate*, where they were better instructed in matters of Religion, and these brought back with them into the Valley the *Heidelberg* Catechisme, together with some other *German* Books, which run over the Valley, and they being before that in a good disposition, those Books had such an effect upon them, that they gave over going to Mass any more, and began to worship God in a way more suitable to the Rules set down in Scripture, some of their Priests concurred with them in this happy Change, but others that adhered still to the Mass, went and gave the Archbishop of *Salzburg* an account of it, upon which he sent some into the Countrey to examine the Truth of the matter, to exhort



port them to return to Mafs, and to threaten them with all severity, if they continued obftinate: fo they feeing a terrible ftorm ready to break upon them, refolved to abandon their Houfes and all they had, rather than fin againft their Confcienccs: and the whole Inhabitants of the Valley, old and young, Men and Women, to the number of two thoufand, divided themfelves into feveral bodies; fome intended to go to *Brandenburgh*, others to the *Palatinate*, and about five hundred took the way of *Coire*, intending to difperfe themfelves in *Switzerland*. The Minifters told me they were much edified with their fimplicity, and modetty, for a Collection being made for them, they defired only a little bread to carry them on their way. From *Coire* we went to *Toffane*, and from that through the way that is juftly called *Via Mala*. It is through a bottom between two Rocks, through which the *Rhine* runs, but under ground for a great part of the way: The way is cut out in the middle of the Rock in fome places, and in feveral places, the fteepnefs of the Rock being fuch, that a way could not be cut out, there are beams driven into it; over which boards and earth are laid; this way holds an hour: And after that there is for two hours good way, and we paff through two confiderable Villages, there is good lodging in both; from thence there is for two hours journey terrible way, almoft as bad as the *Via Mala*; then an hours journey good way to

*Splugen*, which is a large Village of above two hundred Houses that are well built, and the Inhabitants seem all to live at their ease, tho' they have no sort of Soil but a little Meadow Ground about them; this is the last Protestant Church that was in our way, it was well Indowed, for the Provision of the Minister was near two hundred Crowns: Those of this Village are the Carriers between *Italy* and *Germany*, so they drive a great Trade; for there is here a perpetual Carriage going and coming; and we are told that there pass generally a hundred Horses through this Town one Day with another; and there are above five hundred Carriage-horse that belong to this Town. From this place we went mounting for three Hours till we got to the top of the Hills, where there is only one great Inn. After that the Way was tollerably good for two Hours, and for two Hours there is constant descent, which for the most part is as steep as if we were all the while going down Stairs: At the Foot of this is a little Village, called *Campdolcin*, and here we found we were in *Italy*, both by the vast difference of the Climate; for whereas we were freezing on the other side, the heat of the Sun was uneasy here, and also by the number of the Beggars, tho' it may seem the reverse of what one ought to expect, since the richest Countrey of *Europe* is full of Beggars; and the *Grisons* that are one of the poorest States have no Beggars at all. One thing is also strange, that among the

the *Grisons*, the rich Wine of the *Valteline*, after it is carried three days journey, is sold cheaper than the Wine of other Counteries where it grows at the door: But there are no Taxes nor Impositions here. From *Campdolcin* there is three hours journey to *Chavennes*, all in a slow descent, and in some places the way is extream rugged and stony. *Chavennes* is very pleasantly scituated at the very foot of the Mountains, there runs through the Town a pleasant little River: It is nobly built, and hath a great many rich Vineyards about it, and the rebound of the Sun-beams from the Mountains, doth so increase the heats here, that the Soil is as rich here as in any place of *Italy*. Here one begins to see a Noble Architecture in a great many Houses; in short, all the marks of a rich Soil and a free Government appear here. The Town stood a little more to the North, about five hundred year ago; but a Slice of the *Alps* came down upon it, and buried it quite, and at the upper end of the Town there are some Rocks that look like Ruines; about which there hath been a very extraordinary expence to divide them one from another, and to make them fit places for Forts, and Castles: The marks of the Tools appeared all over the Rock in one place. I measured the breadth of the one from the other, which is twenty foot, the length is four hundred and fifty foot, and as we could guess the Rock was two hundred foot high, cut down on both sides in a line as even as a wall,

towards the top of one the name *Salvius* is cut in great Letters a little *Gothick*. On the tops of those Rocks which are inaccessible, except on the one side, and to that the ascent is extream uneasie, they had Garrisons during the Wars of *Valtelline*: there were fifteen hundred in Garrison in that which is in the middle: There falls down frequently slices from the Hills that do extreamly fatten the ground which they cover, so that it becomes fruitful beyond expression, and I saw a Lime-Tree that was planted eight and thirty years ago, in a piece of ground which had been so covered, that was two fathom and a half of compass. On both sides of the River, the Town and the Gardens belonging to it, cover the whole Bottom that lies between the Hills, and at the roots of the Mountains they dig great Cellars, and Grottoes, and strike a hole about a foot square, ten or twelve foot into the Hill, which all the Summer long blows a fresh Air into the Cellar, so that the Wine of those Cellars drinks almost as cold as if it were in Ice; but this wind-pipe did not blow when I was there, which was towards the end of *September*: For the Sun opening the pores of the Earth, and rarifying the exterior Air, that which is compressed within the Cavities that are in the Mountains, rushes out with a constant Wind; but when the operation of the Sun is weakned, this course of the Air is less sensible. Before or over those Vaults they build little pleasant rooms like Summer-houses, and  
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in them they go to collation generally at night in Summer. I never saw bigger Grapes than grow there, there is one sort bigger than the biggest Damascene Plums that we have in *England*.

There is a sort of Wine here and in the *Val-teline*, which I never heard named any where else, that is called Aromatick-Wine, and as the taste makes one think it must be a Composition, for it tastes like a Strong-water drawn off Spices, so its strength being equal to a weak Brandy, disposes one to believe that it cannot be a natural Wine, and yet it is the pure Juice of the Grape without any mixture. The Liquor being singular, I informed my self particularly of the way of preparing it: the Grapes are red, tho it drinks white, they let the Grapes hang on the Vines till *November*, that they are extream ripe, then they carry them to their Garrets, and set them all upright on their ends by one another for two or three Months, then they pick all the Grapes, and throw away those in which there is the least appearance of rottenness, so that they press none but sound Grapes: after they are pressed they put the Liquor in an open Vessel, in which it throws up a scum, which they take off twice a day, and when no more scum comes up, which according to the difference of the season is sooner or later, for sometimes the scum comes no more after eight days, and at other times it continues a fortnight, then they put it in a close Vessel; for the first year it is extream sweet and luscious, but at  
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the end of the year they pierce it a little higher than the middle of the Vessel, almost two thirds from the bottom, and drink it off till it cometh so low, and then every year they fill it up anew: once a year in the month of March it ferments, and cannot be drunk till that is over, which continues a Month, but their other Wine ferments not at that time. Madam *Salis*, a Lady of that Countrey, who entertained us three days with a magnificence equal to what can be done in *London* or *Paris*, had Wine of this Composition that was forty years old, and was so very strong that one could hardly drink above a spoonful, and it tasted high of Spicery, though she assured me there was not one grain of Spice in it, nor of any other mixture whatsoever. Thus the heat that is in this Wine, becomes a fire and distils it self, throwing up the more spirituous parts of it to the top of the Hogs-head.

Both here, and in the *Grisons* the Meat is very juicy, the Fowl is excellent, their Roots and Herbs very tasteful, but the Fish of their Lakes is beyond any thing I ever saw. They live in a great simplicity, as to their habit and furniture, but they have plenty of all things, and are extream rich, the Family where we were so nobly entertained is believed to have about two hundred thousand Crowns: here the *Italian* Custome of one only of a Family that marries takes place generally. There is a sort of Pots of Stone that is used, not only in all the Kitchens here, but almost all *Lombardie* over, called *Lavege*; the Stone feels

feels oily and scaly, so that a Scale sticks to ones Finger that touches it, and is somewhat of the nature of a Slate, there are but three Mines of it known in these parts, one near *Chavennes*, another in the *Valtelline*, and the third in the *Grisons*, but the first is much the best, they generally cut it in the Mine round, of about a foot and a half Diameter, and about a foot and a quarter thick, and they work it in a Mill, where the Chizzels that cut the Stone are driven about by a Wheel that is set a going by Water, and which is so ordered that he who manages the Chizzel, very easily draws forward the Wheel out of the course of the Water; they turn off first the outward coat of this Stone till it is exactly smooth, and then they separate one Pot after another by those small and hooked Chizzels, by which they make a nest of Pots all one within another, the outward and biggest being as big as an ordinary Beef-pot, and the inward Pot being no bigger than a small Pipkin; these they arm with hooks and circles of brass, and so they served by them in their Kitchens. One of these Stone Pots takes heat and boils sooner than any Pot of Mettle; and whereas the bottoms of Mettle-pots transmit the heat so intirely to the Liquor within, that they are not insufferably hot, the bottom of this Stone-pot which is about twice so thick as a Pot of Mettle, burns extreamly; it never cracks, neither gives it any sort of taste to the Liquor that is boiled in it, but if it falls to the ground it is very brittle, yet this is repaired

paired by patching it up, for they peeces their broken Pots so close, tho without any cement, by sowing with Iron wire the broken parcels together, that in the holes which they pierce with the wire there is not the least breach made, except that which the wire both makes and fills. The passage to this Mine is very inconvenient, for they must creep into it for near half a mile through a Rock that is so hard that the passage is not above three foot high, and so those that draw out the Stones creep all along upon their belly, having a Candle fastened in their forehead, and the Stone laid on a sort of Cushion made for it upon their hips: The Stones are commonly two hundred weight.

But having mentioned some falls of Mountains in those parts, I cannot pass by the extraordinary fate of the Town of *Pleurs*, that was about a League from *Chavennes* to the North in the same bottom, but on a ground that is a little more raised: The Town was half the bigness of *Chavennes*, the number of the Inhabitants was about two and twenty hundred persons, but it was much more nobly built; for besides the great Palace of the *Franc-ken*, that cost some millions, there were many other Palaces that were built by several rich Factors both of *Milan* and the other parts of *Italy*, who liked the situation and air, as well as the freedom of the Government of this place, so they used to come hither during the heats, and here they gave themselves all the indulgences that a vast wealth could furnish.

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By one of the Palaces that was a little distant from the Town, which was not overwhelmed with it, one may judge of the rest: It was an Out-house of the Family of the *Francken*, and yet it may compare with many Palaces in *Italy*; and certainly, House and Gardens could not cost so little as one hundred thousand Crowns. The Voluptuousness of this place became very crying, and Madam *de Salis* told me that she heard her Mother often relate some passages of a Protestant Minister's Sermons that preached in a little Church which those of the Religion had there, and warned them often of the terrible Judgments of God which were hanging over their heads, and that he believed would suddenly break out upon them. On the 25<sup>th</sup> of *August* 1628. an Inhabitant came and told them to be gone, for he saw the Mountains cleaving, but he was laughed at for his pains: He had a Daughter whom he perswaded to leave all and go with him, but when she was gone out of Town with him, she called to Mind that she had not locked the Door of a Room in which she had some things of Value, and so she went back to do that, and was buried with the rest; for at the hour of Supper the Hill fell down, and buried the Town and all the Inhabitants, so that not one Person escaped: The fall of the Mountains did so fill the Channel of the River, that the first News those of *Chavennes* had of it was by the failing of their River, for three or four hours there came not a drop of Water, but the River wrought for it self a new Course and returned

to them, I could hear no particular Character of the Man who escaped, so I must leave the secret reason of so singular a preservation to the great discovery at the last day of those steps of Divine Providence that are now so unaccountable. Some of the Family of the *Franks* got some Miners to work under ground to find out the Wealth that was buried in their Palace; for besides their Plate and Furniture there was a great Cash and many Jewels in the House: The Miners pretended they could find nothing, but they went to their Countrey of *Tirol*, and built fine Houses, and a great Wealth appeared, of which no other visible account could be given but this, that they had found some of that Treasure. The chief Factors of *Italy* have been *Grisons*, and they told me that as the Trade of Banking began in *Lombardy*, so that all *Europe* over a *Lombard* and a *Bank* signified the same thing, so the great Bankers of *Lombardy* were *Grisons*, and to this day the *Grisons* drive a great Trade in Money; for a Man there of a hundred thousand Crowns Estate hath not perhaps a third part of this within the Countrey, but puts it out in the Neighbouring States: And the Liberty of the Countrey is such, that the Native when they have made up Estates elsewhere are glad to leave even *Italy* and the best part of *Germany*, and to come and live among those Mountains, of which the very sight is enough to fill a Man with horror.

From *Chivennes* we went for two hours through a Plain to the Lake of *Chavennes* which

which is almost round, and is about two Miles Diameter. This Lake falls into the Lake of *Como* over against the Fort *Fuentes*; when we passed there the Water was so low that the Boat could not easily get over a Bank that lay between the two Lakes. The Lake of *Como* is about eight and forty Miles long and four broad, it runs between two Ranges of Hills: I did not stay long enough in *Como* to give any description of it, for I thought to have returned that way from a little Turn that I made into the Bailiages that the *Switzers* have in *Italy*, of *Lugane*, *Locarno* and *Bellinzona*: But I took another course, so I saw nothing in *Como*; the best thing in it is a fine Chappel, which the present Pope, who is a Native of *Como*, is building. From *Como* we went eight Miles to *Codelago*, which belongs to the *Switzers*, and from thence to *Lugane* we had eight Miles of Lake: This Lake doth not run in an even current as the other Lakes that rise under the Alps; but the scituation of the Hills about it throws it into several Courses.

The *Switzers* have here several little Provinces or Bailiages, of which during the Wars of *Italy*, between the Dukes of *Milan* and the two Crowns, in *Francis* the First, and *Charles* the Fifth's time, they possessed themselves as a Pledge for payment of their Arrears, and they were then such considerable Allies, that they made both the Competitors for the Dutchy of *Milan* court them by turns, and became the peaceable Possessors of almost all that Tract

that lies between the Lake of *Como* to the Countrey of the *Valeffii* or the Valleys. The inhabitants here are so well-used, they live so free of all Impositions, and the *Switzer* Government is so gentle, that here I must tell you another Paradox, this is the worst Countrey, the least productive, the most exposed to cold, and the least capable of Trade of all *Italy*, and yet it is by far the best Peopled of any that I saw in all *Italy*: There belongs to the Bailiage of *Lugane* alone Ninety-nine Villages, of which a great many are very large, and all are full of People. The twelve Antient *Cantons* have their turns of all the Bailiages and other Offices here: But when it comes to the turn of those of the Religion, their Bailifs must be contented with Private Devotions in their own Houses, but can have no Publick Exercises, not so much as a Minister in their Houses. For here as in the *Valtelina* when the *Spaniards* confirmed the right of the *Cantons* to those Territories, they made an expresse Provision, that no Religion except the Popish should be tolerated here; so that the Bailif who is the Prince often hath not the free Liberty of his Religion in these Parts. The Bailifs here make their advantages as well as in the other parts of *Switzerland*, but yet with more caution, for they take great care not to give the Natives any distaste, tho' their Miseries to which they see all their Neighbours exposed, and the abundance and Liberty in which they live, should by all appearance deliver their Masters from any great apprehension.

sions of a Revolt : A great many Mechanicks of all sorts live in these parts, who go all Summer long over *Italy*, and come back hither with what they have gained, and live free of all Taxes. I was told that some Nephews of Popes, in particular the *Barberines* had treated with the *Switzers* to buy this Countrey from them, and so to erect it into a Principality, and that they had resolved to offer twelve thousand Crowns to the twelve *Cantons*, but they found it would certainly be rejected, so they made not the Proposition to the Diet of the *Cantons* as they once intended, and it is certain whensoever this Countrey is brought under a Yoke like that which the rest of *Italy* bears, it will be soon abandoned, for there is nothing that draws so many people to live in so ill a Soil, when they are in sight of the best Soil of *Europe*, but the easiness of the Government. From *Lugane* I went to the *Lago Maggiore*, which is a great and noble Lake, it is six any fifty Miles long, and in most places six Miles broad, and a hundred Fathom deep about the middle of it, it makes a great Bay to the Westward, and there lies here two Islands called the *Borromean* Islands, that are certainly the loveliest spots of ground in the World, there is nothing in all *Italy* that can be compared to them, they have the full view of the Lake, and the ground rises so sweetly in them, that nothing can be imagined like the Terrasses here, they belong to two Counts of the *Borromean* Family. I was only in one of them which belongs to the head of the Fa-

milie, who is Nephew to the famous Cardinal, known by the name of *S. Carlo*; on the West-end lies the Palace, which is one of the best of *Italy*, for the Lodgings within, tho the Architecture is but ordinary, there is one noble Apartment above four and twenty foot high, and there is a vast addition making to it, and here is a great Collection of noble Pictures beyond any thing I saw out of *Rome*: The whole Island is a Garden, except a little corner to the South set off for a Village of about forty little Houses, and because the Figure of the Island was not made regular by Nature, they have built great Vaults and Portico's along the Rock, which are all made Grotesque, and for they have brought it into a regular form by laying Earth over those Vaults. There is first a Garden to the East that rises up from the Lake by five rows of Terrasses, on the three sides of the Garden that are watered by the Lake, the Stairs are noble, the Walls are all covered with Oranges and Citrons, and a more beautiful spot of a Garden cannot be seen. There are two Buildings in the two corners of this Garden, the one is only a Mill for fetching up the Water, and another is a noble Summer-House all Wainscotted, if I may speak so, with Alabaſter and Marble of a fine colour inclining to red, from this Garden one goes in a level to all the rest of the Alleys and Parterres, Herb-Gardens and Flower-Gardens, in all which there are Varieties of Fountains and Arbors, but the great Parterre is a surprising thing, for as it is well furnished with

with Statues and Fountains, and is of a vast extent, and justly scituated to the Palace, so that the further end of it there is a great Mount, that face of it that looks to the Parterre is made like a Theatre all full of Fountains and Statues, the height rising up in five several rows, it being about fifty foot high, and about fourscore foot in front, and round this Mount, answering to the five rows into which the Theatre is divided, there goes as many Terrasses of noble Walks, the Walls are all as close covered with Oranges and Citrons as any of our Walls in *England* are with Laurel: the top of the Mount is seventy foot long and forty broad, and here is a vast Cistern into which the Mill plays up the Water that must furnish all the Fountains: The Fountains were not quite finished when I was there, but when all is finished this place will look like an enchanted Island. The freshness of the Air, it being both in a Lake and near the Mountains, the fragrant Smell, the beautiful Prospect, and the delighting Variety that is here, makes it such a Habitation for Summer, that perhaps the whole World hath nothing like it. From this I went to *Sestio*, a miserable Village at the end of the Lake, and here I began to feel a mighty change, being now in *Lombardy*, which is certainly the beautifullest Countrey that can be imagined, the ground lies so even, it is so well watered, so sweetly divided by rows of Trees inclosing every piece of ground of an Acre or two Acres compass, that it cannot be denied that here

is a vast extent of Soil above two hundred Miles long, and in many places a hundred Miles broad, where the whole Countrey is equal to the loveliest spots in all *England* or *France*, it hath all the sweetness that *Holland* or *Flanders* have, but with a warmer Sun and a better Air, the Neighbour-hood of the Mountains cause a freshness of Air here, that makes the Soil the most desirable place to live in that can be seen, if the Government were not so excessively severe, that there is nothing but Poverty over all this rich Countrey. A Traveller in many places finds almost nothing, and is so ill furnished, that if he doth not buy provisions in the great Towns, he will be obliged to a very severe Diet, in a Countrey that he should think flowed with Milk and Honey: But I shall say more of this hereafter. The *Lago Maggiore* discharges it self in the River *Tesino*, which runs with such a force that we went thirty Miles in three hours having but one Rower, and the Water was no way swelled. From this we went into the Channel which *Francis* the First cut from this River to the Town of *Milan*, which is about thirty foot broad, and on both its Banks there are such Provisions to discharge the Water when it rises to such a height, that it can never be fuller of Water than is intended it should be; it lies also so even, that sometimes for six Miles together one sees the Line so exact that there is not the least crook: it is thirty Miles long, and is the best advantage that the Town of *Milan* hath for Water-carriage.



I will not entertain you with a long description of this great City, which is one of the noblest in the World, to be an Inland Town, that hath no great Court, no Commerce either by Sea or any Navigable River, and that is now the Metropolis of a very small State; for that which is not Mountainous in this State, is not above sixty Miles square, and yet it produces a wealth that is surprizing: It pays for an Establishment of seven and forty thousand Men, and yet there are not sixteen thousand Souldiers effectively in it, so many are eat up by those in whose hands the Government is Lodged: But the vastness of the Town, the Nobleness of the Buildings, and above all the surprizing Riches of the Churches and Convents are signs of great wealth: The Dome hath nothing to commend it of Architecture, it being built in the rude Gothick manner, but for the Vastness and Riches of the Building, it is equal to any in *Italy*, *St. Peters* it self not excepted. It is all Marble; both Pavement, and Walls, both outside and inside, and on the top it is all flagg'd with Marble; and there is the vastest number of Niches for Statues of Marble, both within and without, that are any where to be seen. It is true the Statues in some of the Niches are not proportioned to the Niches themselves; the Frontispiece is not yet made, it is to be all over covered with Statues and bas reliefs; and the Pillars, of which there are four Rows in the body of the Church, have each of them eight Niches at the top for so many Statues, and tho one would think this Church so full of Sta-

tues, that almost every Saint hath his Statue, yet I was assured they wanted seven thousand to finish the design, but these must chiefly belong to the Frontispiece: the Church as I could measure it by walking over it in an equal pace, is five hundred foot long, and two hundred wide; the Quire is Wainscotted and carved in so extraordinary a manner, that I never saw Passion so well expressed in Wood; it contains sixty Stalls, and they have almost all the Histories of the Gospel reprinted in them. Just under the *Cupulo* lies *S. Carlo's* body, as I was told, in a great case of Crystal of vast value, but I could not come near it; for we were there on two Holy-days, and there was a perpetual crowd about it; and the Superstition of the people for his Body, is such, that on a Holy-day one runs a hazzard that comes near it without doing some Reverence. His Canonization cost the Town a hundred thousand Crowns, they pretend they have Miracles too, for Cardinal *Frederigo Borromee*; but they will not set about his Canonization, the price is so high. The Plate and other Presents made to *St. Carlo* are things of a prodigious value; some Services for the Altar are all of Gold, some very Massie and set with Jewels, others so finely wrought that the fashion is thought equal to the value of the Mettle; the Habits and all the other Ornaments for the Function of his Canonization are all of an incredible Wealth. He was indeed a Prelate of great Merit, and according to the Answer that a Fryar made to *Philip de Comines*, when he asked him how they came

came to qualifie one of the worst of their Princes with the Title of Saint in an Inscription which he read, which was, that they gave that Title to all their Benefactors; never man deserved of a Town this Title so justly as Cardinal *Borromeo* did, for he laid out a prodigious Wealth in *Milan*, leaving nothing to his Family, but the Honour of having produced so great a man, which is a real temporal Inheritance to it, for as there have been, since that time, two Cardinals of that Family, so it is esteemed a *Casa Santa*; and everytime that it produces an Ecclesiastick of any considerable Merit, he is sure, if he lives to it, to be raised to this Arch-Bishoprick, for if there were one of the Family capable of it, and that did not carry it, that alone might dispose the State to a Rebellion, and he were a bold man that would adventure on a Competition with one of this Family. He laid out a great deal on the Dome, and consecrated it, tho the work will not be quite finished yet for some Ages, that being one of the Crafts of the *Italian* Priests never to finish a great design, that so by keeping it still in an unfinished Estate, they may be always drawing great Donatives to it, from the Superstition of the people. He built the Arch-Bishops Palace, which is very noble, and a Seminary, a Colledge for the *Switzers*, several Parish Churches, and many Convents. In short, the whole Town is full of the Marks of his Wealth. The Riches of the Churches of *Milan* strike one with amazement, the Building, the Painting, the Altars, and the Plate, and every

ry thing in the Convents, except their Libraries, are all signs both of great Wealth and of a very powerful Superstition, but their Libraries, not only here, but all *Italy* over, are scandalous things; the Room is often fine, and richly adorned, but the Books are few, ill bound, and worse chosen, and the ignorance of the Priests, both Secular and Regular, is such, that no man that hath not had an occasion to discover it, can easily believe it. The Convent of *St. Victor* that is without the Town, is by much the richest, it is composed of Canons Regular; called in *Italy* the Order of Mount *Olive*, or *Olivetan*; that of the *Barnabites* is extream rich, there is a Pulpit and a Confessional all inlaid with Agates of different colours, finely spotted Marbles, and of *Lapis Lazulis* that are thought almost inestimable. *St. Laurence* has a noble *Cupulo*, and a Pulpit of the same form with that of the *Barnabites*. The *Jesuits*, the *Theatines*, the *Dominicans*, and *St. Sebastians* are very rich. The Cittadel is too well known to need a description, it is very regularly built, and is a most effectual restraint to keep the Town in order, but it could not stand out against a good Army three days; for it is so little, and so full of Buildings, that it could not resist a shower of Bombs. The Hospital is indeed a Royal Building, I was told it had ninety thousand Crowns Revenue: the old Court is large, and would look noble, if it were not for the new Court that is near it, which is two hundred and fifty foot square, and there are three rows of Corridors or Galleries all round the Court,

Court, one in every Stage according to the *Italian* manner, which makes the Lodgings very convenient, and gives a Gallery before every door: It is true these take up a great deal of the Building, being ordinarily eight or ten foot broad; but then here is an open space that is extream cool on that side where the Sun doth not lie, for it is all open to the Air, the Wall being only supported by Pillars, at the distance of fifteen or twenty foot one from another. In this Hospital there are not only Galleries full of Beds on both sides, as is Ordinary in all Hospitals; but there are also a great many Chambers, in which persons whose condition was formerly distinguished are treated with a particular care. There is an out-house which is called the *Lazarette*, that is without the Walls, which belongs to this Hospital, it is an exact quarter of a mile square, and there are three hundred and sixty Rooms in it, and a Gallery runs all along before the Chambers, so that as the service is convenient, the sick have a covered walk before their Doors. In the middle of this vast square there is an Octangular Chappel, so contrived that the sick from all their Beds may see the elevation of the Host, and adore it: This House is for the Plague or for infectious Feavers, and the Sick that want a freer Air, are also removed hither.

As for the devotions of this place, I saw here the *Ambrosian* Office, which is distinguished from the *Roman*, both in the Musick which is much simpler, and in some other Rites: the Gospel

Gospel is read in a high Pulpit at the lower end of the Quire, so that it may be heard by all the people, tho this is needless, since it is read in a language that they do not understand: when they go to say high Mass, the Priests come from the high Altar to the lower end of the Quire, where the Offertory of the Bread and the Wine is made by some of the Laity, they were Nuns that made it when I was there, I heard a Capucin Preach here: It was the first Sermon I heard in *Italy*, and I was much surprized at many Comical expressions and gestures, but most of all with the conclusion; for there being in all the Pulpits of *Italy* a Crucifix on the side of the Pulpit towards the Altar; he, after a long address to it, at last in a forced transport, took it in his Arms and hugged it and kissed it: But I observed that before he kissed it; he seeing some dust on it, blew it off very carefully, for I was just under the Pulpit: He entertained it with a long and tender caress, and held it out to the people, and would have forced tears both from himself and them, yet I saw none shed. But if the Sermon in the morning surprized me, I wondred no less at two discourses that I heard in one Church, at the same time, in the afternoon: for there were two Bodies of Men set down in different places of the Church all covered, and two Laymen in ordinary habits were entertaining them with discourses of Religion in a Catechetical stile: These were Confrairies, and those were some of the more devout that instructed the rest. This I never saw any where else, so I  
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do not know whether it is peculiar to *Milan* or not. My Conductor could not speak *Latin*, and the *Italian* there is so different from the true *Tuscan* which I only knew, that I could not understand him when he was engaged in a long discourse, so I was not clearly informed of this matter; but I am apt to think it might have been some institution of Cardinal *Borromees*. The *Ambrosian* Library founded by Cardinal *Frederick Borromeo* is a very noble Room and well furnished, only it is too full of School-men and Canonists, which are the chief Studies of *Italy*, and it hath too few Books of a more solid and useful Learning. One part of the disposition of a Room was pleasant, there is a great number of Chairs placed all round it at a competent distance from one another, and to every Chair there belongs a Desk with an *Escritoire* that hath Pen, Ink, and Paper in it, so that every Man finds tools here for such extracts as he would make. There is a little Room of Manuscripts at the end of the great Gallery, but the Library-keeper knows little of them, a great many of them relate to their Saint *Charles*. I saw some fragments of *Latin* Bibles, but none seemed to be above six hundred years old, there are also some fragments of Saint *Ambrose's* Works, and of Saint *Jerom's* Epistles that are of the same antiquity. I was sorry not to find Saint *Ambrose's* Works intire, that I might have seen whether the Books of the Sacraments are ascribed to him in ancient Copies, for perhaps they belong to a more modern Author. It is true

true in these Books the Doctrine of a sort of a corporal presence is asserted in very high expressions; but there is one thing mentioned in them, which is stronger against it, than all those Citations can be for it; for the Author gives us the formal words of the Prayer of Consecration in his time, which he prefaces with some solemnity: will you know how the change is wrought, hear the Heavenly words? For the Priest saith, but whereas in the present Canon of the Mass, the Prayer of Consecration is for a good part of it very near in the same words with those which he mentions, there is one essential difference, for in the Canon they now pray that the Hosty may be to them the Body and Blood of Christ, (which by the way doth not agree too well with the Notion of Transubstantiation, and approacheth more to the Doctrine of the *Lutherans*;) whereas in the Prayer, cited by that Author, the Hosty is said to be the Figure of the Body and Blood of Christ: here is the Language of the whole Church of that time, and in the most important part of the Divine Office, which signifieth more to me than a thousand Quotations out of particular Writers, which are but their private Opinions: but this is the voice of the whole Body in its Addresses to God: and it seems the Church of *Rome*, when the new Doctrine of the Corporal Presence was received, saw that this Prayer of Consecration could not consist with it, which made her change such a main part of the Office. This gave me a curiosity every where to search for ancient Offices,



Offices, but I found none in the Abbey of *St. Germain's* that seemed older than the times of *Charles the Great*; so I found none of any great Antiquity in all *Italy*: Those published by Cardinal *Bona*, and since by *P. Mabillon*, that were brought from *Heidelberg*, are the most ancient that are in the *Vatican*; but these seem not to be above eight hundred years old: There are none of the ancient *Roman* Offices now to be seen in the *Vatican*. I was amazed to find none of any great Antiquity; which made me conclude that either they were destroyed, that so the difference between Ancient and Modern Rituals might not be turned against that Church, as an undeniable Evidence to prove the Changes that she hath made in Divine Matters, or that they were so well kept, that Hereticks were not to be suffered to look into them. But to return to the *Ambrosian* Library, there is in it a Manuscript of great Antiquity, tho not of such great consequence, which is *Ruffinus's* Translation of *Josephus*, that is written in the old *Roman* hand, which is very hard to be read. But there is a Deed in the curious Collection that Count *Mascado* hath made at *Verona*, which by the date appears to have been written in *Theodosius's* time, which is the same sort of writing with the Manuscript of *Ruffinus*, so that it may be reckoned to have been writ in *Ruffinus* his own time, and this is the most valuable, tho the least known Curiosity in the whole Library.

I need not say any thing of the curious works  
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in Crystal that are to be seen in *Milan*; the greatest quantities that are in *Europe*, are found in the *Alps*, and are wrought here; but this is too well known to need any further enlargement. It is certain the *Alps* have much Wealth shut up in their Rocks, if the Inhabitants knew how to search for it: But I heard of no Mines that were wrought, except *Iron Mines*; yet by the colourings, that in many places the Fountains make, as they run along the Rocks, one sees cause to believe that there are Mines and Minerals shut up within them. *Gold* hath been often found in the River of *Arve*, that runs by *Geneva*.

The last Curiosity that I shall mention of the Town of *Milan* is the Cabinet of the *Chanoine Settala*, which is now in his Brothers hands, where there are a great many very valuable things both of Art and Nature: there is a lump of Ore, in which there is both *Gold* and *Silver* and *Emeralds*, and *Diamonds*, which was brought from *Peru*. There are many curious motions, where by an unseen Spring, a Ball, after it hath rowled down through many winding descents, is thrown up, and so it seems to be a perpetual motion, this is done in several forms, and it is well enough disguised to deceive the Vulgar. Many motions of little Animals that run about by Springs are also very pretty. There is a *Loadstone* of a vast force that carries a great Chain: There is also a monstrous Child that was lately born in the Hospital, which is preserved in Spirit of Wine: it is double below, it hath one breast and neck, two pair of ears, a vast

vast head and but one face. As for the Buildings in *Milan* they are big and substantial, but they have not much regular or beautiful Architecture: The Governours Palace hath some noble Apartments in it: The chief Palace of the Town is that of the *Homodei*, which was built by a Banker. There is one inconvenience in *Milan*, which throws down all the pleasure that one can find in it: they have no Glass-windows, so that one is either exposed to the Air, or shut up in a Dungeon: and this is so universal, that there is not one House of ten that hath Glass in their Windows: the same defect is in *Florence*, besides all the small Towns of *Italy*, which is an effect of their Poverty: For what by the oppression of their Government, what by the no less squeezing oppression of their Priests, who drain all the rest of their Wealth that is not eat up by the Prince, to enrich their Churches and Convents, the people are here reduced to a Poverty that cannot be easily believed by one that sees the Wealth that is in their Churches; and this is going on so constantly in *Milan*, that it is scarce accountable from whence so vast a Treasure can be found; but Purgatory is a Fond not easily exhausted. The Wealth of the *Milanefes* consists chiefly in their Silks, and that Trade falls so mightily by the vast Importations that the *East-India* Companies bring into *Europe*, that all *Italy* feels this very sensibly, and languishes extreamly by the great fall that is in the Silk-Trade: There is a great magnificence in *Milan*; the Nobility affect to make a noble appearance both in their Cloaths, their Coaches,

Coaches, and their Attendants; and the Women go abroad with more freedom here than in any Town of *Italy*. And thus I have told you all that hath hitherto occurred to me, that thought worth your knowledge. I am

Yours

*Postscript.*

In the account that I gave you of *Geneva*, I forgot to mention a very extraordinary person that is there, *Mistris Walkier*; her Father is of *Shaff-house*, she lost her sight when she was but a year old, by being too near a stove that was very hot: There rests in the upper part of her eye so much sight, that she distinguishes day from night: and when any person stands between her and the light, she will distinguish by the head and its dress a Man from a Woman, but when she turns down her eyes she sees nothing: she hath a vast Memory; besides the *French* that is her natural Language, she speaks both *High-Dutch*, *Italian* and *Latin*, she hath all the *Psalms* by heart in *French*, and many of them in *Dutch* and *Italian*: She understands the Old Philosophy well, and is now studying the New: She hath studied the Body of Divinity well, and hath the Texts of the Scriptures very ready: On all which Matters I had long conversations with her; she not only sings well, but she plays rarely on the *Organ*; and I was told she played on the *Violin*, but her *Violin* was out of order. But that which is most of all, is, she writes legibly: In order to her learning to write, her Father who is a worthy man, and hath such Tendernefs for her, that he furni-  
nisheth

lisheth her with Masters of all sorts, ordered Letters to be carved in Wood, and she by feeling the Characters formed such an Idea of them, that she writes with a Crayon so distinctly, that her writing can be well read, of which I have several Essaies. I saw her write, she doth it more nimbly than can be imagined; she hath a Machine that holds the paper, and keeps her always in line. But that which is above all the rest, she is a person of extraordinary Devotion, great resignation to the Will of God, and a profound humility: The Preceptor that the Father kept in the House with her, hath likewise a wonderful faculty of acquiring Tongues. When he came first to *Geneva* (for he is of *Zurich*) he spoke not a word of *French*, and within thirteen Months he Preacht in *French* correctly, and with a good accent: He also began to study *Italian* in the Month of *November*, and before the end of the following *February* he Preacht in *Italian*; his Accent was good, and his Stile florid, which was very extraordinary, for the *Italian* Language is not spoken in *Geneva*, tho' the race of the *Italians* do keep up still an *Italian* Church there.

# THE THIRD LETTER.

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*Florence, the 5th of November.*

I Have now another Month over my head since I writ last to you, and so I know you expect an Account of the most considerable things that have occurred to me since my last from *Milan*. Twenty Miles from *Milan* we pass through *Lodi* a miserable Garrison, tho' a Frontier Town; but indeed the Frontiers, both of the *Spaniards* and the *Venetians*, as well as those of the other Princes of *Italy*, shew that they are not very apprehensive of one another; and when one passes through those places, which are represented in History as places of great strength, capable of resisting a long Siege, he must acknowledge that the sight of them, brings the Idea that he had conceived of them, a great many degrees lower. For *Lombardy*, which was so long the seat of War could not stand out against a good Army now for so many days, as it did then for years. The Garrison of *Crema* which is the first of the *Venetian* Territory, is no better than that of *Lo-*  
*di*,

ti, only the People in the *Venetian* Dominion  
ive happier than under the *Spaniard*.

The Senate sends *Podesta's* much like the  
Bailiffs of the *Switzers*, who order the Ju-  
stice and the Civil Government of the Jurisdi-  
ction assigned them: There is also a Captain  
General who hath the Military Authority in his  
hands; and these two are checks upon one  
another, as the *Bassa's* and the *Cadi's* are  
among the *Turks*. But here in *Crema* the  
Town is so small that both these are in one per-  
son. We were there in the time of the Fair,  
Linnen Cloath and Cheese, (which tho' it goes  
by the name of *Parmesan*, is made chiefly in  
*Lodi*) are the main Ingredients of the Fair. The  
magnificence of the *Podesta* appeared very ex-  
traordinary, for he went through the Fair  
with a great Train of Coaches, all in his own  
Livery; and the two Coaches in which he and  
his Lady ride were both extraordinary rich: his  
was a huge Bed-Coach, all the outside black  
Velvet, and a mighty rich Gold Fringe, lined  
with black Damask, flowred with Gold.  
From *Crema* it is thirty Miles to *Brescia*,  
which is a great Town, and full of Trade  
and Wealth, here they make the best Barrils for  
Pistols and Muskets of all *Italy*: there are great  
Iron works near it: but the War with the  
*Turk* had occasioned an order that none might  
be sold without a permission from *Venice*:  
They are building a Noble Dom at *Brescia*: I  
was shewed a Nunery there, which is now under  
a great disgrace, some years ago a new Bishop  
coming thither, began with the Visitation of  
that

that Nunnery : he discovered two Vaults, by one, men came ordinarily into it : and by another the Nuns that were big went and lay in of Childbed : when he was examining the Nuns severely concerning those Vaults, some of them told him, that his own Priests did much worse : He shut up the Nuns, so that those who are Professed live still there, but none come to take the Vail : and by this means the house will soon come to an end : The Cittadel lies over the Town on a Rock, and commands it absolutely. Both here and in *Crema* the Towns have begun a Complement within these last ten or twelve years to their *Podesta's*, which is a matter of great Ornament to their Palaces, but will grow to a vast charge, for they erect Statues to their *Podesta's* : and this being once begun, must be carried on : otherwise those to whom the like honour is not done will resent it as a high affront, and the Revenges of the Noble *Venetians*, are dreadful things to their Subjects. This name of *Podesta* is very ancient, for in the Roman times, the chief Magistrates of the lesser Towns was called the *Potestas*, as appears by that of *Juvenal Fidenarum Gabiorumve esse potestas*.

From *Brescia* the beauty of *Lombardy* is a little interrupted, for as all the way from *Milan* to *Brescia* is as one Garden, so here on the one side we come under the Mountains, and we pass by the Lake of *Guarda*, which is forty miles long, and where it is broadest, is twenty Miles broad : The Miles indeed, all *Lombardy* over, are extream short, for I walkt often



four or five Miles in a walk, and I found a thousand paces made their common mile; but in *Tuscany* and the Kingdom of *Naples*, the mile is fifteen hundred paces. We pass through a great Heath for seven or eight miles on this side of *Verona*, which begins to be cultivated. *Verona* is a vast Town, and much of it well built; there are many Rich Churches in it: but there is so little Trade stirring, and so little Money going, that it is not easie here to change a Pistol, without taking their Coin of base alloy, which doth not pass out of the *Veronese*: for this seems a strange Maxim of the *Venetians*, to suffer those small States to retain still a Coin peculiar to them, which is extream inconvenient for Commerce. The known Antiquity of *Verona* is the Amphitheater, one of the least of all that the *Romans* built, but the best preserved, for tho' most of the great stones of the outside are pickt out: yet the great sloping Vault on which the rows of the seats are laid, is entire, the rows of the seats are also entire, they are forty rows, every row is a foot and half high, and as much in breadth, so that a man sits conveniently in them, under the feet of those of the higher row; and allowing every man a foot and a half, the whole *Amphitheater* can hold twenty three thousand Persons. In the Vaults: under the rows of seats were the stalls of the Beasts that were presented to entertain the Company: The thickness of the building, from the outward Wall to the lowest row of seats, is ninety foot: But this Noble remnant of Antiquity, is so often and so

copiously described that I will say no more of it. The next thing of value is the famous *Museum Calceolarium*, now in the Hands of the Count *Mascardo*, where there is a whole Apartment of Rooms all furnisht with Antiquities and Rarities: There are some old Inscriptions made by two Towns in *Africk*, to the honour of *M. Crassus*: There is a great Collection of Medals and Medaillons, and of the Roman Weights with their Instruments for their Sacrifices, there are many Curiosities of Nature, and a great Collection of Pictures, of which many are of *Paulo Veronese's* hand. There is a noble Garden in *Verona* that riseth up in Terrasses the whole height of a Hill, in which there are many Ancient Inscriptions, which belongs to Count *Giusto*. As we go from *Verona* to *Vincenza* which is thirty Miles, we return to the Beauty of *Lombardy*, for there is all the way as it were a Succession of Gardens, the ground is better cultivated here than I saw it any other Place of *Italy*: But the Wine is not good, for at the Roots of all their Trees they plant a Vine which grows up winding about the Tree to which it joyns; but the Soil is too Rich to produce a rich Wine, for that requires a dry ground: There is near the Lake of *Guarda* a very extraordinary Wine which they call *Vino Santo*, which drinks like the best sort of Canary, it is not made till Christmas, and from thence it carries the name of Holy Wine, and it is not to be drunk till Midsummer, for it is so long before it is quite wrought clear, but I have not  
marked

marked down how long it may be kept: we had it there for a Groat an *English* quart, I wondred that they did not Trade with it. All the Cattel of *Italy* are gray or white, and all their Hogs are black, except in the *Bolognese*, and there they are red. I will not inquire into the Reasons of these things: it is certain Hogs-Flesh in *Italy* is much better than it is in *France* and *England*, whether the Truffs on which they feed much in Winter, occasion this or not, I know not, the Husks of the pressed Grapes is also a mighty nourishment to them; but Cattel of that Grayish Colour are certainly weaker: The carriage of *Italy* is generally performed by them, and this is a very hard Work in *Lombardy* when it hath rained ever so little, for the ground being quite level, and there being no raised high-waies or Cause-waies, the Carts go deep, and are hardly drawn.

*Vincenza* hath still more of its Ancient liberty reserved than any of these Towns, as *Padua* hathless, for it delivered it self to the *Venetians*, whereas the other disputed long with it, and brought it often very low: one sees the Marks of liberty in *Vincenza* in the Riches of their Palaces and Churches, of which many are newly built: They have a Modern Theater made in imitation of the Ancient *Roman* Theaters. Count *Valarano's* Garden at the Port of *Verona*, is the finest thing of the Town, there is in it a very noble Alley of Oranges and Citrons, some as big as a mans body, but those are covered all the Winter long, for in this appears the sensible difference of

*Lombardy* from those parts of *Italy* that lye to the South of the *Apenins*, that here generally they keep their Oranges and Citrons in great boxes, as we do in *England*, that so they may be lodged in Winter, and defended from the breezes that blow sometimes so sharp from the *Alps*, that otherwise they would kill those delicate Plants: whereas in *Tuscany* they grow as other Trees in their Gardens, and in the Kingdom of *Naples* they grow wild without any care or cultivation. We were at *Vincenza* upon a Holy-day, and there I saw a preparation for a Proceſſion that was to be in the Afternoon: I did not wonder at what a *French* Papist ſaid to me, that he could hardly bear the Religion of *Italy*, the Idolatry in it was ſo groſs. The Statue of the Virgin was of Wood ſo finely painted that I thought the head was Wax, it was richly clad, and had a Crown on its Head, and was ſet full of Flowers: how they did when it was carried about I do not know; but in the morning all people run to it and ſaid their Prayers to it, and kiſſed the ground before it with all the appearances of Devotion.

From *Vincenza* is eighteen miles to *Padua* all like a Garden: here one ſees the decays of a vaſt City, which was once one of the biggeſt of all *Italy*; the compaſs is the ſame that it was, but there is much uninhabited ground in it, and Houſes there go almoſt for nothing, the Air is extream good, and there is ſo great a plenty of all things except Mony, that a little Mony goes a great Way. The Univerſity here

here, tho' so much supported by the *Venetians* that they pay fifty Professors, yet sinks extremely: there are no men of any great fame now in it: and the quarrels among the students have driven away most of the strangers that used to come and study here, for it is not safe to stir abroad here after Sun set: The number of the Palaces here is incredible, and tho' the Nobility of *Padua* is almost quite ruined, yet the beauty of their Ancient Palaces shews what they once were. The *Venetians* have been willing to let the ancient quarrels that were in all those conquered Cities continue still among them, for while one kills another, and the Children of the other take their revenges afterwards, both comes under the Bando by this means, and the Confiscation goes to the Senate. At some times of Grace when the Senate wants money, and offers a Pardon to all that will compound for it, the numbers of the guilty persons are incredible. In *Vincenza* and the Country that belongs to it, I was assured by *Monsieur Patin*, that learned Antiquary, that hath been many years a Professor in *Padua*, that there were five and thirty thousand pardoned at the last Grace; this I could hardly believe, but he bid me write it down upon his word. The Nobility of *Padua* and of the other Towns seem not to see what a profit their Quarrels bring to the *Venetians*, and how they eat out their Families: for one Family in the same mans time, who was alive while I was there, was reduced from fourteen thousand Ducats Revenue to less than three thousand, by its falling at several times

under the bando: But their jealousies and their Revenges are pursued by them with so much vigor, that when these are in their way, all other things are forgot by them. There is here the remnant of the Amphitheater, tho' nothing but the outward Wall stands: There is here, as well as in *Milan*, an inward Town, called the City, and an outward, without that, called the *Burgo*; but tho there is a Ditch about the City, the great Ditch and Wall goeth about all, and *Padua* is eight Miles in compass; it lies almost round: The publick Hall is the Noblest of *Italy*: The Dome is an Antient and Mean Building: But the Church of *St. Anthony*, especially the Holy Chappel in it where the Saint lies, is one of the best pieces of Modern Sculpture: for round the Chappel the chief Miracles in the Legend of that Saint are represented in *Mezzo Rilievo*, in a very surprizing Manner: The Devotion that is paid to this Saint, all *Lombardy* over, is amazing: he is called by way of excellence *il Santo*, and the Beggars generally ask Alms for his sake: But among the little Vows that hang without the Holy Chappel, there is one that is the highest pitch of Blasphemy that can be imagined, *Exaudis*, speaking of the Saint, *quos nos audit & ipse Deus*, he hears those whom God himself doth not hear. *St. Justina* is a Church so well ordered within, the Architecture is so beautiful, it is so well inlightned, and the *Cupulas* are so advantageously placed, that if the outside answered the inside, it would be one of the best Churches of *Italy*, but the Building is of Brick,  
and

and it hath no Frontispiece, there are many new Altars made as fine as they are Idolatrous, all full of Statues of Marble. This Abby hath a hundred thousand Ducats of Revenue, and so by its Wealth one may conclude that it belongs to the *Benedictine* Order. Cardinal *Barberigo* is Bishop here, he seems to set *St. Carlo* before him as his Pattern, he hath founded a Noble Seminary for the Secular Priests; he lives in a constant Discipline himself, and endeavours to reform his Clergy all he can; but he is now in ill Terms with his Canons, who are all Noble *Venetians*, and so allow themselves great liberties, of which they will not be willingly abridged: he is charitable to a high degree, and is in all Respects a very extraordinary man.

In the *Venetian* Territory their Subjects live ease and happy, if they could be so wise as to give over their Quarrels, but tho' the Taxes are not high, they oppress their Tenants so severely, that the Peasants live most miserably, yet on all hands round about them, the oppressions being more intollerable, they know not whither to go for ease, whereas on the contrary, the Miseries under which their Neighbours groan, chiefly those of the Ecclesiastical state, send in an increase of People among them, so that they are well stockt with People, but the *Venetians* are so jealous of their Subjects understanding Military matters, which may dispose them to revolt, that they never make any Levies among them for their Wars, this jealousy is the true ground of that Maxim, tho another is pretended that is more plausible, which is, their care of  
F 4. their

their own people, whom they study to preserve, and therefore they hire Strangers rather than expose their Subjects. It is certain a revolt here were no hard matter to effectuate, for the Garrisons and Fortifications are so slight, that those great Towns could easily shake off their yoke, if it were not for the Factions that still reign among them, by which one Party would chuse rather to expose the other to the rigor of the Inquisitors, than concur with them in asserting their Liberty, and the Inquisitors in such Cases proceed so secretly, and yet so effectually, that none dares trust another with a Secret of such consequence, and the oppressed Nobility of those States retain still so much of their old and unsubdued insolence, and treat such as are under them so cruelly, that the *Venetians* are as secure in those Conquests, as if they had many strong Cittadels and numerous Garrisons spread up and down among them. From *Padua* down to *Venice*, all along the River *Brent*, there are many Palaces of the Noble *Venetians* on both sides of the River, built with so great a variety of Architecture, that there is not one of them like another, there is also the like diversity in the laying out of their Gardens, and here they retire during the hot Months, and some allow themselves all the Excesses of dissolute liberty that can possibly be imagined. From *Lizza Fucina* which is at the mouth of the *Brent*, we pass for five or six Miles on the Lagunes or shallows to *Venice*, these shallows  
sink



sunk of late so much, that the preserving *Venice* still an Island, is like to become as great a charge to the *Venetians*, as the keeping out the Sea is to the *Dutch*; for they use all possible industry to cleanse the Channels of their Lagunes, and keep them full of water: and yet many think that the Water hath failed so much in this last Age, that if it continues to abate at the same rate, within an Age or two more *Venice* may become a part of the *Terra firma*. It is certainly the most surprizing sight in the whole World, to see so vast a City, scituated thus in the Sea and such a number of Islands so united together by Bridges brought to such a regular figure, the *Pilotty* supplying the want of Earth to Build on, and all so Nobly Built, which is of all the things that one can see the most amazing. And tho this Republick is much sunk from what it was, both by the great losses they have suffered in their Wars with the *Turks*, and by the great decay of Trade, yet there is an incredible Wealth, and a vast plenty of all things in this place. I will not offer to describe neither the Church nor the Palace of *S. Mark* which are too well known to need a long digression to be made for them, the Painting of the Walls and the roofs of the Halls, and publick Rooms in the Palace, are of vast value: Here I saw that Story of Pope *Alexander* the III. treading on the Neck of the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*. The nobleness of the Stair-cases, the riches of the Halls, and the beauty of the whole

building, are much prejudiced by the beastliness of those that walk along, and that leave their Marks behind them, as if this were rather a common House of Office, than so Noble a Palace: And the great Hall, where the whole Body of the Nobility meet, in the Great Council, hath nothing but the Roof and Walls that Answers to such an Assembly; for the Seats are liker the Benches of an Auditory of Scholars, than of so Glorious a Body. When the two sides of this Palace are built as the third, which is the most hid, it will be one of the gloriousst Palaces that the World can shew. The two sides that are most seen, the one facing the square of *St. Mark*, and the other the great Canale, are only of Brick, the third being all of Marble; but the War of *Candy* put a stop to the building. *St. Mark's* Church hath nothing to recommend it, but its great Antiquity, and the vast Riches of the building, it is dark and low, but the Pavement is so rich a Mosaick, and the whole Roof is also Mosaick; the outside, and inside, are of such excellent Marble, the frontispiece is adorned with so many Pillars of *Porphiry* and *Jasper*, and above all with the four Horses of *Corinthian* Brass, that *Tirridates* brought to *Tiberius*, which were carried afterwards to *Constantinople*, and were brought from thence to *Venice*, and in which the gilding is still very bright, that when all this is considered one doth no where see so much cost brought together. I did not see the Gospel of *St. Mark*,

*Mark*, which is one of the valuablest things of the Treasure; but they do not now open it to strangers, yet Doctor *Grandi*, a famous Physitian there, told me that, by a particular order, he was suffered to open it; he told me it was all writ in Capital Letters, but the Characters were so worn out, that tho he could discern the ends of some Letters, he could not see enough to help him to distinguish them or to know whether the *M. S.* was in *Greek* or *Latin*. I will not say one word of the Arsenal, for as I saw it in its worst State, the War that is now on foot having disfurnished a great deal of it, so it hath been often described, and it is known to be the Noblest Magazine, the best ordered, and of the greatest variety that is in the whole World: it's true it is all that this State hath, so that if the Magazines of other Princes, which lie spread up and down in the different places of their Dominions were gathered together, they would make a much greater shew. The Noblest Convent of *Venice* is that of the *Dominicans*, called *St. John*, and *St. Paul*, the Church, and Chappels are vastly Rich: There is one of *St. Luke's Madonna's* here as they pretend; the Dormitory is very great; the Room for the Library, and every thing in it, except the Books, is extream fine. But *St. George*, which is a Convent of the *Benedictines* in an Isle intirely possessed by them over against the *St. Marks* square, is much the richest: the Church is well contrived and well adorned: and not only the whole

whole Building is very magnificent, but which is more extraordinary at *Venice*, they have a large Garden, and noble Walks in it. The *Redemptore*, and the *Salute* are two Noble Churches that are the Effects of Vows that the Senate made when they were afflicted with the Plague, the latter is much the finer, it is to the Virgin, and the other is only to our Saviour: so naturally doth the Devotion of that Church carry it higher for the Mother than the Son: It is true, the *Salute* is later than the other, so no wonder if the Architecture, and the Riches exceed that which is more Ancient. The School of Saint *Rock*, and the Chappel, and Hall, are full of great pieces of Tintorets: a *Cena* of *Paulo Veronese* in the Refectory of St. *George*, and the Picture of St. *Peter* the Martyr of *Titians*, are the most celebrated pieces of *Venice*: Duke *Pesaro's* Tomb in the Frairy is the Noblest I ever saw. But if the Riches of all the Convents, and the Parish Churches of *Venice* amazed me, the Fronts especially, many of which are of white Marble, beautified with several Statues; the meanness of the Library of St. *Mark* did no less surprize me. There are in the Antichamber to it, Statues of vast value, and the whole Roof of the Library is composed of several pieces of the greatest Masters put in several Frames: but the Library hath nothing answerable to the Riches of the Case, for the *Greek* Manuscripts are all Modern, I turned over a great many, and saw none above five hundred years old:

I was indeed told that the last Library-keeper was accused for having conveyed away many of their Manuscripts; and that four years ago being clapt in Prison for this by the Inquisitors, he to prevent further severities, poisoned himself. I went to the Convent of the *Servi*, but I found Father *Paul* was not in such consideration there, as he is elsewhere: I asked for his Tomb, but they made no account of him, and seemed not to know where it was; it is true, the person to whom I was recommended was not in *Venice*, so perhaps they refined too much in this matter: I had great discourse with some at *Venice* concerning the Memorials out of which *F. Paul* drew his History, which are no doubt all preserved with great care in their Archives, and since the Transactions of the Council of *Trent*, as they are of great importance, so they are become now much controverted by the different relations that *F. Paul*, and Cardinal *Pallavicini* have given the World of that Matter; the only way to put an end to all disputes in matter of fact, is to Print the Originals themselves: A Person of great credit at *Venice* promised to me to do his utmost, to get that proposition set on foot, tho the great exactnes that the government there hath always affected as to the matter of their Archives, is held so sacred, that this made him apprehend they would not give way to any such search. The affinity of the matter brings into my mind a long conversation that I had with a person of great eminence at *Venice*,  
that

that as he was long at *Constantinople*, so was Learned far beyond what is to be met with in *Italy*, he told me he was at *Constantinople*, when the inquiry into the Doctrine of the *Greek Church* was set on foot, occasioned by the famous Dispute between Mr. *Arnaud* and Mr. *Claude*, he being a zealous *Roman Catholick* was dealt with to assist in that business; but being a Man of great honour and sincerity he excused himself, and said he could not meddle in it: He hath a very low and bad opinion of the *Greeks*, and he told me that none of their Priests were more inveterate Enemies to the Church of *Rome*, than those that were bred up at *Rome*; for they, to free themselves of the prejudices that their Countreymen are apt to conceive against them, because of their education among the *Latines*, do affect to shew an opposition to the *Latin Church* beyond any other *Greeks*. He told me that he knew the Ignorance and Corruption of the *Greeks* was such, that as they did not know the Doctrines of their own Church, so a very little money, or the hope of protection from any of the Ambassadors that come from the *West*, would prevail with them to sign any thing that could be desired of them: He added one thing, that tho' he firmly believed Transubstantiation himself, he did not think they believed it; let them say what they pleased themselves, he took his measures of the Doctrine of their Church, rather from what they did, than from what they said. For their Rites not being changed now for a great many Ages were

were the true Indications of the Doctrines received among them; whereas they were both ignorant of the tradition of their doctrine, and very apt to prevaricate when they saw advantages or protection set before them, therefore he concluded that since they did not adore the Sacrament after the Consecration, that was an evident sign that they did not believe the corporal presence, and was of a force well able to balance all their subscriptions: He told me he was often scandalized to see them open the bag in which the Sacrament was preserved, and shew it with no sort of respect, no more than when they shewed any Manuscript, and he looked on adoration as such a necessary consequent of Transubstantiation, that he could not imagine that the latter was received in a Church that did not practise the former. To this I will add what an eminent Catholick of *Paris* told me, he said the Originals of those Attestations were in too exact and too correct a stile to have been formed in *Greece*, he assured me they were penned at *Paris* by one that was a Master of the purity of the *Greek* Tongue. I do not name those persons, because they are yet alive, and this might be a prejudice to them. One of the chief Ornaments of *Venice* was the famous young Woman that spake five Tongues well, of which the *Latin* and *Greek* were two; she passed Doctor of Physick at *Padua* according to the ordinary forms; but which was beyond all, she was a person of such extraordinary vertue and piety, that she is

spo-

spoken of as a Saint, she died some months before I came to *Venice*: she was of the Noble Family of the *Cornara's*, tho not of the three chief Branches, which are Saint *Maurice*, Saint *Paul* and *Calle*, who are descended from the three Brothers of the renowned Queen of *Cyprus*, but the distinction of her Familie was *Piscopia*. Her extraordinary merit made all People unwilling to remember the blemish of her descent of the one side, for tho the *Cornara's* reckon themselves a size of Nobility beyond all the other Families of *Venice*, yet her Father having entertained a *Gondalier's* Daughter so long that he had some Children by her, at last for their sakes Married the Mother, and paid a considerable Fine to save the forfeiture of Nobility, which his Children must have undergone, by reason of the meanness of the Mothers birth. The *Cornara's* carry it so high, that many of the Daughters of that Family have made themselves Nuns, because they thought their own name was so Noble that they could not induce themselves to change it with any other; and when lately one of that Familie married the Heir of the *Sagredo*, which is also one of the Ancientest Families, that was extream Rich, and she had scarce any portion at all, for the *Cornara's* are now very low, some of their Friends came to wish them joy of so advantagious a match; but they very coldly rejected the Complement, and bid the others go and wish the *Sagredo* joy, since they thought the advantage was wholly of their side.

There



There are of the truly ancient Noble Families of *Venice* four and twenty yet remaining, and even among these there are twelve that are thought superior to the rest in Rank: Since the first formation of their Senate they have created many Senators. In their Wars with *Genua* they Conferred that honour on thirty Families; several of their Generals have had that honour given them as a Reward of their service: They have also offered this honour to some Royal Families; for both the Families of *Valois* and *Bourbon* were Nobles of *Venice*, and *Henry* the third, when he came through *Venice* from *Poland* to take possession of the Crown of *France*, went and sat among them, and drew his Ballot as a Noble *Venetian*: many Popes have procured this honour for their Nephews: Only the *Barberines* would have the *Venetians* offer it to them without their asking it, and the *Venetians* would not give it without the others asked it, and so it stuck at this. But during the War of *Candy*, Cardinal *Francis Barberin* gave twelve thousand Crowns a year towards the War, and the temper found for making them Noble *Venetians*, was, that the Queen Mother of *France*, moved the *Senate* to grant it. In all the Creations of Senators before the last War of *Candy*, they were free; and the considerations were either great services, or the great dignity of those on whom they bestowed this Honour. Those new Families are divided into those that are called *Ducal* Families, and those that were called simply new Fa-

Families, the reason of the former Designation is not rightly understood; but one that knew all that related to that Constitution particularly well, gave me a good account of it: That which naturally occurs as the reason of it, is, that all those Families that are called *Ducal*, have had the Dukedom in their House: But as all the old Families have had the same honour, though they carry not that Title, so some of the new Families have also had it, that yet are not called *Ducal*. Others say that those Families that have had Branches, who have been made Dukes, without their being first Procurators of *S. Mark*, or that have been chosen to that Honour, without their pretending to it, are called *Ducal*: But the true Account of this is, that from the year 1450. to the year 1620. for a hundred and seventy years there was a Combination made among those new Families to preserve the Dukedom still among them: For the Old Families carrying it high, and excluding the new Families from the chief Honours, nineteen of the new Families entred into mutual Engagements to exclude the ancient Nobility: It is true, they made the Dukedome sometimes fall on some of the new Families that were not of this Association; but this was more indifferent to them, as long as the ancient Families were shut out, and that it appeared they bore the chief sway in the Election. This Combination was a thing known to the very People, tho' the Inquisitors did all they could to break it, or at least to hide it, so that I never

never met with it in any of their Authors: but this failed in the year 1620. when *Memmo* was chosen Duke, who was descended of one of the ancient Nobility, which was so great a Mortification to the case *Ducale*, that one of them (*Venniero*) hanged himself, by the Rage to which that Disgrace drove him, yet this man came into the room in time before he was dead, and cut him down, and he lived long after that in a better mind. Since that time one of the *Bembo's*, two of the *Cornaro's*, and one of the *Contarini's*, and the present Prince of the *Justiniani*, the first of that Family that hath had that honour, have been Dukes, who are all of the Antient Families: So that this Faction is now so entirely buried, that it is not generally known, even in *Venice* it self, that it was ever amongst them: and thus Time and other Accidents bring about happy Events, which no Care nor Industry could produce: For that which all the Indeavours of the Inquisitors could not compass, was brought about of it self. It is true the Factions in *Venice*, tho violent enough in the Persons of those who manage them, yet are not derived by them as an Inheritance to their Posterity, as it was among the *Florentines*; who tho they value themselves as a size of Men much above the *Venetians*, whom they despise as a phlegmatick and dull race of People, yet shewed how little they understood, with all their vivacity, to conduct their State, since by their domestick Heats they lost their Liberty, which the *Venetians* have had the Wisdom still to pre-  
serve.

serve. This Faction of the *Casa Ducal* was perhaps willing to let the matter fall, for they lost more than they got by it: for the ancient Families in revenge set themselves against them, and excluded them from all the other advantageous Employments of the State: For the others being only united in that single point relating to the Dukedome, the ancient Families let them carry it, but in all other Competitions they set up always such Competitors against the Pretenders that were of the Ducal Families, that were much more esteemed than these were, so that they shut them out of all the best Offices of the Republick. Such a Faction as this was, if it had been still kept up, might in conclusion have proved fatal to their Liberty. It is indeed a wonder to see the dignity of the Duke so much courted, for he is only a Prisoner of State tied up to such Rules, so severely restrained and shut up as it were in an Apartment of the Palace of *St. Mark*, that it is not strange to see some of the greatest Families, in particular the *Cornara's* decline it. All the Family, if ever so numerous, must retire out of the Senate, when a Duke is chosen out of it, only one that is next to him of Kin sits still, but without a Vote: And the only real Privilege that the Duke hath, is, that he can of himself, without communicating with the *Savii*, propose Matters, either to the Council of ten, to the Senate, or to the great Council; whereas all other Propositions must be first offered to the *Savii*, and examined by them, who have a sort of Tribu-

nitian

tionian Power to reject what they dislike, and  
 tho' they cannot hinder the Duke to make a  
 Proposition, yet they can mortifie him when  
 he hath made it: They can hinder it to be  
 voted, and after it is voted they can suspend  
 the execution of it till it is examined over  
 again: And a Duke that is of an active Spirit  
 must resolve to indure many of these Afflictions,  
 and it is certain that the *Savii* do sometimes  
 affect to shew the greatness of their Autho-  
 rity, and exercise a sort of Tyranny in the  
 rejecting of Propositions when they intend to  
 humble those that make them. Yet the  
 greatest part of the best Families court this  
 Honour of Dukedom extreamly; when *Sagredo*  
 was upon the point of being chosen Duke,  
 there was so violent an outcry against it over  
 all *Venice*, because of the disgrace, that they  
 thought would come on the Republick, if  
 they had a Prince whose Nose had miscarried  
 in some unfortunate disorders, the Se-  
 nate complied so far with this Aversion  
 that the people testified, that tho' the Inquisi-  
 tors took care to hang or drown many of  
 the chief of the Mutineers, yet they let the  
 design for *Sagredo* fall: Upon which he was  
 so much disgusted, that he retired to a house  
 he had in the *Terra firma*, and never appeared  
 more at *Venice*: During which time of his  
 retirement, he writ two Books, the one *Me-  
 moirs Ottomaniche*, which is Printed, and he is  
 accounted the best of all their Modern Au-  
 thors: The other was *Memoires of the  
 Government, and History* [of *Venice*, which  
 hath

hath never been Printed; and some say it is too sincere, and too particular, so that it is thought it will be reserved among their Archives. It hath been a sort of Maxime now for some time not to chuse a married man to be Duke for the Coronation of a Dutches goes high, and hath cost above a hundred thousand Ducats. Some of the ancient Families have affected the Title of Prince, and have called their Branches Princes of the Blood, and tho the *Cornara's* have done this more than any other, yet others upon the account of some Principalities, that their Ancestors had in the Islands of the *Archipelago*, have also affected those vain Titles: But the Inquisitors have long ago obliged them to lay aside all those high Titles, and such of them as boast too much of their Blood, find the dislike which that brings on them very sensibly; for whensoever they pretend to any great Employments, they find themselves always excluded. When an Election of Ambassadors was proposed, or of any of the chief Offices, it was wont to be made in those terms, that the Council must chuse one of its Principal Members for such an Employment: But because this looked like a term of distinction among the Nobility, they changed it five and twenty years ago; and instead of Principal, they use now the term Honourable, which comprehends the whole body of their Nobility, without any distinction. It is at *Venice* in the Church, as well as in the State, that the Head of the Body hath a great Title, and

and particular honours done him, whereas in  
 the mean while this is a meer Pageantry, and  
 under these big words there is lodged only a  
 light shadow of Authority; for their Bishop has  
 the glorious Title of *Patriarch*, as well as the  
 Duke is called their Prince, and his serenity,  
 and hath his Name stamp't upon their Coin, so  
 the *Patriarch* with all this high Title hath really  
 no Authority: For not only Saint *Mark's*  
 Church is intirely exempted from his jurisdic-  
 tion, and is immediately subject to the Duke,  
 but his Authority is in all other things so subject  
 to the Senate, and so regulated by them, that  
 he hath no more power than they are pleased  
 to allow him: so that the Senate is as really  
 the Supream Governour over all persons, and  
 in all Causes, as the Kings of *England* have pre-  
 tended to be in their own Dominions since the  
 Reformation: But besides all this, the Clergy  
 of *Venice* have a very extraordinary sort of  
 Exemption, and are a sort of a Body like a  
 Presbytery independent of the Bishop: The  
 Curats are chosen by the Inhabitants of every  
 Parish, and this makes that no Noble *Vene-*  
*tian* is suffered to pretend to any Curacy, for  
 they think it below that dignity to suffer one  
 of their Body to engage in a Competition with  
 one of a lower Order, and to run the hazard of  
 being rejected. I was told the manner of those  
 Elections was the most scandalous thing possi-  
 ble, for the several Candidates appear on the  
 day of Election, and set out their own Merits,  
 and defame the other pretenders in the fowlest  
 Language, and in the most scurrilous manner  
 imaginable;

imaginable; the secrets of all their Lives are published in most reproachful Terms, and nothing is so abject and ridiculous that is not put in practice on those occasions, There is a sort of an Association among the Curates for judging of their common concerns, and some of the Laity of the several Parishes assist in those Courts, so that here is a real Presbytery. The great Libertinage that is so undecently practised by most sorts of people at *Venice*, extends it self to the Clergy to such a degree, that the Ignorance and Vice seem the only indelible Characters that they carry generally over all *Italy*, yet those appear here in a much more conspicuous manner than elsewhere, and upon these popular Elections all comes out. The Nuns of *Venice* have been under much scandal for a great while, there are some Monasteries that are as famous for their strictness and exactness to their Rules, as others are for the Liberties they take: chiefly those of *St. Zachary* and *Saint Laurence*, where none but noble *Venetians* are admitted, and where it is not so much as pretended that they have retired for devotion; but it is owned to be done meerly that they might not be too great a charge to their Family: They are not veiled, their Neck and Breast is bare, and they receive much Company: But that which I saw was in a publick Room, in which there were many Grills for several Parlors, so that the Conversation is very confused, for there being a different Company at every Grill, and the *Italians* speaking generally very loud, the noise of so many loud tal-



talkers is very disagreeable. The Nuns Talk much and very ungracefully, and allow themselves a Liberty in rallying that other places should not bear. About four years ago the Patriark intended to bring in a Reform into those Houses, but the Nuns of St. Laurence with whom he began, told him plainly they were Noble *Venetians* who had chosen that way of Life as more convenient for them, but they would not subject themselves to his Regulations, yet he came and would shut up their House, so they went and set fire to it; upon which the Senate interposed and ordered the Patriark to desist. There is no Christian State in the World, that hath expressed a Jealousie of Church-mens getting into the publick Councils so much as the *Venetians*, for as a Noble *Venetian* that goes into Orders, loses thereby his right of going to Vote in the great Council, so when any of them are promoted to be Cardinals, the whole Kindred and Family must during their Lives withdraw from the great Council, and are also incapable of all Employments: And by a Clause which they added when they received the Inquisition, which seemed of no great Consequence, they have made it to become a Court absolutely subject to them; for it being provided that the Inquisitors should do nothing but in the Presence of such as should be Deputed by the Senate to be the Witnesses of their Proceedings, those Deputies either will not come but

when they think fit, or will not stay longer than they are pleased with their Proceedings; so that either their absence or their withdrawing dissolves the Court: for a Cittance cannot be made, a Witness cannot be examined, nor the least point of Form carried on if the Deputies of the Senate are not present: and thus it is, tho there is a Court of Inquisition at *Venice*, yet there is scarce any Person brought into trouble by it, and there are many of the Protestant Religion that live there without any trouble: and tho there is a Congregation of them there that hath their Exercises of Religion very regularly, yet the Senate gives them no trouble. It is true, the Host not being carried about in Procession, but secretly by the Priests to the Sick, makes that this uneasie Discrimination of Protestant and Papist doth not offer it self here as in other places, for the straitness of the Streets, and the Chancels through which one must go almost every foot, makes that this could not be done in *Venice* as it is elsewhere, and from *Venice* this Rule is carried over their whole Territory tho the like Reason doth not hold in the *Terra Firma*. The *Venetians* are generally ignorant of the matters of Religion to a scandal and they are as unconcerned in them, as they are Strangers to them, so that all that vast Pomp in their Ceremonies and wealth in their Churches is affected rather as a point of Magnificence, or a matter of Emulation among Families, than that Superstition hath here such a power over the Spirits of the people as it hath

bath elsewhere: for the Atheism that is re-  
 ceived by many here, is the dullest and cour-  
 test thing that can be imagined. The young  
 Nobility are so generally corrupted in their  
 Morals, and so given up to a most supine igno-  
 rance of all sort of Knowledge, that a man  
 cannot easily imagine to what a height this is  
 grown, and for Military Courage there is  
 scarce so much as the Ambition of being  
 thought brave, remaining among the greater  
 part of them. It seemed to me a strange thing  
 to see the *Broglio* so full of graceful young  
 Senators and Nobles, when there was so glo-  
 rious a War on foot with the *Turks*, but  
 instead of being heated in point of Honour to  
 hazard their Lives, they rather think it an  
 extravagant piece of Folly for them to go and  
 hazard it when a little Money can hire Stran-  
 gers that do it on such easie Terms, and thus  
 their Arms are in the hands of Strangers, while  
 they stay at home managing their Intrigues in  
 the *Broglio*, and dissolving their Spirits among  
 their *Courtizans*. And the Reputation of  
 their Service is of late years so much sunk  
 that it is very strange to see so many come to  
 a Service so decryed, where there is so little  
 care had of the Souldiers, and so little regard  
 had to the Officers: The Arrears are so slowly  
 paid; and the Rewards are so scantily distribu-  
 ted, that if they do not change their Maxims  
 they may come to feel this very sensibly;  
 for as their Subjects are not acquainted with  
 Warlike Matters, so the Nobility have no  
 sort of Ambition that way, and strangers are

extreamly disgusted. It is chiefly to the conjuncture of Affairs that they owe their safety, for the feebleness of all their Neighbours, the *Turk*, the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, the Pope, and the Duke of *Mantua*, preserves them from the apprehension of an Invasion, and the Quarrels, and Degeneracy of their Subjects, save them from the fears of a Revolt, but a formidable Neighbour would put them hard to it. One great occasion of the Degeneracy of the *Italians*, and in particular of the *Venetian* Nobility, is a Maxim that hath been taken up for some considerable time, that for the preservation of their Families, it is fit that only one of a Family should marry, to which I will not add that it is generally believed that the Wife is in common to the whole Family: By this means the younger Brothers that have appointments for Life, and that have no Families that come from them, are not stirred up by any Ambition to signalize themselves or to make Families, and so they give way to all the Laziness of Luxury, and are quite enervated by it. Whereas the best Services done in other States flows from the necessities as well as the Aspirings of younger Brothers or their Families, whose Blood qualifies them to pretend, as well as their Pride and necessities push them on, to acquire first a Reputation, and then a fortune: But all this is a Mystery to the *Venetians*, who apprehend so much from the active Spirits of a necessitous Nobility, that to lay those to sleep, they encourage them in all those things that may

may blunt and depress their minds, and Youth naturally hates Letters as much as it loves Pleasure, when it is so far from being restrained, that it is rather pushed on to all the Licentiousness of unlimited disorders.

Yet I must add one thing, that tho *Venice* is the place in the whole World where Pleasure is most studied, and where the Youth have both the greatest Wealth, and the most leisure to pursue it: yet it is the place that I ever saw where true and innocent Pleasure is the least understood, in vvhich I will make a little Digression that perhaps will not be unpleasant, As for the Pleasures of Friendship or Marriage they are Strangers to them, for the horrible distrust, in which they all live, of one another, makes that it is very rare to find a Friend in *Italy*, but most of all in *Venice*: and tho vve have been told of several Stories of celebrated Friendships there, yet these are novv very rare. As for their Wives they are bred to so much ignorance, they converse so little, that they know nothing but the dull superstition on Holy-days in vvhich they stay in the Churches as long as they can, and so prolong the little Liberty they have of going abroad on those days as Children do their hours of Play: they are not imployed in their Domestick Affairs, and generally they understand no sort of Work, so that I was told that they vv ere the insipidest Creatures imaginable: they are perhaps as vicious as in other places, but it is among them down-

right lewdness, for they are drawn into it by the Intanglements of Amour that inveigle and lead many Persons much farther than they imagined or intended at first, but in them the first step without any preamble or preparative is down-right beastliness. And an *Italian* that knew the World well said upon this matter a very lively thing to me, he said their Jealousie made them restrain their Daughters, and their Wives so much, that they could have none of those Domestick entertainments of Wit, Conversation, and Friendship, that the *French* or *English* have at home. It is true those he said hazard a little the Honour of their Families by that Liberty but the *Italians* by their excessive Caution made that they had none of the true Delights of a married State; and notwithstanding all their uneasy Jealousie, they were still in danger of a contraband Nobility, therefore he thought they would do much better to hazard a little when it would produce a certain satisfaction, than to watch so anxiously, and thereby have an insipid Companions instead of a lively Friend, tho she might perhaps have some ill moments. As for their Houses they have nothing convenient at *Venice*, for the Architecture is almost all the same, one Stair-case, a Hall that runs along the body of the House, and Chambers on both hands, but there are no apartments, no Closets or Back-stairs; so that in Houses that are of an excessive wealth, they have yet no sort of convenience; Their Beadsteads are of Iron, because of the Vermin that

that their moisture produces, the bottoms are of boards, upon which they lay so many Quilts: that it is a huge step to get up to them, their great Chairs are all upright without a stop in the Back, hard in the bottom, and the Wood of the Arms is not covered: they mix water with their Wine in their Hogshheads, so that for above half the year the Wine is either dead or sower, they do not leaven their Bread, so that it is extream heavy, and the Oven is too much heated, so that the Crum is as Dough, when the Crust is as hard as a stone, in all Inns they boyl Meat first before it is Roasted, and thus as indeed they make it tender, so it is quite tasteless, and insipid: And as for their Land-carriage all *Lombardy* over it is extream inconvenient, for their Coaches are fastned to the perch, which makes them as uneasy as a Cart: It is true they begin to have at *Rome*, and *Naples*, Coaches that are fastned to a sort of double perch, that runs along the bottom of the Coach of both sides, which are so thin that they ply to the motion of the Coach, and are extream easie, but those are not known in *Lombardy*, and besides this their Caleshes are open, so that one is exposed to the Sun, and dust in Summer, and to the weather in Winter: But tho they are covered as ours are, on the other side of the *Appenine*, yet I saw none that were covered in *Lombardy*: and thus by an Enumeration of many of the innocent pleasures, and conveniencies of Life, it appears that the *Venetians* pursue so violently forbidden Pleasures, that they know not how to find

out that which is allowable. Their constant Practises in the *Broglio* is their chief business, where those that are necessitous are pursuing for employments of advantage, and those that are full of Wealth take a sort of Pleasure in crossing their Pretentions, and in imbroiling matters. The walk in which the Nobility tread is left to them, for no others dare walk among them, and they change the side of the Square of St. Mark as the Sun, and the Weather direct them. Perhaps a derivation that Mr. Pattin gave me of *Broglio* from the Greek *Peribolaion*, a little corrupted is not forced, and since they make all their Parties, and manage all their Intrigues in those Walks, I am apt to think that Broils, Brovillons and Imbroilments are all deriv'd from the Agitations that are managed in those Walks.

As for the last created Nobility of *Venice*, I came to know some particulars that I have not yet seen in any Books, which I suppose will not be unacceptable to you. It is certain, that if the *Venetians* could have foreseen at the beginning of the War of *Candy*, the vast expence in which the length of it engaged them, they would have abandoned the life, rather than have wasted their Treasure, and debased their Nobility. This last was extream sensible to them; for as the Dignity of the rank they hold is so much the more eminent as is restrained to a small number, so all the best employments and Honours of the State belonging to this Body, the admitting such a number into it, as must rise out of seventy eight



eight Families, was in effect the sharing their inheritance among so many adopted Brothers. This had been less infamous if they communicated that Honour only to the ancient Citizens of *Venice*, or to the Nobility of those States that they have subdued in the *Terra firma*; for as there are many Citizens who are as ancient as the Nobility, only their Ancestors not hapning to be of that Council that assumed the Government about four hundred years ago, they have not been raised to that Honour, so there had been no infamy in creating some of them to be of the Nobility. It had been also brought under consultation long ago, upon the reduction of those States in the *Terra firma*, whether it was not advisable according to the maxims of the ancient *Romans* to communicate that dignity to some of their chief Families, as being the surest way to give some contentment to those States, it being also a real as well as a cheap security, when the chief Families in those Cities, were admitted to a share in all the Honours of the Republick. It is true some of the Nobility of those States thought they had Honour enough by their birth, and so *Zambara* of *Brescia* refused to accept an Honour from those that had robbed his Country of its liberty, yet his posterity are now of another mind, for they came and bought in this last sale of honour that which was freely offered to their Ancestor, and was rejected by him. When the Senate found it self extreamly pressed for money during the

War it was at first proposed that some Families, to the number of five, might be enobled; they offering sixty thousand Ducats if they were *Venetians*, and seventy thousand if they were Strangers: There was but one Person that opposed this in the Senate so it being passed there, was presented to the great Council, and there it was like to have passed without any difficulty, but one Person opposed it with so much Vigour that though the Duke desired him to give over his opposition, since the necessities of the War required a great supply, yet he persisted still; and tho' one of the *Savii* set forth with tears the extremities to which the State was reduced, he still insisted and fell upon one conceit that turned the whole Council, he said they were not sure if five Persons could be found that would purchase that Honour at such a rate, and then it would be a vast disgrace, to expose the offer of Nobility first to Sale, and then to the affront of finding no Buyers when it was offered to be sold, and by this means he put by the resolution for that time: But then another method was taking that was more Honourable, and was of a more extended consequence. *Labia* was the first that presented a Petition to the great Council, setting forth his Merits towards the Republick, and desiring that he might be thought worthy to offer a hundred thousand Ducats towards the service of the State: this was understood to be the asking to be made noble at that price. *Desino* said, he thought every man might be well judged

ed worthy to offer such an assistance to the Publick, and that such as brought that supply might expect a suitable acknowledgment from the Senate, who might afterwards of their own accord bestow that Honour on those that expressed so much Zeal for the publick: and this would in some sort maintain that Degree which would be too much debased if it were thus bought and sold: but it seems the purchasers had no mind to part with their Money, and to leave the reward to the gratitude of the Council, so the Petition was granted in plain Terms: and the Nobility so acquired was not only to descend to the Children of him that was enobled, but to his Brothers and the whole Family to such a Degree. After *Labbia* a great many more came with the like Petitions, and it was not unpleasent to see in what Terms Merchants, that came to buy this Honour set forth their Merits, which were that they had taken care to furnish the Republick with such things as were necessary for its preservation. There was a sort of a *Triumvirat* formed of a *Jew*, a *Greek*, and an *Italian*, who were the Brokers: and found out the Merchants: and at last brought down the price from a hundred thousand to sixty thousand Ducats, and no other qualifications were required if they had Money enough: For when *Correge* said to the Duke that he was afraid to ask that Honour for want of Merit, the Duke asked him if he had a hundred thousand Ducats, and when the other answered the sum was ready, the Duke told him that was a great Merit.

At last seven or eight purchased this Honour to the great regret of *Labia*: who said that if he had imagined that so many would have followed him in that demand, he would have bid so high for it that it should have been out of their power to have done it. It is true, many of the Purchases were Ancient and Noble Families, but many others were not only Merchants, but were of the lowest sort of them: who as they had enriched themselves by Trade, did then impoverish themselves by the acquisition of an Honour that as it obliged them to give over their Trade, and put them in a higher way of living, so it hath not brought them yet in any advantage to Ballance that loss: for they are so much despised, that they are generally excluded when they compete with the ancient Nobility, tho' this is done with that discretion, that the old Families do not declare always against the new, for that would throw the new into a Faction against them, which might be a great prejudice to them, for the new are much more numerous than the old. Another great prejudice that the Republick feel by this great promotion, is that the chief Families of the Citizens of *Venice*, who had been long practised in the Affairs of State, and out of whom the Envoys, the Secretaries of State and the Chancellor that is the head of the Citizens, as well as the Duke is the head of the Nobility, are to be chosen, having purchased the chief Honour of the State there is not now a sufficient number of capable Citizens left for serving the State in those employments; but this defect will be redrest with the help of a little time.

But

but if this increase of the Nobility hath less-  
 ened the dignity of the ancient Families,  
 there is a regulation made in this age that still  
 preserves a considerable distinction of Autho-  
 rity in their hands. Crimes against the State,  
 when committed by any of the Nobility, were  
 alwaies judged by the Inquisitors, and the  
 Council of ten, but all other Crimes were judg-  
 ed by the Council of forty. But in the year  
 1624 one of the Nobles was accused of *Pecu-*  
*niate* Committed in one of their Governments,  
 and the *Avogadore* in the pleading as he set  
 forth his Crime, called him a Rogue and a Rob-  
 ber: yet tho his Crimes were manifest, there  
 being but six and twenty Judges present twelve  
 only Condemned him; and fourteen Acquitt-  
 ed him, this gave great offence, for tho he  
 was acquitted by his Judges, his Crimes were  
 evident, so that his fame could not be restored:  
 for the depositions of the Witnesses, and the  
*Avogadores* (or the Attorney Generals) charge  
 were heard by the People; so it was proposed  
 to make a difference betvven the Nobility and  
 the other Subjects; and since all Trials before  
 the forty vvere publick, and the Trials before  
 the ten vvere in secret, it seemed fit to remit  
 the Nobility to be tried by the ten: Some  
 foresawv that this would tend to a Tyranny,  
 and raise the dignity of the ancient Families,  
 of whom the Council of ten is alwaies com-  
 posed, too high: therefore they opposed it up-  
 on this ground, that since the Council of  
 forty sent out many orders to the Governors,  
 it would very very much lessen their Authority,  
 if

if they were not to be the Judges of those who were obliged to receive their Orders: but to qualify this Opposition, a Proviso was made that reserved to the Council of Forty, a power to judge of the Obedience that was given to their Orders, but all other Accusations of the Nobility were remitted to the Council of Ten: and the Body of the Nobility were so pleased with this distinction that was put between them and the other Subjects, that they did not see that this did really enslave them so much the more, and brought them under more danger: since those who judge in secret have a freer Scope to their Passions, than those whose Proceedings are publick, and so are in effect judged by the Publick, which is often a very effectual Restraint upon the Judges themselves. But the Council of Ten being generally in the Hands of the Great Families: whereas those of all sorts are of the Council of Forty, which was the chief Judicatory of the State, and is much ancients than that of Ten: it had been much more wisely done of them to have been still judged by the Forty: And if they had thought it for their Honour, to have a difference made in the way of judging the Nobility, and the other Subjects, it had been more for their Security to have brought their Trials to this, that whereas the Forty Judge all other Offenders with open Doors, the Nobility should be Judged the Doors being shut; which is a thing they very much desire now, but without any hope of ever obtaining it: For this Power of Judging the Nobility, is now considered

considered as the Right of the Ten, and if any Man would go about to change it, the Inquisitors would be perhaps very quick with him as a mover of Sedition; and be, in that case, both Judge, and Party; Yet the Inquisitors, being apprehensive of the distaste that this might breed in the Body of the Nobility, have made a sort of Regulation, tho' it doth not amount to much; which is that the Nobility shall be Judged before the Council of Ten for atrocious Cases, such as matters of State, the robbing the Publick, and other enormous Crimes; but that for all other matters they are to be Judged by the Forty: yet the Council of Ten draws all cases before them, and none dare dispute with them.

But this leads me to say a little to you of that part of this Constitution, which is so much censured by Strangers: but is really both the greatest glory, and the chief security of this Republick, which is the unlimited power of the Inquisitors, that extends not only to the Chief of the Nobility, but to the Duke himself, who is so subject to them, that they may not only give him severe reprimends, but a search his Papers, make his Process, and in conclusion put him to death without being bound to give an account of their proceedings, except to the Councell of Ten. This is the dread not only of all the Subjects, but of the whole Nobility, and of all that bear Office in the Republick, and makes the greatest among them trenable, and

so obligeth them to an exact conduct. But tho it is not to be denied that upon some occasions they may have been a little too sudden, particularly in the known story of *Foscari*, yet such unjustifiable severities have occurred so seldom, that as the wisdom of this body in making, and preserving such an institution, cannot be enough admired, so the dextrous conduct of those who manage this vast trust so as not to force the body to take it out of their hands, is likewise highly to be wondered at. In short the insolence, the factions, the revenges, the necessities and ambition that must needs possess a great many members of so vast a body as is the Nobility of *Venice*, must have thrown them often into many fatal convulsions, if it were not for the dread in which they all stand of this Court: which hath so many spies abroad, chiefly among the *Gondoliers*, who cannot fail to discover all the secret commerce of *Venice*: besides the secret advices that are thrown in at so many of these Lyons mouths that are in several places of *St. Mark's Palace*, within which there are boxes that are under the keys of the Inquisitors, so that it is scarce possible for a man to be long in any design against the State, and not be discovered by them. And when they find any in fault, they are so inexorable, and so quick as well as severe in the Justice, that the very fear of this is so effectual a restraint, that perhaps the long preservation of *Venice*, and of its liberty, is owing to this single piece of their constitution.



tion: and the Inquisitors are persons generally so distinguished for their merit who must be all of different Families; and their Authority lasts so short a while that the advantages of this vast Authority that is lodged with them are constant and visible; whereas the unhappy instances of their being imposed on, and carrying their suspicions too far, are so few, that when ever the Nobility grows weary of this yoke, and throws it off, one may reckon the Glory and Prosperity of Venice at an end. It was terribly attackt not long ago by Cornaro, when Jerom Cornaro was put to death for his correspondence with Spain; he was not near a kin to the great Family of that name, yet the Family thought their Honour was so much toucht when one of its remotest Branches was condemned of Treason, that they offered a hundred thousand Crowns to have saved him, and by consequence to have preserved the Family from that infamy; but tho this was not accepted, for he suffered as he well deserved, yet it was so visible that none of the Family were concerned in his Crimes, that it did not at all turn to his prejudice. But upon the first occasion that offerd it self after that, to quarrel with proceedings of the Inquisitors, they laid hold on it, and aggravated the matter extreamly, and moved for the limiting of their Authority, but the Great Council was wiser then to touch so sacred a part of the Government, so they retain their power very intire, but they manage it with

all possible caution; A Foreigner that has been many years in their Service told me the Stories with which Strangers were frightened at the Arbitrary power that was rested in the Inquisitors were sleight things, in comparison of the advantages that they found from it: and after eleven years spent in their Service, he said, he never was so much as once sent for to receive a reprimend from them. And the Nobility, that have any Commerce with Strangers, confess it sincerely to the Inquisitors, they are in no danger by it; but if they conceal it, or any main Circumstances of it, their Process will be seen dispatched. These are the most remarkable things that I could pick up, during my stay at *Venice*. I have avoided to say any thing relating to their several Councils, Officers, and Judicatories, or to the other parts of their Government, which are to be found in all Books; and the forms by which they give their Votes by ballot are so well known, that it were an abusing of your time to enlarge my self concerning them; nor was I sufficiently informed concerning the particulars of the Sale of the Nobility that now is on foot ~~since this~~ last War with the *Turks*, which hath made them willing to take up once again this easie way of raising Money: Nor could I give credit to that which a person of great Eminence there assured me that there was a Prisoner general in *Venice*, that had a Salary, and was employed by the Inquisitors to dispatch those against whom a publick proceeding would make to great a noise; this I could

not

I believe, tho my Author protested that  
the Brother of one that was solicited to accept  
the employment, discovered it to him. There  
is no place in the World where strangers live  
with more freedom, and I was amazed to see  
little exactness among the searchers of the  
custom-house: for though we had a Mullett-  
load of Trunks, and Portmangles, yet none of-  
fered to ask us, either coming or going, what  
we were, or what we carried with us. But the  
best and Noblest entertainment that *Venice*  
afforded while I was there, was the company  
of Mr. *de la Haye* the French Ambassador, who  
as he hath spent his whole life in publick Em-  
bassies, so he hath acquired so great a  
knowledge of the World, with so true a  
judgment, and so obliging a civility, that  
he may well pass for a pattern; and it is no  
wonder to see him still engaged in a constant  
succession of publick employments; and his  
Lady is so wonderful a person, that I pay  
them both, but a very small part of what  
I owe them in this acknowledgment, which  
I judge my self bound to make of their ex-  
traordinary civilities to me: and indeed  
without the advantage of such a rendezvous  
as I had there, a fortnights stay at *Venice*  
had been a very tedious matter: From *Ve-  
nice* we went again to *Padua*; From thence  
to *Rotigo*, which is but a small Town,  
and so to the *Po*, which divides the Ter-  
ritory of the Republick, from the *Fer-  
rarese*, which is now the Popes Country, and  
here one sees what a difference a good and a  
bad

bad Government makes in a Countrey ; for tho the Soil, is the same on both sides of the River, and the *Ferrarese* was once one of the beautifullest spots of all *Italy* , as *Ferrara* was one of its best Towns, while they had Princes of their own who for a course of some Ages were Princes of such Eminent vertue, and of so Heroical a Nobleness that they were really the Fathers of their Country , nothing can be imagined more changed than all this is now. The Soil is abandoned, and uncultivated, nor were there hands enough so much as to move their grass, which we saw withering in their Meadows to our no small wonder. We were amazed to see so rich a Soil thus forsaken of its Inhabitants, and much more when we passed through that vast Town, which by its extent shews what it was about an age ago, and is now so much deserted that there are vvhole sides of Streets vvithout Inhabitants, and the poverty of the place appears signally in the Churches, vvhich are mean and poorly adorned, for the Superstition of *Italy* is so ravenous, and makes such a progress in this Age, that one may justly take the measures of the Wealth of any place from the Churches. The Superstition or Vanity of this Age is so much beyond that of the past tho the contrary to this is commonly believed that all the vast buildings of great Churches or rich Convents, and the surprizing vvealth that appears in them on Festival days are the Donatives of the present Age ; so that it is a vulgar error that some have taken up, vvhose fancy that Superstition is at a stand, if not in a de-

ay, unless it be acknowledged that the  
ft of the Priests hath opened to them a new  
ethod to support their riches, when the old  
es of Purgatory, and Indulgences were be-  
me less effectual in an Age of more know-  
ge, and better enlightned, and that is to  
rage men to an emulation and a vanity in in-  
riching their Churches, as much as other  
ians have in the enriching their Palaces, so  
at as they have a pleasure as well as a vanity  
seeing so much dead wealth in their houses,  
they have translated the same humour to their  
churches: and the vanity of the present Age  
that believes little or nothing of those contri-  
vances, of Purgatory, or the like, produceth  
the same if not greater effects in the building  
and enriching their Churches, and so carries  
in expence and prodigality from the supersti-  
tion of the former Ages that believed every  
thing. But to return to *Ferrare*. I could not  
but ask all I saw how it came that so rich a soil  
was so strangely abandoned, some said the Air  
was become so unhealthy, that those who stay  
in it were very short-lived; but it is well known  
that fourscore years ago it was well peopled;  
and the ill Air is occasioned by the want of In-  
habitants, for there not being people to drain  
the ground and to keep the Ditches clean, this  
makes that there is a great deal of water lies  
on the ground and rots, which infects the Air  
in the same manner as is observed in that vast  
and rich but uninhabited Champaign of *Rome*,  
so that the ill Air is the effect rather than the  
cause of the dispeopling of the Popes Domi-  
nions

nions. The true cause is the severity of the Government, and the heavy Taxes, and frequent Confiscations by which the Nephews of several Popes, as they have devoured many of the Families of *Ferrara*, so they have driven away many more. And this appears more visibly by the different state as well as the Constitution of *Bologna*, which is full of people that abound in wealth, and as the soil is extream rich, so it is cultivated with all due care. For *Bologna* delivered it self to the Popedom upon a capitulation, by which there are many priviledges reserved to it: Crimes there are only punished in the persons of those who commit them, but there are no confiscations of Estates; and tho the Authority, in criminal matters belongs to the Pope, and is managed by a Legate and his Officers, yet the Civil Government, the Magistracy, and the power of Judicature in Civil matters, is intirely in the hands of the State: And by this regulation it is that as the riches of *Bologna* amazes a stranger, it neither being on a Navigable River, by which it is not capable of much Trade, nor being the center of a Sovereignty where a Court is kept; so the Taxes that the Popes fetch from thence are so considerable, that he draws much more from this place of liberty, then from those where his Authority is unlimited and absolute, but they are by those means almost quite abandoned: for the greatness of a Prince or State rising from the numbers of the Subjects, those maxims that retain the Subjects, and that draw

few strangers to come among them, are  
plainly the truest maxims for advancing the  
greatness of the Master. And I could not but  
with much scorn observe the folly of some  
Frenchmen, who made use of this argument  
to shew the greatness of their Nation, that  
they found many *French-men* in all places to  
which one could come, whereas there were  
no *English* nor *Dutch*, no *Switzers*, and  
very few *Germans*; but this is just contrary  
to the right consequence that ought to be  
drawn from this observation. It is certain  
that few leave their Country, and go to settle  
elsewhere, if they are not pressed with so  
much uneasiness at home that they cannot  
well live among their friends and kinred,  
that a mild Government drives out no  
strangers: whereas it is the sure mark of  
a severe Government that weakens it self,  
when many of the Subjects find it so  
hard to subsist at home, that they are for-  
ced to seek that abroad, which they would  
much rather do in their own Country, if im-  
positions, and other severities did not force  
them to change their habitations.

But to return to the wealth of *Bologna*,  
it appears in every corner of the Town, and  
all round it: tho its situation is not very fa-  
vourable, for it lies at the foot of the *Ap-  
penins* on the North side, and is extream cold  
in Winter. The houses are built as at *Padua*  
and *Bern*, so that one walks all the Town  
over covered under *Piazzas*; but the walks  
there are both higher and larger then any where  
else,

else: there are many Noble Palaces all over the Town, and the Churches and Convents are incredibly rich: within the Town the richest are the Dominicans, which is the chief house of the Order, where their Founders body is laid in one of the best Chappels of *Italy*: and next to them are the *Franciscans*, the *Servites*, the *Jesuites*, and the *Canons Regular of St. Salvator*. In this last there is a scrawl of the *Hebrew Bible*, which tho it is not the tenth part of the Bible, they fancy to be the whole Bible: and they were made believe by some *Jew*, that hath no doubt sold it at a high rate, that it was written by *Ezrah's* own hand, and this hath past long for current: but the Manuscript is only a fine Copy like those that the *Jews* use in their Synagogues, that may be perhaps three or four hundred years old: that part of it on which I cast my eye was the Book of *Esther*, so by the bulk of the scrawl, I judged it to be the Collection of those small books of the Old Testament that the *Jews* set after the Law; but those of the house fancy they have a great treasure in it, and perhaps such *Jews* as have seen it are willing to laugh at their ignorance, and to suffer them to go on in their error. The chief Church in the Town is *St. Petrones*, and there one sees the curious and exact Meridional-line, which that rare *Astronomer Cassini* laid along a great part of the pavement in a brass Circle: it marks the true point of mid-day from *June* to *January*, and is one of the best performances that perhaps the World



World ever saw. In the great Square before  
 the Church, on the one side of which is the  
 Regent's Palace, among other Statues one  
 surprized me much, it was Pope *Joan's*, which  
 so named by the People of the Town, it  
 true the Learned men say it is the Statue  
 Pope *Nicolas* the IV. who had indeed a  
 youthly and womanish Face, But as I looked  
 at this Statue very attentively, through a lit-  
 tle Prospect that I carried with me, it ap-  
 peared plainly to have the Face of a young  
 Woman, and was very unlike that of Pope  
*Nicolas* the IV. which is in *St. Maria Mag-*  
*giore* at *Rome*: For the Statue of that Pope,  
 though it hath no Beard, yet hath an age in it  
 that is very much different from the Statue at  
*Bologna*. I do not build any thing on this Sta-  
 tue, for I do not believe that Story at all, and  
 my self saw in *England* a Manuscript of *Mar-*  
*cus Polonus*, who is one of the ancient Au-  
 thors of this Matter, which did not seem  
 to be written long after the Author's time,  
 but this Story is not in the Text, but is  
 added on the Margin by another hand.  
 On the Hill above *Bologna*, stands the  
 Monastery of *St. Michael* in *Bosco*, which  
 hath a most charming Situation and Pro-  
 spect, and is one of the best Monasteries in  
*Italy*: it hath many Courts, and one that is  
 cloistered, and is Octangular: which is so nobly  
 painted in Fresco, that it is great pity to see such  
 work exposed to the Air: All was retouched  
 by the famous *Guido Reni*, yet it is now again

much decayed : The Dormitory is very Magnificent : the Chappel is little, but very fine, and the Stalls are richly carved. On the other side of *Bologna*, in the Bottom, the *Carthusians* have also a very rich Monastery : Four Miles from *Bologna*, there is a *Madona* of *St. Luke*, and because many go thither in great Devotion, there is a Portico, a Building, which is already carried on almost half way : it is walled towards the North, but stands on Pillars to the South, and is about twelve foot broad, and fifteen foot high, which is carried on very vigorously ; for in eight or ten years the half is built, so that in a little time, the whole will be very probably finished, and this may prove the beginning of many such like Portico's in *Italy* ; for things of this kind want only a beginning, and when they are once set on foot, they do quickly spread themselves in a Country that is so intirely subdued by Superstition and the Artifices of their Priests. In *Bologna* they reckon there are seventy thousand persons. I saw not one of the chief Glories of this place, the famous *Malapighi* was out of Town while I was there. I saw a Play there, but the Poetic was so bad, the Farces so rude, and all was so ill acted, that I was not a little amazed to see the Company express so great a satisfaction in that which would have been hiss'd off the Stage either in *England* or *France*. From *Bologna* we go eight Miles in a Plain, and then we ingage into that Range of Hills that carry the Name of *Apenins* ; though that is strictly given only  
to

one that is the highest : All the way to *Flo-*  
*rence* this Track of Hills continues, tho' there  
are several bottoms, and some considerable  
little Towns in them, but all is up-hill and  
down-hill, and *Florence* it self is just at the  
bottom of the last Hill. The High-ways all  
along these Hills are kept in so very good  
use, that in few of the best inhabited Coun-  
ties doth one find the High-ways so well main-  
tained as in those forsaken Mountains: but  
this is so great a Passage, that all that are con-  
cerned in it, find their Account in the expence  
they lay out upon it. On the last of these  
Hills, though in a little Bottom, in the midst  
of a Hill, stands *Pratolino*, one of the great  
Duke's Palaces, where the Retreat in Summer  
must be very agreeable; for the Air of those  
Mountains is extream thin and pure. The  
Gardens in *Italy* are made at a great Cost,  
the Statues and Fountains are very rich and  
noble, the Grounds are well laid out, and  
the Walks are long and even: But as they  
have no Gravel to give them those firm and  
beautiful Walks that we have in *England*, so  
the constant Greenness of the Box doth so  
much please them, that the preferring the  
sight to the Smell, have their Gardens so high-  
cented by Plots made with them, that there  
is no pleasure to walk in them; they also lay  
their Walks so between Hedges, that one is  
much confined in them. I saw first in a Gar-  
den at *Vincenza*, that which I found afterwards  
in many Gardens in *Italy*, which was extream  
convenient, there went a Course of Water round

about the Walls, about a foot from the ground in a Channel of Stone that went along the side of the Wall; and in this there were holes so made, that a pipe of white Iron or Wood put to them, conveyed the Water to such Plants, as in dry season, needed watering; and a Cock set the Water a running in this Course, so that without the trouble of carrying Water, one person could easily manage the watering of a great Garden. *Florence* is a beautiful and noble Town, full of great Palaces, rich Churches, and stately Convents. The Streets are paved in imitation of the old *Roman* Highways, with great Stone, bigger than our common Pavement-Stone, but much thicker, which are so hollowed in their Joynings to one another, that Horses find fastning enough to their Feet: There are many Statues and Fountains in the Streets, so that in every Corner one meets with many agreeable Objects. I will not entertain you with a Description of the great Duke's Palace and Gardens; or of the old Palace and the Gallery that joins to it, and of the vast Collection of Pictures, Statues, Cabinets, and other Curiosities that must needs amaze every one that sees them: the Plate, and in particular the Gold Plate, and the great Coach, are all such extraordinary things that they would require a very copious Description: if that had not been done so often, that it were to very little purpose to Copy what others have said: and these things are so exactly seen by every Traveller, that I can say nothing that is more particular of these sub-

subjects than you will find in the common Itineraries of all Travellers. The great Dome is a magnificent Building, but the Frontispiece to the great Gate is not yet made. The Cupolo, is after *S. Peter's*, the greatest and highest that I saw in *Italy*: it is three hundred foot high, and of a vast Compass, and the whole Architecture of this Fabrick is very singular, as well as regular. Only that which was intended to add to its Beauty, lessened it very much in my Thoughts: for the Walls that are all of Marble, being of white and black Marble laid in different Figures and Orders, looked too like a Livery, and had not that air of Nobleness which in my opinion becomes so glorious a Fabrick. The Baptistry that stands before it, was a Noble Heathen Temple: its Gates of Brass are the best of that sort that are in the World: There are so many Histories so well represented in bas Reliefs in them, with so much exactness, the work is so natural, and yet so fine, that a curious man may find entertainment for many days if he would examine the three Gates of this Temple with a critical exactness. The *Annunciata*, *S. Mark's*, *S. Croce*, and *S. Maria Novela*, are Churches of great Beauty and vast Riches: but the Church and Chappel of *S. Lawrence* exceeds them all as much in the Riches within, as it is inferior to them in the outside, which is quite flea'd, if I may so speak, but on design to give it a rich outside of Marble. In a Chappel within this Church the Bodies of the great Dukes lie deposited

till the famous Chappel is finished. But I was much scandalized to see Statues with Nudities here, which I do not remember to have seen any where else in Churches. I will not offer at a Description of the Glorious Chappel, which as it is without doubt the richest piece of Building that perhaps the World ever saw, so it goes on so slowly, that tho' there are always many at Work, yet it doth not seem to advance proportionably to the number of the Hands that are employed in it. Among the Statues that are to be in it, there is one of the Virgins made by *Michael Angelo*, which represents her Grief at the Passion of her Blessed Son, that hath the most Life in it, of all the Statues I ever saw. But the famous Library that belongs to this Convent took up more of my time than all the other Curiosities of *Florence*; for here is a Collection of many Manuscripts, most of them are *Greek*, that were gathered together by Pope *Clement* the VII. and given to his Country; and there are very many Printed Books mixed with them; and these Books that are there, are so rare, that they are almost as curious as Manuscripts. I saw some of *Virge's* Poems in old Capitals. There is a Manuscript in which some parts both of *Tacitus* and *Apuleius* are written, and in one place, one in a different Hand hath writ that he had compared those Manuscripts: and he adds a Date to this in *Olibrius's* time, which is about twelve hundred years ago. I found some Diphthongs in it cast into one Letter which surprized me, for I thought that way

way of writing them had not been so ancient; but that which pleased me most was that, the Library-keeper assured me that one had lately found the famous Epistle of St. *Chrysostome* to *Cesarius* in *Greek*, in the end of a Volume full of other things, and not among the Manuscripts of that Father's Books of which they have a great many. He thought he remembred well the place where the Book stood; so we turned over all the Books that stood near it; but I found it not: he promised to look it out for me if I came back that way. But I changing my design, and going back another way, could not see the bottom of this. It is true, the famous *Magliabecchi* who is the great Duke's Library-keeper, and is a person of most wonderful Civility, and full of Candor, as well as he is Learned beyond imagination, assured me that this could be no other than a Mistake of the Library-keepers: he said such a discovery could not have been made without making so much noise that he must have heard of it. He added, there was not one man in *Florence* that either understood *Greek*, or that examined Manuscripts, so that he assured me I could not build on what an ignorant Library-keeper had told me: So I set down this Matter as I found it, without building much on it. *Florence* is much sunk from what it was; for they do not reckon that there are above fifty thousand Souls in it: and the other States that were once great Republicks, such as *Siena* and *Pisa*, while they retained their Liberty, are now shrunk almost

into nothing: It is certain that all three together are now not so numerous, as any one of them was two hundred years ago. *Lombardy* is full of People: and all round *Florence* there are a great many Villages; but as one goes over *Tuscany*, it appears so dispeopled, that one cannot wonder to find a Country that hath been a Scene of so much action and so many Wars, now so forsaken, and so poor, that in many places the Soil is quite neglected for want of Hands to cultivate it: and in other places where there are more people, they look so poor, and their houses are such miserable Ruines, that it is scarce accountable how there should be so much Poverty in so rich a Country, which is all over full of Beggars, and here the stile of Begging was a little altered from what I found it in *Lombardy*: for whereas there they begged for the sake of *St. Anthony*, here all begged for the Souls that were in Purgatory, and this was the stile in all the other parts of *Italy* through which I passed. In short, the dispeopling of *Tuscany*, and most of the Principalities of *Italy*, but chiefly of the Pope's Dominions, which are more abandoned than any other part of *Italy*, seemed to flow from nothing but the severity of the Government and the great decay of Trade: for the greatest Trade of *Italy* being in Silk, the vast Importations of Silks that the *East-India* Companies bring into *Europe*, hath quite ruined all those that deal in this Manufacture: yet this is not the chief Cause of the dispeopling of those rich Countries: the



the severity of the Taxes is the true Reason : notwithstanding all that decay of Trade , the Taxes are still kept up. Besides this , the vast Wealth of the Convents , where the only people of *Italy* are to be found , that live not only at their Ease , but in great Plenty and Luxury , makes many forsake all sort of Industry , and seek for a recreation of those Seats of Pleasure ; so that the People do not increase fast enough to make a new Race to come instead of those whom a hard Government drives away. It must needs surprize an attentive Traveller to see not only the *Venetian* Territory ; which is indeed a rich Country , but the *Baliages* of the *Switzers* , and the Coast of *Genoa* , so full of People , when *Tuscany* , the Patrimony , and the Kingdom of *Naples* have so few Inhabitants. In the Coast of *Genua* there is for many Miles , as it were , a constant Tract of Towns and Villages , and all those are well peopled , though they have scarce any Soil at all , lying under the Mountains that are very barren , and that expose them to a most uneasy Sun ; and that they lie upon a boistrous Sea , that is almost always in a Storm , and that affords very few Fish : and yet the Gentleness of the Government draws such Multitudes thither , and those are so full of Wealth , that Money goes at two per Cent. But on the other hand to balance this a little , so strange and wild a Thing is the Nature of Man , at least of

*Italians*, that I was told that the worst People of all *Italy* are the *Genoeses*, and the most generally corrupted in their Morals, as to all sorts of Vice, so that though a severe Government, and Slavery are contrary to the Nature of man, and to human Society, to Justice and Equity; and to that essential equality that Nature hath made among men: yet on the other hand all men cannot bear that ease and liberty that becomes the human Nature. The Superstition of *Italy*, and the great waste of Wealth that one sees in their Churches, particularly those prodigious Masses of Plate with which their Altars are covered on Holidays, doth also sink their Trade extremely; for Silver, being in Commerce, what Blood is in the Body, when so much of that is dead, and circulates no more; it is no wonder if such an extravasation (If I may use so long and so hard a Word) of Silver, occasions a great deadness in Trade. I had almost forgot one Remark that I made in the last Hill of the *Apennins*, just above *Florence*, that I never saw such tall and big Cypresses any where as grew over all that Hill, which seemed a little strange, that Tree being apt to be starved by a cold Winter among us, and there the Winters are severe. All the way in *Tuscany* is very rugged, except on the Sides of the *Arne*. But the Uneasiness of the Road is much qualified by the great Care that is had of the High-ways, which are all in very good case: the Inns are wretched and ill furnished both for Lodging and Diet.

This

This is the Plague of all *Italy* when once one hath passed the *Appeniz*: for, except in the great Towns, one really suffers so much that way, that the pleasure of Travelling is much abated by the Inconvenience that one meets in every Stage through which he passes. I am,

S I R,

Yours,

THE

# THE FOURTH LETTER.

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*From Rome, the 8th. of December, 1685.*

I Am now in the last Stage of my Voyage over *Italy*; for since my last from *Florence*, I have not only got hither, but have been in *Naples*; and have now satisfied my Curiosity so fully, that I intend to leave this Place within a day or two, and go to *Croitavechia*; and from thence by Sea to *Marseilles*, and so avoid an unpleasant Winters Journey over the *Alps*. It is true, I lose the sight of *Turin*, *Genoa*, and some other Courts: but though I am told these deserve well the pains of the Journey, yet when one rises from a great Meal, no Delicacies, how much soever they might tempt him at another time, can provoke his Appetite: So I confess freely that the sight of *Naples* and *Rome* have so set my Stomach that way, that the Curiosity of seeing new Places, is now very low with me, and indeed these which I have of late seen, are such, that places which at another time would please me much, would now make but a slight and cold Impression.

All

All the way from *Florence*, through the Great Dukes Country looked so sad, that I concluded it must be the most dispeopled of all *Italy*, but indeed I changed my Note when I came into the Popes Territories at *Pont Centinno*, where there was a rich bottom all uncultivated, and not so much as stocked with Cattle : But as I passed from M. *Fiascone* to *Viterbo*, this appeared yet more amazing ; for a vast Champion Country lay almost quite deserted. And that wide Town, which is of so great a Compass, hath yet so few Inhabitants, and those look so Poor and Miserable, that the People in the ordinary Towns in *Scotland*, and in its worst Places make a better appearance. When I was within a days Journey of *Rome*, I fancied that the Neighbourhood of so great a City must mend the matter : but I was much disappointed, for a Soil that was so rich, and lay so sweetly that it far exceeded any thing I ever saw out of *Italy*, had neither Inhabitants in it, nor Cattel upon it, to the tenth part of what it could bear : The surprize that this gave me, encreased upon me as I went out of *Rome* on its other Side, chiefly all the way to *Naples*, and on the way to *Civita vecchia*, for that vast and rich Champian Country that runs all along to *Terracina*, which from *Civita vecchia* is a above a hundred Miles long, and is in many Places twelve or twenty Miles broad, is abandoned to such a Degree, that as far as ones Eye can carry one, there are often not so much as a House to be seen ; but on the Hills that are on the North side of this Valley, and by this dis-

dispeopling of the Country, the Air is now become so unwholesome, that it is not safe to be a night in it all the Summer long: for the Water that lyes upon many places not being drained, it rots: and in the Summer this produces so many noisome steams, that it is felt even in *Rome* itself; and if it were not for the breezes that come from the Mountains, the Air would be intollerable: When one sees all this large but waste Country from the Hill of *Marino* twelve miles beyond *Rome*, he cannot wonder enough at it. In a word it is the rigor of the Government that hath driven away the Inhabitants, and their being driven away hath now reduced it to such a pass, that it is hardly possible to repeople it: for such as would come to drain and cultivate it, must run a great hazard, and few can resolve on that, when they can hope for no other reward of their Industry, but an uneasy Government. It is the greatest Solicisms in Government for the Prince to be Elective, and yet Absolute, for an Hereditary Prince is induced to consider his posterity, and to maintain his people, so that those that come after him may still support the rank which they hold in the World: But an Elective Prince hath nothing of that in his eye unless he hath a pitch of generosity which is not ordinary among men, and least of all among *Italians*, who have a passion for their Families, which is not known in other places: and thus a Pope who comes in late to this dignity, which by consequence he cannot hope to hold long, doth very naturally turn

10

to those Councils, by which his Family may make all the haste they can during this Sunshine: And tho antiently the Cardinals were a check upon the Pope, and a sort of a Council without whom he could do nothing even in Temporals; yet now they have quite lost that; and they have no other share in affairs then that to which the Pope thinks fit to admit them, so that he is the most absolute Prince in *Europe*. It is true as to Spirituals they retain still a large share, so that in censures and definitions the Pope can do nothing regularly, without their concurrence; tho it is certain that they have not so good a Title to pretend to that as to a share in the Temporal Principality. For if the Pope derives any thing from *St. Peter*, all that, is singly in himself, and it is free to him to proceed by what method he things best; since the Infalibility, according to their pretensions, rests singly in him: Yet because there was not so much to be got by acting Arbitrary in those matters, and a Summary way of exercising this Authority, might have tempted the World to have inquired too much into the grounds on which it is built: Therefore the Popes have let the Cardinals retain still a share in this Supremacy over the Church, tho they have no claim to it, neither by any Divine nor Ecclesiastical warrants: But as for the endowments of the See of *Rome*, to which they may justly lay claim, as being in a manner the Chapter of that See; there is so much to be got by this, that the Popes have

ingrossed it wholly to themselves: and thus it is that the Government of this Principality is very unsteady. Sometimes the Popes Family are extreamly Glorious, and magnificent, at other times, they think of nothing but of Establishing their House: Sometimes the Pope is a Man of Sence himself; sometimes he is quite sunk, and as the last Pope was, he becomes a Child again through old Age. Sometimes he hath a particular Stiffness of Temper, with a great Slowness of Understanding, and an insatiable Desire of heaping up Wealth, which is the Character of him that now Reigns. By this Diversity which appears eminently in every new Pontificat that commonly avoids those excesses that made the former Reign odious, the Councils of the Popedom are weak and disjointed. But if this is sensible to all *Europe*, with relation to the general Concerns of that Body, it is much more visible in the Principality it self, that is subject to so variable a Head. There hath been in this Age a Succession of four ravenous Reigns, and tho there was a short interruption in the Reign of the *Rospiglosi*, that coming after the *Barberins*, the *Pamphili*, and the *Ghigis*, did not enrich it self: and yet it disordered the Revenue by the vast magnificence in which he reigned, more in twenty nine months time, then any other had done in so many Years. The *Altieri* did, in a most Scandalous manner raise themselves in a very short and despised Reign, and built one of the Noblest Palaces in Rome. He that reigns now does not in



indeed raise his Family avowedly, but he  
doth not ease the people of their Taxes; and  
as there is no magnificence in his Court, nor  
any publick buildings now carryed on at  
*Rome*, so the many vacant Caps, occasion  
many empty Palaces: and by this means there  
is so little expence now made at *Rome*, that  
it is not possible for the people to live and pay  
the Taxes, which hath driven as is believed  
almost a fourth part of the Inhabitants out  
of *Rome*, during this Pontificate. And as  
the preemption of the Corn makes that there  
is no profit made by the owners, out of the  
cultivation of the Soil, all that going wholly  
to the Pope, so there are no ways left  
here of imploying ones money to any con-  
siderable advantage: For the publick Banks,  
which are all in the Popes hand, do not pay  
in effect three *per cent.* tho they pretend to give  
four *per cent.* of interest: The settlement is  
indeed four *per cent.* and this was thought so  
great an Advantage, that Actions on the Popes  
Bank were bought at a Hundred and sixteen  
the hundred. But this Pope broke through  
all this, and declared he would give all  
men their money again, unless they would  
pay him thirty *per Cent.* for the continu-  
ing of this Interest; and thus for a Hun-  
dred Crowns Principal, one not only payed  
at first one Hundred sixteen: but afterwards  
thirty: In all one hundred six and forty for  
the Hundred, which is almost the half lost:  
For whensoever the Pope will pay them back  
their Money all the rest is lost: And while

I am here; there is a report that the Pope is treating with the *Genoefes* for money at two *per Cent.* and if he gets it on those Terms, then he will pay his debts: and the subjects that have put in money in this bank, will, by the means, lose six and forty *per Cent.* which is almost the half of their stock. A man of quality at *Rome*, and an eminent Church-man, who took me likewise for one of their Clergy, because I wore the habit of a Church-man, said that it was a horrible scandal to the whole Christian World, and made one doubt of the Truth of the Christian Religion, to see more oppression and cruelty in their Territory, than was to be found even in *Turky*; tho it being in the hands of Christs Vicar, one should expect to find there the pattern of a mild and gentle Government; and how, said he, can a man expect to find his Religion here, where the common maxims of Justice and Mercy were not so much as known: And I can never forget the lively reflection that a *Roman* Prince made to me upon the folly of all those severe Oppressions, which as they drive away the Inhabitants, so they reduce those that are left to such a degeneracy of Spirit by their necessities, that the *Spaniards*, whose Dominions look so big in the Map, are now brought so low: and if they had kept still the possession they once had of the *United Netherlands*, they would signifie no more towards their preservation, then their other Provinces did, which, by their unskilful conduct they have both dispeopled and exhausted.

trusted, : Whereas by their losing those se-  
 ven *Provinces*, those States have fallen up-  
 on such wise Notions of Government, and  
 have drawn so much Wealth, and such num-  
 bers of people together, that *Spain* it self was  
 now preserved by them, and was saved in this  
 age by the loss it made of those *Provinces* in  
 the last: and those States that if they had re-  
 mained subject to *Spain*, would have signi-  
 fied little to its support, did that now much  
 more considerably by being Allies, then they  
 could have done if they had not shaken off their  
 yoke.

Indeed if *Spain* had been so happy as to  
 have such Viceroy's and Governours, as it  
 has now in *Naples*, their affairs could not  
 have declined so fast as they have done. The  
 Marquess of *Carpi*, in his Youth intended to  
 have taken so severe a revenge of an inju-  
 ry that he thought the late King of *Spain* did  
 him in an Amour, that he designed the blow-  
 ing him up by Gun-powder, when he was in  
 the Council Chamber: but that Crime was  
 discovered in time: and was not only forgiven  
 him in consideration, of the greatness of his Fa-  
 mily, he being the Son of *Don Lewis de Haro*:  
 but after that he was made for several years Am-  
 bassador in *Rome*: He is now Viceroy of *Naples*,  
 and is the only Governor of all the places through  
 which I passed, that is, without exception be-  
 loved and esteemed by all sorts of People: for  
 during the few years of his Ministry, he hath  
 redressed such abuses that seemed past Cure,  
 and that required an Age to correct them:  
 He

He hath repressed the Insolence of the Spaniards so much at *Naples*, that the Natives have no occasion to complain of the haughtiness of their Masters: for he proceeds against the Spaniards with no less severity, when they give cause for it, then against the Neapolitans: He hath taken the pay of the Soldiers so immediately into his own Care, that they, who before his coming, were half Naked, and robbed such as passed on the Streets of *Naples* in Day-light, are now exactly paid, well Disciplined, and so decently clothed, that it is a Pleasure to see them: He examines their Musters also so exactly, that he is sure not to be cheated by false Lists: He hath brought the Markets and Weights of *Naples* to a true exactness: and whereas the Bread was generally too light, he has sent for Loaves out of the several places of the Markets and weighed them himself: and by some severe Punishments on those that sold the Bread too light, he hath brought this matter to a just Regulation: He hath also brought the Courts of Judicature, that were thought generally very corrupt, to Reputation again, and it is believed he hath Spies to watch in case the Trade of Bribes is found to be still going on: He hath fortified the Palace which was before his time, so much exposed, that it would have been no hard thing to have made a descent upon it: But the two things that raise his Reputation most, are his extirpating of the *Banditi*, and the Regulation of the Coin, which he hath taken in hand.

and. It is well enough known what a plague the *Banditi* have been to the Kingdom, or they going in Troops, not only robbed the Countrey, but were able to resist an ordinary Body of Souldiers if they had set on them: These travelled about seeking for spoil all the Summer long, but in Winter they are harboured by some of the *Neapolitan* Barons, who gave them quarters: and thereby did not only protect their own Lands, but had them as so many Instrumens ready to execute their revenges on their Enemies. This was well known at *Naples*; and there was a Council that had the Care of the reducing the *Banditi* committed to them, who as they caught some few, and hanged them, so they fined such Barons as gave them harbour, and it was believed that those Fines amounted to near a hundred and fifty thousand Crowns a year: And thus the disease went on; only now and then there was a little Blood let, which never went to the bottom of the Distemper. But when the present Viceroy entred upon the Government he resolved to extirpate all the *Banditi*, and he first let all the Barons understand that if they harboured them any more, a little Fire would not save them: but that he would proceed against them with the utmost severity, and by this means the *Banditi* could find no Winter Quarters: So they betook themselves to some fastnesses among the Hills, and resolved to make good the Passes, and to accommodate themselves the best they could amidst

amidst the Mountains. The Viceroy sent a great Body against them, but they defended themselves for some time vigorously, and in one Salley they killed five Hundred Men: but at last seeing that they were like to be hard prest; and that the Viceroy intended to come against them in Person, they accepted of the Terms that he offered them, which was a Pardon for what was past both as to Life and Gallies, and six pence a day for their entertainment in Prison during Life, or the Viceroy's Pleasure; and so they rendred themselves. They are kept in a large Prison, and now and then as he sees cause for it, he sends some few of them up and down to serve in Garrisons. And thus, beyond all Mens Expectation, he finished this matter in a very few Months; and the Kingdom of Naples that hath been so long a Scene of Pillage and Robbery, is now so much changed, that in no place of *Europe* do the Subjects enjoy a more entire Security. As for the Coin, it as all other *Spanish* Money is so subject to clipping, that the whole Money of *Naples* is now light, and far below the true Value, so the Viceroy hath resolved to redress this: he considers that the crying down of Money, that passeth upon the publick Credit, is a robbing of those, in whose Hands the Money happens to be when such Proclamations are put out, and therefore he takes a Method that is more general, in which every one will bear his share, so that none will be crushed by it. He hath laid some Taxes on the whole Kingdom, and  
hath

hath got a great many to bring in some Plate  
to be Coined: and when he hath thus prepared  
such a quantity, as may serve for the Circula-  
tion that is necessary, he intends to call in all  
the old Money, and to give out new Money  
for it. Thus doth this Viceroy set such a pat-  
tern to the other Ministers of the Crown of *Spain*  
that if many would follow it, the State of their  
Affairs would be soon altered.

The Kingdom of *Naples* is the richest part  
of all *Italy*, for the very Mountains that are near  
the half of the Soil, are fruitful, and produce  
either Wine or Oyl, in great abundance. *Apulia*  
is a great Corn Country, but it is excessive hot,  
and in some years all is burnt up. The *Jesuits* are  
the Proprietors of near the half of *Apulia*, and  
they treat their Tenants with the same rigour  
that the Barons of this Kingdom do generally  
use towards their Farmers: For the Commons  
there are so miserably oppressed, that in many  
places they dye of hunger even amidst the great  
plenty of their best years, for the Corn is ex-  
ported to *Spain*; but neither the *Spaniards*  
nor the *Neopolitans* understand Trade so well  
as to be their own Merchants or Carriers, so  
that the *English* do generally carry away the  
profit of this Trade. The Oyl of this King-  
dom is still a vast Trade, and the Manu-  
facture of the Wool and Soap of *England*,  
consumes yearly some thousands of Tuns. The  
Silk Trade is so low that it only serves them-  
selves, but the exportations is inconsiderable:  
the sloath and laziness of this people renders  
them incapable of making those advantages  
of

of so rich a Soil, that a more industrious sort of People would find out: For it amazes a Stranger to see in their little Towns, the whole men of the Town walking in the Market places in their torn Cloaks, and doing nothing; and though in some big Towns, such as *Capua*, there is but one Inn, yet even that is so miserable, that the best Room and Bed in it, is so bad, that our Foot-men in *England*, would make a grievous Out-cry if they were no better lodged: nor is there any thing to be had in them: the Wine is intolerable, the Bread ill baked, no Victuals, except Pigeons, and the Oil is rotten. In short, except one carries his whole Provision from *Rome* or *Naples*, he must resolve to endure a good deal of Misery in the four days journey that is between those two Places. And this is what a Traveller, that sees the Riches of the Soil, cannot comprehend: but as they have not Hands enough for their Soil, so those they have are generally so little employed, that it is no wonder to see their Soil produce so little, that in the midst of all that abundance that Nature hath set before them, they are one of the poorest Nations of *Europe*. But besides this which I have named, the vast and dead Wealth that is in the Hands of the Churchmen, is another evident Cause of their Misery. One that knew the State of this Kingdom well, assured me that if it were divided into five parts, upon a strict Survey, it would be found that the Churchmen had four parts of the five, which he made out thus, they have in Soil above the half of the

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the whole, which is two and a half : and in Tithes and Gifts and Legacies they have one and a half more ; for no-man dieth without leaving a considerable Legacy to some Church or some Convent. The wealth that one sees in the City of *Naples* alone, passeth imagination : there are four and twenty houses of the Order of the *Dominicans*, of both Sexes, and two and twenty of the *Franciscans*, seven of the *Jesuits* : besides the Convents, of the *Olivitanes*, the *Theatines*, the *Carmelites*, the *Benedictines* : and above all, for situation and riches, the *Carthusians* on the top of the Hill that lyeth over the Town. The riches of the *Annunciata* are prodigious : It is the greatest Hospital in the World, the Revenue is said to be Four hundred thousand Crowns a year : The number of the Sick is not so great as at *Milan* : Yet one convenience for their sick I observed in their Galleries, which was considerable, that every Bed stood in an Alcove, and had a Wall on both sides separating it from the Beds on both hands, and as much void space on both sides of the Bed, that the Bed it self took up but half the Room. The young Children that they maintain are so many, that one can hardly believe the numbers that they boast of : for they talk of many thousands that are not seen, but are at Nurse : A great part of the wealth of this house goeth to the enriching their Church, which will be all over within crusted with inlayings of lovely Marble, in a great variety and beauty of colours : The Plate that is in the *Treasury* here and

in the *Dome*, ( which is but a mean building, because it is ancient, but hath a Noble Chappel, and a vast Treasury ) and in a great many other Churches are so prodigious, that upon the modest estimate, the Plate of the Churches of *Naples* amounts to Eight Millions of Crowns. The new Church of the Jesuites, that of *St. John* the Apostle, and that of *St. Paul* are surprizing rich; the gilding and painting that is on the roofs of those Churches have cost millions: And as there are about a hundred Convents in *Naples*, so every one of these, if it were in another place, would be thought well worth seeing, tho the riches of the greater Convents here, make many of them to be less visited. Every year there is a new Governour of the *Annunciata*, who perhaps puts in his own Pocket twenty thousand Crowns; and to make some compensation when he goeth out of Office, he giveth a vast Piece of Plate to the House, a Statue for a Saint in Silver, or some Coloss of a Candlestick; for several of those pieces of plate are said to be worth ten thousand Crowns; and thus all the Silver of *Naples* becomes dead and useless: The Jesuits are great Merchants here; their Wine Cellar is a vast Vault, and holds above a thousand Hogsheads, and the best Wine of *Naples* is sold by them, yet they do not retail it out so scandalously as the *Minims* do, who live on the great square before the Viceroy's Palace, and sell out their Wine by retail: they pay no duty, and have extraordinary good Wine, and are in the best Place of the Town for this

retail. It is true, the *Neopolitans* are no great drinkers, so the profits of this Tavern are not so great as they would be in colder Countries: for here men go only in for a draught in the mornings, or when they are athirst. Yet the House groweth extream rich, and hath one of the finest Chappels that is in all *Naples*; but the Trade seems very unbecoming men of that Profession, and of so strict an Order. The Convents have a very particular priviledge in this Town; for they may buy all the houses that lye on either side, till the first street that discontinueth the Houses; and there being scarce a street in *Naples* in which there is not a Convent, by this means, they may come to buy in the whole Town: And the progress that the wealth of the Clergy makes in this Kingdom is so visible, that if there is not some stop put to it, within an Age they will make themselves Masters of the whole Kingdom: It is an amazing thing to see so profound an ignorance as reigns among the Clergy prevail so effectually, for tho all the Secular persons here speak of them with all possible scorn, yet they are the Masters of the Spirits of the people. The Women are infinitely superstitious, and give their husbands no rest, but as they draw from them great Presents to the Church. It is true, there are Societies of men at *Naples* of freer thoughts than can be found in any other place of *Italy*: The Greek Learning begins to flourish there, and the new Philosophy is much studied; and there is an Assembly that is held in D. Joseph

*Valleta's* Library (where there is a vast collection of well chosen Books) composed of men that have a right tast of true Learning and good Sense: they are ill looked on by the Clergy, and represented as a Set of Atheists, and as the Spawn of *Pomponatius* his School: But I found no such thing among them, for I had the Honour to meet twice or thrice with a considerable number of them, during the short stay that I made among them: There is a learned Lawyer, *Francisco Andria*, that is considered as one of the most inquisitive men of the Assembly: There is also a Grandchild of the Great *Alciat*, who is very curious as well as learned. Few Churchmen come in to this attempt for the reviving of Learning among them: On the contrary, it is plain that they dread it above all things. Only one Eminent Preacher *Rinaldi*, that is Archdeacon of *Capua*, associates himself with them: he was once of the Jesuite Order, but left it; and as that alone served to give a good Character of him to me, so upon a long conversation with him, I found a great many other things that possessed me with a high value for him. Some Physicians in *Naples* are brought under the scandal of Atheism; and it is certain, that in *Italy* men of searching Understandings, who have no other Idea of the Christian Religion, but that which they see received among them, are very naturally tempted to disbelieve it quite; for they believing it all alike in gross without distinction; and finding such notorious Cheats, as appear in many parts of their Religion, are

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upon that induced to disbelieve the whole. The Preachings of the Monks in *Naples* are terrible things. I saw a Jesuit go in a sort of a Procession, with a great Company about him, and calling upon all that he saw, to follow him to a place where a Mountebank was selling his Medicines, near whom he took his Room, and entertained the people with a sort of a Farce, till the Mountebank got him to give over; fearing lest his action should grow tedious, and disperse the Company that was brought together. There are no famous Preachers, nor men of any reputation for Learning among the Jesuites: I was told they had not men capable to teach their Schools, and that they were forced to hire strangers: The Order of the *Oratory* hath not that Reputation in *Italy*, that it hath gained in *France*, and the little Learning that is among the Clergy in *Naples*, is among some few Secular Priests.

The new method of *Molino's* doth so much prevail in *Naples*, that it is believed he hath above twenty thousand Followers in this City; And since this hath made some noise in the World, and yet is generally but little understood, I will give you some account of him: He is a *Spanish* Priest that seems to be but an ordinary Divine, and is certainly a very ill Reasoner when he undertakes to prove his Opinions: He hath writ a Book, which is intituled, *Il Guida Spirituale*, which is a short abstract of the Mystical Divinity; the substance of the whole is reduced to this, that in our Prayers and other Devotions, the best

methods are to retire the mind from all gross Images, and so to form an act of Faith, and thereby to Present our selves before God: and then to sink into a silence and cessation of new acts, and to let God act upon us, and so to follow his conduct: This way he prefers to the multiplication of many new acts, and different forms of devotion, and he makes small account of Corporal Austerities, and reduces all the Exercises of Religion to this simplicity of mind: He thinks this is not only to be proposed to such as live in Religious Houses, but even to Secular persons, and by this he hath proposed a great Reformation of mens Minds and Manners: He hath many Priests in *Italy*, but chiefly in *Naples*, that dispose those who confess themselves to them, to follow his Methods: The Jesuits have set themselves much against this Conduct, as foreseeing that it may much weaken the Empire that Superstition hath over the Minds of People, that it may make Religion become a more plain and simple thing, and may also open a door to Enthusiasms: they also pretend that his conduct is factious and seditious, that this may breed a Schism in the Church. And because he saith, in some places of his Book, that the mind may rise up to such a simplicity in its acts, that it may rise in some of its devotions to God immediately, without contemplating the Humanity of Christ, they have accused him, as intending to lay aside the Doctrine of Christ's Humanity, tho it is plain that he speaks only of the purity of some single acts:

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Upon all those heads they have set themselves much against *Molino's*; and they have also pretended that some of his Disciples have infused it into their Penitents, that they may go and communicate as they find themselves disposed, without going first to Confession, which they thought weakned much the yoke, by which the Priests subdue the Consciences of the People to their Conduct: Yet he was much supported both in the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*; he hath also many Friends and Followers at *Rome*. So the Jesuits, as a Provincial of the Order assured me, finding they could not ruin him by their own force, got a great King that is now extreemly in the Interests of their Order to interpose, and to represent to the Pope the danger of such Innovations. It is certain, the Pope understands the matter very little, and that he is possessed with a great opinion of *Molino's* sanctity, yet upon the Complaints of some Cardinals that seconded the zeal of that King, he and some of his Followers were clapt in the Inquisition, where they have been now for some Months, but still they are well used, which is believed to flow from the good opinion that the Pope hath of him, who saith still, that tho he may erre, yet he is certainly a good Man: Upon this imprisonment *Pasquin* said a pleasant thing, in one week one man had been condemned to the Gallies for some what he had said, another had been hanged for somewhat he had writ, and *Molinos* was clapt in Prison, whose Doctrine consisted chiefly in this, That

men ought to bring their minds to a State of inward quietness, from which the name of *Quietists* was given to all his Followers: The Pasquinade upon all this, was *si parliamo, in Galere, si scrivemmo Impiccati, si stiamo in quiete all Sant' Officio, eche bisogna fore*: If we speak we are sent to the Gallies, if we write we are hanged: if we stand quiet we are clapt up in the Inquisition: what must we do then? Yet his Followers at *Naples* are not daunted, but they believe he will come out of this Tryal victorious.

The City of *Naples* as it is the best situated, and in the best Climate, so it is one of the Noblest Cities of *Europe*, and if it is not above half as big as *Paris* or *London*, yet it hath much more beauty than either of them: the streets are large and broad, the Pavement is Great and Noble, the Stones being generally above a foot square: and it is full of Palaces and great Buildings: The Town is well supplied by daily Markets, so that Provisions are ever fresh and in great plenty, the Wine is the best of *Europe*, and both the Fish and Flesh is extream good: It is scarce ever cold in Winter, and there is a fresh Air comes both from the Sea and the Mountains in Summer. The Viceroy's Palace is no extraordinary Building, only the Stair-case is great: But it is now very richly furnished within, in Pictures and Statues: There are in it some Statues of the *Egyptian* Deities of *Toughstone*, that are of great Value: There are no great Antiquities here, only there is an ancient



ancient *Roman Portico* that is very Noble, before *Saint Paul's Church*: But without the City near the Church and Hospital of *St. Gennaro*, that is without the Gates, are the Noble *Catacombs*: which because they were beyond any thing I saw in *Italy*, and to which the *Catacombs* of *Rome* are not to be compared, and since I do not find any account of them, in all the Books that I have yet seen concerning *Naples*, I shall describe them more particularly.

They are vast and long Galleries cut out of the Rock: There are three Stories of them one above another. I was in two of them, but the Rock is fallen in the lowest, so that one cannot go into it, but I saw the passage to it: These Galleries are generally about Twenty foot broad, and about Fifteen foot high: so that they are Noble and spacious places, and not little and narrow as the *Catacombs* at *Rome*, which are only Three or Four foot broad, and Five or Six foot high. I was made believe that these *Catacombs* of *Naples*, went into the Rock nine Mile long; but for that I have it only by report: yet if that be true, they may perhaps run towards *Puzzolo*, and so they may have been the burial places of the Towns on that Bay; but of this I have no certainty. I walked indeed a great way, and found Galleries going off in all hands without end, and whereas in the *Roman Catacombs* there are not above three or four rows of niches  
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that

that are cut out in the Rock one over another, into which the dead bodies were laid; Here there are generally six or seven Rows of those Niches, and they are both larger and higher: some Niches are for Childrens Bodies, and in many places there are in the Floors, as it were great Chests hewn out of the Rock, to lay the Bones of the dead, as they dried, in them; but I could see no marks either of a Cover for these Holes that looked like the bellies of Chests, or of a Facing to shut up the Niches when a dead body was laid in them; so that it seems they were monstrous unwholesome and stinking places, where some thousands of Bodies lay rotting, without any thing to shut in so loathsome a sight, and so odious a smell: For the Niches shew plainly that the Bodies were laid in them only wrapt in the dead Cloaths, they being too low for Coffins. In some places of the Rock there is as it were a little Chappel hewn out in the Rock, that goes off from the common Gallery, and there are Niches all round about; but I saw no marks of any Wall that shut in such places, tho I am apt to think these might be burying places appropriated to particular Families. There is in some places on the Walls an Arch, Old Mosaick work, and some Painting, the Colours are fresh, and the manner and Characters are *Gothick*, which made me conclude that this might have been done by the *Normans* about six hundred years ago, after they drive out the *Saracens*: In some places there are Palm-Trees painted,  
and

and Vines in other places. The freshness of the Colours shews these could not have been done while this place was imployed for burying, for the steams and rottenness of the air, occasioned by so much corruption, must have dissolved both Plaister and Colours. In one place there is a man painted with a little Beard, and *Paulus* is written by his Head: there is another reaching him a Garland, and by his head *Land* is written, and this is repeated in another place right over against it. In another place I found a Cross painted, and about the upper part of it these Letters J. C. X. O. and in the lower part N J K A are painted: A learned Antiquary that went with me, agreed with me that the manner of the Painting and Characters did not seem to be above six hundred years old: but neither of us knew what to make of these Letters: The lower seemed to relate to the last word of the Vision, which it is said that *Constantine* saw with the Cross that appeared to him: But tho' the first two Letters might be for Jesus, it being ordinary in old Coins and Inscriptions to put a C. for an S. and X. stands for Christ, yet we knew not what to make of the O, unless it were for the Greek *Theta*, and that the little line in the bosome of the *Theta* was worn out, and then it stands for *Theos*; and thus the whole Inscription is, Jesus Christ God overcometh. Another Picture in the Wall had written over it *Sta. Johannes*, which was a clear sign of a barbarous Age. In another place there is a Picture high in the Wall, and three

three Pictures under it, that at top had no Inscription; those below it had these Inscriptions *Sta. Katharina*, *Sta. Agape*, and *Sta. Margarita*, these Letters are clearly modern, besides that *Margaret* and *Katherine* are modern names: and the addition of *ta* a little above the *S*. were manifest Evidences that the highest Antiquity that can be ascribed to this Painting is six hundred years. I saw no more Painting, and I began to grow weary of the darkness, and the thick Air of the place, so I stayed not above an hour in the *Catacombs*. This made me reflect more particularly on the *Catacombs* of *Rome* than I had done. I could imagine no Reason why so little mention is made of those of *Naples*, when there is so much said concerning those of *Rome*; and could give myself no other account of the matter, but that it being a Maxime to keep up the Reputation, of the *Roman Catacombs*, as the Repositories of the Reliques of the primitive Christians, it would have much lessened their Credit, if it had been thought that there were *Catacombs* far beyond them in all respects, that yet cannot be supposed to have been the work of the primitive Christians, and indeed nothing seems more evident than that these were the common burying places of the ancient Heathens. One enters into them without the Walls of the Towns, according to the Laws of the twelve Tables, and such are the *Catacombs* of *Rome* that I saw, which were those of *S. Agnes* and *S. Sebastian*, the entry into them being without the Town; this answers the Law, tho in effect they run under it,  
for

for in those days when they had not the use of the Needle, they could not know which way they carried on those works when they were once so far engaged under ground as to lose themselves. It is a vain imagination to think that the Christians, in the Primitive times, were able to carry on such a work; for as this prodigious digging into such Rocks, must have been a very visible thing by the Mountains of Rubbish that must have been brought out, and by the vast number of hands that must have been employed in it; so it is absurd to think that they could hold their Assemblies amidst the annoyance of so much corruption. I found the steams so strong, that tho I am as little subject to vapours as most men, yet I had all the day long after I was in them, which was not near an hour, a confusion, and as it were a boiling in my head, that disordred me extreamly; and if there is now so much stagnating Air there, this must have been sensible in a more eminent and insufferable manner while there were vast numbers of Bodies rotting in those niches. But besides this improbability that presents it self from the nature of the thing, I called to mind a passage of a Letter of *Cornelius* that was Bishop of *Rome*, after the middle of the third Century, which is preserved by *Ensebins* in his sixth Book, Chapter 43. in which we have the State of the Church of *Rome* at that time set forth. There were forty six *Presbyters*, seven *Deacons*, as many *Sub-deacons*, and ninety four of the Inferior Orders of the Clergy among them: there were also

also fifteen hundred Widows, and other poor maintained out of the Publick Charities. It may be reasonably supposed that the numbers of the Christians were as great when this Epistle was writ, as they were at any time before *Constantine's* dayes; for as this was writ at the end of that long peace, of which both *S. Cyprian* and *Lactantius* speak, that had continued above a hundred years; so after this time there was such a Succession of Persecutions that came so thick one upon another, after short intervals of quiet, that we cannot think the numbers of the Christians increased much beyond what they were at this time. Now there are two particulars in this State of the Clergy, upon which one may make a probable estimate of the numbers of the Christians: The one is their Poor, which were but fifteen hundred; now upon an exact survey, it will be found that where the Poor are well looked to, their number rises generally to be the thirtieth or fortieth part of Mankind: and this may be well believed to be the proportion of the Poor among the Christians of that Age: For as their Charitie was so vigorous and tender, so we find *Celsus*, *Julian*, *Lucian*, *Porphyry*, and others, object this to the Christians of that time, that their Charities to the Poor drew vast numbers of the lower sort among them, who made themselves Christians that they might be supplied by their Brethren: So that this being the State of the Christians, then we may reckon the Poor the thirtieth part, and so fifteen hundred multiplied by thirty,

thirty, produce five and forty thousand: And I am the more inclined to think that this rises up near to the full sum of their Numbers, by the other Character of the Numbers of the Clergy, for as there were forty six *Presbyters*, so there were ninety four of the inferior Orders, who were by two more than the double of the number of the Priests: and this was in a time in which the care of Souls was more exactly looked after, than it has been in the more corrupted Ages; the Clergy having then really more work on their hands, the instructing of their *Catechumens*, the visiting their Sick, and the supporting and comforting the weak, being tasks that required so much application, that in so vast a City as *Rome* was in those dayes, in which it is probable the Christians were scattered over the City, and mixed in all the parts of it, we make a Conjecture that is not ill grounded, when we reckon that every *Presbyter* had perhaps about a thousand Souls committed to his care, so this rises to six and forty thousand: which comes very near the sum that may be gathered from the other hint, taken from the Number of their Poor. So that about fifty thousand is the highest account to which we can reasonably raise the Numbers of the Christians of *Rome* in that time: And of so many Persons, the old, the young, and the women, make more than three fourth parts, so that men that were in condition to work were not above twelve thousand: and by consequence, they were in no condition to undertake and carry on so vast a work.

If *Cornelius* in that Letter speaks of the numbers of the Christians in excessive Terms, and if *Tertullian* in his *Apolegetic* hath also set out the numbers of the Christians of his Time, in a very high strain, that is only to be ascribed to a pompous Eloquence, which disposeth People to magnifie their own Party, and we must allow a great deal to a Hyperbole that is very natural to all that set forth their Forces in general terms. It is true, it is not so clear when those vast cavities were dug out of the rocks. We know that when the Laws of the twelve Tables were made, sepulture was then in use: and *Rome* being then grown to a vast bigness no doubt they had Repositories for their dead: so that since none of the *Roman* Authors mention any such work, it may not be unreasonable to imagine that these Vaults had been wrought and cut out from the first beginnings of the City, and so the latter Authors had no occasion to take notice of it. It is also certain, that tho burning came to be in use among the *Romans*, yet they returned back to their first Custom of burying bodies long before *Constantine's* time, so that it was not the Christian Religion that produced this Change. All our Modern writers take it for granted, that the change was made in the times of the *Antonines*: yet there being no Law made concerning it, and no mention being made in an Age full of Writers, of any Orders that were given for burying places, *Velferus's* opinion seems more probable, that the Custom of burning wore out by degrees,



degrees, and since we are sure that they once buried, it is more natural to think that the slaves and the meaner sort of the people were still buried; that being a less expenceful and a more simple way of bestowing their bodies than burning, which was both pompous and chargeable, and if there were already burying places prepared, it is much easier to imagine, how the Custom of Burying grew Universal, without any Law made concerning it.

I could not for some time find out upon what grounds the Modern Criticks take it for granted, That Burying began in the times of the *Antonines*: till I had the happiness to talk of this matter with the Learned *Gronovius*, who seems to be such a Master of all the Ancient Learning, as if he had the Authors lying always open before him: he told me that it was certain the change from burning to burying was not made by the Christian Emperours, for *Macrobius* (lib. 7. cap. 7.) says in plain terms, that the Custom of Burning the bodies of the Dead was quite worn out in that Age: which is a clear intimation, that it was not laid aside so late as by *Constantine*, and as there was no Law made by him on that head, so he and the succeeding Emperours gave such an entire tolleration to *Paganisme*, admitting those of that Religion to the greatest Employments, that it is not to be imagined, that there was any order given against burning; so that it is clear, the *Heathens* had changed it of their own accord: otherways we should have found that among the Complaints

plaints that they made of the grievances under which they lay from the Christians. But it is more difficult to fix the time when this change was made, *Gronovius* shewed me a passage of *Phlegon's* that mentions the bodies that were laid in the ground, yet he did not build on that, for it may have relation to the Customs of burying that might be elsewhere. And so *Petronius* gives the account of the burial of the *Ephesian* Matron's Husband : but he made it apparent to me, that burying was commonly practised in *Commodus's* time, for *Xiphilinus* tells us that in *Pertinax's* time the friends of those whom *Commodus* had ordered to be put to death had dug up their Bodies, some bringing out only some parts of them, and others raising their intire Bodies. The same Author also tells us, that *Pertinax* buried *Commodus's* body, and so saved it from the rage of the people, and here is a positive Evidence that burying was the common practice of that time. It is true, it is very probable that as we see some of the *Roman* Families continued to bury their Dead, even when burning was the more common Custome, so perhaps others continued after this to bury their Dead, the thing being indifferent, and no Law being made about it, and therefore it was particularly objected to the Christians after this time, that they abhorred the Custome of burning the bodies of the dead, which is mentioned by *Minutius Felix* ; but this, or any other Evidences, that may be brought from Meddals of Consecrations after this time, will only

only prove, that some were still burnt, and that the Christians practised burying Universally, as expressing their Belief of the Resurrection; whereas the *Heathens* held the thing indifferent. It is also clear from the many genuine Inscriptions that have been found in the *Catacombs*, which bear the dates of the Consuls, that these were the common Burial places of all the *Christians* of the fourth and fifth Century: for I do not remember that there is any one date that is Antienter: and yet not one of the Writers of those Ages speak of them as the work of the Primitive *Christians*. They speak indeed of the burial places of the Martyrs, but that will prove no more, but that the *Christians* might have had their quarters, and their walks in those common burial places where they laid their dead, and which might have been known among them, tho it is not likely that they would in times of persecutions make such Inscriptions as might have exposed the Bodies of their dead Friends to the rage of their Enemies. An the spurious acts of some Saints and Martyrs are of too little credit to give any support to the common Opinion. *Damasus's* Poetry is of no better Authority. And tho those Ages were inclined enough to give credit to Fables, yet it seems this of those *Catacombs* having been the work of the Primitive *Christians* was too gross a thing to have been so early imposed on the World. And this silence in an Age in which Superstition was going on at so great a rate has much force in it, for so vast

a work, as those *Catacombs* are, must have been well known to all the *Romans*. It were easie to carry this much further, and to shew that the bas reliefs that have been found in some of those *Catacombs*, have nothing of the beauty of the ancient and *Roman* time. This is also more discernable in many *Inscriptions* that are more *Gothick* than *Roman*, and there are so many *Inscriptions* relating to *Fables*, that it is plain these were of later times, and we see by *St. Jerom* that the Monks began, even in his time, to drive a Trade of *Reliques*; so it is no wonder that to raise the credit of such a heap as was never to be exhausted, they made some miserable *Sculptures*, and some *Inscriptions*; and perhaps shut up the *Entries* into them with much care and secrese, intending to open them upon some dream or other artifice, to give them the more reputation, which was often practised, in order to the drawing much wealth and great devotion, even to some single *Relique*; and a few being upon this secret, either those might have died; or by the many *Revolutions* that hapned in *Rome*, they might have been dispersed before they made the discovery: And thus the knowledge of those places was lost, and came to be discovered by accident in the last Age, and hath ever since supplied them with an inexhaustible Magazine of *Bones*, which by all appearance are no other than the *Bones* of the *Pagan Romans*; which are now sent over the World to feed a Superstition that is as blind as it proves expensive. And thus

thus the Bones of the *Roman* Slaves, or at least those of the meaner sort, are now set in Silver and Gold, with a great deal of other costly garniture, and entertain the Superstition of those who are willing to be deceived, as well as they serve the ends of those that seek to deceive the World. But because it cannot be pretended that there was such a number of Christians at *Naples*, as could have wrought such *Catacombs*, and if it had been once thought that those were the common burial places of the ancient *Heathens*, that might have induced the world to think that the *Roman Catacombs* were no other; therefore there hath been no care taken to examine these. I thought this required a large discourse, and therefore I have dwelt perhaps a little too long on this subject. I will not enter upon a long description of that which is so well known at Mount *Vesuvio*; it had roared so loud about a Month before I came to *Naples*, that at *Naples* they could hardly sleep in the nights, and some old Houses were so shaken by the Earthquake that was occasioned by this Convulsion of the Hill, that they fell to the ground: And the last eruption, above fifty years ago, was so terrible, that there was no small fear in *Naples*, though it lies at the distance of seven miles from the Hill, yet the Storm was choaked under ground; for tho' it smokt much more than ordinary, yet there was no eruption: It was indeed smoaking, not only in the mouth of the little Mount that is termed within the great wa<sup>n</sup> that the fire hath made, but also all along the

the bottom that is between the outward mouth of this Mountain, which is four miles in compass, and that inward Hill. When one sees the mouth of this fire, and so great a part of the Hill which is covered some feet deep with Ashes and Stones of a metallick composition, that the fire throws out, he cannot but stand amazed, and wonder what can be the fuel of so lasting a burning, that hath calcined so much matter, and spewed out such prodigious quantities. It is plain there are vast Veins of Sulphur all along in this Soil, and it seems in this Mountain they run along through some Mines and Rocks, and as their slow consumption, produceth a perpetual Smoak, so when the Air within is so much rarified, that it must open it self, it throws up those masses of Metal and Rock that shut it in; but how this Fire draws in Air to nourish its Flame, is not so easily apprehended, unless there is either a conveyance of Air under ground, by some undiscovered Vacuity, or a more insensible transmission of Air, through the Pores of the Earth. The heat of this Hill operates so much upon the Soil that lies upon it toward the foot of it, that it produceth the richest Wine about *Naples*, and it also purifieth the Air so much, that the Village at bottom is thought the best Air of the Country, so that many come from *Naples* thither for their health. *Ischia*, that is an Island not far from *Naples*, doth also sometimes spew out Fire.

On the other side of *Naples* to the West, one passeth through the Cave that pierceth the *Pausalippe*, and is Four hundred and forty paces long, for I walked it on foot to take its true measure, it is twenty foot broad, and at first forty foot high; but afterwards it is but twenty foot high; the Stone cut out here is good for building, so that as this opened the way from *Puzzoli* to *Naples*, it was also a Quarry for the building of the Town: All along the way here one discovers a strange boiling within the ground, for a little beyond this Grot of *Pausalippe*, as we come near the Lake of *Aniano*, there is on the one hand, a Bath occasioned by a steam that riseth so hot out of the ground, that as soon as one goeth a little into it, he finds himself all over in a sweat, which is very proper for some diseases, especially that which carries its name from *Naples*; And about twenty paces from thence, there is another little Grot, that sends out a poisonous steam, that as it puts out a Candle, as soon as it cometh near it, so it infallibly killeth any living Creature within a minute of time; for in half that time a dog, upon which the Experiment is commonly tried, the Grot being from thence called *Grotto di Cane*, fell into a convulsion. From that one goeth to see the poor Rests of *Puzzoli*, and of all that Bay that was once all about a tract of Towns, it having been the retreat of the *Romans*, during the heats of the Summer. All the rarities here have been so often and so copiously described, that I am sensible I can add nothing

thing to what is so well known. I will say nothing of the *Amphitheater*, or of *Cicero* and *Virgil's* Houses, for which there is nothing but a dubious Tradition; they are ancient Brick buildings of the *Roman* way, and the Vaults of *Virgil's* house are still entire; The *Sulfatara* is a surprizing thing; here is a bottom out of which the force of the fire, that breaks out still in many places, in a thick steaming smoak, that is full of Brimstone, did throw up, about a hundred and 50 years ago, a vast quantity of Earth, which was carried above three miles thence, and formed the Hill called *Monte Novo* upon the ruins of a Town that was overwhelmed with this eruption, which is of a very considerable heighth, they told me that there was before that time a Channel that went from the Bay into the Lake of *Averno*, of which one sees the beginnings in the Bay at some distance from the shore; it carrieth still the name of *Julio's* Mole, and is believed to have been made by *Julius Caesar*. But by the swelling of the ground upon the eruption of the *Sulfatara*, this passage is stopt, and the *Averno* is now fresh water, it is eighteen fathom deep. On the side of it is that amazing Cave, where the *Sibil* is said to have given out her inspirations: the hewing it out of the Rock, hath been a prodigious work; for the Rock is one of the hardest stones in the World, and the Cave goeth in seven hundred foot long, twenty foot broad, and, as I could guess, eighteen foot high; and from the end of this great Gallery, there is a narrow passage of three foot broad,



broad, two hundred foot long, and seven high,  
 is a little Apartment, to which we go in a con-  
 stant stooping descent from the great Cave;  
 there are three little Rooms: in one of them  
 there are some Rests of an old Mosaick, with  
 which the Walls and Roof were laid over,  
 there is also a Spring of Water, and a Bath in  
 which it is supposed the *Sibil* bathed her self;  
 and from this Cave it is said that there runs a  
 Cave all along to *Cuma*, which is three long  
 miles, but the Passage is now choakt by the  
 falling in of the Rock in several places: this  
 piece of Work amazed me. I did not much  
 mind the popular Opinion that is easily re-  
 ceived there, that all this was done by the De-  
 vil; the marks of the Chissel in all the parts  
 of the Rock sheweth that this is not a work of  
 Nature. Certainly they had both much lei-  
 sure, and many hands at their command  
 who set about it, and it seems to have been  
 wrought out with no other design but to sub-  
 due the people more intirely to the conduct  
 of the Priests that managed this Imposture, so  
 busie and industrious hath the ambition and  
 fraud of the Priests been in all Ages and in all  
 corrupt Religions. But of all the Scenes of  
 Noble Objects that present themselves in the  
 Bay of *Puzzoly*, the Rests of *Caligula's* Bridge  
 are the most amazing; for there are yet stand-  
 ing eight or ten of the Pillars that supported  
 the Arches, and of some of the Arches the  
 half is, yet intire. I had not a line with me to  
 examine the depth of the Water where the fur-  
 thest of those Pillars is built, but my Water-

man assured me it was fifty Cubits. This I cannot believe, but it is certainly so deep that one can scarce imagine how it was possible to build in such a depth, and for the carrying off of the Sea, that seems yet more impossible. It is a noble Monument of the profuse and extravagant expence of a Brutal Tyrant, who made one of the vastest Bridges that ever was attempted, over three or four miles of Sea, merely to sacrifice so great a Treasure to his vanity: As for *Agripina's Tomb*, it is no great matter, only the Bas Reliefs are yet intire. The marvellous Fish-pond is a great Basin of Water, wrought like a huge Temple, standing upon 48 great Pillars, all hewed out of the Rock; and they are laid over with four crusts of the old Plaister, which is now as hard as Stone; this is believed to be a work of *Nero's*; and about a quarter of a mile from thence there is another vast work which goeth into a Rock; but at the entrance there is a noble Portico built of Pillars of Brick, and as one enters into the Rock, he finds a great many Rooms regularly shaped, hewed out of the Rock, and all covered over with Plaister, which is still entire, and so white that one can hardly think that it hath not been washed over since it was first made; there are a vast number of those Rooms, they are said to be a hundred: from whence this Cave carrieth the name of the *Centum Camerae*: This hath ben as expensive a Work as it is useless, it is intituled to *Nero*, and here they say he kept his Prisoners. But there is nothing in all  
this

his Bay that is both so curious and so useful as  
 the Baths, which seems to flow from the same  
 reason that is the cause of those Eruptions in  
*Vesuvio* and *Salsatara*, and the *Grottos* for-  
 merly mentioned; that as this heat makes some  
 mountains there to be boiling hot, so it sends  
 a stream through the Rock, that doth not  
 break through the pores of the Stone where it  
 is hard, but where the Rock is soft and spongy  
 where the streams come through with so melt-  
 ing a heat, that a man is soon, as it were, dis-  
 solved in sweat; but if he stoops low in the  
 passages that are cut in the Rock, he finds no  
 heat, because there the Rock is hard. Those  
 streams as they are all hot, so they are im-  
 pregnated with such Minerals as they find in  
 their way through the Rock; and near this  
 bath there are galleries, hew'd out of the rock,  
 and fac'd with a building, in which there are,  
 as it were, Bedsteads made in the Walls, upon  
 which, those that come thither to sweat for  
 their health, lay their Quilts and Bed-cloaths,  
 and so come regularly out of their Sweats.

It is certain that a man can no where pass a  
 day of his life both with so much pleasure, and  
 with such advantage, as he finds in this journey  
 to *Pizzoli*, and all along the Bay: but tho' anci-  
 ently this was also well built, so peopled, and  
 so beautifully laid out, yet no where doth one  
 see more visibly what a change time bring up-  
 on all places: for *Naples* hath so intirely eat out  
 this place, and drawn its Inhabitants to it, that  
*Pizzoli* it self is but a small Village, so  
 there is now no other in all this Bay, which

was anciently built almost all round, for there were seven big Towns upon it. Having thus told you what I found most considerable in *Naples*, I cannot pass by that noble remnant of the *Via Appia*, that runs along thirty miles of the way between it and *Rome*, without making some mention of it: this High-way is 12 foot broad, all made of huge stones, most of them blue, and they are generally a foot and half large of all sides: the strength of this Causeway appears in its long duration, for it hath lasted above eighteen hundred years; and in most places, for several miles together, as intricate as when it was first made: and the botches that have been made for mending such places that have been worn out by time, shews a very visible difference between the ancient and the modern way of Paving. One thing seems strange, that the way is level with the earth on both sides: whereas so much weight as those Stones carry should have sunk the ground under them by its pressure: Besides that the earth, especially in low grounds, receives a constant increase, chiefly by the Dust which the Wind or Brooks carry down from the Hills, both of which Reasons should make a more sensible difference, between those waies and the Soil on both sides: and this makes me apt to believe that anciently those waies were a little raised above the level of the ground, and that a course of so many Ages hath now brought them to an equality: Those Waies were chiefly made for such as go on foot: for as nothing is more pleasant than to walk alone

long them, so nothing is more inconvenient  
 for Horses and all sorts of Carriage, and indeed  
 Mules are the only Beasts of burthen that can  
 hold out long in this Road, which beats all  
 Horses after they have gone it a little while.  
 There are several Rests of Roman Antiqui-  
 ties at the Mole of *Cajeta*; but the Isle of *Ca-*  
*rea*, now called *Crapa*, which is a little way  
 to the Sea off from *Naples*, gave me a strange  
 Idea of *Tiberius's* Reign, since it is hard to tell  
 whether it was more extraordinary to see a  
 Prince abandon the best Seats and Palaces of  
*Italy*, and shut himself up in a little Island, in  
 which I was told there was a Tradition of se-  
 ven little Palaces that he built in it; or to see  
 so vast a Body as the *Roman Empire*, so go-  
 verned by such a *Tyrannical Prince*, at such  
 a distance from the chief Scene, so that all  
 might have been reversed long before that  
 the News of it could have been brought to  
 him. And as there is nothing more won-  
 derful in Story, than to see so vast a State,  
 that had so great a sense of Liberty, subdued  
 by so brutal and so voluptuous a man as *An-*  
*tony*, and so raw a youth as *Augustus*; so  
 we see the wonder is much improved, when  
 we see a Prince at a hundred and fifty miles  
 distance, shut up in an Island, carry the Reins  
 of so great a Body in his Hand, and turn it  
 which way he pleased.

But now I come to *Rome*, which as it was  
 once the Empress of the World, in a succession  
 of many Ages, so it hath in it at present more

curious things to entertain the attention of a Traveller, than any other place in *Europe*. On the side of *Tuscany*, the entry into *Rome* is very surprizing to Strangers, for one cometh along for a great many Miles, upon the Remains of the *Via Flamminia*, which is not indeed so entire as the *Via Appia*; yet there is enough left to raise a just Idea of the *Roman Greatness*, who laid such a Causewaies all *Italy* over. And within the Gate of the *Porta di Popolo*, there is a Noble Obelisk, a vast Fountain, two fine little Churches, like two Twins, resembling one another, as well as placed near one another, and on several hands one sees a long *Vista* of Streets. There is not a Town in these parts of the World where the Churches, Convents, and Palaces are so Noble, and where the other Buildings are so mean, which indeed discovers very visibly the Misery under which the *Romans* groan. The Churches of *Rome* are so well known that I will not adventure on any description of them, and indeed I had too transient a view of them to make it with that degree of exactness which the Subject requires. *St. Peter's* alone would make a big Book, not to say a long Letter. Its Length, Height, and Breadth are all so exactly proportioned, and the Eye is so equally possessed with all these, that the whole, upon the first view, doth not appear so vast as it is found to be upon a more particular attention: and as the four Pillars upon which the Cupulo rises, are of such a prodigious bigness that one would think they were strong enough

enough to bear any superstructure whatsoever  
 when one climbs up to the top of that vast  
 height, he wonders what foundation can bear  
 so huge a weight; for as the Church is of a  
 vast height, so the Cupulo rises four hundred  
 and fifteen big steps above the Roof of the  
 Church. In the height of the Concave of this  
 Cupulo, there is a Representation, that though  
 it can hardly be seen from the Floor below,  
 unless one hath a good sight, and so it doth  
 not perhaps give much scandal, yet it is a gross  
 indication of the Idolatry of that Church;  
 for the Divinity is there pictured as an Anci-  
 ent Man compassed about with Angels. I will  
 say nothing of the great Altar, of the Chair  
 of St. *Peter*, of the great Tombs; of which  
 the three chief are *Paul III.* *Urban VII.* and  
*Alexander VII.* nor of the vast Vaults under  
 this Church, and the Remains of Antiquity  
 that are reserved in them; nor will I un-  
 dertake a Description of the adjoining Pa-  
 lace; where the Painting of the Corridori,  
 and of many of the Rooms by *Raphael*,  
 and *Michael Angelio*, are so rich, that one  
 is sorry to see a work of that value laid on  
 Fresco, and which must by consequence wear  
 out too soon, as in several places it is almost  
 quite lost already. I could not but observe  
 in the *Sala Regia*, that is before the famous  
 Chappel of *Sisto V.* and that is all painted  
 in Fresco, one Corner that represents the  
 Murther of the renowned Admiral *Chasti-  
 lion*, and that hath written under it those  
 Words, *Rex Colinii Necem probat.* The vast

length of the Gallery on one side: and of the Library in another do surprize one; the Gardens have many Statues of a most excessive value, and some good Fountains; but the Gardens are ill entertained both here and in the Palace on the Quirinal. And indeed in most of the Palaces of *Rome*, if there were but a small cost laid out to keep all in good case, that is brought together at so vast a charge, they would make another sort of shew, and be looked at with much more pleasure: In the Apartments of *Rome*, there are a great many things that offend the sight: The Doors are generally mean, and the Locks meaner, except in the Palace of Prince *Borghese*, whereas there is the vastest Collection of the best Pieces, and of the Hands of the greatest Masters that is in all *Europe*, so the Doors and Locks give not that distaste to the Eye, that one finds elsewhere. The Flooring of the Palaces is all of Brick, which is so very mean, that one sees the disproportion that is between the Floors and the rest of the Room, not without a sensible preception and dislike. It is true, they say their Air is so cold and moist in Winter, that they cannot pave with Marble; and the heat is sometimes so great in Summer, that Flooring of Wood would crack with heat, as well as be eat up by the Vermin that would nestle in it. But if they kept in their great Palaces Servants to wash their Floors, with that care that is used in *Holland*, where the Air is moister; and  
the



the Climate is more productive of Vermine, they would not find such effects from wooden Floors, as they pretend. In a word, there are none that lay out so much Wealth all at once, as the *Italians* do upon the building and finishing of their Palaces and Gardens, and that afterwards bestow so little on the preserving of them: another thing I observed in their Palace, there is indeed a great series of Noble rooms one within another, of which their Apartments are composed, but I did not find at the end of the Apartments, where the Bed-chamber is, such a disposition of Rooms for Back-stairs, Dressing-rooms, Closets, Servants-rooms and other Conveniencies as are necessary for accomodating the Apartment. It is true this is not so necessary for an Apartment of State, in which Magnificence is more considered than Convenience; but I found the same want in those Apartments in which they lodged; so that notwithstanding all the Riches of their Palaces; it cannot be said that they are well lodged in them, and their Gardens are yet less understood, and worse kept than their Palaces. It is true, the *Villa Borgheze* ought to be excepted, where as there is a prodigious Collection of Bas Reliefs, with which the Walls are, as it were, covered all over, that are of as vast value; so the Statues within, of which some are of Porphyry, and others of Touchstone, are amazing things: The whole grounds of this Park, which is about three miles in compass; and in which there are six or seven Lodges, are laid out so sweetly, that I thought I

I was in an *English* Park, when I walked over it. The *Villa Pamphilia* is better situated upon a high ground, and hath more Water-works, and twice the extent of the other in Soil, but neither doth the House nor Statues approach to the Riches of the other, nor are the grounds so well laid out and so well kept. But for the Furniture of the Palaces of *Rome*, the publick Apartments are all covered over with Pictures, and for those Apartments in which they lodg, they are generally furnished either with red Velvet, or red Damask, with a broad Gold Galloon at every Breadth of the Stuff, and a Gold Fringe at Top and Bottom, but there is very little Tapisstry in *Italy*.

I have been carried into all this Digression, from the general view that I was giving you of the Pope's Palace. I named one part of it which will engage me into a new digression, as it well deserves one, and that is the Library of the Vatican: The Case is great, but that which is lodged in it is much greater; for here is a Collection of Books that filleth a man's Eye: There is first a great Hall, and at the end of it there runs out on both sides, two Galleries of so vast a length, that though the half of them is already furnished with Books, yet one would hope that there is room left for more new Books than the World will ever produce. The *Heidelberg*-Library stands by it self, and filleth the one side of the Gallery, as the Duke of *Urban's* Library of Manuscripts filleth the other. But tho' these last are very fair and beautiful, yet they are not of such Antiquity as those

chose of *Heidelberg* : When it appeared that I  
 was come from *England*, King *Henry* the 8.  
 took of the Seven Sacraments, with an In-  
 scription writ upon it with his own hand, to  
 Pope *Leo* the X. was shewed me; together with  
 a Collection of some Letters that he writ to  
*Ann Bullen*, of which some are in *English*, and  
 some in *French*. I that knew his Hand well,  
 saw clearly that they were no Forgeries. There  
 are not many *Latin* Manuscripts of great An-  
 tiquity in this Library ; some few of *Virgil's*  
 Law writ in Capitals. But that which took  
 up almost half of one day that I spent at one  
 time in this place, related to the present dispute  
 that is on foot between Mr. *Schellrat* the Li-  
 brary-keeper, and Mr. *Maimbourg*; concerning  
 the Council of *Constance*. The two Points in  
 debate are the words of the Decree made in  
 the fourth Session, and the Popes Confirmation.  
 In the fourth Session, according to the  
*French* Manuscripts, a Decree was made, sub-  
 jecting the Pope, and all other Persons what-  
 soever, to the Authority of the Council, and  
 to the Decrees it was to make, and to the Re-  
 formation it intended to establish both in the  
 Head and the Members : which as it implies  
 that the Head was corrupted and needed to be  
 reformed, so it sets the Council so directly  
 above the Pope, that this Session being con-  
 firmed by the Pope, putteth those who assert  
 the Popes Infallibility, to no small straits ; For  
 if Pope *Martin* that approved this Decree  
 was infallible, then this Decree is good still ;  
 and if he was not infallible, no other Pope was  
 in-

Infalible: To all this *Schellrat* answers from his Manuscripts that the Words of a Reformation, in Head and Members, are not in the Decree of that Session: and he did shew me several Manuscripts, of which two were evidently writ during the sitting of the Council, and were not at all dashed, in which these words were not. I know the Hand and way of Writing of that Age too well to be easily mistaken in my judgment concerning those Manuscripts: but if those Words are wanting, there are other Words in them that seem to be much stronger for the superiority of the Council above that Pope. For it is Decreed that Popes, and all other Persons, were bound to submit to the Decisions of the Council, as to Faith: which Words are not in the *French* Manuscripts: Upon this I told Mr. *Schellrat* that I thought the Words in these Manuscripts were stronger than the other: since the Word Reformation, as it was used in the time of that Council, belonged chiefly to the correcting of Abuses, it being often applied to the Regulations that were made in the Monastick Orders, when they were brought to a more exact observation of the Rule of their Order: So tho the Council had decreed a Reformation both of Head & Members, I do not see that this would import more than the Papacy had fallen into some Disorders that needed a Reformation: and this is not denied even by those who assert the Popes Infalibility: but a Submission to Points of Faith, that is expressly asserted in the *Roman* Manuscripts, is a much more positive evidence against

against the Popes Infallibility : and the word Faith is not capable of so large a sense as may be justly ascribed to Reformation. But this difference, in so main a point between Manuscripts concerning so late a transaction, gave me an occasion to reflect on the vast uncertainty of Tradition, especially of matters that are at a great distance from us ; when those that were so lately transacted, are so differently represented in Manuscripts, and in which, both those of *Paris* and *Rome* seem to carry all possible Evidence of sincerity. As for the Popes Confirmation of that Decree, it is true by a General Bull, Pope *Martin* confirmed the Council of *Constance* to such a period ; but beside that he made a particular Bull, as *Schellrat* assured me, in which he enumerated all the Decrees that he confirmed, and among those this Decree concerning the Superiority of the Council is not named ; this seemed to be of much more importance, and therefore I desired to see the Original of the Bull : for there seems to be just reasons to apprehend a Forgery here : He promised to do his endeavours, tho he told me that would not be easie, for the Bulls were strickly kept ; and the next day when I came, hoping to see it, I could not be admitted : but he assured me that if that had not been the last day of my stay at *Rome*, he would have procured a Warrant for my seeing the Original : so this is all I can say as to the authenticalness of that Bull : But supposing it to be genuine, I could not agree to Mr. *Schellrat* that the General

neral Bull of Confirmation, ought to be limited to the other that enumerates the particular Decrees: but since that particular Bull was never discovered till he hath found it out, it seems it was secretly made, and did not pass according to the forms of the Consistory: and was a fraudulent thing of which no noise was to be made in that Age, and therefore in all the Dispute that followed in the Council of *Basil* between the Pope and the Council, upon this very point, no mention was ever made of it by either side: And thus it can have no force, unless it be to discover the Artifices and Fraud of that Court: That at the same time in which the necessity of their Affairs obliged the Pope to confirm the Decrees of the Council, he contrived a secret Bull, which in another Age might be made use of, to weaken the Authority of the General Confirmation that he gave: and therefore a Bull that doth not pass in due form, and is not promulgated, is of no Authority: And so this pretended Bull cannot limit the other Bull. There were some other things, relating to this Debate, that were shewed me by Mr. *Schelltrat*, but these being the most important, I mention them only. I will not give you here a large account of the learned Men at *Rome*, *Bellori* is deservedly famous for his knowledg. of the *Greek* and *Agyptian* Antiquities, and for all that belongs to the Mythologies and Superstitions of the *Heathens*, and hath a Closet richly furnished with things relating to those Matters: *Fabretti* is justly celebrated for his understand-

ing of the old *Roman* Architecture and Fabricks. *Padre Fabri* is the chief Honour of the Jesuits Colledge, and is much above the common rate, both for Philosophy, Mathematicks, and Church History. And he to whom I was the most obliged, Abbot *Nazari* hath so general a view of the several parts of learning, tho' he hath chiefly applied himself to Philosophy and Mathematicks, and is a man of so ingaging a Civility, and used my self in so particular a manner, that I owe him, as well as those others whom I have mentioned, and whom I had the Honour to see, all the acknowledgments of Esteem and Gratitude that I can possibly make them.

One sees in Cardinal *d'Estres* all the advantages of a high Birth, great Parts, a generous Civility, and a measure of Knowledge far above what can be expected from a Person of his rank; but as he gave a noble Protection to one of the learnedst men that this Age hath produced, Mr. *Launoy* who lived many Years with him, so it is visible that he made a great Progress by the Conversation of so extraordinary a Person; & as for Theological Learning there is now none of the Colledge equal to him: Cardinal *Howard* is too well known in *England* to need any Character from me. The Elevation of his present Condition hath not in the least changed him; he hath all the sweetness & gentleness of Temper that we saw in him in *England*, & he retains the unaffected simplicity & humility of a Friar amidst all the dignity of the Purple, and as he sheweth all the generous

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care and concern for his Countrey-men that they can expect from him; so I met with so much of it in so many obliging marks of his goodnels for my self, as went far beyond a common Civility, that I cannot enough acknowledge it. I was told the Pope's Confessor was a very extraordinary man for the Oriental Learning, which is but little known in *Rome*: He is a Master of the *Arabick* Tongue, and hath writ, as Abbot *Nazari* told me, the learnedest Book against the Mahometan Religion, that the World hath yet seen, but it is not yet Printed: He is not so much esteemed in *Rome* as he would be elsewhere, for his Learning is not in vogue, and the School-Divinity and Casuistical Learning, being that for which Divines are most esteemed there; he whose Studies lead him another way, is not so much valued as he ought to be, and perhaps the small account that the Pope makes of Learned men, turns somewhat upon the Confessor, for it is certain that this is a Reign in which Learning is very little encouraged.

Upon the general Contempt that all the *Romans* have for the present Pontificat, one made a pleasant Reflection to me, he said, those Popes that intend to raise their Families, as they saw the Censure that this brought upon them, so they studied to lessen it by other things that might soften the Spirits of the People. No man did more for beautifying *Rome*, for finishing *St. Peter's*, and the Library, and for furnishing *Rome* with Water, than Pope *Paul* the V. tho at the same



same time he did not forget his Family ; and though the other Popes that have raised great Families, have not done this to so eminent a degree as he did, yet there are many Remains of their Magnificence, whereas those Popes that have not raised Families, have it seems thought that alone was enough to maintain their Reputation, and so they have not done much either to recommend their Government to their Subjects, or their Reign to Posterity ; and it is very plain that the present Pope taketh no great care of this. His Life hath been certainly very innocent, and free of all those publick scandals that make a noise in the World ; and there is at present a Regularity in *Rome*, that deserveth great commendation, for publick Vices are not to be seen there : His personal Sobriety is also singular. One assured me that the Expence of his Table did not amount to a Crown a day, tho this is indeed short of *Sisto V.* who gave orders to his Steward never to exceed five and twenty Bajoyes, that is eighteen pence a day for his Diet. The Pope is very careful of his Health, and doth never expose it ; for upon the least Disorder he shuts himself up in his Chamber, and often keepeth his Bed for the least Indisposition many daies ; but his Government is severe, and his Subjects are ruined.

And here one thing cometh into my mind, which perhaps is not ill grounded, that the Poverty of a Nation, not only dispeoples it, by driving the People out of it, but by weak-  
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ning the natural Fertility of the Subjects, for as men and women well clothed and well fed, that are not exhausted with perpetual Labour, and with the tearing anxieties that want brings with it, must be much more lively than those that are pressed with want; so it is very likely that the one must be much more disposed to propagate than the other: and this appeared more evident to me, when I compared the fruitfulness of *Grueva* and *Switzerland*, with the barrenness that reigns over all *Italy*, I saw two extraordinary instances of the copious Productions of *Geneva*: Mr. *Tronchin* that was Professor of Divinity, and Father to the judicious and worthy Professors of the same name, that is now there, died at the Age of seventy six years, and had a hundred and fifteen persons all alive, that had either descended from him, or by marriage with those that descended from him, called him Father. And Mr. *Calendrin*, a pious and laborous Preacher of that Town, that is descended from the Family of the *Calendrini*; who receiving the Reformation about a hundred and fifty years ago, left *Lucca* their Native City, with the *Turretini*; the *Diodati*, and the *Bourlamachi*, and some others that came and settled at *Geneva*: He is now but seven and forty years old, and yet he hath a hundred and five persons that are descended of his Brothers and Sisters, or married to them; so that if he liveth but to Eighty, and the Family multiplieth as it hath done; he may see some hundreds that will be in the same Relation

lation to him; but such things as these are not to be found in *Italy*.

There is nothing that delights a Stranger more in *Rome*, than to see the great Fountains of Water that are almost in all the corners of it: That old Aquaduct which *Paul* the V. restored cometh from a Collection of Sources, five and thirty Miles distant from *Rome*, that runs all the way upon an Aqueduct in a Channel that is vaulted, and is liker a River than a Fountain: It breaketh out in five several Fountains, of which some give water about a Foot Square. That of *Sixtus* the V. the great Fountain of *Aqua Travi*, that hath yet no Decoration, but dischargeth a prodigious quantity of Water. The glorious Fountain of the *Piazza Navona* that hath an air of greatness in it that surprizeth one, the Fountain in the *Piazza de Spagna*, those before *St. Peters*, and the *Palazzo Farnese* with many others, furnish *Rome* so plentifully, that almost every private House hath a Fountain that runs continually: All these, I say, are Noble Decorations, that carry an usefulness with them that cannot be enough commended: and gives a much greater *Idea* of those who have taken care to supply this City, with one of the chiefest Pleasures and Conveniences of Life, than of others who have laid out Millions meerly to bring Quantities of Water to give the Eye a little Diversion, which would have been laid out much more nobly and usefully, and would have more effectually eternized their Fame, if they had been

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imploied as the *Romans* did their Treasures in furnishing great Towns with Water.

There is an universal Civility that reigus among all sorts of People at *Rome*, which in a great measure flows from their Government, for every man being capable of all the advancements of that State, since a simple Ecclesiastick may become one of the Monsignori: and one of these may be a Cardinal, and one of these may be chosen Pope: this makes every man behave himself towards all other persons with an exactness of respect: for no man knows what any other may grow to. But this makes professions of esteem and kindness go so promiscuously to all sorts of persons, that one ought not to build too much on them. The conversation of *Rome* is generally upon News, for tho there is no news printed there, yet in the several Antichambers of the Cardinals (where if they make any considerable Figure, there are Assemblies of those that make their Court to them, one is sure to hear all the news of *Europe*, together with many Speculations upon what passeth. At the Queen of *Sweden's* all that relateth to *Germany* or the North is ever to be found, and that Princess that must ever reign among all that have a true taste either of Wit or Learning, hath still in her drawing Rooms the best Court of the strangers, and her civility together with the vast variety with which she furnisheth her Conversation, maketh her to be the chief of all the living Rarities that one sees in *Rome*; I will not use her own Word,

to my self, which was, that she now grew to be one of the Antiquities of *Rome*. The Ambassadors of Crowns, who live here in another form than in any other Court, and the Cardinals and Prelates of several Nations, that do all meet and center here, maketh that there is more News in *Rome* than any where: For Priests, and the men of Religious Orders, write larger and more particular Letters, than any other sort of men. But such as apply themselves to make their Court here, are condemned to a loss of time that had need be well recompenced, for it is very great. As for one that Studies Antiquities, Pictures, Statues, or Musick, there is more Entertainment for him at *Rome*, then in all the rest of *Europe*, but if he hath not a taste of these things, he will soon be weary of a place where the Conversation is alwaies general, and where there is little sincerity or openness practised, and by consequence, where friendship is little understood. The Women here begin to be a little more conversable, tho a Nation naturally jealous, will hardly allow a great liberty in a City that is composed of Ecclesiasticks: who being denied the privilege of Wives of their own, are suspected of being sometimes too bold with the Wives of others: The Liberties that were taken in the Constable of *Naples's* Palace, had indeed disgusted the *Romans* much, at that freedom, which had no bounds. But the Dutchess of *Bracciano*, that is a French Woman, hath by the exactness of her deportment, amidst all the innocent Freedoms of

of a noble Conversation, recovered in a great measure, the Credit of those Liberties that Ladies, beyond the Mountains practise with all the strictness of Vertue; for she receiveth Visits at publick Hours, and in publick Rooms, and by the liveliness of her Conversation, maketh that her Court is the pleasantest Assembly of Strangers, that is to be found in any of the Palaces of the *Italians* at *Rome*.

I will not engage in a Description of *Rome*, either ancient or modern, this hath been done so oft, and with such exactness, that nothing can be added to what hath been already published. It is certain that when one is in the Capitol, and sees those poor Rests of what once it was, he is surprized to see a Building of so great a fame sunk so low, that one can scarce imagin that it was once a Castle, scituated upon a Hill able to hold out against a Siege of the *Gauls*: The *Tarpeian* Rock is now of so small a fall, that a Man would think it no great matter for his Diversion to leap over it: and the shape of the Ground hath not been so much altered on one side, as to make us think it is very much changed on the other. For *Severus's* Triumphal Arch, which is at the foot of the Hill on the other side, is not now buried above two foot within the ground, as the vast Amphitheatre of *Titus* is not above three foot sunk under the level of the ground. Within the Capitol one sees many noble Remnants of Antiquity, but none is more glorious, as well as more useful, then the Tables of their Consuls which  
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are upon the Walls: and the Inscription on the  
*Columna Rostrata*, in the time of the first *Punick*  
*War*, is without doubt the most valuable An-  
 tiquity in *Rome*. From this all along the sa-  
 cred way, one findeth such Remnants of old  
*Rome* in the Ruines of the Temples, in the Tri-  
 umphal Arches, in the *Portico's*, and other Re-  
 mains of that glorious Body, that as one can-  
 not see these too often, so every time one sees  
 them, they kindle in him vast Ideas of that  
 Republick, and make him reflect on that  
 which he learned in his youth with great plea-  
 sure. From the height of the Convents of  
*Arceli*, a man hath a full view of all the ex-  
 tent of *Rome*, but literally it is now *seges ubi*  
*Troja fuit*; for the parts of the City, that were  
 most inhabited anciently, are those that are  
 now laid in great Gardens, or, as they call them  
 Vineyards, of which some are half a mile in  
 compass: The vastness of the *Roman* Magnifi-  
 cence and Luxury, is that which passeth ima-  
 gination, the prodigious Amphitheater of *Ti-*  
*tus*, that could conveniently receive eighty  
 five thousand Spectators; the great extent of  
 the *Circus Maximus*; the Vaults where the  
 Waters are that furnisheth *Titus's* Baths; and  
 above all, *Dioclesian's* Baths, tho built when  
 the Empire was in its decay, are so far above  
 all modern Buildings, that there is not so much  
 as room for a comparison. The extent of those  
 Baths, is above half a mile in compass: the  
 vastness of the Rooms in which the Bathers  
 might swim, of which the *Carthusian's* Church,  
 that yet remains intire, is one, and the many  
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great Pillars all of one Stone of Marble beautifully spotted, are things of which these latter Ages are not capable. The Beauty of their Temples, and of the *Portico's* before them, is amazing, chiefly that of the *Rotunda*, where the Fabrick without looketh as mean, being only Brick, as the Architecture is bold: for it riseth up in a Vault, and yet at the top there is an open left of thirty foot in diameter, which, as it is the only Window of the Church, so it filleth it with Light, and is the hardiest piece of Architecture that ever was made: The Pillars of the *Portico* are also the noblest in *Rome*, they are the highest and biggest that one can see any where all of one stone: and the numbers of those ancient Pillars, with which, not only many of the Churches are beautified, chiefly *St. Mary Maggiore*, and *St. John* in the *Lateran*, but with which even private Houses are adorned, and of the Fragments, of which there are such multitudes in all the Streets of *Rome*, giveth a great Idea of the Expencefulness of the old *Romans* in their Buildings: for the hewing and fetching a few of those Pillars, must have cost more than whole Palaces do now; since most of them were brought from *Greece*: Many of these Pillars are of Porphyry, others of Jasp, others of granated Marble: but the greatest number is of white Marble. The two Columns *Trajan's* and *Antonius*.  
§ The two Horses that are in the Mount *Cavallo*, and the other two Horses in the Capitol, which have not indeed the postures and motions of the other. The Brass Horse



horse that as is believed carried *Marcus Antoninus*; the remains of *Nero's Colloussus*, the Temple of *Bacchus* near the Catacomb of *St. Agnes*, which is the entirest and least altered of all the ancient Temples: The great Temple of Peace; those of the Sun and Moon: that of *Romulus* and *Remus* (which I considered as the ancientest Fabrick that is now left, for it is little and simple, and standeth in such a place, that when *Rome* grew so costly, it could not have been let alone unchanged, if it had not been that it was revered for its Antiquity) the many other Portico's, the Arches of *Severus*, of *Titus*, of *Constantine*, in the last of which one sees that the Sculpture of his Age was much sunck from what it had been, only in the top there are some bas Reliefs that are clearly of a much ancients time, and of a better manner. And that which exceedeth all the rest, the many great Aqueducts that come from all hands and run over a vast distance, are things which a man cannot see of enough, if he would form in himself a just Idea of the vastness of that Republic, or rather Empire, There are many Statues and Pillars, and other Antiquities of great value dug up in all the quarters of *Rome* these last hundred and fourscore years, since Pope *Leo* the X's time: who as he was the greatest Patron of Learning and Arts, that perhaps ever was, so was the most generous Prince that ever reigned; and it was he that first set on foot the inquiring into the Riches of Old *Rome*, that lay, till his time, for the most part, hid under ground; and indeed he hath been less scandalous, in his Impiety and Athe-

theism, of which neither he nor his Court were so much ashamed, he had been one of the most celebrated Persons of any Age. Soon after him Pope *Paul* the III. gave the ground of the *Monte Palatino* to his Family. But I was told that this large piece of ground, in which one should look for the greatest Collection of the Antiquities of the highest value, since this is the ruine of the Palace of the *Roman* Emperors, have never been yet searched into with any exactness: So that when a curious Prince cometh that is willing to employ many hands in digging up and down this Hill, we may expect new Scenes of Roman Antiquities. But all this matter would require Volumes, and therefore I have only named these things, because I can add nothing to those copious descriptions that have been so oft made of them. Nor will I say any thing of the modern Palaces or the Ornaments of them, either in Pictures or Statues, which are things that carry one so far, that it is not easie to give bounds to the descriptions into which one findeth himself carried, when he once enters upon so fruitful a subject. The number of the Palaces is great, and every one of them hath enough to fix the attention of a Traveller, till a new one drives the former out of his thoughts: It is true the *Palestrina*, the *Borghese*, and the *Farnese* have somewhat in them that leave an impression vvhich no new Objects can vvear out: and as the last hath a Noble Square before it vvith tyvo great Fountains in it, so the Statue of *Hercules* and the Bull that are belowv, and the Gallery above stairs are unva-

able ; the Roof of the Gallery is one of the best pieces of Painting that is extant, being all of *Carraccio's* hand, and there are in that Gallery the greatest number of Heads of the Greek Philosophers and Poets that I ever saw together : That of *Homer* and that of *Socrates* were the two that struck me most, chiefly the latter, which as it is, without dispute, a true Antick, so it carrieth in it all the Characters that *Plato* and *Xenophon* give us of *Socrates*; the flat Nose, the broad Face, the simplicity of look, and the mean appearance which that great Philosopher made, so that I could not return oft enough to look upon it, and was delighted with this more than with all the wonders of the Bull, which is indeed a Rock of Marble cut out into a whole Scene of Statues ; but as the History of it is not well known, so there are such faults in the Sculpture, that tho' it is all extream fine, yet one seeth it hath not the exactness of the best times. As for the Churches and Convents of *Rome*, as the number, the vastness, the riches both of Fabrick, Furniture, Painting and other Ornaments amaze one, so here again a Stranger is lost ; and the Convent that one seeth last, is always the most admired : I confess the *Minerva*, which is the *Dominicans*, whete the Inquisition sitteth, is that which maketh the most sensible impression upon one that passeth at *Rome*, for an Heretick, tho' except one committeth great Follies he is in no danger there, and the poverty that reigns in that City maketh them find their interest so much in using Strangers well, what-

soever their Religion may be that no man needs be afraid there : And I have more than ordinary reason to acknowledge this who having ventured to go thither, after all the liberty that I had taken to write my thoughts freely both of the Church and See of *Rome*, and was known by all with whom I conversed there, yet met with the highest Civilities possible among all sorts of People, and in particular both among the English and Scottish Jesuites, tho they knew well enough that I was no Friend to their Order.

In the Gallery of the English Jesuites among the Pictures of their Martyrs, I did not meet with *Gurnet* ; for perhaps that name is so well known, that they would not have exposed a Picture, vvith such a name on it, to all Strangers, yet *Oldcorn*, being a name less known, is hung there among their Martyrs, tho he vv as as clearly convicted of the Gunpowder-Treason, as ther other was : and it seemed a little strange to me, to see that a time in which, for other Reasons the Writers of that Communion have not thought fit, to deny the truth of that Conspiracy a Jesuit convicted of the blackest Crime that ever was projected, should be reckoned among their Martyrs. I saw likewise there the Original of those Emblematical Prophecies, relating to *England*, that the Jesuites have had at *Rome* near sixty years, and of which I had some time ago procured a Copy, so I found my Copy was true. I hapned to be at *Rome* during *St. Gregory's* Fair and Feast, which lasted

lasted several days. In his Church the Host was exposed: and from that, all that came thither, went to the Chappel that was once his House, in which his Statue and the Table where he served the Poor, are preserved: I saw such vast numbers of people there, that one should have thought all *Rome* was got together. They all kneeled down to his Statue, and after a Prayer said to it, they kissed his foot, and every one touched the Table with his Beads, as hoping to draw some Vertue from it. I will add nothing of the several Obelisks and Pillars that are in *Rome*, of the celebrated Chappels that are in some of the great Churches, in particular those of *Sixtus* the V. and *Paul* the V. in *Santa Maria Maggiore*, of the Water works in the *Quirinal*, the *Vatican*, and in many of the Vineyards: Nor will I go out of *Rome* to describe *Frescati*, (for Truly I did not see) The young Prince *Borghese*, who is indeed one of the Glories of *Rome* as well for his Learning as for his Vertue, did me the Honour to carry me thither with those to learned Abbots *Fabretti* and *Nazari*, and entertained me with a Magnificence that became him better to give, than me to receive. The Water-works in the *Aldobrandin* Palace have a Magnificence in them beyond all that ever I saw in *France*, the Mixture of Wind with the Water, and the Thunders and Storms that this maketh is noble: The Water-works of the *Ludovisio*, and the *Monte Dragone*, have likewise a

greatness in them that is natural, and indeed the riches that one meets with in all places within doors in *Italy*, and the poverty that one seeth every where abroad are the most unsuitable things imaginable: but it is very likely that a great part of their movable Wealth: will be ere long carried into *France*; for as soon as any Picture or Statue of great value is offered to be sold, those that are employed by the King of *France*, do presently buy it up, so that as the King hath already, the greatest Collection of Pictures that is in *Europe*, he will very probably in a few years more, bring together the chief Treasures of *Italy*.

I have now given you an account of all that appeared most remarkable to me in *Rome*. I shall to this add a very extraordinary piece of Natural History that fell out there within these two years, which I had first from those two learned Abbots *Fabretti* and *Naxari*, and that was afterwards more authentically confirmed to me by Cardinal *Howard*, who was one of the Congregation of Cardinals that examined and judged the matter. There were two Nuns near *Rome*, one as I remember was in the City, and the other not far from it, who, after they had been for some years in a Nunnery, perceived a very strange change in Nature, and that their Sex was altered, which grew by some Degrees to a total alteration in one: and tho' the other was not so entire a change, yet it was visible she was more Man than Woman; upon this the matter was looked into: That  
which

which naturally offereth it self here, is that these two had been alwaies what they then appeared to be; but that they had gone into a Nunnery in a disguise to gratifie a brutal appetite. But to this, when I proposed it, answer was made, that as the breasts of a Woman that remained still, did in a great measure shake off that Objection, so the proofs were given so fully of their having been real Females that there was no doubt left of that, nor had they given any sort of scandal in the change of their Sex; And if there had been any room left to suspect a cheat or disguise, the proceedings would have been more severe and more secret: and these persons would have been burnt, or at least put to death in some terrible manner. Some Physitians and Chyrurgeons were appointed to examin the matter, and at last, after a long and exact inquiry; they were judged to be absolved from their Vows, and were dismissed from the Obligation of a Religious life, and required to go in the mens habit. One of them was a *Valet de Chambret* to a *Roman Marquess*, when I was there; I heard of this matter only two daies before I left *Rome*, so that I had not time to inquire after it more particularly; but I judged it so extraordinary, that I thought it was worth communicating it to so curious an Inquirer into Nature.

And since I am upon the subject of the Changes that have been made in Nature, I shall add one of another sort that I examined

while I was at Geneva: There is a Minister of St. Gervais, Mr. Gody, who hath a Daughter, that is now sixteen years old? Her Nurse had an extraordinary thickness of Hearing, at a year old, the Child spoke all those little words that Children begin usually to learn at that Age, but she made no progress: yet this was not observed, till it was too late, and as she grew to be two years old, they perceived then that she had lost her hearing, and was so deaf that ever since though she hears great Noises, yet she hears nothing that one can speak to her. It seems while the Milk of her Nurse was more abundant, and that the Child suckt more moderately the first year, those Humours in the Blood and Milk had not that effect on her, that appear'd after she came to suck more violently: and that her Nurses Milk being in less quantity, was thicker, and more charged with that Vapour that occasioned the Deafness. But this Child hath by observing the motions of the Mouths and Lips of others, acquired so many words that out of these she hath formed a sort of Jargon in which she can hold conversation whole days with those that can speak her own Language. I could understand some of her words, but could not comprehend a period, for it seemed to be a confused Noise: She knows nothing that said to her, unless she seeth the motion of their Mouths that speak to her; so that in the Night, when it is necessary to speak to her, they must light a Candle. Only one thing



thing appeared the strangest part of the whole Narration : She hath a Sister with whom she hath practised her Language more than with any other : and in the night by laying her hand on her Sisters mouth, she can perceive by that, what she says, and so can discourse with her in the night. It is true, her Mother told me that this did not go far, and that she found not only some short period in this manner, but it did not hold out very long : thus this young Woman without any pains taken on her, hath meerly by a natural Sagacity found out a method of holding discourse, that doth in a great measure lessen the misery of her Deafness. I examined this matter critically, but only the Sister was not present, so that I could not see how the conversation pass between them in the dark.

But before I give over writing concerning this place, I cannot hinder my self from giving you an account of a conversation that I had with one of the most Celebrated persons that lives in it. I was talking concerning the Credit that the Order of the Jesuites had every where ; It was said that all the World mistrusted them, and yet a strange sort of contradiction all the World trusted them, and tho' it was well known that every Jesuite was truer to the Interests of his Order than he could be to the Interests of any Prince whatsoever, yet those Princes that would be very careful not to suffer Spies to come into their Courts or into their Councils suffered those Spies to come into their Breasts and Consciences:

and

and tho Princes were not generally very tender in those parts, yet as they had oft as much guilt so they had sometimes as much fear as other People, vvhich a dextrous Spy knew vvell how to manage. Upon vvhich that person that pretended to be a zealous Catholick added, that for their part they considered only the Character that the Church gave to a Priest; and if the Church qualified him to do the functions of a Priest, they thought it very needless to enquire after other personal qualities, vvhich vvere but common things, vvhenceas the other vvas all Divine. On the contrary they thought it vvas so much the better to have to do vwith a poor ignorant Priest: for then they had to do only vwith the Church and not vwith the man. Pursuant to this that persons Confessor vvas the greatest and the most notorious Block-head that could be found, and when they were asked why they made use of so weak a man, they answered because they could not find a weaker: and when ever they found one better qualified that way, if it were a Groom or a Footman that got into Priests Orders, they would certainly make use of him. For they would ask counsel of a Friend; but they knew no other use of a Confessor, but to confess to him, and to receive absolution from him: and in so doing they pretended they acted as became a true Catholick, that considered only the power of the Church in the Priest, without regarding any thing else.

So far have I entertained you with the  
short

Short Ramble that I made, vy which vvas too short to deserve the name of Travelling, and therefore the Inquiries or observations that I could make, must be received vvith the abatement that ought to be made for so short a stay: and all will be of a peice, when the remarks are as slight, as the abroad I made in the places through which I past was short. I have avoided the troubling you with things that are commonly known, so if I have not entertained you with a long recital of ordinary matters, yet I have told you nothing but what I saw and knew to be true, or that I had from such hands, that I have very good reason to believe it: and I fancy that the things which made the greatest impression on my self, will be acceptably received by you, to whom, as upon many accounts, I owe all the Expressions of esteem and gratitude that I can ever pay; so I had a more particular reason that determined me to give you, so full an account of all I saw and observed: for as you were pleased at parting to do me the Honour to desire me to communicate to you such things as appeared most remarkable to me, so I found such a vast advantage in many places, but more particularly at *Venice*, *Rome* and *Naples*, by the happiness I have of being known to you, and of being so far considered by you, that I could give a copious account both of your Person and Studies, to those in whom your Curious Discoveries had kindled that  
esteem.

esteem for you, which all the World payeth both to you and to your immortal Inquiries into Nature, vvhich are among the peculiar Blessings of this Age: and that are read with no less care and pleasure in *Italy* than in *England*. This was so well received, that I found the great advantage of this Honour I did myself in assuming the glorious Title of one of your Friends, and I owe a great part of that distinction which I met with, to this favourable Character that I gave myself; so that if I made any progress in the Inquiries that so short a stay could enable one to make, I owe it in so peculiar a manner to you, that this return that I make, is but a very small part of that I owe you, and which I will be endeavouring to pay you to the last moment of my Life.

# THE FIFTH LETTER.

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From *Nimwegen*, the 20. of May, 1686.

SIR,

**I** Thought I had made so full a point at the conclusion of my last Letter, that I should not have given you the trouble of reading any more Letters of the Volume of the former: But new Scenes and new matter offering themselves to me, I fancy you will be very gentle to me, if I ingage you again to two or three Hours reading. From *Civita Vecchia* I came to *Marselles*, where if there were a Road as safe as the Harbour is covered; and if the Habour were as large as it is convenient, it were certainly one of the most important places in the World; all is so well defended, that it is with respect either to Storms or Enemies the securest Port that can be seen any where. The Freedoms of this place, tho it is now at the mercy of the Citadel, are such, and its scituation draweth so much Trade to it, that there one seeth

another appearance of Wealth than I found in any Town of *France*, and there is a new street lately built there, and for the beauty of the buildings, and the largeness of the street, is the Noblest I ever saw. There is in that Port a perpetual heat, and the Sun was so strong in the Christians week, that I was often driven off the Key. I made a Turn from thence through *Province, Languedoc, and Dauphine*. I will offer you no account of *Nismes*, nor of the Amphitheatre in it, or the *Pont du Gar.* near it; which as they are stupendious things, so they are so copiously described by many, and are so generally known to the English Nation, that if you have never gone that way your self, yet you must needs have received so particular a relation of them from those that have seen them on their way to *Montpelier*, that I judge it needless to enlarge upon them: Nor will I say any thing of the Soil, and the Towns, or any other remarkable things that I found there.

I have a much a stronger inclination to say somewhat concerning the Persecution which I saw in its rage and utmost fury; and of vvhich I could give you many instances that are so much beyond all the common Measures of Barbarity and Cruelty, that I confess they ought not to be believed, unless I could give more positive proofs of them, than are fitting novv to be brought forth: and the particulars that I could tell you are such, that if I should relate them vvith the necessary circumstances of  
time,

time, place, and persons, these might be so  
 fatal to many that are yet in the power of their  
 Enemies, that my regard to them restrains  
 me. In short, I do not think that in any Age  
 there ever was such a violation of all that is  
 sacred, either with relation to God or Man:  
 And what I saw and knew there from the  
 first hand, hath so confirmed all the Ideas  
 that I had taken from Books of the Cruelty  
 of that Religion, that I hope the impres-  
 sion that this hath made upon me shall never  
 end but with my life: The applauses that  
 the whole Clergy give to this way of procee-  
 ding, the many Panegericks that are already  
 writ upon it, of which, besides the more  
 pompous ones that appear at *Paris*, there are  
 numbers writ by smaller Authors in every  
 Town of any note there; and the Sermons  
 that are all flights of flattery upon this Sub-  
 ject, are such evident Demonstrations of  
 their Sense of this matter; that what is now  
 on foot may be well termed the Act of the  
 whole Clergy of *France*, which yet hath  
 been hitherto esteemed the most moderate  
 part of the Roman Communion. If any  
 are more moderate than others; and have  
 not so far laid off the Humane Nature as not to  
 go in entirely into those Bloody Practices, yet  
 they dare not own it, but whisper it in se-  
 cret as if it were half Treason: but for the  
 greater part, they do not only magnifie all that  
 is done, but they animate even the Dra-  
 goons to higher Degrees of rage: and there  
 was such a heat spread over all the Country,

on this occasion, that one could not go into any Ordinary, or mix in any promiscuous Conversation, without finding such Effects of it, that it was not easie for such as were touch'd with the least degree of Compassion for the Miseries that the poor Protestants suffered to be a Witness to the Insultings, that they must meet with in all places. Some perhaps imagine that this hath not been approved in *Italy*, and it is true, there were not any publick Rejoycings upon it at *Rome*; No Indulgences nor *Te Deums* were heard of: And the *Spanish* Faction being so prevalent there, it is not strange if a Course of Proceedings, that is without an Example, was set forth, by all that were of that interest, in its proper Colours; of which I met with some Instances my self, and could not but smile to see some of the *Spanish* Faction so far to forget their Courts of Idquisition as to argue against the Conversions by the Dragoons, as a Reproach to the Catholick Religion; yet the Pope was of another mind, for the Duke d'Estres gave him an account of the King's Proceedings in this matter very copiously, as he himself related it. Upon which the Pope approved all, and expressed great satisfaction in every thing that the King had done in that matter; and the Pope added that he found some Cardinals [as I remember the Duke d'Estres said two] were not pleased with it, and had taken the Liberty to censure it, but the Pope said, they were to blame: The Duke d'Estres did not name the two Cardinals,



nals, tho he said he believed he knew who they were: and it is very like that Cardinal was one, for I was told that he spoke freely enough of this matter. I must take the liberty to add one thing to you, that I do not see that the *French King* is to be so much blamed in this matter as his Religion is, which, without question, obligeth him to extirpate Hereticks, and not to keep his Faith to them: so that instead of censuring him, I must only lament his being bred up in a Religion that doth certainly oblige him to devest himself of Humanity, and to violate his Faith, whensoever the cause of his Church and Religion requireth it. Or if there is any thing in this conduct that cannot be entirely justified from the Principles of that Religion, it is this, that he doth not put the Hereticks to death out of hand, but that he forceth them, by all the extremities possible, to sign an abjuration, that all the World must needs see is done against their Consciencs: and this being the only end of their Miseries, those that would think any sort of death a happy conclusion of their sufferings, seeing no prospect of such a glorious Issue out of their Trouble, are prevailed on by the many lingring deaths of which they see no end, to make Shipwrack of the Faith: This appearance of Mercy, in not putting men to death, doth truly verifie the Character that *Solomon* giveth of the Tender Mercies of the Wicked, that they are Cruel.

But I will stop here, tho it is not easie to retire from so copious a Subject, that as it affordeth so much matter, so upon many accounts raiseth a heat of thought that is not easily governed. I will now lead you to a Scene that giveth less Passion.

I past the Winter at *Geneva*, with more satisfaction than I had thought it vvas possible for me to have found any vvhere out of *England*: tho that received great allaies from the most lamentable Stories that vve had every day from *France*: but there is a Sorrovv by vvhich the Heart is made better. I ought to make the most publick acknowledgments possible for the extraordinary Civilities that I met vvith in any one particular: but that is too lovꝝ a Subject to entertain you with it. That which pleased me most, was of a more publick nature, before I left *Geneva*, the numbers of the English there was such, that I found we could make a small Congregation. For we were twelve or fourteen, so I addrest my self to the Council of twenty five, for liberty to have our own Worship in our own Language, according to the English Liturgy. This was immediatly granted in so obliging a manner, that there was not one Person that made any exception to it, so they sent one of their Body to me, to let me know that in case our number should grow to be so great, that it were fit for us to assemble in a Church they would grant us one which had been done in *Q. Mary's* Reign: but

but till then we might hold our Assemblies  
as we thought fit. So after that time,  
during the rest of my stay there, we had  
every Sunday our Devotions according to the  
Common-Prayer Morning and Evening : and  
at the Evening-Prayer. I preacht in a Room  
that was indeed too large for our small  
Company, but there being a considerable  
number in Geneva that understand English,  
and in particular some of the Professors and  
Ministers, we had a great many Strangers  
that met with us : and the last Sunday I gave  
the Sacrament according to the way of the  
Church of England, and upon this occasion  
I found a general joy in the Town, for this  
that I had given them an opportunity of ex-  
pressing the respect they had for our Church,  
and as in their Publick Prayers they always  
prayed for the Churches of Great Britain,  
as well as for the King, so in private  
discourse they shewed all possible esteem for  
our Constitutions, and they spoke of the  
unhappy Divisions among us, and of the  
Separation that was made from us, upon  
the account of our Government and Cere-  
monies with great regret and dislike. I shall  
name to you only two of their Professours  
that as they are Men of great distinction, so  
they were the Persons with whom I conversed  
the most. The one is Mr. Turretin, a man  
of great Learning, that by his Indefatigable  
Study and Labour has much worn out and  
wasted his strength : amidst all the affluence  
of

of a great plenty of Fortune to which he was born, one discerns in him all the Modesty of an humble and mortified Temper, and of an active and fervent Charity, proportioned to his abundance or rather beyond it; and there is in him such melting zeal for Religion, as the present conjuncture calls for, with all the seriousness of Piety and Devotion which shews it self both in private Conversation and in his most edifying Sermons by which he enters deep into the Consciences of his Hearers. The other is Mr. Tronchin, a man of a strong Head, and of a clear and correct Judgment; who has all his thoughts well digested: his Conversation has an engaging Charm in it that cannot be resisted. He is a man of extraordinary Virtue and of a readiness to oblige and serve all Persons, that has scarce any measures. His Sermons have a sublimity in them that strikes the Hearer as well as it edifies him. His thoughts are noble, and his Eloquence is Masculine, and exact, and has all the Majesty of the Chair in it tempered with all the softness of perswasion, so that he not only convinces his Hearers, but subdues them and triumphs over them. In such Company it was no wonder if time seemed to go off too fast, so that I left Geneva, with a concern that I could not have felt in leaving any place out of the Isle of Britain.

From Geneva, I went a second time through

Swit-

Switzerland to Basil : at *Avanche* I saw the  
 noble Fragments of a great *Roman* Work, which  
 seems to have been the Portico to some Tem-  
 ple : the Heads of the Pillars are about four  
 Foot Square of the *Ionick* Order : The  
 Temple hath been dedicated to *Neptune* or  
 some Sea-God ; for on the Fragments of the  
*Architrave*, which are very beautiful, there  
 are Dolphins and Sea-Horses in Bas-reliefs ;  
 and the Neighbourhood of the place to the Lakes  
 of *Evirdum* and *Morat* maketh this more  
 evident : there is also a Pillar standing up in  
 its full heighth, or rather the corner of a  
 building, in which one seeth the Rests of a  
 regular Artiteſture in two Ranks of Pillars :  
 If the ground near this were carefully searcht,  
 no doubt it would discover more Rests of that  
 Fabrick. Not far from this is *Morat* ; and a  
 little on this side of it is a Chappel, full of the  
 bones of the *Burgundians* that were killed by  
 the *Switzers*, when this place was besieged  
 by the famous *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* ;  
 who lost a great Army before it, that was en-  
 tirely cut off by the besieged ; the Inscription  
 is very extraordinary, especially for that Age :  
 for the bones being so piled up that the  
 Chappel is quite filled with them : the In-  
 scription bears that *Charles* Duke of *Burgun-  
 dy's* Army having besieged *Morat*, *Hoc sui  
 Monumentum reliquit*, had left that Monu-  
 ment behind it. It cannot but seem strange  
 to one that views *Morat* to Imagine how it  
 was possible for a Town so situated, and so slight-

slightly fortified, to hold out against so powerful a Prince and so great an Army that brought Canon before it. I met with nothing remarkable between this and *Basil*, except that I staid some time at *Bern*, and knew it better; and at this second time it was, that my Lord Advoyer *d'Elrach* gave order to shew me the Original Records of the famous Process of the four *Dominicans*; upon which I have retoucht the Letter that I writ to you last year, so that I now send it to you with the Corrections and Inlargements, that this second stay at *Bern* gave me occasion to make.

*Basil* is the Town of the greatest extent of all *Switzerland*, but it is not inhabited in proportion to its extent. The *Rhine* maketh a crook before it: and the Town is scituated on a rising ground, which hath a noble effect on the eye, when one is on the Bridge, for it looketh like a Theater. Little *Basil* on the other side of the *Rhine*, is almost a fourth part of the whole: the Town is surrounded with a Wall and Ditch, but it is so exposed on so many sides, and hath now so dreadful a Neighbour within a quarter of a League of it, the Fort of *Huning*, that it hath nothing to trust to, humanly speaking, but its Union with the other Cantons. The Maxims of this Canton have hindred its being better Peopled than it is, the advantages of the Burgership are such, that the Citizens will not share them with Strangers, and by  
this

means they do not admit them. For I was told that during the last War, that *Basilia* was so often the seat of both Armies, *Basil* having then a neutrality, it might have been well filled, if it had not been for this Maxim: and it were a great happiness to all the Cantons, if they could have different degrees of Burgership, so that the lower degrees might be given to strangers for their encouragement to come and live among them: and the higher degrees which qualifie them for the advantagious Employments of the State, might be reserved for the ancient Families of the Natives. *Basil* is divided into sixteen Companies, and every one of these hath four Members in the little Council, so that it consisteth of sixty four: But of those four, two are chosen by the Company it self, who are called the Masters, and the other two are chosen by the Council out of the Company; and thus as there are two sorts of Councillors, chosen in those different manners, there are also two chief Magistrates. There are two Burgermasters that Reign by turns, and two Zunft-Masters that have also their turns, and all is for life; and the last are the heads of the Companies, like the *Roman* Tribunes of the People. The Fabrick of the State-House is ancient: there is very good Painting in fresco upon the Walls: one piece hath given much offence to the Papiſts, tho they have no reason to blame the Reformation for it: since it

was done several years before it, in the Year 1510. It is a Representation of the Day of Judgment, and after Sentence given, the Devil is represented driving many before him to Hell, among these there is a Pope, and several Ecclesiasticks. But it is believed that the Council which sate so long in this place, acting so vigorously against the Pope, engaged the Town into such a hatred of the Papacy, that this might give the Rise to this Representation. The more learned in the Town ascribe the beginning of the Custom in *Basil* of the Clocks anticipating the time a full Hour, to the sitting of the Council, and they say that in order to the advancing of Business, and the shorting their Sessions, they ordered their Clocks to be set forward an Hour: which continueth to this day. The Cathedral is a great old *Gothick* Building; the Chamber where the Council sate, is of no great Reception, and is a very ordinary Room: *Erasmus's* Tomb is only a plain Inscription upon a great Brass Plate: There are many of *Holbens's* Pictures here, who was a Native of *Basil*, and was recommended by *Erasmus* to King *Henry* the VIII. the two best are a *Corpo*, or *Christ* dead, which is certainly one of the best Pictures in the World: There is another piece of his in the State-House, for this is in the publick Library, of about three or four Foot square; in which, in six several Cantons, the several parts of our Saviours Pas-



Passions are represented with a Life and Beauty  
 that cannot be enough admired; it is valued  
 at ten Thousand Crowns; it is on Wood,  
 but hath that freshness of Colour still on it,  
 that seems peculiar to *Holben's* Pencil. There  
 is also a Dance that he painted on the Walls of  
 an House where he used to drink, that is so worn  
 out that very little is now to be seen, ex-  
 cept Shapes and Postures; but these shew  
 the exquisiteness of the Hand. There is ano-  
 ther longer Dance that runneth all along the  
 side of the Convent of the *Augustinians*,  
 which is now the French Church, which is  
 Deaths Dance; there are above threescore  
 figures in it at full length of Persons of all  
 Ranks, from Popes, Emperors, and Kings,  
 down to the meanest sorts of People, and of  
 all Ages and Professions, to whom Death  
 appeareth in an insolent and surprizing Posture,  
 and the several Passions that they express  
 are so well set out, that this was certainly a  
 great design. But the Fresco being exposed to  
 the Air, this was so worn out some time  
 ago, that they ordered the best Painter  
 they had to lay new Colours on it, but this  
 is so ill done, that one had rather see the dead  
 shadows of *Holben's* Pencil, than this Course  
 work. There is in *Basil* a Gun-Smith  
 that maketh Wind Guns, and he shewed  
 me one that as it received at once Air for ten  
 Shot, so it had this peculiar to it, which  
 he pretends is his own invention, that he  
 can discharge all the Air that can be parcel-  
 led out in ten Shot at once, to give a home

blow. I confess those are terrible instruments, and it seems the Interest of Mankind to forbid them quite, since they can be imploied to assassinate persons so dextrously, that neither noise nor fire will discover from what hand the shot cometh. The Library of *Bazil* is, by much the best in all *Switzerland*, there is a fine Collection of Meddals in it, and a very handsome Library of Manuscripts; the Room is noble, and disposed in a very good method. Their Manuscripts are chiefly the Latine Fathers, or Latine Translations of the Greek Fathers, some good Bibles, they have the Gospels in Greek Capitals, but they are variously writ in many places: there is an infinite number of the Writers of the darker Ages, and there are Legends and Sermons without number. All the Books that were in the several Monasteries at the time of the Reformation were carefully preserved: and they believe that the Bishops who sat here in the Council, brought with them a great many Manuscripts which they never carried away. Among their Manuscripts I saw some of *Huss's* Letters that he writ to the Bohemians the day before his death, which are very devout, but excessively simple. The Manuscripts of this Library are far more numerous than those of *Bern*, which were gathered by *Bongarsius*, and left by him to the publick Library there: they are indeed very little considered there, and are the worst kept that ever I saw: But it is a Noble collection of all the ancient Latine Authors.

tho

ators, they have some few of the best of the Roman times, writ in great Characters, and there are many that are seven or eight hundred years old. There is in *Basil* one of the best Collections of Medals that ever I saw in private hands; together with a Noble Library, in which there are Manuscripts of good antiquity that belongs to the Family of *Museb*, and that goeth from one learned man of the Family to another: for this Inheritance can only pass to a man of Learning, and when the Family produceth none, then it is to go to the Publick. In *Basil* as the several Companies have been more or less strict in admitting some to a Freedom in the Company, that have not been of the Trade, they retain their Priviledges to this day. For in such Companies that have once received such a number that have not been of the Trade as grew to be the majority, the Trade hath never been able to recover their Interest. But some Companies have been more cautious, and have never admitted any but those that were of the Trade, so that they retain their interest still in Government. Of these the Butchers were named for one, so that there are alwaies four Butchers in the Council. The great Council consisteth of two hundred and forty, but they have no Power left them, and they are only assembled upon some extraordinary Occasions, when the little Council thinketh fit to communicate any important matter to them. There are but six Baliaes that belong to *Basil* which

are not imployments of great advantage; for the best of them doth afford to the Baili only a thousand livres a year: They reckon that there are in *Bazil* three thousand men that can bear Arms, and that they could raise four thousand more out of the Canton, so that the Town is almost the half of this State, and the whole maketh thirty Parishes. There are eighteen Professors in this University; and there is a Spirit of a more free and generous Learning stirring there, then I saw in all those parts. There is a great decency of habit in *Bazil* and the garb both of the Councillers, Ministers and Professors, their stiff Ruffs, and their long Beards, have an Air that is August. The appointments are but small, for Councillers, Ministers and Professors have but a hundred Crowns a peice: It is true many Ministers are Professors so this mendeth the matter a little: but perhaps it would be better with the State of Learning there, they had but half the number of Professors and if those were a little better encouraged. No where is the rule of *St. Paul* [ of *Worms* having on their Heads the badge of authority under which they are brought which by a Phrase that is not extraordinary he calleth power ] better observed then in *Bazil*; for all the married Women go to Church with a Coif on their heads, that so folded, that as it cometh down so far to cover their eyes, so another folding covereth also their Mouth and Chin, so that

nothing but the nose appears, and then all turns backward in a folding that hangeth down to their midleg. This is alwaies white, so that there is there such a sight of white heads in their Churches as cannot be stand any where else : The unmarried Women wear hats turned up in their brims before and behind : and the brims of the sides being about a foot broad, stand out far from both hands : This Fashion is also at Strasburg, and is worn there also by the married Women.

I mentioned formerly the constant danger which this place is exposed from the neighborhood of *Huningh*, I was told that at first it was pretended that the French King intended to build only a small Fort there, and it was believed that one of the Burgomasters of *Bazil*, who was thought not on the wisest man of that Canton, but of all *Switzerland*, was gained to lay all men asleep, and to assure them that the suffering this Fort to be built so near them, was of no importance to them, but now they see too late their fatal Error: For the place is great, and will hold a Garrison of three or four thousand Men; it is a Pentagone, only the side to the *Rhine* is so large, that if it went round on that side, I believe it must have been a Hexagone; the Bastions have all Orillons, and in the middle of them there is a void space, not filled up with Earth, where there is a Magazine built so thick in the Vault that it is proof against Bombs; The Ramparts

are strongly faced, there is a large Ditch, and before the Cortine, in the middle of the Ditch, there runs all along a Horn-work which is but ten or twelve Foot high ; and from the bottom of the Rampart, there goeth a Vault to this Horn-work, that is for conveying of men for its defence before this Horn-work there is a half Moon, with this that is peculiar to those new Fortifications, that there is a Ditch that cuts the Half-Moon in an Angle, and maketh one half Moon within another : Beyond that there is a Counter scarp about twelve Foot high above the Water, with a covered way, and a glacé designed tho' not executed. There is also a great Horn-work besides all this, which runs out a huge way with its out-works towards *Basil* ; there is also a Bridge laid over the *Rhine*, and there being an Island in the River, where the Bridge is laid, there is a Horn-work that filleth and fortifieth it. The Buildings in this Fort are beautiful, and the Square can hold above four thousand Men ; the works are not yet quite finished but when all is compleated, this will be one of the strongest Places in *Europe* : There is a Cavalier on one or two of the Bastions, and there are half Moons before the Bastions, so that the Switzers see their danger now, when it is not easie to redress it. This Place is situated in a great Plain, so that it is commanded by no rising ground on any side of it. I made a little Turn into *Alsace*, as far as *Mounipeliard* ; the Soil is extream rich, but it hath been

then so long a Frontier Country; and is, by consequence, so ill Peopled, that it is in many places over-grown with Woods: In one respect it is fit to be the seat of War, for it is full of Iron-works, which bring a great deal of Money into the Country. I saw nothing peculiar in the Iron-works there (except that the sides of the great Bellows were not of leather, but of Wood, which saves much Money) so I will not stand to describe them. The River of the *Rhine*, all from *Basil* to *Spire*, is so low, and is on both sides so covered with Woods, that one that cometh down in Boat hath no sight of the Country: The River runneth sometimes with such a force, that nothing but such woods could preserve its Banks, and even these are not able to save them quite, for the Trees are often washed away by the very Roots, so that in many places those Trees lye along in the Channel of the River: It hath been also thought a sort of Fortification to both sides of the River, to have it thus faced with Woods, which maketh the passing of Men dangerous, when they must march for some time after their Passage through a *defilé*. The first Night from *Basil* we came to *Brisac*, which is a poor and miserable Town, but it is a noble Fortification, and hath on the West-side of the River, over which a Bridge is laid, a regular Fort of four or five Bastions. The Town of *Brisac* riseth all on a Hill, which is a considerable height; there were near it two Hills, the one was taken within the Fortification. and the o-

ther is so well levelled with the ground, that one cannot so much as find out where it was; All the ground about for many miles is plain, so that from the Hill, as from a Cavalier, one can see exactly well, especially with the help of a Prospect, all the motions of an Enemy in case of a Siege: The Fortification is of a huge compass, above a French league, indeed almost a German league; the bastions are quite filled with Earth, they are faced with brick, and have a huge broad Ditch full of Water around them, the Counterscarp, the covered Way, which hath a Palisade within the Parapet, and the Glacy, are all well executed; there is a half Moon before every Cortine: the bastions have no Orillons except one or two, and the Cortines are so disposed that a good part of them defendeth the bastion. The Garrison of this place in time of War must needs be eight or ten thousand men; there hath not been much done of late to this place only the Ditch is so adjusted that it is all defended by the flanks of the bastions. But the noblest place on the Rhine is *Strasburg*: it is a Town of a huge extent, and hath a double Wall and Ditch all round it: the inner Wall is old and of no strength, nor is the outward Wall very good. it hath a faussebraye, and is faced with brick twelve or fifteen foot above the Ditch: the Counterscarp is in an ill condition, so that the Town was not in case to make any long resistance; but it is now strongly fortified. There is a Cittadel built on that side that goeth towards



abords the Rhine, that is much such a Fort as that of *Huningh*, and on the side of the Citta-  
 wall towards the Bridge, there is a great Horn-  
 work that runs out a great way with out-works  
 belonging to it; there are also small Forts  
 on the two chief Gates that lead to *Alsace*,  
 by which the City is so bridled, that these can  
 cut off all its Communication with the Country  
 about, in case of a Revolt: the Bridge is also  
 well fortified: there are also Forts in some Is-  
 lands in the *Rhine*, and some Redoubts: so  
 that all round this Place there is one of the great-  
 est Fortifications that is in *Europe*.

Hitherto the Capitulation with relation to  
 Religion hath been well kept, and there is so  
 small a number of new Converts, and these are  
 for the greatest Part so Inconsiderable, they not  
 being in all above two Hundred as I was told,  
 that if they do not imploy the new fashioned  
 Missionaries *a la Dragonné*, the old ones are  
 not like to have so great Harvest there as they  
 promised themselves, though they are Jesuits.  
 The *Lutherans* for the greatest part retain  
 their Animosities almost to an equal degree  
 both against *Papists* and *Calvinists*. I was in  
 their Church, where if the Musick of their  
 Psalms pleased me much, the Irreverence in  
 Singing, it being free to keep on, or put off  
 the Hitt, did appear very strange to me: The  
 Churches are full of Pictures, in which the  
 chief Passages of our Saviours Life are repre-  
 sented: but there is no sort of Religious re-  
 spect payed them, they bow when they name  
 the Holy Ghost, as well as at the Name of Je-

his: but they have not the Ceremonies that the Lutherans of Saxony use, which Mr. Bebel, their Professor of Divinity, said was a great Happiness, for a Similitude in outward Rite might dispose the ignorant people to change too easily. I found several good People both of the Lutheran Ministers and others, acknowledging that there was such a Corruption of Morals spread over the whole City, that as they had justly drawn down on their Heads the plague of the loss of their Liberty, so this having toucht them so little they had reason to look for severer strokes: One seeth, in the ruine of this City, what a mischievous thing the popular pride of a free City is: they fancied they were able to defend themselves, and so they refused to let an Imperial Garrison come within their Town: for if they had received only five hundred Men, as that small number would not have been able to have oppress their Liberties, so it would have so secured the Town that the French could not have besieged it, without making War on the Empire: but the Town thought this was a diminution of their Freedom, and so chose rather to pay a Garrison of three thousand Soldiers, which as it exhausted their Revenue, and brought them under great Taxes, so it proved too weak for their defence when the French Army came before them. The Town begins to sink in its Trade, notwithstanding the great Circulation of Money that the Expence of the Fortifications hath brought to it: but when that is at an End, it will sink more sensibly, for it

it is impossible for a place of Trade, that is to  
 have always eight or ten Thousand Soldiers in  
 it, to continue long in a Flourishing  
 State. There was a great animosity between  
 two of the chief Families of the Town, *Dietrick*  
 and *Obrecht*, the former was the  
 Burgo master, and was once almost run down  
 by a Faction that the other had raised against  
 him: but he turned the Tide, and got such an  
 advantage against *Obrecht*, who had writ  
 somewhat against the Conduct of their Affairs,  
 that he was condemned and beheaded for  
 writing Libels against the Government. His  
 Son is a Learned Man, and was Professor of  
 the Civil Law: and he to have his turn of re-  
 venge againk *Dietrick*, went to *Paris* last  
 Summer, and that he might make his Court  
 the better, changed his Religion. *Dietrick*  
 had been always looked on as one of the chief  
 of the French Faction, tho he had been at  
 first an Imperialist, so it was thought that  
 he should have been well rewarded; yet it  
 was expected that to make himself capable of  
 that, he should have changed his Religion, but  
 he was an ancient Man, and would not pur-  
 chase his Court at that rate: so without any  
 Reason given, and against the express Words  
 of the Capitulation, he was confined to one  
 of the midland Provinces of *France*, as I re-  
 member it was *Limosin*; and thus he that hath  
 been thought the chief cause of this Towns  
 falling under the Power of the French, is the  
 first Man that hath felt the Effects of it. The  
 Library here is considerable, The Case is a  
 great

great Room very well contrived, for it is divided into Closets all over the body of the Room, which runs about these as a Gallery, and in these Closets all round, there are the Books of the several Professions lodged apart : There is one for Manuscripts in which there are some of considerable Antiquity. I need say nothing to you of the vast height, and the Gothick Architecture of the Steeple, and of the great Church, nor of the curious Clock, where there is so vast a variety of Motions, for these are well known. The Bas reliefs upon the tops of the great Pillars of the Church are not so visible, but they are surprizing, for this being a Fabrick of three or four Hundred Years old, it is very strange to see such Representations as are there. There is a Procession represented, in which a Hog carrieth the Pot with the Holy Water, and Asses and Hogs in Priestly Vestments follow to make up the Procession ; there is also an Ass standing before an Altar, as if he were going to Consecrate, and one carrieth a Case with Reliques, within which one seeth a Fox, and the trains of all that go in this Procession, are carried up by Monkeys. This seems to have been made in hatred of the Monks whom the Secular Clergy abhorred at that time, because they had drawn the Wealth, and the following of the World after them, and they had exposed the Secular Clergy so much for their ignorance, that it is probable, after some Ages, the Monks falling under the same contempt,

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the Secular Clergy took their turn in exposing them in so lasting a Representation to the scorn of the World. There is also in the Pulpit a Nun cut in Wood, lying along, and a Friar lying near her with his Breviary open before him, and his Hand under the Nuns habit, and the Nuns feet are shod with Iron Shoos. I confess I did not look for these things, for I had not heard of them, but my Noble Friend, Mr. *Ablancourt* viewed them with great exactness, while he was the *French Kings* Resident at *Strasburg*, in the Company of one of the Magistrates that waited on him; and it is upon his Credit, to which all that know his eminent Sincerity, know how much is due, that I give you this Particular.

From *Strasburg* we went down to the *Rhine* to *Phillipsburg*, which lieth at a quarter of a Miles distance from the River, it is but a small Place, the Bastions are but little: There is a Ravelline before almost all the Cortines, and there lye such Martes all round it, that in these lieth the chief strength of the Place, The *French* had begun a great Crown work on the side that lieth to the *Rhine*, and had cast out a Horn-work beyond that; but by all that appears, it seems they intended to continue that Crown-work quite round the Town, and to make a second Wall and Ditch all round it; which would have enlarged the Place vastly, and made a Compass capable enough to lodge above ten Thousand Men: and this would have been

been so terrible a Neighbour to the *Palatinate* and all *Francia* that it was a Master-piece in *Charles Lewis*, the late Elector Palatine, to engage the Empire into this Siege. He saw well how much it concerned him to have it out of the Hands of the *French*, so that he took great Care to have the Duke of *Lorraine's* Camp so well supplied with all things necessary during the Siege, that the Army lay not under the least uneasiness all the while. From thence in three hours time we came to *Spire*, which is so naked a Town that if it were attacked, it could not make the least resistance. The Town is neither great nor Rich, and subsisteth chiefly by the Imperial Chamber that sitteth here, tho' there is a constant dispute between the Town and the Chamber concerning Priviledges; for the Government of the Town, pretends that the Judges of the Chamber, as they are private Men, and out of the Court of Judicature, are subject to them; and so about a Year ago they put one of the Judges in Prison: On the other Hand the Judges pretended that their Persons are Sacred. It was the Consideration of the Chamber that procured to the Town the Neutrality that they enjoyed all the last War. I thought to have seen the forms of this Court, and the way of laying up, and preserving their Records, but the Court was not then sitting. The Building, the Halls, and Chambers of this famous Court are mean beyond Imagination, and look liker the Halls of some small Com-  
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many, than of so great a Body; and I could not see the places where they lay up their Archives: The Government of the City is all *Lutheran*, but not only the Cathedral is in the Hands of the Bishop and Chapter, but there are likewise several Convents of both Sexes, and the Jesuites have also a Colledge there. There is little remarkable in the Cathedral, which is a huge Building in the Gothic manner of the worst sort. The Tombs of many Emperors that lye Buried there, are remarkable for their meaness; they being only great Flag-stones layed on some small Stone Ballisters of a Foot and a half high, there are also the Marks of a ridiculous Fable concerning *St. Bernard*, which is too foolish to be related, yet since they have taken such Pains to preserve the remembrance of it, I shall venture to writ it. There are from the Gate all along the Nef of the Church up to the Steps that go up to the Quire, four round Plates of Brass, above a foot Diameter, and at the Distance of thirty Foot one from another; laid in the Pavement, on the first of these is Engraven: *O Clemens*; on the second, *O Pia*, on the third, *O Felix*; and on the fourth, *Maria*: The last is about thirty Foot distant from a Statue of the Virgins: so they say that *St. Bernard* came up the whole length of the Church at four Steps, and that those four Plates were laid where he stept; and that at every Step he pronounced the Word that is Engraven on the Plate, and when he

he came to the last, the Image of the Virgin answered him. *Salve Bernarde*: upon which he answered, *let a Woman keep silence in the Church*, and that the Virgins Statue has kept silence ever since, this last part of the Story is certainly very credible. He was a man of Learning that shewed me this; and he repeated it so gravely to me, that I saw he either believed it, or at least that he had a mind to make me believe it: and I asked him as gravely if that was firmly believed there, he told me that one had lately writ a Book to prove the truth of it, as I remember, it was a Jesuit: he acknowledged it was not an Article of Faith, so I was satisfied. There is in the Cloister an old Gothick representation of our Saviours Agony in stone, with a great many Figures of his Apostles, and the Company that came to seize him, that is not ill Sculpture, for the Age in which it was made, it being some Ages old. The Calvinists have a Church in this Town, but their numbers are not considerable: I was told there were some ancient Manuscripts in the Library, that belongeth to the Cathedral: but one of the Prebendaries to whom I addressed myself, being according to the *German* custom, a man of greater quality then learning, told me he heard they had some ancient Manuscripts, but he knew nothing of it, and the Dean was absent, so I could not see them, for he kept one of the keys. The lower Palatinate is certainly one of the sweetest Countries of all



*Germany* : It is a great Plain till one cometh to the Hills of *Heidelberg* : the Town is well scituated, just in a bottom between two ranges of Hills, yet the Air is much commended : I need say nothing of the Castle, nor the prodigious Wine Cellar, in which, tho there is but one celebrated Tun that is seventeen foot high, and twenty six foot long, and is built with a strength like that of the Ribs of a Ship, then the Staves of a Tun; yet there are many other Tuns of such a prodigious bigness, that they would seem very extraordinary if this vast one did not Eclipse them. The late Prince *Charles Lewis* shewed his capacity in the peopling and settling this State, that had been so intirely ruined, being for many years the Seat of War, for in four years time he brought it to a Flourishing condition: He raised the Taxes as high as was possible without dispeopling his Country, all mens Estates were valued, and they were taxed at five *per cent.* of the value of their Estates; but their Estates were not valued to the rigour, but with such abatements as have been ordinary in *England* in the times of Subsidies; so that when his Son offered to bring the Taxes down to two *per cent* of the real value; the Subjects all desired him rather to continue them as they were. There is no Prince in *Germany* that is more absolute then the Elector Palatine, for he laieth on his Subjects what Taxes he pleaseth, without being limited to any forms of Government. And  
here

here I saw that which I had always believed to be true, that the Subjects of *Germany* are only bound to their particular Prince, for they swear Allegiance simply to the Elector without any reserve for the Emperor, and in their Prayers for him they name him their Sovereign. It is true, the Prince is under some ties to the Emperor, but the Subjects are under none. And by this *D. Fabritius*, a learned and judicious Professor there, explained those words of *Pareus's* Commentary on the *Romans*, which had respect only to the Princes of the Empire: and were quite mis-understood by those who fancied that they favoured Rebellion; for there is no place in *Europe* where all rebellious Doctrine is more born down than there. I found a great Spirit of Moderation, with relation to those small Controversies that have occasioned such Heat in the Protestant Churches, reigning in the University there, which is in a great Measure owing to the Prudence, the Learning, and the happy Temper of Mind of *D. Fabricius*, and *D. Mick*; who as they were long in *England*, so they have that generous largeness of Soul, which is the noble Ornament of many of the English Divines. Prince *Charles Lewis* saw that *Manheim* was marked out by Nature to be the most important Place of all his Territory, it being Scituated in the Point where *Neckar* falleth into the *Rhine*; so that that those two Rivers defending it on two sides: it was capable of a good Fortification: It is true, the Air is not thought wholesome; and

and the Water is not good, yet he made a fine Town there, and a Noble Cittadel with a regular Fortification about it, and he designed a great Palace there, but he did not live to Build it. He saw of what advantage Liberty of Conscience was to the Peopling of his Country, so as he suffered the *Jews* to come and settle there, he resolved also not only to suffer the three Religions tolerated by the Laws of the Empire to be professed there, but he built a Church for them all three, which he called the Church of the Concord, in which both *Calvinists*, *Lutherans*, and *Papists* had, in the order in which I have set them down, the Exercise of their Religion, and he maintained the Peace of his Principality so entirely, that there was not the least disorder occasioned by this Tolleration: This indeed made him to be lookt on as a Prince that did not much consider Religion himself. He had a wonderful application to all affairs, and was not only his own chief Minister, but he alone did the work of many.

But I were unjust if I should not say somewhat to you of the Princely Vertues and the Celebrated Probity of the present Pr. Elector upon whom that Dignity is devolved by the Extinction of so many Princes that in this Age composed the most numerous Family of any of that Rank in *Europe*. This Prince as he is in many Respects an Honour to the Religion that he Professes, so is in nothing more to be commended by those who differ from him, than for his exact adhering to the Promises

mises he made his Subjects, with relation to their Religion, in which he has not even in the smallest Matters, broke in upon their established Laws, and tho' an order of Men, that have turned the World upside down, have great Credit with him, yet it is hitherto visible, that they cannot carry it so far, as to make him do any thing contrary to the established Religion; and so those sacred Promises that he made his Subjects. For he makes it appear to all the World that he does not consider those as so many Words spoken at first to lay his People asleep; which he may now explain and observe as he thinks fit; but as so many ties upon his Conscience and Honour, which he will religiously observe. And as in the other Parts of his Life he has set a noble Pattern to all the Princes of Europe, so his Exactness to his Promises, is that which cannot be too much commended: of which this extraordinary Instance has been Communicated to me since I am come into this Country. The Elector had a Procession in his Court last *Corpus Christi* Day, upon which one of the Ministers of *Heidelberg* preached a very severe Sermon against Popery, and in particular, taxed that Procession perhaps with greater plainness than discretion: This being brought to the Electors Ears, he sent presently an Order to the Ecclesiastical Senate to suspend him. That Court is composed of some Secular Men, and some Churchmen and as the Princes Authority is delegated to them, so they have a sort of an Episcopal Jurisdiction

diction over all the Clergy. This order was a surprize to them, as being a direct breach upon their Laws, and the liberty of their Religion : so they sent a Deputation to Court, to let the Elector know the Reasons that hindred them from obeying his Orders, which were heard with so much Justice and Gentleness that their Prince, instead of expressing any displeasure against them, recalled the order that he had sent them. The way from *Heidelberg* to *Frankfort*, is, for the first twelve or fifteen Miles, the beautifullest piece of Ground that can be imagined ; for we went under a ridge of little Hills, that are all covered with Vines, and from them, as far as the Eye can go, there is a Beautiful Plain of Corn-fields and Meadows, all sweetly divided and enclosed with rows of Trees, so that I fancied I was in *Lombardy* again, but with this advantage, that here all was not of a piece, as it is in *Lombardy* : but the Hills as they made a pleasant inequality in the Prospect, so they made the Air purer, and produced a pleasant Wine : The way near *Darmstat* and all forwards to *Frankfort*, becometh more wild and more Sandy : There is a good Suburb on the South-side of the Main, over against *Frankfort*, which hath a very considerable Fortification ; there is a double Wall, and double Ditch that goeth round it, and the outward Wall, as it is regularly fortified, so it is faced with Brick to a considerable heighth. The Town of *Frankfort* is of a great Extent, and seemed to be but about a third Part less than *Strasbourg* :

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The three Religions are also tolerated there ; and tho' the number of the Papiſts is very in-considerable, yet they have the great Church, which is a huge rude Building ; they have also several other Churches, and some Con-vents there. There are several open Squares for Market-places, and the Houses about them look very well without. Among their Archives they preserve the Original of the *Bulla Aurea*, which is only a great Parchment writ in High *Dutch*, without any Beauty answering to its Title : and since I could not have understood it, I was not at the Pains of desiring to see it, for that is not obtained without Difficulty. The *Lutherans* have here built a new Church, called *St. Katherins*, in which there is as much painting as ever I saw in any Popish Church, and over the high Altar there is an huge carved Crucifix, as there are painted ones in other places of their Church : The Pulpit is extream fine of Marble of different Colours very well polished and joined : I was here at Sermon, where I understood nothing, but I liked one thing that I saw both at *Strasburg*, and here, that at the end of Prayers, there was a considerable Interval of Silence left, before the Conclusion, for all Peoples private Devotions. In the House of their publick Discipline, they retain still the old Roman *Piltrina* or Hand-mill, at which lewd Women are condemned to grind, that is, to drive about the Wheel that maketh the Millstones go. There is a great number of *Jers* there, tho

tho their two Synagogues are very little, and by consequence the numbers being great, they are very nasty. I was told they were in all above twelve Hundred. The Women had the most of a tawdry Imbroidery of Gold and Silver about them that ever I saw, for they had all Mantles of Crape, and both about the top and the bottom, there was a Border above a Hand breadth of Imbroidery. The Fortification of *Frankfort* is considerable, their Ditch is very Broad, and very full of Water; all the Bastions have a Counter-mine that runneth along by the brim of the Ditch; but the Counterscarp is not faced with Brick as the Walls are, and so in many places it is in an ill condition; the covered way and glacé are also in an ill case: The Town is rich, and driveth a great Trade, and is very pleasantly scituated. Not far from hence is *Hockam* that yieldeth the best Wine of those parts. Since I took *Frankfort* in my way from *Heidelberg* to *Mentz*, I could not pass by *Worms*, for which I was sorry. I had a great mind to see that place where *Luther* made his first appearance before the Emperor, and the Diet, and in that solemn audience expressed an undaunted Zeal for that glorious cause in which God made him such a blessed Instrument. I had another piece of curiosity on me which will perhaps appear to you somewhat ridiculous. I had a mind to see a Picture that as I was told is over one of the Popish Altars there, which one would think was invented by the Enemies of

Transubstantiation to make it appear ridiculous, there is a Windmill, and the Virgin throws Christ into the Hopper, and he comes out at the Eye of the Mill all in Wafers, which some Priests take up to give the People. This is so coarse an Emblem, that one would think it too gross even for *Laplanders*, but a Man that can swallow Transubstantiation it self, will digest this likewise. *Ments* is very nobly Situated on a rising Ground, a little below the Conjunction of the two Rivers, the *Rhine* and the *Main*; It is of too great a Compass, and too ill Peopled to be capable of a great Defence: There is a Cittadel upon the highest part of the Hill that commandeth the Town; it is Compassed about with a dry Ditch, that is considerably deep. The Walls of the Town are faced with Brick, and regularly Fortified, but the Counter'carp is not faced with Brick, so all is in a sad Condition; and the Fortification is weakest on that side where the Electors Palace is. There is one side of a new Palace very nobly built in a regular Architecture, only the *Germans* do still retain somewhat of the Gothick manner. It is of a great Length, and the design is to build quite round the Court, and then it will be a very Magnificent Palace, only the Stone is red; for all the Quarries that are upon the *Rhine*, from *Basil* down to *Coblentz*, are of red Stone, which doth not look beautiful. The Elector of *Mentz* is an absolute Prince: His Subjects present Lists of their Magistrates to him, but he is not tied to them



hem, and may name whom he will : The Ancient Demeasne of the Electorat is about forty Thousand Crowns : But the Taxes rise to about three hundred Thousand Crowns : so that the Subjects here are as heavily taxed as in the *Palatinate*, There is twelve Thousand Crowns a year given the Elector for his Privy Purse, and the State bears the rest of his whole expence : It can Arm ten Thousand Men, and there is a Garrison of two Thousand Men in *Mentz* : This Elector hath three Councils, one as he is Chancellour of the Empire, consisting of three Persons : The other two are for the Policy and Justice of his Principality. He and his Chapter have Months by turns for the Nomination of the Prebends. In the month of *January* he names if any dies, and they choose in the Room of such as die in *February*, and so all the year round. The Prebendaries or Domeheers have about three thousand Crowns a year apiece. When the Elector dieth, the Emperour sendeth one to see the Election made, and he recommendeth one, but the Cannons may chuse whom they please ; and the present Elector was not of the Emperours recommendation. Besides the Palace at *Mentz*, the Elector hath another near *Frankfort*, which is thought the best that is in those parts of *Germany* ; The Cathedral is a huge Gothick Building ; there is a great *Cupulo* in the West-end, and there the Quire singeth Mass : I could not learn whether this was done only because the place here was of

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greater reception than at the East-end, or if any burying place and indowment obliged them to the West-end. Near the Cathedral there is a huge Chappel of great Antiquity, and on the North Door there are two great Brass gates with a long Inscription, which I had not time to write out, but I found it was in the Emperour *Letharius's* time. There are a vast Number of Churches in this Town, but it is poor and ill Inhabited. The *Rhine* here is almost half an English mile broad, and there is a Bridge of Boats laid over it. From *Mentz* all along to *Buccharach* (which seems to carry its Name (*Bacchi Ara*) from some Famous Altar that the Romans probably erected by reason of the good Wine that grows in the neighbourhood.) There is a great Number of very considerable Villages on both sides of the River: Here the Rats Tower is shewed, and the people of the Country do all firmly believe the story of the Rats eating up an Elector, and that tho he fled to this Island where he Built a small high Tower, they pursued him still, and eat him up; and they told us that there was some of his Bones to be seen still in the Tower. This extraordinary Death make me call to mind a very particular and unlooked-for sort of Death, that carried off a poor Labourer of the ground a few days before I left *Geneva*. The foot of one of his Cattel, as he was Ploughing, went into a nest of Wasps, upon which the whole swarm came out, and set upon him that held the Plough, and killed him in a very little time; and his body was prodigiously swelled with the Poison of so many stings. But to return to the *Rhine*, all the way from *Baccharach* down to *Coblents*, there is on both sides of the River hanging grounds, or little Hills, so laid as if many of them had been laid by Art, which produce the rich Rhenish Wine: They are indeed as well exposed to the Sun, and covered from Storms, as can be Imagined: and the ground on those Hills, which are in some places of a considerable height, is so cultivated that there is not an inch lost that is capable of improvement, and this bringeth so much wealth into the Country, that all along there is a great Number of considerable Villages. *Coblentz* is the strongest place that I saw of all that belong to the Empire; the Situation is Noble, the *Rhine* running before it, and the *Moselle* passing along the side of the Town; it is well fortified, the Ditch is large, the

Counterscrap

Counterscarp is high, and the covered way is in a good condition, both Walls and Counterscarp are faced with Brick, and there are Ravelines before the Cortines; but on the side of the *Moselle* it is very slightly fortified, and there is no Fort at the end of the stone Bridge that is laid over the *Moselle*, so that it lieth quite open on that side, which seemeth a strange defect in a place of that Consequence: But tho the Fortifications of this place are very considerable, yet its chief defence lieth in the Fort of *Hermanstan*, which is built on the top of a very high Hill, that lieth on the other side of the *Rhine*, and which commandeth this place so absolutely, that he who is Master of *Hermanstan*, is always Master of *Coblentz*. This belongeth to the Elector of *Triers*, whose Palace lieth on the East-side of the *Rhine*, just at the foot of the Hill of *Hermanstan*, and over against the point where the *Moselle* falleth into the *Rhine*, so that nothing can be more pleasantly scituated; only the ground begins to rise just at the back of the House with so much steepness that there is not Room for Gardens or walks. The House maketh a great shew upon the River, but we were told that the Apartments within were not answerable to the outside. I say we were told, for the German Princes keep such forms, that, without a great deal of ado, one cannot come within their Courts, unless it be when they are abroad themselves; so that we neither got within the Palace at *Mentz*, nor this of *Hermanstan*. It is but a few Hours from this to *Bonne*, where the Elector of *Colen* keepeth his Court; the place hath a regular Fortification, the Walls are faced with Brick; but tho the Ditch, which is dry, is pretty broad, the Counterscarp is in so ill a condition, that it is not able to make a great defence. This Elector is the Noblest born, and the best provided of all the German Clergy, for he is Brother to the great *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*; and besides *Colen*, he hath *Liege*, *Munster*, and *Hidelsheim*, which are all great *Bishopricks*: He hath been also six and thirty years in the Electorate: His Palace is very mean, consisting but of one Court, the half of which is cast into a little Garden, and the Wood-yard is in the very Court; the lower part of the Court was a stable: but he hath made an apartment here that is all furnished with Pictures: where, as there are some of the hands of the greatest Masters, so there are

a great many foils to set these off; that are scarce good enough for Sign-posts.

The Elector has a great many gold Medalls which will give me occasion to tell you one of the Extravagantest pieces of forgery that perhaps ever was; which happened to be found out at the last siege of *Bonne*: for while they were clearing the ground for planting a Battery, they discovered a vault in which there was an Iron Chest that was full of Medalls of Gold to the value of 100000 Crowns: and of which I was told the Elector bought to the value of 30000 Crowns. They are huge big, one weighed 800 Ducats, and the Gold was of fineness of Ducat gold: but tho they bore the Impressions of Roman Medalls or rather Medaillons they were all Counterfeit; and the Imitation was so coarsely done that one must be extream ignorant in Medalls to be deceived by them. Some few that seemed true were of the late *Greek* Emperours. Now it is very unaccountable what could induce a Man to make a forgery upon such Mettal, and in so vast a quantity, and then to bury all this under ground, especially in an Age in which so much Gold was ten times the value of what is at present, for it is judged to have been done about four, or five hundred years ago.

The Prince went out a hunting while we were there with a very handsome Guard of about fourscore Horse, well mounted; so we saw the Palace, but were not suffered to see the Apartment where he lodged: There is a great silver Casquette gilt, all set with Emeralds and Rubies, that tho they made a fine appearance, yet were a Composition of the Princes own making: His Officers also shewed us a Bason and Ewer, which they said were of Mercury fixed by the Prince himself; but they added that now for many years he wrought no more in his Laboratory. I did not easily believe this, and as the weight of the Plate did not approach to that of Quick-Silver, so the Medicinal Vertues of fixed Mercury, if there is any such thing, are so extraordinary, that it seemed very strange to see twenty or thirty Pound of it made up in two pieces of Plate. A quarter of a mile without the Town, the best Garden of those parts of *Germany*, is to be seen, in which there is a great variety of Water-works, and very many Noble Allies in the French manner, and the whole it of a very

very considerable extent; but as it hath no statues of any value to adorn it, so the House about which it lieth in is in ruins; and it is strange to see that so rich and so great a Prince, during so long a Regence, hath done so little to enlarge or beautifie his Buildings. *Bonne* and *Coblenz* are both poor and small Towns. *Colen* is three Hours distant from *Ponne*, it is of a prodigious extent, but ill built and worse peopled in the remote parts of it: and as the Walls are all in an ill case, so it is not possible to fortifie so vast a compass as this Town maketh, as it ought to be, without a charge that would eat out the whole Wealth of this little State. The Jews live in a little Suburb on the other side of the River, and may not come over without leave obtained, for which they pay considerably. There is no exercise of the Protestant Religion suffered within the Town; but those of the Religion are suffered to live there; and they have a Church at two Miles distance. The Arsenal here, is suitable to the Fortifications, very mean, and ill furnished. The Quire of the great Church is as high in the roof, as any Church I ever saw: but it seemeth the Wealth of this place could not finish the whole Fabrick, so as to answer the height of the Quire, for the Body of the Church is very low: Those that are disposed to believe Legends, have enough here to overset even a good degree of credulity, both in the story of the three Kings, whose Chappel is visited with great devotion, and standeth at the East end of the great Quire: and in that more copious Fable of the eleven thousand Ursulins, whose Church is all over full of rough Tombs, and of vast number of Bones that are piled up in rows about the Walls of the Church: These Fables are so firmly believed by the Papists there, that the least sign which one giveth of doubting of their truth, passeth for an infallible mark of an Heretick. The Jesuites have a great and noble Colledge and Church here. And for *Thauler's* sake I went to the *Dominicans* House and Church, which is also very great. One grows extreamly weary of walking over this great Town, and doth not find enough of entertainment in it: The present subject of their discourse is also very melancholy: The late Rebellion that was there, is so generally known, that I need not say much concerning it. A report was set about the Town, by some Incendiaries, that the

Magistrates

Magistrates did eat up the publick Revenue, and were like to ruine the City; I could not learn what ground there was for these reports, for it is not ordinary to see reports of that kind fly, through a body of men, without some foundation: It is a certain this came to be so generally believed, that there was a horrible disorder occasioned by it: The Magistrates were glad to save themselves from the storm, and abandoned the Town to the popular fury, some of them having been made sacrifices to it; and this rage held long: But within this last year, after near two years disorder, those that were sent by the Emperor and Diet to Judge the matter, having threatned to put the Town under the Imperial *Bann*, if it had stood longer out, were received; and have put the Magistrates again in the possession of their Authority, and all the chief Incendiaries were clapt in Prison: many have already suffered, and a great many more are still in Prison: they told us that some executions were to be made within a week when we were there. *Dusseldorp* is the first considerable Town below *Collen*, it is the Seat of the Duke of *Fuliers*, who is Duke of *Newburg*, eldest Son to the present Elector *Palatine*. The Palace is old and Gothick enough: but the Jesuits have there a fine Colledge, and a noble Chappel, tho there are manifest faults in the Architecture: the Protestant Religion is tolerated and they have a Church lately built here within these few years, that was procured by the Intercession of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who observing exactly the liberty of Religion that was agreed to in *Cleve*, had reason to see the same as duly observed in his Neighbourhood, in favor of his own Religion. The Fortification here is very ordinary, the Ramparts being faced but a few foot high with Brick. But *Keiserswart* some hours lower on the same side which belongeth to the Elector of *Collen*, tho it is a much worse Town then *Dusseldorp*, yet is much better fortified: it hath a very broad ditch, and a very regular Fortification: the Walls are considerably high faced with Brick, and so is the Counterscarp which is also in a very good condition. The Fortification of *Orsoy* is now quite demolished. *Rhineberg* continueth as it was, but the Fortification is a very mean, only of Earth, so that it is not capable of making a great resistance. And *Wesel*, tho it is a very fine Town, yet is a

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poor Fortification, nor can it ever be made good, except at a vast expence: for the ground all about it being sandy, nothing can be made there that will be durable, unless the foundation go very deep, or that it be laid upon *Pilots*. In all these Towns one sees an other air of Wealth and abundance then in much Richer Countries that are exhausted with taxes. *Rees* and *Emmerick* are good Towns, but the Fortifications are quite ruined. So that here is a rich and a populous Country, that hath at present very little defence, except what it hath from its situation. *Cleve* is a delicious place, the situation and prospect are charming, and the Air is a very pure, and from thence we came hither in three hours.

I will not say one word of the Countrey into which I am now come, for as I know that is needless to you on many accounts, so a Picture that I see here in the Stådthouse, puts me in mind of the perfectest Book of its kind that is perhaps in being, for Sir William *Temple*, whose Picture hangeth here at the upper end of the Plenipotentiaries, that negotiated the famous Treaty of *Nimwegen*, hath indeed been a pattern to the World, which is done with such life, that it may justly make others blush to copy after it, since it must be acknowledged, that if we had as perfect an account of the other places, as he hath given us of one of the least, but yet one of the Noblest parcels of the Universe, Travelling would become a needless thing, unless it were for diversion: since one findeth no further occasion for his curiosity in this Country, than what is fully satisfied by his rare performance. Yet I cannot give over writing, without reflecting on the resistance that this place made, when so many other places were so basely delivered up, tho one doth not see in the ruins of the Fortification here, how it could make so long a resistance: yet it was that that stem'd tide of a progress that made all the World stand-amazed; and it gave a little time to the Dutch to recover themselves out of the consternation, into which so many blows, that came so thick one after another, had struck them.

But then the World saw a change, that tho it had not had so much Influence given to it, as the happy conjuncture of another Prince hath drawn after it, with so much excess, that all the topicks of flattery, seem exhausted by it, yet

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will appear to posterity one of the most surprizing Scenes in History, and that which may be well matched with the recovery of the Roman State after the Battel of *Canne*. When a young Prince, that had never before born Arms, or so much as seen a Campagne, who had little or no Council about him but that which was suggested from his own thoughts, and that had no extraordinary advantage, by his Education either for Literature or Affairs, was of a sudden set at the head of a State and Army, that was sunk with so many losses; and that saw the best half of its Soil torn from it; and the powerfullest Enemy in the World, surrounded with a Victorious army that was commanded by the best Generals that the Age hath produced, come within sight, and settle his Court in one of the best Towns, and had at the same time the greatest force both by Sea and Land, that hath been known, united together for its destruction. When the Inhabitants were forced, that they might save themselves from so formidable an Enemy, to let loose that which on all other occasions, is the most dreadfull to them; and to drown so great a part of their Soil for the preservation of the rest: and to complicate together all the miseries that a Nation can dread, when to the general consternation with which so dismal a Scene possessed them, a distraction within doors seemed to threaten them with the last strokes; and while their Army was so ill disciplined, that they durst scarce promise themselves any thing from such feeble Troops, after a Peace at Land of almost thirty years continuance; and while their chief Ally, that was the most concerned in their preservation, was, like a great Paralitick Body, liker to fall on those that it pretended to support, and to crush them, than to give them any considerable assistance: When I say a Young Prince came at the head of all this, the very prospect of which would have quite dampt an ordinary courage, he very quickly changed the Scene, he animated the Publick Councils with a generous vigour: he found them sinking into a feebleness of hearkning to Propositions for a Peace, that were as little safe as they were honourable, but he disposed them to resolve on hazarding all, rather than to submit to such Infamous Terms.



His credit also among the populace seemed to inspire them with a new life: they easily perswaded themselves that as one *WILLIAM* Prince of *ORANGE* had forced their State, so here another of the same name seemed marked out to recover and preserve it. It was this Spirit of Courage which he derived from his own breast, and infused into the whole people, as well as into the Magistracy that preserved this Country. Some thing there was in all this that was Divine. The publick Councils were again settled, and the people were at quiet when they saw him vested with a full authority for that time both Relation to peace and War, and concluded they were safe, because they were in his hands. It soon appeared how faithfully he pursued the Interest of his Country, and how little he regarded his own. He rejected all Propositions of Peace that were hurtful to his Country, without so much as considering the advantages that were offered to himself, (in which you know that I write upon true grounds.) He refused the offer of the Sovereignty of its Chief City, that was made to him by a solemn Deputation, being satisfied with that Authority which had been so long maintained by his Ancestors with so much glory, and being justly sensible, how much the breaking in upon established Laws and Liberties, is fatal even to those that seem to get by it. He thus began his publick appearance on the Stage, with all the disadvantages that Spirit aspiring to true Glory could wish for; since it was visible that he had nothing to trust to, but a good cause, favourable Providence, and his own Integrity and Courage: nor was success wanting to such Noble beginnings: for he in a short time, with a Conduct and Spirit beyond any thing that the World hath yet seen, recovered this state, out of so desperate a distemper, took some places by main force, and obliged the Enemy to abandon all that they had acquired in so feeble a manner. And if a raw Army had not alwaies success against more numerous and better trained Troops, and if the want of *Magazines* and stores in their Allies Country, which was the Chief Scene of the War, made that he could not post his Army, and wait for favourable Circumstances, so that he was sometimes forced to run to action, with a haste that his necessities imposed upon him; yet the forcing of the beginnings of

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of a Victory out of the hands of the greatest General of the Age, the facing a great Monarch with an Army much inferior to his, when the other was too cautious to hazard an engagement, and in short the forming the *Dutch* Army to such a pitch that it became visibly Superior to the *French*, that seemed to have been fed with Conquests: and the continuing the War, till the Prince that had sacrificed the quiet of *Europe* to his GLORY, was glad to come and treat for a Peace in the Enemies Country, and in this very place, and to set all Engines on work to obtain that, by the mediation of some, and the jealousies of other Princes: all these are such performances that posterity will be disposed to rank them rather among the *Idea's* of what an imaginary *Hero* could do, than with what could be really transacted in so short a time, and in such a manner. And in conclusion every place that belonged to these States, and to their Neighbours along the *Rhine*, together with a great many in *Flanders*, being restored; these Provinces do now see themselves under his happy Conduct, re-established in their former peace and security. And tho some scars of such deep wounds do still remain, yet they find themselves considered on all hands, as the Bulwark of Christendom, against the fears of a new Monarchy, and as preservers of the peace and liberty of *Europe*.

Here is a Harvest, not for forced Rhetorick, or false Eloquence, but for a severe and sincere *Historian*, capable of affording a work that will far exceed all those luscious Panegyrics of Mercenary pens: but a small or a counterfeit Jewel must be set with all possible advantages, when a true one of great value needs only to be shewed: I cannot end with a greater subject, and I must acknowledge my self to be so inflamed with this hint, that as I cannot after this bring my pen down to lower matters, so I dare not trust my self too long, to the heat that so Noble an Object inspires, therefore I break off abruptly.

YOURS.

AD.

## ADDENDA.

*Ad page 210. l. 22.*

The same learned person has since my first conversation with him upon this subject, suggested to me two passages of *Festus Pompeius*, that seem to determine this whole matter; and that tell us by what names those Catacombs were known in the Roman time, whereabouts they were, and what sort of persons were laid in them, we have also the designation by which the bearers were commonly known, and the time when they carried out the dead bodies: and it appears particularly by them that in the Repositories of which that Author makes mention, there was no care taken to preserve the bodies that were laid in them from rotting. His words are. *Puticulos antiquissimum genus sepulturæ appellatos, quod ibi induteis sepelirentur homines: qualis fuerit locus quo nunc cadavera projici solent, extra portam Esquilinam: quos quod ibi putescerent, inde prius appellatos existimat Aelius Gallus, qui ait antiqui moris fuisse, ut patres-familias in locum publicum extra oppidum mancippia vilia projicerent, atque ita projecta, quod ibi ea putescerent, nomen esse factum puticuli.* The other passage runs thus. *Vespæ & Vespillones dicuntur, qui funierandis corporibus officium gerunt, non a minutis illis volucris, sed quia vespertino tempore eos efferunt, qui funebri pompa duci propter inopiam nequeunt.* All this agrees so exactly to the thoughts that a general view of those Re-  
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positories give a Man, that it will not be hard to perswade him that those burying Places that are now graced with the Pompous Title of Catacombs, are no other than the *Puticoli* mentioned by *Festus Pompeius*, where the meanest sort of the *Roman* Slaves were layed, and so without any further Care about them, were left to rot.

*Ad page 218. l. 1:*

I have since my being in *Naples* instructed one that was going thither in this Particular, and have received this account from him, that he had taken Care to plum the Water at the furthest Pillar of *Calligula's* Bridge on the *Puzzollo* side: and found it was seven Fathom and a half deep: but he adds, that the Watermen assured him that on the other side before *Baia*, the Water was 26 Fathom deep: but as he had not a Plummet long enough to try that, so he believed a good deal ought to be abated; for the Waterman had assured him that the Water was ten fathom deep at the *Puzzolo* side, tho upon trial he found it was only seven and a half: and by this Measure one may suppose that the Water is 20 fathom deep on the other side: So that it is one of the most astonishing things that one can think of, that Pillars of Brick could have been built in such a depth of Water.

FINIS.

# REFLECTIONS

On

Mr. V A R I L L A S's

## H I S T O R Y

Of the Revolutions that have happened in *Europe* in matters of Religion.

*And more particularly on his Ninth Book that relates to England.*

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By G. B U R N E T, D. D.

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A M S T E R D A M.

Printed in the Year, 1686.

REFLECTIONS

ON

THE FUTURE

OF THE

REVOLUTION

IN FRANCE

OF 1793

BY

A. B. C.

THE

REVOLUTION

OF 1793

# REFLECTIONS

ON

Mr. VARILLAS'S HISTORY

OF

*The Revolutions that have happened in Europe in matters of Religion, and more particularly on his 9<sup>th</sup> Book that relates to England.*

**M**R. *Varillas* has within a few Years given the World so many Books of History, and these have been so much read, and so well received, that it seems he thinks he is now so far possessed of the Esteem of the Age, that he may venture to impose upon it the falsest Coyn that can be struck, not doubting but that the name *Varillas* stamp upon it will make it pass Current, and this being a time in which some have thought that they might do whatsoever they pleased against those of the Religion, he it seems thinks he may likewise say whatsoever he pleased against them, that so there may be a due proportion between the Injuries that he does them with his Pen, and those that others make them feel with severer Tools, and perhaps he thought the severities that are now exercised upon them, are so contrary to that

Tenderneſs with which the Humane Nature, not to ſay the Chriſtian Religion, is apt to inſpire all that are not Transported with ſuch violent Paſſions, that they drown the Motions of our Bowels towards the Miſerable, that nothing could divert the World from thoſe Merciful Inclinations, but the dreſſing up the firſt beginnings of the Reformation in ſuch odious Representations, as might poſſeſs the Age with ſo much fury againſt them, that none of the Miſeries that they ſuffer, might create the leaſt Compaſſion for them.

It is true, Princes have their Prerogatives with which they take great Liberties as their ſeveral Paſſions are excited and dextrouſly managed, the deſire of Glory mixing with a Heat of Blood, at one time can produce a War, as terrible in its Conſequences, as it was juſtifiable in its firſt beginnings, and the ſame ambition mixing with a Superſtitious diſpoſition of Mind, and working upon colder Blood, can at another Time produce a Violation of Edicts that have been ſolemnly ſworn to, and often confirmed, and accompany that with a ſequel of Severities, that are more eaſily lamented than expreſſed ; yet an humble regard to the Sublime Character of a Crown'd Head lays a reſtraint on thoſe Groans, which we would rather ſtifle than give them their full Scope, leſt the Language of our Sorrows look like an accuſing of thoſe, whom, after all that our Brethren have ſuffered at their hands, we would ſtill force our ſelves to reverence, and therefore we chuſe rather to ſupport our Grief, than  
to



to vent it at their cost. But small Scriblers, who have set a price upon their Pens, and sacrifice our reputation, that they may merit a pension at the hands of the chief Instruments of our Brethrens sufferings, are not to look for such respect : he that fights against the Laws of War ought to expect no quarter when he is taken.

A Historian that favours his own side, is to be forgiven, tho' he puts a little too much life in his colours, when he sets out the best sides of his party, and the worst of those from whom he differs ; and if he but slightly touches the failings of his Friends, and severely aggravates those of the other side, tho' in this he departs from the Laws of an exact Historian, yet this bias is so natural, that if it lessens the credit of the Writer, yet it does not blacken him ; but if he has no regard either to truth or decency, if he gives his imagination a full scope to invent, and his pen all the liberties of foul language, he ought not to think it strange, if others take some pains to expose him to the World. And tho' their Conscience and Religion obliges them to take other measures with relation to Truth, and their Breeding engages them to a strict modesty of Stile, yet if the things that are said are as severe as they are true, and as wounding as they may appear soft, it is nothing but what a Zeal for Truth, and an Indignation at so much ill managed injustice draws from them.

It is not to be denied, that Mr. *Varillas* has an art of writing that is entertaining, he pre-

tends to discover many Secrets to give pictures of Men to the Life, and to interweave the Histories that he relates with a thread of Politicks that is very agreable, only this appears to be overdone, and those who have had much practice in humane Affairs see that the conduct of the World is not so steady and so regular a thing as he loves to represent it, unlookt for Accidents, the Caprices of some Tempers, the secrets of Amours and Jealousies, with other particular passions are the true sources of almost all that is transacted in the World; even Interest it self does not always govern Mankind, but Humour and Passion have their turns, and oft-times the largest share in humane affairs. So that I ever thought that his books had too much of the air of a Romance, and seemed too fine to be true. He does indeed now and then, to maintain his Reputation in his Reader's mind, vouch some Letter or Narrative, but he neither tells whether it is in Print, or in Manuscript, or where he had it, and where others may find it: so this way of Citation looked suspicious, yet I could not easily take up such hard thoughts of him as to imagine, that all this was his own Invention, but being in *Paris* last Summer, I had the good fortune to become acquainted with some men of great probity, and that had particularly applied themselves to examine the History of *France* with great exactness; they were of the Church of *Rome*, and seemed to have no other dislike at Mr. *Varillas*, but that which was occasioned by the liberty that he had given himself, to write his

his own Imagination for true Histories, they assured me there was no regard to be had to any thing that he Writ, that he had gathered together many little Stories which he knit together as he pleased, and that without any good Authority: and they told me that the greatest number of the pieces he cited were to be found nowhere but in his own fancy. In a word, they spoke of all his Books with a sharpness of stile, and a degree of Contempt, that I will not repeat, lest I seem to come too near his forms of Speech, which are the worst Patterns that one can follow.

I found he was generally so much decried in *Paris*, that he has reason to say in his Preface, *that when the Archbishop of Paris thought on him, all the World had abandoned him*, for I did not find a Man under a more Universal Contempt than he was, and the esteem in which his Works were held in Foreign Parts, far beyond what was paid them in *France*, was imputed to his Method of Writing, that wants none of the Beauties of History, except that of Truth, and to the Ignorance in which Strangers live as to the particulars of their History. It is true, at last he has found a Patron and a Pension, and now he has given us an Essay of his Merits: but if this Work is examined severely, he will very probably soon lose his Appointments, since Mercenary Pens are seldom paid longer than they can be useful. Here one finds so much occasion for Censure, that whereas in other Books one must run up and down to find Matter for a Critical Judgment,

ment, here it occurs so copiously that a man must take care not to surfeit his Reader with too much of it ; and therefore must chuse out the more remarkable Errours, and there are even so many of these, that it is to be feared that the World will not think him nor his Writings worth the time and the pains that must be bestowed on them.

Mr. *Maimbourg* has set a Pattern to the World, that tho' few will care to imitate, yet it has taken so much with the Present Age, that it is no light Indication of its degeneracy, when such Books are so much read and sold, in which the Writer seems to have so broken loose from all the common Measures either of Honesty or Shame, that one would wonder of what Composition he were made, if they did not know that he has lived 50 years in the Jesuite Order: For as he has no regard to Truth, or likelihood in what he Writes, so he seems to be Proof against the evidentest discoveries of his Prevarications that are possible ; and when they are laid open in a manner capable of making any man besides himself to blush, he neither has the Conscience to confess his Errours, nor the sense of Honour to justify himself : But he finds out still new matter to write on, and a new stock of *Champaigne* Wine, as I have been told, that he has oft said, to make his Blood boil till he has spoild another piece of History ; and he thinks a scornful Period or two in a Preface is enough to carry off all the Shame to which his Errours ought to condemn him. He has also Impudence to dedicate his Books to the King,

and

and the world is still willing to be cozened by him. This Trade has succeeded so well with him, that it seems Mr. *Varillas* vies with him in it, and as he has the chaster stile, and the more natural Way of misleading his Reader, so he has resolved not to be behind him in a bold Quality that I love not to set down by its proper Name. But tho' Mr. *Varillas* has the Art to refine upon the Pattern that Mr. *Maimbourg* set him, yet Mr. *Maimbourg* is the Author of the Invention, and therefore he deserves the better Pension.

History is a sort of Trade in which false Coyn and false Weights are more Criminal than in other Matters; because the Errour may go further and run longer: tho' these Authors colour their Copper too slightly to make it keep its credit long. If Men think there are degrees of Lying, then certainly those that are the most loudly told, that wound the deepest, that are told with the best Grace, and that are transmitted to Posterity under the deceitful Colours of Truth, have the blackest Guilt; but some Men have arrived at equal Degrees in hardning their Consciences, and in steeling their Foreheads, and are without the reach either of inward Remorses or publick Discoveries; so that as *Augustus* fancied there was a Charm in the Pillow of a *Roman*, that died hugely indebted, since without an extraordinary soporiferous Composition he could not fancy how such a man could sleep securely; so if Humane Nature did not often produce some very irregular Individuals, a Man that feels the Authority that

Truth and Modesty have over a pure Mind, cannot easily imagine by what secret others can quite extinguish those Inclinations which he finds are so prevalent in himself. But I will now by Mr. *Varillas*'s leave take the Liberty to set before him some of his most conspicuous Errours, and tho' I do not expect much sincerity from himself, yet I hope the World will be juster than he has shewed himself to be.

Mr. *Varillas* begins his History with a view of the Progress of that which he calls Heresy, in a Prophetick Stile, setting forth what Effects it was to produce, as if he were foretelling what was to fall out, and that for 11. Pages (according to the Impression of *Amsterdam*) this has so little of the Air of a Historian, and is so full of the Figures of a Declaimer, that it looks liker the Strain of a heated and angry Fryer, than of a grave and serious Writer of History, who ought to be always in cold Blood, and ought not to let the heats of a vitious Rhetorick transport him. But this is so like one of the forced Raptures of some Missionary, that one would think it was writ either by one of them, or for one of them. It is much a safer thing to prophecy concerning Matters that are past, than concerning those that are to come, and one is less in danger of committing Errours; yet when heat enters into matters of History, and meets with so vast a deal of Ignorance as is that of Mr. *Varillas*, no wonder if it carries him into great Errours.

If Mr. *Varillas* had gathered the History of the last Age out of any Books or out of those Letters.

Letters that he so often vouches, he could not have said that *Edward* Pag. 5. the 6<sup>th</sup>s Tutor or Governour was the Duke of *Northumberland*, since there is not any one Book writ concerning that Time, that does not shew the contrary. The Duke of *Somerset* was his Governour, and for the Duke of *Northumberland*, tho' the last two Years of that Reign, in which that King was past the Age of Tutelage, he bore the chief Sway of Affairs, yet he had neither the Character of the King's Tutor or Governour, nor any other whatsoever, but only that of a Privy Councillour, that was much considered by him, and he at his death professed that he had been always a Catholick in his Heart, so that his pretending to be of the Reformed Religion to serve his Interest, shews that he belongs no more to our Church, than the new forced Converts belong to that of *Rome*.

In the same Page he says that *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* did by her Bastard Brother's perswasions marry a single Gentleman, and on the Margent he gives his Name *Henry d'Arley*; this is a new Proof how little he knows the Books of the last Age. This *Henry* whom he calls *d'Arley* was *Henry* Lord *Darley*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Lenox*, which was one of the chief Families of *Scotland*, and a Branch of the Family of the *Stewarts*. It is true, it came off from it before the Crown came into it by Mariage, yet the Grandfather of this *Henry* had matched with one that was very near the Crown, and Cosen German to K. *James* the 4<sup>th</sup>, and Sister  
to

to *Hamilton Earl of Aran*, this *Lord Darly's* Mother was also Uterine Sister to *K. James the 5.* being the Daughter to the *Queen Dowager of Scotland* that was *K. Henry the 8th's* Sister, who by her second Mariage with the *Earl of Angus (Dowglas)* had *Lady Isabel Dowglas*, who was bred in the Court of *England*, and whom *K. Henry the 8th* married to the *Earl of Lenox*, that had by her this *Lord Darley*, who as he was the *Queen of Scotland's* Cousin German, was also the next Heir to the Crown of *England* after her, and might have been a dangerous Competitour to her in that Succession, having been Born and Bred in *England*, so that this Marriage was so far from making her contemptible to her Subjects, that it was considered as the wisest act of her Life: and *Mr. Var.* could not Imagine any thing more honourable to the *Earl of Morays* Memory, than to make him the adviser of so wise a Choice. It is no wonder to see *Mr. Var.* make so bold with meaner Persons, when he takes so much Liberty with the Royal Family of *England*, as to Stain their descent; for which if the consideration of the Crowns they wear, did not restrain him, yet the particular regard to the King that now Reigns, ought to have taught him so much respect as not to have ventured to blot his Scutcheon so far as to call his Great Grandfather a single Gentleman, and if he had paid the respect he owed to the Memory of that unfortunate Princess, he had not enlarged so much on her Story, but I know what is due to the Memory of a crowned Head, even when it is laid in Ashes, and  
tho'



tho' he makes an easie weakness to be her prevailing Character, upon which he would discharge all her Misfortunes, this Picture is so different from the Truth that she was certainly one of the wittiest and highest spirited Women that ever lived.

But it seems Mr. *Varillas* has pretended to some Pension from the Crown of *England*, and in revenge for the disappointment he has resolved to debase the Race all he can. Here he affords our Kings the honour to be descended at least from a Gentleman, tho' one of Lib 9.p.249. the ordinarie sort ; but upon another occasion he is not so liberal, for in his History he says that *Henry* the 8th had reasons to desire the Mariage of his Bastard Son, the Duke of *Richmond*, with his Daughter *Mary*, that were too well known, for libels had been spread over all *Europe*, reproaching him that his Great Grandfather was not a Gentleman, but that by his Credit at Court, and by the vast riches that he had acquired, he had obtained leave to marry a Daughter of the Family of the *Plantagenets*, that was then 16 degrees distant from the Crown, and yet by that means his Grand-child came to reign ; upon which he makes a long speculation concerning the King's Reflections on that matter, and the Reasons that restrained him from writing on that Subject, as if it were an ordinary thing for Princes to become their own Heralds. He also tells us how he comforted himself by the remembrance of the meanness of *Arbaces* K. of *Persia*, that was the Son of a Lock-smith, whose Posterity had reigned so long,

long, and with so much glory, and therefore he says he designed to marry his Natural Son and his Daughter together. Here is such a mixture of Impertinencies, that it is not easie to know at what one is to begin, and if there were but this one period, it is enough to let the World see, how incapable Mr. *Varillas* is of writing History. I shall not in this place shew the falsehood of that imputation on *Henry* the 8th, that he designed this incestuous Match, for that will come in more properly upon another occasion; only if his Birth was defective on his Great Grandfathers side, it was an odd method for the correcting of it, to think of adding a new blot, and of bringing a Bastard into the Succession; so the reason is as foolish as the matter of fact is false, and the Ignorance that Mr. *Var.* shews here, is the more remarkable, because this matter belongs to the most extraordinary transaction that is in the whole *French* History, in which he pretends to be so conversant. I need not say any more to prove the *Tudors* to be Gentlemen, but to tell that they are *Welshmen*, of the Race of the Ancient *Brittans*, who do all pretend to the highest Birth of any in the *English* Nation, and do run up their Pédigrees to *Julius Cesar's* time; among whom is the *Ap. Theodores*, or the Sons of *Theodore*, that by a corruption of some Ages were called *Tudors*: but knows Mr. *Varillas* so little of the *French* History, as to have forgot that the Daughter of *France*, that was married to *Henry* the 5th of *England*, in whose right both *Henry* the 5th, and her Son *Henry* the 6th, were

were crowned Kings of *France* in *Paris*; did after King *Henry* the 5th's death, marry *Owen Tudor*, by whom she had 3 Sons, the two eldest were made the Earls of *Richmond* and *Pembroke*, being the Kings Uterine Brothers, and the next heirs to that Title, that he claimed to the Crown of *France*, in the right of his Mother (which I am far from thinking was a good one.) This being the case, it was no extraordinary thing for a man of the Earl of *Richmond*'s Rank to marry a Lady that was then at such a distance from the Crown, tho' it was only in the 6th and not the 16 degree; but I do not insist on this, because it may be only the fault of the Printer, and I will not descend to a doubtful fault, when I have such material ones in my way. I know there are a sort of men that are much more ashamed when their Ignorance is discovered, than when their other vices are laid open, since degenerate minds are more jealous of the reputation of their understanding, than of their honour. And as Mr. *Varillas* is very like to be of this temper, so if a sympathy with Mr. *Maimbourg* has not wrought him up to the like pitch of assurance, such discoveries as these ought to affect him a little; and here a Man is apt to lose his patience, when he finds such a Scribler pretend to defame the Noblest blood in the World.

There is nothing else in the first Prophetick *Rhapsody* that relates to our matters, so I was inclined to go from hence to a more particular enquiry into our *English* af-  
 fairs, only the Ignorance that he dis-

covers in the next paragraph is so surprising that I will bestow a short remark on it. He says, that the *Switzers* were so prevailed on by this pretext, that their separating themselves from the Roman Communion was the best expedient to preserve them from falling under the Dominion of the House of *Austria* (tho' it is certain they were then in no sort of fear of that) that the four chief Cantons were seduced in less than a years time ; but that the seven little Cantons continued in the belief of their Fathers, and the two middle sised Cantons tollerated equally both the Religions.

One would have thought that a man that had pretended to the name of a Historian, would have at least begun his studies with some small taste of Cosmography, and would have taken some pains to know the Map ; and as the *Switzers* are in the neighbourhood of *France*, so they have been so long the Allies of that Crown, that the Ignorance of the Importance of the Cantons is a fault in one that pretends to be such an illuminated Historian, that deserves a worse correction than I think fit to give it. To reckon *Basle* and *Shaffhausen* among the great Cantons, and *Lucern* among the small Cantons, *Soloturn* and *Fribourg* being also so considerable that some reckon them with the great Cantons ; and to put *Glaris* and *Apenzel* in a superiour order to them that are among the smallest, of the least is such a Complication of errors that is not easy to imagine how he had the luck to fetch in so many into one period. But this is not all the Ignorance that is in it ;

it ; for whereas he pretends , that the four Cantons, that received the Reformation did it in less than a year, this is so false, that *Zwinglius* having begun to preach the Reformation in the year 1519. the whole matter was examined in a course a several years, and at last *Zurich* received the Reformation in the year 1525. *Bern* three years after in the year 1528. and *Basle* a year after in the year 1529. as for *Shaffhouse* I must confess my Ignorance, but there was at least 10 years interval in this matter ; and if *Lucern* is not so much in his favour, because it is the Residence of the *Spanish* Ambassadour, yet I cannot imagine what has made him degrade *Soloturn* into the number of the small Cantons, which is the Residence of the *French* Ambassadour, and is reckoned by many among the greater. But it is likely that he knew nothing of all this matter, except by report, and perhaps he thought the period would run smoother to range the Cantons thus, in the great, in the small, and the middle-sized Cantons, and that it would also reflect on the Reformation as a precipitated change to say that 4 Cantons turned in one year.

But tho' Impertinence is a fault scarce to be named, when one has so many of a more criminal nature in his way, yet such as are more signal and more advantageously situated for the Reader's eye, deserve to be viewed in our passage, with the scorn that they deserve. Mr. *Varillas* begins his 3. book, which opens the progress of *Luther's* affairs, with a Preamble of 38. pages, in which he sets out the state of *Europe* at that time, so copiously, and with so little judgement, that he bestows

bestows 14. pages on the Conquests that *Selim* the Turk had made, and on his defeat of the *Mamelucks*. This whole tedious ramble signifies nothing to *Luther's* matters; but in short it was a secret to swell the Volume, and to raise the price of the book, as well as it must lessen the price of the Author, who shews, how little he understands where he ought to place his digressions. What notions does that view of every State of *Europe* give the world, that doe any way prepare the Readers mind for what was to come after, unless it be that Mr. *Var.* being to present a piece of as arrant Poetry as any that ever possessed the Stage, he thought it necessary to fill it at first with many Actors, and to make a great appearance, tho' none of them were to act any part in in his Play? But since he will needs be writing, tho' he understands not the common Elements, I will take the pains for once to instruct him a little how he ought to have made this introduction, since he it seems was resolved to begin with one.

He ought then to have open'd the State of *Europe* with Relation to Religion and Learning; he ought to have shewed what scandals the *Popes* and the Court of *Rome* had given, what was the State of the secular Clergy, the Ignorance, Irregularity, and vices of the Bishops and Curates; what were the disorders and dissolutions of the Monastick Orders, both of those that were endowed and of the Mendicants. He ought to have shewed in what sort of Studies they imploied their time, and with what

what sort of Sermons they entertained the People, and to this he ought to have added somewhat of the State of the Universities of *Europe*; and of the beginnings of Learning that were then arising. He ought to have shewed the different Interests, in which the several Nations of *Europe* were engaged, after the times of the Councils of *Constance* and *Basle*; and to this he might have added the State of the Courts of *Europe* with Relation to Religion, upon all which he might have found matter for a long, and a much more pertinent Introduction. And to conclude, he ought to have told the Dispositions, in which the Peoples minds were, as to those matters: and if he would needs make a vain shew of his faculty of telling of tales, he might have set out the State of the *Eastern Churches*, after the Treaty at the Council of *Florence*, and of its effects; of the ruine of those Churches; and of the Ignorance, as well as misery to which they were reduced by the rigour of the *Mahometan* yoke. It is true this was not a necessary preliminary to the bringing *Luther* on the Stage, but it had been much less impertinent, than a long recital of *Sultan Selim's* Conquests.

But I am carried too far, and hereafter I will confine my self to that, which does more immediately belong to me. He begins that part of his Advertisement, that relates to the Affairs of *England*, with a sort of an Apophthegme worthy of him: *He says, it is without Comparison more difficult to be exactly true in Matters of Religion, than in other Matters, since in those others, it is only*

only Interest and Passion that make Men lie; but in Matters of Religion Conscience does so entirely conquer all the Powers of the Soul, and reduces them to such a Slavery, that it forces a Man to Write that which it dictates, without troubling himself to examine whether it is true or false. Here is such a View of his Notion of Religion, that how false soever this Proposition is in it self, yet it gives us a true Light of his Ideas of Religion. Good God! shall that Principle, which does Elevate and Illuminate our Natures, be considered as a more powerful depravation of them, than that which flows either from Interest or Passion? Shall that which is the Image of the God of Truth, and that reduces the Soul to a chaste purity of Spirit, be made the Author of the Enslaving of all our Powers, and the Emancipating us from all scrupulosity concerning Truth or Falsehood? This perhaps is the Character of Mr. *Varillas's* Religion, tho' those that know him well assure me, that Religion makes very little Impression on him; and if that is true, then his Apophthegme fails in himself, since the Interest of a Pension, and the passion of making himself acceptable in the present time, have as Intirely freed him from all regard to Truth, as ever any false Principle of Religion did an enraged Zealot. It is matter of horreur to see Religion, and Conscience set up as the violentest Corrupters of Truth: but we know out of what School this has sprung, and it seems Mr. *Varillas* has so devoted himself to the Order of the Jesuites, that he is resolved to speak aloud, that which they  
more



more prudently think fit to whisper in secret, and indeed if we may judge of him by this Character, that he gives of Religion, we must conclude him to be entirely possessed with it, since never Man seem'd to be less solicitous, than he is, concerning the Truth, or falsehood of the things that he avers.

He accuses me of favouring my own side too much, and that if I confess some of King *Henry's* Faults, it is only that I may have an occasion to excuse the wretched *Cranmer*. This is some Intimation, as if he had read my Book, but I do not believe he has done it : for tho' I have no great Opinion either of his Vertue, or of his Understanding : yet I do not think, he is so forsaken of Common Sense, and of all regard to his Reputation, as to have adventured to have advanced so many notorious falsehoods, if he had seen upon what Authentical grounds I had so exposed them, that I do not think it possible even for Mr. *Maimbourg* himself, after all his 50 years Noviciat, to arrive at a Confidence able to maintain them any longer, if he had once read my Book, and what I had writ was at least so important, that he ought to have weakned the credit of my History, by some more evident Proofs than that of saying barely, that I was extream partial to my own side. My book was so much read, and so favourably spoken of in *France* these three Years past, that in common decency he ought to have alledged somewhat to have justified his Censure; but this manner of writing was more easy, as well as more imperious. And if a large

Volume

Volume of History supported with the Authentick proofs, that has ever yet perhaps accompanied any Book of that sort, is to be thus shaken off, it is a vain thing to write Books for Men of Mr. *Varillas's* temper.

This had been more pertinent, if he had voucht for it a report, which was so spread over *Paris*, that I had received advices of it from several hands, of a design in which, as was reported, a Clergy man was engaged that has many excellent qualities, to which Mr. *Varillas* seems to be a great Stranger, for he has both great application, and much sincerity. He has searcht with great exactness that vast Collection of Mss. that relate to the last Age, which are laid up in the King's Library, and he had found so many things relating to *England*, that he intended to publish a Volume of Memoirs relating to our Affairs: he had also said, that in some things he would enlarge himself more copiously than I had done, and that in other things he must differ from me. Matters generally grow bigger by being oft told, so this was given out as a design to write a Counter-History, which should overthrow all the credit that my Work had got. But upon my coming to *Paris*, I found some sincere enquirers into truth, and who by consequence are Men that have no value for Mr. *Varillas*, who intended to bring us together that we might in an amicable manner reason the matter before some of our common Friends, and both of us seemed to be so well disposed to sacrifice all to truth, that two Persons of such Eminence, that

that they can receive no honour by the most advantageous Characters that I can give them, who were Mr. *Thevenot* and Mr. *Auzont*, did procure us a meeting in the King's Library, and in their presence. In which the Abbot as he discovered a vast memory, great exactness, and much sincerity, so he confessed that he had no exceptions to the main parts of my History; he mentioned some things of less moment, in all which I gave not only our two learned Arbiters, but even himself full satisfaction, so that I quickly perceived I had to do with a man of honour. He insisted most on the judgment of the *Sorbonne* against K. *Henry's* Mariage, which was not in their Registers. But I was certainly informed by a Dr. of the *Sorbonne*, that their Registers are extremely defective, and that many of their Books are lost. He alledged a Letter to K. *Henry* that he had seen, telling him, that it was to be feared that he might be displeased with the decision of the *Sorbonne*, and that it might do him more hurt than good, which Letter bearing date after the decision that I have printed, does not seem to agree with it. To this I answered, that all the other decisions of Universities being given simply in the King's favour, and that of the *Sorbonne* bearing only, that the Majority had declared for him, this left a blot upon the matter, since when the Opposition is inconsiderable, Decisions are given in the Name of the whole Body; but the mention of the Majority imported, that there was a great Opposition made, which, tho' it was not supported by a number equal to the

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the other, yet was so considerable, as to lessen very much the Credit of the Decision. To this I added, that K. *Henry's* Printing this the year after it was given, and none ever accusing that piece of Forgery, Card. *Pool* on the contrary acknowledging that he was in *Paris* when it was obtained, these were undeniable Evidences of its Genuineness, to which he answered by a hearty acknowledgment, that he had seen another Letter, in which the detail of the whole Proceeding of the *Sorbonne* is set down; and, as I remember, there were but one or two more than the Majority, that opined on the Kings side; but the rest were in different Classes. Some suspended their Opinions, others, tho' they condemned the Mariage, yet did not think it could be broken, since it was once made: and some were positively of the Pope's side. In end, after some hours discourse, in which all the Company was fully satisfied with the Answers that I gave, he concluded, that as he had seen many more Letters relating to that matter than I had done, so if I thought fit, he would furnish me with a Volume of Authentical proofs for what I had already Printed. And these were the Letters of the *French Ambassadors*, that were in King *Henry* the 8th's Court, that are in the King's Library; but I did not stay long enough in *Paris* to procure this.

Now what those Letters of Cardinal *Bellays* are, upon which Mr. *Varillas* pretends to found his Relation, I cannot imagine. For as he came not to act in this matter till the last step of it; so his Letters cannot carry any long Series of

of this affair in them, and they must be far from giving those long excursions, into which Mr. *Varillas* always delights to wander. And, as I remember, I was particular told, that those Letters were in the King's Library, and so, since all that was there, agreed with my History, this must pass among those hardy Citations of Authors, that Mr. *Varillas* is apt to make, to give credit to his Inventions.

He flourishes a little to shew some small reading, but he is as unhappy in that, as in other things. He mentions *Cambden*; as having writ the History of that Revolution with some more moderation, than he is pleased to allow me; but he says, he does so constantly favour the *Calvinists*, in prejudice of those that he calls *Catholicks*, that one needs only read the first page, that turns up to him, in any part of his History, to be convinced of it. This is a very good proof that Mr. *Varillas* never opened any one page of *Cambden*; Since he does not write of that Revolution. For he begins his History with *Q. Elizabeth's* Reign, and says no more of what went before her time, than what amounts to a very short hint of her Birth and Education, and a general Introduction into her Reign; and that History is writ with so much judgment and impartiality, that as it acquired the Author the friendship and esteem of that eminent Historian Mr. *du Thou*; so he after *Cambden's* Death published the second Vo-

lume, from the Manuscript that the Author had sent him. If the discovery of a great many Rebellions and Conspiracies against the Person of that famous Queen is that, which disgusts Mr. *Varillas* at that History, it is because his Religion has so enslaved his Conscience, that he is so little concerned in Truth or Falsehood, as not to be able to endure one of the gravest Writers, that this Age has produced, because he could not avoid the Recital of those many Crimes, and some of the Men of Mr. *Varilla's* principles as to Religion were not afraid to commit. After this he mentions another of our Historians, whom he calls Dr. *Morton*, and to make his Reader know that he is acquainted with the History of his Life, he tells us he was afterwards a Bishop; but this is one of the Authors of his invention, for tho' we had a Doctor *Morton*, that was Bishop of *Durham*, and that died about 30 years ago; yet he writ no History. By the Character that Mr. *Varillas* gives this pretended Author, that he was more moderate than *Cambden*, I fancy he is mistaken in the Name, and that he would say Dr. *Heylin*, tho' this Name and *Morton* have no affinity; but *Heylin* was no Bishop: it is true Dr. *Heylin* has writ so moderately, that some have been severe upon him for it; but I will make no other Reflections on this, unless it be to shew the slightness of Mr. *Varillas's* way of writing, who it is likely had heard one talk at the same

same time both concerning Dr. *Morton* and Dr. *Heylin*, and he in his assuming way, pretends upon this to give a Character of that History, putting the Name *Morton* for *Heylin*; but he never read a Word of Dr. *Heylin*, tho' in his daring way, he pretends to give his Character; and repents himself of the praise of Moderation that he had given in preference to *Cambden*, and sets it out as an artifice, since whereas *Cambden* blames always the pretended Catholics without any mitigations; *Morton* in blaming them counterfeits some pity for them, that is to say, he had some degrees of Mr. *Varillas's* Character of Religion. But Dr. *Heylin's* History being writ only in *English*, and it having never been Translated either into *Latin* or *French*, Mr. *Varillas* cannot give a Character of it from his own knowledge.

From our side he goes to the Writers of the *Roman* side, and begins with another essay of his exactness to his Principles of Religion. For he says, *Sanders* writ so violently, that it was no wonder if the Protestants carried their revenge so far, as to force him to die of hunger, in the Mountains of the North of *England*, to which he had retired. Here are only three Capital Errours: for 1. *Sanders's* Book, concerning the English Schism, was not published till after his Death, so that this could give no occasion for so severe a revenge. 2. *Sanders* did not die in the North of *England*,

but in *Ireland*. 3. *Sanders* was sent over by the Pope to raise and conduct a Rebellion in *Ireland*, for which he had immediate powers from the Pope. He was so active, that he brought an Army together, which was defeated by the Queen's Forces: and upon that he fled into a Wood, where he was, some days after, found dead. So that having received no Wounds, it was believed he died of Hunger. This being the state of that affair, as it is related of all sides, is not Mr. *Varillas* a very creditable Author, who has the brow to report is as he does? For the Character that he gives of *Ribadeneira*, it is so embroiled, that I do not think it worth the while to examine it. It is enough to say that *Ribadeneira* is a Jesuit, that is to say, a Man true to Mr. *Varillas* his Character of Religion, and his History is nothing but *Sanders* dressed up in another Method. I speak of that which is in *Latin*, for the *Spanish*, I have never seen it. For *Lesley* he is generally a grave and wise Writer, but Mr. *Varillas* names him, because somebody had told him, that one of such a name had writ of those matters, otherwise he had never cited him with relation to English Affairs, which he scarce ever mentions, but as they happened to be intermixt with the *Scotch*.

In conclusion, Mr. *Varillas* pretends to depend upon Cardinal *Bellay's* Letters, and so he thinks here is enough to settle, in the spirit of his Reader, a firm belief of all  
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that he intends to write ; but let him tell the World where they are to be found, since the Printed Volume contains nothing of the matters, that he pretends to cite from him. And since I have printed so many of the original Letters of that Time, and have told the Reader where they are to be found, will expect the like from him, otherwise let him cite them as long as he will, I will take the liberty to tell him that I do not believe him. And I think that by this time I have given him sufficient Reasons for excusing my incredulity, in matters that he gives us upon his own word. Here is enough for a preliminary. But I am afraid I grow heavy to my Reader; and that by this time he is so fully satisfied concerning the Principles both of Mr. *Varillas's* Religion, and his Morals; that he begins to lose Patience, when he sees how far I am like to terrify him in a more copious Discovery. But there are a sort of Men, that must be severely repressed : and there are some times in which even a Fool is to be answered according to his Folly. Yet I will so far manage my Reader, as not to overcharge him too much ; therefore as to many of those Political digressions, that Mr. *Var.* makes upon the interest of *England, France, and Spain*, I will pass them quite over, as the whipped Cream that he sets before his Reader. Some of them are not unpleasant, if they were proposed as Considerations, which might perhaps have had their Weight :

but his averring them confidently is not to be excused, they might pass in a kind of a Book of Politicks as a refining upon the Actions of Princes; but this way of writing is by no means to be allowed in History, since it is without any sort of Evidence, and History ought to relate things as we find they really were designed, and transacted; and not as we imagine they ought or might have been. I am now entering upon a Subject, in which it will be much more easy for me to say too much, than too little for Mr. *Varillas* commits so many Errours that tho' I am resolved to let lesser matters pass unregarded, yet I find so many in my way, which require a Discovery, that I am engaged in a Task as ingrateful to myself, as it must be severe upon him.

„ 1. He begins with an assurance.  
 P. 225. „ that all the rest of *Wiclif's* Here-  
 „ sy were so entirely rooted out of  
 „ *England*, that the whole Nation, without  
 „ excepting one single Person, was of the same  
 „ Religion during the Reign of *Henry the 7th*.

I am not now near the Records of that time, but in my History I have shewed by the Records of *K. Henry the 8th's* Reign, that in the year 1511, which was but two years after *Henry the 7th's* Death, there remain yet in the Registers of the See of *Canterbury* the Processes of 41 Persons, of whom 7 were condemned for Hereticks, and delivered to the Secular Arm, and the rest had the weakness to abjure; and from this hint one must conclude that

that Mr. *Varillas* had no knowledge of our Affairs ; but he thought the Period was round-  
 ed, and the Air of Writing was more as-  
 suming, when he asserted that the whole  
 Nation, without excepting one single Person,  
 was of the same Religion. The Opinions  
 objected to those Persons, shew, that the  
 Reformation found a disposition in the Na-  
 tion, to receive it by the Doctrines, which  
 were entertained by many in it : For the  
 chief of them are, that the Sacrament of  
 the Altar was not Christ's Body, but ma-  
 terial Bread : That Images ought not to be  
 Worshipped : That Pilgrimages were nei-  
 ther necessary nor profitable : and that we  
 ought not to address our Prayers to Saints,  
 but only to God.

But since this may be thought only a  
 Flourish of Mr. *Varillas's* Pen, I go to o-  
 ther matters, in which it cannot be denied  
 that a greater exactness was necessary.

„ 2. He lays down for a foundati-  
 „ on to all that was to come after, P. 228.  
 „ that P. *Arthur* was very un-  
 „ healthy, when he was Married. That he  
 „ was recovering out of a great Disease, of  
 „ which he died 5 Months after. It is true,  
 „ he does acknowledge, that three Words  
 „ in the Bull, that was granted for the sub-  
 „ sequent Marriage, seem to import, that  
 „ this Marriage was consummated : yet he  
 „ takes the Word of the other Historians,  
 „ and repeats this of P. *Arthur's* ill Health  
 „ so often, that he hoped, it seems, by that

„ means to make his Reader swallow it  
 „ down easily.

Here he had writ a little more artificially, if he had set over against this, on the Margent some Citation of a Letter, or Recital, which would have cost him nothing, and have been full as true, as his other Citations are. Many Witnesses that were examined upon Oath, deposed before the Legates, when this matter was examined, that P. *Arthur* was of a good Complexion, vigorous and robust, when he was married; that he bedded with his Princess every night: and the Decay of which he died, was ascribed to his too early Marriage. And of this Mr. *Varillas* takes some notice, without reflecting on the consequence, that the Reader might naturally draw from it; for he says, K. p. 240. *Henry* the 7th. delayed the marrying of his second Son 6 years after he had obtained the Bull, and that the death of his eldest Son made him apprehend the loss of his second Son, if he married him so young, and tho' he interweaves a Politick reflection, according to his way, that is to say impertinently, and says, if this fear was not altogether just; yet since K. *Henry* the 7th had no other Son, it was not altogether unreasonable. But it is obvious that this is altogether impertinent, if P. *Arthur's* Marriage went no further than a publick Ceremony. But there are other Circumstances that overthrow this, as much as a thing that is of its nature secret, is capable of being disproved. it is said by  
 our

our Historians, who writ at that time, that the Spanish Ambassadour took Proofs of the consummation of the Marriage. And in the Bull of Dispensation, for the subsequent Marriage, this was also supposed as a thing that was perhaps done. But tho' our Author set on the Margin the precise Words, in which he says that was conceived; yet either he never read the Bull, and so took this upon trust, or he was in a fit of his Religion, which was so violent, that it made him not only take no care of what he said, whether it was true or false; but made him advance a deliberate falsehood. For whereas in the Preamble of the Bull of Dispensation for the younger Brother, it is set forth, that *P. Arthur* and the Princess had been lawfully Married, and had perhaps consummated their Marriage, vvhhere the matter of Fact is set down in a dubious manner, he makes that the Dispensation had allowed their Marriage, even tho' the former had been consummated. And as the Words that he cites are not the Words of the Bull, so they give a different Notion of the matter; since as he gives the Words, they seem only to be a Clause put in, to make the Bull more unquestionable; vvhhereas in truth they are apart of the matter of Fact represented to the Pope. And tho' this doubtful way of representing this matter of Fact, that is in the Bull, was all that could be decently said upon this case, yet it seems the

P. 239.

Illudque  
carnalico-  
pula forsan  
consum-  
mavissetis  
Etiam si  
Matrimo-  
nium fue-  
rit per car-  
nalem co-  
pulam con-  
summatum

*Spaniards*, vvho knew the Marriage vvvas consummated, resolved to set the matter past dispute, for they either procured at that time a Breve, of the same date vvith the Bull, or they forged one aftervvards, in vvwhich in the Preamble this matter is asserted, vvithout any *perhaps*, or other limiting Word, it being positively set forth, that the Marriage vvvas consummated. If Mr. *Varillas's* Religion sets him at liberty from the Scrupulosity of vvriting truth, yet that profound Policy to vvwhich he alvvays pretends, should oblige him to take a little care, that the falsehoods that he advances, may not be easily discovered.

3. „ He says, *Henry* the 8th. vvvas  
 P. 232. „ 12. year old, vvhen his Brother died;  
 „ ed; and that his Father had designed  
 „ ed him for the Ecclesiastical State.

This vvvas taken up by the Writers of the last Age, to make the Parallel between *Julian* the Emperour and him seem to agree: that as *Julian* had been a Reader in the Church; so King *Henry* should be represented as an *Abbot* with a little band. But as King *Henry* was not 12. year old, vvhen his Brother died, for he wanted some Months of 11: and as at that Age young Princes, considering the respect that is payed to them in their Education, have seldom been found far advanced in Learning; so it does not appear, that he had then any other Education different from what was given to his Brother, vvho understood Latin, and some of the beginnings of Learning. Learning was then

then in great Reputation, and King *Henry* the 7th. engaged his Children to study, either to raise their Authority the higher by that means, or perhaps to amuse them with Learning, that they might not think of pretending to the Crown during his Life, since the undoubted Title to it resting in the Person of their Mother, it had devolved upon them by her Death, tho' they did not think fit to claim their Right.

„ 4. He says, that when King *Hen-*  
 „ the 7th. intended to Marry his Ibid.  
 „ younger Son to *P. Arthur's* Widow,  
 „ the Privy Council of *England* approved it the  
 „ more easily, because of the precaution that had  
 „ been taken to hinder the consummation of the  
 „ former Marriage : and to confirm this, he cites  
 „ on the Margent the Petition, that the Parlia-  
 „ ment of *England* offered to *P. Alexander* the 6th.

But as the Depositions are yet extant of the Duke of *Norfolk* ; that was then a Privy Counsellour, and of two others, that there was no precaution used to hinder the Consummation ; so *Warham*, that was at that time Archbishop of *Canterbury*, opposed the second Marriage, as being neither honourable, nor well-pleasing to God, as he himself did afterwards depose upon Oath. The Parliament took no Cognisance of the matter, nor did it make any Address to the Pope ; so that this Citation is to be considered as an Effect of Mr. *Varillas* his notion of Religion.

P. 235. „ 5. He runs out, in his manner, in-  
 „ to a long Speculation concerning the  
 „ different interests of *England* and  
 „ *Spain*,

„ *Spain*, that made the *Spaniards* go backwards  
 „ and forwards, in the agreeing to the Match,  
 „ that proposed for *P. Henry* and the Princess;  
 „ whom by an extravagant affectation he calls  
 „ always Duke of *York*: and makes the Prin-  
 „ cess's Parents represent to King *Henry* the 7th,  
 „ the danger of his Son's growing weary of the  
 „ Princess, since he was four year younger than  
 „ she was, and that in order to the procuring of a  
 „ dissolution of the Marriage from the Court of a  
 „ *Rome*, he might pretend that his Father had  
 „ forced him to Marry her, whenever he should  
 „ grow weary of her.

All the other Writers of that time put King *Henry* the 7th's desiring this second Marriage merely on his covetousness, which made him equally unwilling to repay the Portion, or to send a great Joynture yearly after the Princess: and the Prince of *Wales* was too great a Match to be so uneasily admitted by the King and Queen of *Spain*. He whom he calls by the Title of the Duke of *York*, was indeed only Duke of *York*, for some Months after his Brother's Death, during which time it was supposed, that the Princess might be with Child by his Brother; which proves beyond exception, that it was believed, that the first Marriage was consummated. But when there was no more reason to apprehend that, then he carried the Title, that belongs to the Heir apparent of our Crown. But it seems the King and Queen of *Spain* were more easily satisfied in this matter, than Mr. *Varillas* would make us believe they were: for  
 two



two years after the Bull granted, when P. Henry came to be of Age, he instead of entring into any engagement to Marry the Princess, made a solemn Protestation in the hands of the Bishop of Winchester, by which he recalled the Consent that he had given during his Minority, and declared that he would never Marry her. But it is very likely Mr. *Varillas* had never heard of this, tho' the instrument of that Protestation was not only mentioned, but Printed by many of the Writers of that Age: and it is confessed by Sanders himself, who, after all Mr. *Varillas's* flourish with his Letters, is his only Author. And for this foresight, that he thinks he may justly ascribe to the King and Queen of Spain, because they are represented by the Writers of that time, to have had an extraordinary Sagacity, the reason that he makes them give, shews it was a contrivance of his own: since a mortal force, such as the Authority of a Father was never so much as pretended to be a just ground to annul a Marriage after it was made and consummated; otherwise most of the Marriages that have been made, might have been dissolved.

6. "He adds to this another speculation, that is worthy of him, he P. 236. pretends that the King and Queen of Spain apprehended, that had acquired the Crown of England, and by consequence had a right to dispose of it at his pleasure; upon which the Crown of Spain was afraid, lest he should have disinherited his Son and  
 \_\_\_\_\_ given

“given the Crown to the Duke of *Suffolk*,  
 “that was then at *Brussels*, and was preparing  
 “an Invasion of *England*, from which they did  
 “not know, but King *Henry* the 7th, might  
 “save himself, by declaring *Suffolk* his Suc-  
 “cessour, and that upon those fears they were  
 “unwilling to consent to the Match.

Here is such a mixture of Follies, that it is not easy to tell which of them is the most remarkable. This Doctrin of the Crown of *England*'s being alienable at the King's pleasure, might have passed well with those, that some years ago thought to have shut out the next Heir, and yet even these did not pretend that it could have been done by the King alone. But here is a new Theory of Politicks, for which we are sure Mr. *Varillas* can cite no Authorities from the Laws and Constitutions of *England*. King *Henry* the 7th had indeed acquired the Crown, by defeating that Tyrant and Usurper *Richard* the 3d: but as he pretended to be Heir of the *Lancastrian* Race himself, so by Marrying to the Heir of the House of *York*, that was the right Heir, he by a conjunction of all Titles, made the matter sure. But this gave him no right to alienate the Crown at his pleasure, and to fancy, that a King may be induced to give away his Crown from his own Son, to the Person in the World that he hated most, and whom at his Death he ordered his Son never to forgive; who, by the way, was not Duke but only Earl of *Suffolk*, is Dream better becoming so sleight a brain

rain as is that Mr. *Varillas*, than the consummated wisdom of the King and Queen of *pain*. But thus it falls out vvhhen a Library Keeper turns States-man; and when from being a teller of Tales, he vwill turn Writer of Histories, which he composes out of his own Imaginations, he must needs fall into childish errors. When do Kings fall under those weakneses, as to disinherit an only Son, to cover them from a remote fear: and a very remote one it was; for the Archduke needed at that time the assistance of *England* against *France* too much, to be in a condition to raise a Civil War in *England*, and to support a competition to the Crown, which could have no other effect, as to him, but to give *France* an opportunity, during the distractions of *England*, to come and destroy him. In short here is a Vision of a poor-spirited Pedant, which is too much considered, when it is named and laught at.

7. "He pretends to enter into the P. 237.  
" reasons that were alledged at *Rome*,  
" both for and against granting of the Bull;  
" but at last he concludes, that Pope *Alex-*  
" *ander* the 6th would not consent to it; that  
" he might not give occasion to accuse him, of  
" having broken the Discipline of the Church.

But here is such a false representation of the Court of *Rome* at that time, and in particular of P. *Alexander* the 6th, that since Mr. *Varillas* will needs write Romances, I must put him in mind of one Rule; that as Painters shew their Judgment and Learning, in that  
which

which is in one Word called *le Cufome*, observing their Air, Manners, and Habits of the Ages and Scenes to which their Pieces belong; fo Poets, when they bring unknown Names into their Plays, they may cloath them with what Characters they please; but if they represent Men, whose Histories are known, they must not confound Characters, nor represent a *Nero* as a grave Philosopher, or as a good natur'd Prince; nor a *Marcus Aurelius* as a wanton Stage-Player, or as a bloody Tyrant. And therefore, tho' Mr. *Varillas* may shew his pretended discoveries, concerning Men that are less known, yet when he brings in an *Alexander* the 6th on the Stage, it is to bold a violation of Poetry, to lay a strictness of Conscience, or a fence of Honour to his charge: and tho' there is one part of this Period true, that there had never been any dispensation of this sort formerly granted, to serve as a Precedent for it: yet that exactness, in which he represents the Enquiry, that the Divines of *Rome* made concerning this matter, agrees ill with the State of the Court of *Rome* at that time; and a Painter may as justly represent the old *Romans* in Pantaloons and with Hats in their hands.

8. " He says, K. *Henry* the 7th  
 p. 240. " was preparing all things for the Mar-  
 p. 241. " riage of his Son, to the Princess  
 " when he died. And a little before,  
 " that he had said, that her Parents sacrificed the  
 " Interest of their Family to the satisfaction of  
 " the King of *England*, by consenting to it.

A Match with the Heir. of the Crown of  
*England*

England, was no very costly Sacrifice: and for his vision concerning the design of Marrying her to the Duke of *Calabria*, and by that means of restoring the Kingdom of *Naples*, it does so ill agree with the Character of the King of *Arragon*, that since there is no proof brought of this, I must look on it as one of those Imaginations, with which Mr. *Varillas* loves to entertain his Readers. But for K. *Henry* the 7th, he was so far from making any preparations for the Marriage, that one Morison of the Writers of that Age assures us, that his Death he charged his Son to break it, apprehending perhaps a return of a new civil War, upon the issue of a doubtful Marriage

„ He gives us a new tast of his unskillfulness in ordering his Scenes. He had found that when *Henry* the 8th's Divorce came to be started, there was some discourse of a Match between him and *Francis* the first's Sister, afterwards the Queen of *Navarre*, and therefore he thought a proposition for her, might come in before the Marriage, as a pretty ornament to his Fable.

But the silence of all the Papers of that Time, which I have seen, is a much better evidence against it, than his pretended negotiation of Mr. *de Piennes*, is for it, to which no credit is due. It is well known that in the Archives of *Venice* there are Recitals laid up of all the Negotiations of their Ambassadors, and Mr. *Varillas* having perhaps heard of this, he fancied it would have a good grace, to  
cite

cite such Recitals as to French Affairs, tho' all that know the State of *France*, know, that this has not been the practice of that Court. But as there is no proof to shew that there was any such Proposition made at that Time, so the State of *K. Lewis* the 12th's Court differs extremly from it, in which the Count of *Angonleme*, afterwards *Francis* the first, and his Sister, were not so favourable, as to give us reason to think that pains was taken to raise that Lady to the Throne of *England*.

10. "He tells us, that King *Henry* the 8th  
 "calling a Parliament in the beginning of his  
 "Reign, they thought themselves bound in  
 "point of Honour, to oblige to execute his  
 "Father's Orders, relating to his Marriage;  
 "who had not only made it the chief Article  
 "of his Testament, and charged his Son to  
 "do it upon his last Blessing; but had laid the  
 "same charge on the Men of the greatest Credit  
 "in *England*, as he spoke his last Words to them:  
 "upon which the Parliament being careful to  
 "maintain this Authority, to which they pretended  
 "over their Master, did oblige him, by repeated  
 "Remonstrances to Marry the Princess.

Here he goes to shew how implacably he is set against the Crown of *England*: formerly he had debased their Birth, but he thought that was not enough; now he will degrade them of their Dignity, and give the Parliament a Superiority over them. But is is a fatal thing for an ignorant Man to write History: for if *Mr. Varillas* could have so much as opened our Book of Statutes, he would  
 have

have found, that the first Parliament, that K. Henry the 8th held, was assembled the 21. of January 1510: almost eight Months after the Marriage, which was celebrated six Weeks after he came to the Crown, in which time; if Mr. *Varillas* had understood any thing of our Constitutions, he would have known, that it was impossible for a Parliament to have met, since there must be 40. Days between a Summons and a Meeting of Parliament; so that if the new King had summoned one, the Day after his Father's Death, it could not have met sooner, than the day before the Marriage.

11. "He says, the Queen bore five Ibid.  
 "Children, the first three, Sons, and  
 "the other two, Girls; but the eldest Son  
 "lived only 9. Months, and the other two  
 "Sons, and the eldest Girl, died immediately  
 "after they were born; only the youngest,  
 "that was born the 8 of February 1515. was  
 "longer lived.

Mr. *Varillas* has a peculiar Talent of committing more Errours in one single Period, than any Writer of the Age: and here he has given a good essay of his art; for the Queen bore only three Children, the first was Son, born the 1 January, that died the 22 of February thereafter, which was not two full Months, much less 9 Months: the second Son died not immediately, but about a Fortnight after he was born: and the Daughter, afterwards Q. Mary, was born the 9th of February 1516. So  
 tho'

tho' by chance he hath hit the Month right, yet he is mistaken, both as to the Year, and the Day of the Month. So unadvised a thing it is for an ignorant Writer, to deliver matters of fact so particularly: for this may deceive others, that are as ignorant as himself, by an appearance of exactness; yet it lays him too open to those, that can find the leisure and the patience to expose him: and the last is no easy matter.

12. "He runs out into a very copious account of *K. Henry's* Disorders, and dresses up *Q. Katharine's* Devotions in a very sublime strain.

It does not appear, that in all that  
 p. 246. time he had any other Mistress, but *Elizabeth Blunt*: and during all that while, he had the highest Panegyriques made him by all the Clergy of *Europe*, upon his Zeal for Religion and Piety; possible so, that if we did not live in an Age, in which Flattery has broke loose from all the restraints of Decency, they would appear very extravagant Commendations; and if the sublimities of Flattery were not rather a just prejudice against a Prince, which give a character of a swelling Ambition, and an imperious Tyranny, that must be courted by such abject methods, so that it is hard, whether we ought to think worse of the Flatterers, or the Flattered, we would be tempted to judge very advantageously of *K. Henry the Eighth*, by the Dedications,



Dedications, and other other fawning Ad-  
resses that were made him. As for Queen  
*Katherine*, it does appear, that she was indeed  
vertuous and devout Woman: but Mr. *Var-*  
*illas* being more accustomed to Legends, than  
to true Histories, could not set out this, with-  
out a considerable addition of his own: for  
the half of it is not mentioned by any Au-  
thor, that ever I saw, nor by any quoted but by  
himself: but a Poet must adorn his matter  
and if he has not Judgment, he overdoes  
it.

„ 13. He says, the King designed  
to marry his natural Son the p. 248.  
Duke of *Richmont*, to his Daugh-  
ter *Mary*, upon which he makes that  
long digression, concerning the Names of  
the Race of *Tudors*, that was forme-  
rly considered.

When a Man affirms a thing, that is so  
notoriously injurious to the Memory of a  
Prince, he ought at least to give some sort  
of Proof of its Truth: for tho' in the ac-  
cesses of Mr. *Varillas's* Religious Fits, he  
does not think fit to trouble himself with  
those inconsiderable matters of Truth and  
Falsehood; yet all the World is not of  
his Mind, and some colours of Truth are  
at least looked for. It is true, a Negative  
is not easily proved, so a bold affirmer fan-  
cies, he has some advantages; but in this  
Case it is quite otherwise; for the whole se-  
ries of the Original Instructions, Messages,  
and Letters that passed between *Rome* and  
*England*

England, in that matter, are still extant, in all which there is not the least tittle, relating to this Proposition. And there are some things of such indecency, that nothing but a Temper like Mr. *Varillas's* can bring them together. For when K. *Henry* was pretending a scruple of Conscience, at his own marrying his Brother's Wife, it is very improbable, that he would have asked a Dispensation for a Marriage in a much nearer Degree. For *Sanders*, that is, Mr. *Varillas's* Author says, that both Propositions were made at the same time. There were many Libels Printed against K. *Henry*, about that time, but the strongest and best Writ, was that of Cardinal *Pools*, in which it is visible, that he spares nothing that he could alledg with any colour of Truth; yet he says nothing of this matter, tho' it had more weight in it to discover the King's Hypocrisy, in pretending to scruples of Conscience, than all the other things he alleges: and I never could find any other Author for this Story, before *Sanders*, whose Book was Printed 60 years after.

P. 259. „ 14. He gives another Essay  
 „ of his Skill in History, and that  
 „ he is equally ignorant of the  
 „ Histories of all Kingdoms, when he re-  
 „ presents to us the endeavours of the King  
 „ of *Scotland*, for the obtaining of a Marri-  
 „ age with the Princess *Mary*, in favours of  
 „ his Son, upon whose Person he bestows  
 „ of a kind dash of his Pen, and he en-  
 „ ters

ters into a Speculation of the danger of that King *Henry* apprehended from this Proposition; and that if he had rejected it, the King and Prince of *Scotland* might have addressed themselves for it to the Parliament, and that the Parliament would have raised a general Rebellion, rather than have suffered King *Henry* to reject it.

The dislike that Mr. *Varillas* has conceived against the Crown of *England*, seems deeply rooted in him; for it returns very often. Here he represents forreign Princes complaining to Parliaments, when the Kings do not accept of Propositions for their Children; as if our Princes were less at liberty in the disposal of their Children, than the meanest of their Subjects are: but he knows our Constitution as little as he does the History of *Scotland*, otherwise he could not have represented the King of *Scotland*, as pretending to the Mariage of the Princess, *Mary* for his Son; since King *James* the Fourth, that had Married King *Henry's* Sister was killed at the Battle of *Floddum* the 2d, of *September* 1513, above three Years before the Princess was born, he left an Infant Son, between whom and the Princess, a Treaty of a Marriage was once proposed, but no progress was made in it, for K. *Henry* neglected it. And he had always his Parliaments so subject to him, to apprehend any of those vain Schemes, with which Mr. *Varillas* would possess his Reader. There are  
many

many that make no great Progress in History, but yet know somewhat of the Deaths of Kings, and that carry some small measure of Chronology in their Head. Yet since Mr. *Varillas* has not yet got so far, he had best buy some common Chronological Tables, and have them alvvays before him, vvhen he vvrites ; and this vvill at least preserve him from such Childish Errours.

„ 15. He tells us, that there were  
 P. 251. „ many Pretenders to the young Prin-  
 „ ccess, and to make a full Period, he  
 „ tells us, that all the Sovereigns of *Europe* court-  
 „ ed her, both the Emperour, the Kings of  
 „ *France, Spain, and Scotland*, and so he gives us  
 „ a fantastical Speculation of King *Henry's* ba-  
 „ lancing those Propositions one against ano-  
 „ ther.

But since for a round Period's sake he will needs split *Charles* the 5th. in two, and name both the Emperour and the King of *Spain* as two Pretenders, he might as well have subdivided him into the King of *Arragon* and *Castile, Sicily* and *Naples*, and the very Titular Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, might have come in for its share.

„ 16. He tells us, that tho' the  
 P. 252. „ Match of *Scotland* vvvas the most for  
 „ the Interest of the Nation ; yet King  
 „ *Henry* was so angry with his Nephew the King  
 „ of *Scotland*, for taking part against him, in his  
 „ last War with *France*, that he resolved never  
 „ to give him his Daughter.

Here

Here Mr. *Varillas* will see again the necessity of purchasing a Chronological Table, for tho' that will cost him some Money, which as I am told, goes very near his heart ; yet it will preserve him from some scurvy Errours, they may spoil the Sale of his Books : for any one of those Tables, even the worst and cheapest, would have shewed him, that it was not his Nephew that took part with *France* against him ; but his Nephew's Father : for King *James* the 4th, that was King *Henry's* Brother-in-law, made War on that occasion, and was killed in it, leaving an Infant Son behind him ; but it is pleasant to see the Ignorance of this Scribler, that makes in one place King *James* the 4th. to Court the Princess for his Son, tho' he died several years before she was born, and then makes King *James* the fifth to be making War with his Uncle during his Father's life, and while himself was an Infant.

„ 17. He says, the Emperour came,  
 „ and pretended the second to the Prin- Ibid.  
 „ cess, and upon that he sets down a  
 „ large Negotiation, that he had vvith Cardinal  
 „ *Wolsey*.

But he shewvs here an Ignorance of *Charles* the 5th's Life, tho' he pretends to have made more than ordinary Discoveries concerning his Affairs, that proves, that he has studied all History alike ill. He reckons up the Series of the Propositions for the Princess quite vvrong ; for she vvvas first contracted to the Dolphin the ninth of November 1518, by a Treaty yet extant, then

*Charles* the 5th. came into *England* in Person, and contracted a Marriage vwith her at *Windsor* the 22. of *June* 1522; after that there vvas a Proposition made for the King of *Scotland*, that vvas soon let fall; and last of all there vvas a Treaty set on Foot, for the King of *France* then a Widdowver, or for his second Son the Duke of *Orleans*, it being left to *Francis's* option to determine that: and so remarkable a passage, as *Charles* the 5th's coming to *England* in Person, vvas unhappily unknowvn to *Mr. Varillas*; othervvise he vvould have dressed up a mighty Scene of Politicks to adorn it.

„ 18. He gives us the Character  
Ibid.

„ and the History of Cardinal *Wolsey*,  
„ vwith his ordinary Colours, in vvich  
„ truth comes very seldom in for an ingredient,  
„ he tells us, hovv he vvas Bishop of *Tournay*,  
„ or rather Oeconomy of that See, and hovv many  
„ Journeys he made betvveen *Tournay* and *Lon-*  
„ *don*; and that being enriched at *Tournay*; he  
„ got the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*, after that, up-  
„ on the Bishop of *Winchester's* death, he had that  
„ See, from that he vvas raised to be Archbishop  
„ of *York*; then he vvas made Chancellour of  
„ *England*, then Cardinal and Legat à *Latere*, and  
„ last of all, he vvas made Chief Minister of  
„ State; and to shew our Author's deep Judg-  
„ ment, this last Article seemed so doubtful a  
„ Point to him, that he must needs bestovv a  
„ Proof on it, and he sends us to *P. Leo* the 10th's  
„ Register, tho' the advancements that he had  
„ already reckoned up, may vvell make this pass  
„ vvithout

without a more particular Proof; nor is P.  
Leo's Register a place likely to find it in.

Here is a great deal to let his Reader see,  
how intirely he vvas possessed vvith the Histo-  
ry of that time; since he could run out so far  
vvith the Character and History of that Mini-  
ster; but for the strain, in vvich he sets out  
his Character, one must see, it is only, Mr. *Varillas's*  
fancy: for how came he to know Cardinal *Wolfey's*  
Air and manner of Deportment, e-  
ven in the smallest thing. I that have seen much  
more of him in his Letters Dispatches and In-  
structions than Mr. *Varillas* can pretend to have  
done, dare not go so far, because I have not ar-  
rived at Mr. *Varillas* his pitch of Religion; but  
if his Character is no truer than the History  
that he gives of *Wolfey*, I know vvhat name is  
due to it. He vvas made Bishop of *Tournay* in  
October, and Bishop of *Lincoln* in the March there-  
after, or rather in *February*, for the Temporalty  
vvas given him the 4th. of *March*, vvich is al-  
vvays restored after the Consecration, so that  
there vvas not time enough to make such Jour-  
neys betvveen *Tournay* and *London*, nor to en-  
rich himself vvith the former: he had *Winche-*  
*ster* but fifteen years after that; but he vvas  
made Archbishop of *York* tvo years after he had  
*Lincoln*; he vvas also made Cardinal and Le-  
gate, before he vvas made Chancellour; for *War-*  
*ham* Archbishop of *Canterbury* vvas Chancellour  
vvhile he vvas Legate, and had some Disputes  
vvith him, touching his Legative povver; upon  
vvhich he obtained that Dignity, for putting an

end to all disputes ; and instead of his being last of all Minister of State, he was first of all Minister of State, while he was only the Lord *Almoner*, and all his other Dignities came upon him, as the natural effects of that Confidence and favour into which the King had received him.

19. “ He cannot assent to some  
 Ibid. “ Historians, that imagine he was the  
 “ Confident of King *Henry's* Pleasures,  
 “ since he thinks if that had been true, he could  
 “ not have been so cheated afterwards, as he  
 “ was.

Here is a Demonstration that he never read my History, into which I have put, besides other Evidences of his being on the secret of *Anne Boleyn's* matter, two Letters, that she writ to him, which are undeniable proofs of it. But as for the long Story into which he runs out, concerning *Charles the Fifth's* Intrigues with him, and his way of writing to him, in the stile of Son and Cousin, for which he cites on the Margent the Emperours Letters to *Wolfey*, that lie in his fancy, that is the greatest Library in the World, but the hardest to be come at, all this is so loosely writ, that it is plain Mr. *Varillas* had no light to direct him in it, since he says not a word of the most important circumstance of it, which was the Emperour's coming in Person to *England*, which was believed to have been done chiefly to gain *Wolfey* entirely, and in which it is certain, that



that he had all the success that he had wished for.

20. "He says, *Wolsey* being alienated from the Emperour, engaged the King of *France*, after he was set at liberty, to treat for a Match between the Dauphin and the Princess of *England*, upon which they were contracted with great Magnificency; but that was not enough, for the Cardinals's malice. P. 251.

I have formerly shewed, that the proposition of a Marriage between the Dauphin and the Princess was in the year 1518, long before *Francis* the Firsts Imprisonment; but the Treaty set on foot after his Liberty, was either for himself, or his second Son, and this sort of a Treaty being somewhat extraordinary where the alternative lay between the Father and the Son for the same Lady, Mr. *Varillas* shewvs his great ignorance of the Affairs of that Time, since he says nothing of it; for this would have given him occasion enough to have entertained his Reader vvith many Visions and Speculations.

21. "He says, that *Wolsey* dealt vvith *Longland* the King's Confessour, to possess him vvith scruples concerning the lawfulness of his Marriage, that *Longland* refused to do it, but engaged *Wolsey* to begin, and he promised to fortify the scruples, that the Cardinal should infuse into the King's mind. Upon which the Cardinal did open the matter to the King, "and C 3

“and the King being shaken by his Proposition, laid the matter before his Confessour,  
 “who seconded the Cardinal.

In this he has taken the liberty to depart from *Sanders*, tho’ he is the Author whom he generally copies; but it is easy to pretend to tell secrets, but not easy to prove them. The King himself did afterwards in publick not only deny this, but affirmed that *Wolsey* had opposed his scruples all he could, and that he himself had opened them in Confession to *Longland*, and the King himself said to *Grineus*, that he was disquieted with those scruples ever from the year 1529, which was three years before the matter was made publick.

22. “He says, the King upon  
 p. 259. “that Consulted the Divines of *England* concerning the validity of the  
 “Marriage, and that all those that  
 “were Men of probity and disinterested,  
 “answered in the affirmative; but some  
 “that did aspire, or that were corrupted,  
 “thought it doubtful, others, who were very  
 “few in number, affirmed it was unlawful.

This is so false, that all the Bishops of *England*, *Fisher* only excepted, declared under their Hands and Seals, that they thought the Marriage unlawful.

23. “He gives a Character of *Anne*  
 p. 260. “*Boleyn*, in which he takes up the common Reports of her ill shape, her yellow colour, her gag tooth, her Lump under her Chin,  
 “and

“ and her hand with six fingers: but because all  
 “ this agrees ill to the Mistress of a King, he,  
 “ to soften that, adds a long Character of her  
 “ Wit, her Air and Humour, in which he lays  
 “ her charms, and here takes all the licences  
 “ of a Poet, as well as of a Painter.

But as several of her Pictures, yet extant,  
 shew the folly of those Stories, concerning her  
 Deformity, so the other particulars of this Picture  
 are for the most part fetcht out of that Repo-  
 sitory of false History, that lies in Mr. *Varillas's*  
 Imagination.

24. “ He says, the English Histo-  
 “ rians, and some other Catholicks, *Ibid.*  
 “ agree to those things, and for his  
 “ Vouchers he cites on the Mar-  
 “ gent *Sanders*, *Rebadeniera* and *Remon*; but  
 “ they add many other particulars, tho’ they  
 “ differ concerning them, and tho’ he will not  
 “ affirm them to be true; yet he thinks it  
 “ worth the while to set them down. They say  
 “ that *Anne Boleyn's* true Father was not known:  
 “ that she was born in *England*, while he was  
 “ Ambassadour in *France*: that *Henry the 8th*,  
 “ being in love with the Mother, had sent away  
 “ her Husband, that so he might satisfy his Ap-  
 “ petites more freely, but that he soon quit-  
 “ ted the Mother for her eldest Daughter  
 “ *Mary*: that *Sr. Thomas Boleyn* at his return to  
 “ *England*, finding his Wife with Child, be-  
 “ gun a Sute against her, but that the King  
 “ forced him to be reconciled to his Wife, and  
 “ to own the Child that she bore some time af-

“ter, who was *Anne Boleyn*: that this Daugh-  
 “ter at the Age of 15, was dishonoured by  
 “two of her Father’s Domesticks, upon which  
 “she was sent to *France*, where she was so com-  
 “mon a Prostitute, that she went by the Name  
 “of the English Hackney: that she was a  
 “common subject of Raillery: that she became  
 “a *Lutheran*, tho’ she made still profession of  
 “the other Religion. He says, others make  
 “her pass for a Heroine, that cannot be e-  
 “nough commended, yet he acknowledges  
 “there are not Authentical Evidences left, to  
 “discover their imposture.

Here is a vvay of vvriting, that agrees vvell  
 with Mr. *Varillas*’s other Qualities: he vvvas  
 here in a cold fit, and so his Religion did not o-  
 perate so strong as to disengage him quite from  
 all regard to Truth, only it produces one start,  
 that is sufficiently extravagant, for he accuses all  
 that is said in favour of *Anne Boleyn* of imposture,  
 tho’ at the same time he acknowledges, that there  
 are not Authentick Evidences to disprove it; but  
 hovv then came he to knowv that those com-  
 mendations were Impostures? He answers,  
 that in the beginning of this Paragraph, and  
 cites in general the Historians of *England* and  
 other Catholick Writers: for the Historians of  
*England* he gives us *Sanders* alone, tho’ he can  
 hardly make a plural out of him, unless he  
 splits him into three or four subdivisions, as he  
 had done *Charles* the 5th, when he reckoned  
 up the Emperour and the King of *Spain* as two  
 of

of the Pretenders to the Princess *Mary*. But tho' I have in my History demonstrated the falsehood of all this Legend so evidently that I had perhaps wearied my Reader, by proving that too copiously, yet since I see that nature can croud so much impudence in Mr. *Varillas* alone, as might serve even the whole Order of the Jesuites, and that he is resolved to keep up the credit of the blackest falsehoods, as the Church of *Rome* preserves still in her Breviary a great many Lessons with Prayers and Anthems, relating to them, that are now by the consent of Learned Men exploded as Fables, I must again lay open this matter, tho' I thought I had so fully confuted those Lies, that even a Pension could not have engaged a Man to support them any more.

It may seem enough to an impartial Mind, that *Sanders* was the first, that ever published those Stories, above 50 years after *Anne Boleyn's* Death: that tho' Cardinal *Pool*, and the other Writers of that Time, had left nothing unsaid, that could blacken King *Henry*; yet none of them had brow enough to assert *Sander's* Fictions: and that after *Anne Boleyn's* Tragical Fall, when her Misfortunes had made it a fashionable thing to blacken her, yet these impostures were reserved for *Sanders*, and for an Age, in which he and many others of his Church were setting on many Rebellions and Conspiracies against Queen *Elizabeth*, they were so powerfully acted by Mr. *Varillas's* Spirit of Religion, tho' they had not the folly to own

It, as he has done, as to give themselves the Liberty to say the foulest things against the Mother, without giving themselves the trouble to enquire, whether they were true or false: and the things here advanced are of such a nature, that either they must be evidently true, or they are notoriously false; for an Embassy into *France* of such a continuance, a Sute moved upon *Sr. Thomas Boileyn's* return, were publick matters, and must have lien open to a discovery. The whole Recital is impossible, as it is told; for if she was born after *Sr. Thomas Boileyn* return'd from an Embassy, to which King *Henry* had sent him, that he might enjoy his Wife, and in which he staid two years, as *Sanders* says; then since King *Henry* came to the Crown in the year 1509, she must be born in the year 1511, and then the 15th. year of her Age will fall in the year 1526, and it being certain that the King began to Court her in the year 1527, here is not time enough for her Leudness and her long stay in *France*. But it is certain that she was born in the year 1507, two years before King *Henry* came to the Crown, and when he was but fourteen years old, and that at seven years old she went over to *France* with King *Henry's* Sister, when she was Married to *Lewis* the 12th; and tho' upon that King's Death the Queen Dowager of *France* came soon after back into *England*, yet *Anne Boileyn* staid still in *France*, and was in the Service of *Claud Francis's* the first's Queen, and after her Death the King's Sister, the Dutches of *Alencon* took her into her service and these

These two Princesses were so celebrated for their Vertue, that this alone is enough to shew, that she was then under no influence since she was of their Family. She was Maid of Honour to our Queen *Katharine*, who, even by Mr. *Varillas's* Character, was of too severe a Vertue to admit a common Prostitute to that degree of honour. So that there is more than enough to discredit all those Calumnies.

„ 25. He says, tho' there is not Evidence enough in the former reports p. 261. yet there is a certain Proof for *K. Henry's* disorders with the Elder of the two Sisters, *Mary Boleyn*, since in the demand, that *K. Henry* made for a Permission to Marry *Anne*, he confessed his disorders with her Sister, and offered to do Penance for them: and to vouch for this, he cites King *Henry's* Petition to *P. Clement* the 7th.

Here Mr. *Varillas* shews, how little he understands the advantages that he has, to maintain his Assertions, since there is an Authority for this last, that has more appearance of Truth in it, than all his other Citations put together, tho' his Ignorance made him incapable of finding it out. For Cardinal *Pool*, in his Book against King *Henry*, objects this to him, and this has a fair appearance: whereas the Petition, that he cites, is a Dream of his own, that was never before heard of. But tho' I have said more for the Honour of Cardinal *Pool*, than

than all the Panegericks that have been given him, amount to, yet I am very well assured that if in this Particular he was abused by Reports, to which he gave too easy belief, for as all the original Instructions and Dispatches, that were made upon that Affair, are yet extant, in which there is not one word relating to this Matter: so it is plain, that the affair was never so far advanced, as to demand a Permission for a second Mariage, since that could never be so much asked, till the first was dissolved, and that not being gained, there was not room made for it. If the King had given such advantages against himself, as to have put such a Confession in a Petition to the Pope, is it to be imagined, that the Popes would not have discovered this in some Authentical manner, and even have put it in the Thundering Bull, that was afterward published against him; for this alone proved his Hypocrisy of pretending Scruples of Conscience at his Marriage beyond Exception; and if the King acted in this matter, without any regard to Conscience, it is unreasonable to represent him as so strictly Conscientious, and that he would have confessed so scandalous a secret, and so to have put himself in the Power of those, of whom he could not be well assured.

p. 263, &c. „ 26. He gives us a long account of *Wolsey's* design, to engage the King to marry the Dutchess of *Alencon*. Of the Bishop of *Tark's* being sent over to bring the English Princess



„ Princess into *France*, upon her being con-  
 „ tracted to the Dauphin. And of *Wolfey's*  
 „ prevailing with him, to let that Propo-  
 „ sition fall, and to set on another, for a  
 „ Mariage between the King of *England* and  
 „ the Dutcheſs of *Alencon*. And that the  
 „ Bp. of *Tarke* was cheated by *Wolfey*; and  
 „ being in the interests of the Dutcheſs of *A-*  
 „ *lencon*, he demanded a publick Audience  
 „ of the King, in the presence of the Council,  
 „ in which he employed all his Eloquence to  
 „ perswade him to divorce his Queen, and to  
 „ marry the most Christian King's Sister.

In all this matter Mr. *Varillas* is only the Copier of *Sanders*, yet he cannot tell another Man's Lie, without mixing some additions of his own; for the Bp. of *Tarke's* being sent over, to demand the Princess, is one of the fruits of his own Religion. But tho' a Pedant of a Priest, such as *Sanders*, had told so improbable a Story; yet it ill became a Man, that pretends to know Courts, and the Negotiations of Ambassadors, as Mr. *Varillas* does, to assert such improbabilities, as that an Ambassador sent Express to demand a Princess for his Masters Son, which was the greatest advantage that *France* could have possibly hoped for, should be so far wrought on by the Minister of the Court, to which he was sent, as not only to let all this fall; but to make a new Proposition for the illegitimizing of the young Princess, and for offering his master's Sister to King *Henry*, and all this without any Instructions from his Master,

master, and thereby exposing the Dutcheſs of *Alencon* to the ſcorn of being rejected, after ſhe was ſo publickly offered to the King of *England*, tho' every Body knows, that the firſt offers of Princeſſes are made in ſecret. And after all this, that the Biſhop of *Tarke*, who not only exceeded his Inſtructions, but acted contrary to them in ſo important a matter, was neither recalled nor diſgraced; but on the contrary he was afterwards promoted to be a Cardinal by the recommendation of the Court of *France*; and he being a Cardinal, and ſeeing afterwards how he was abuſed, if we may believe this Fable, is it to be ſuppoſed, that he, either out of his own Zeal for the Court of *Rome*, or by the Accuſations that naturally ſuch a Propoſition, begun by him, muſt have brought on him, would not have told all this Secret afterwards? In ſhort, as this Relation contains many particulars in it, that are not according to the Forms of our Court, ſuch as his demanding an Audience in the preſence of the Council (for it ſeems, as Mr. *Varillas* ſets our Parliaments above our kings, he will make the Privy Council equal to them) ſo the whole is ſo contrary to all the Methods of Ambaſſadours, that this would ſcarce paſs, if it related to the tranſactions of the Courts of *China*, or *Japan*; but it is ſo groſs an impoſition on ſuch as know the methods of the Courts of *Europe*, that Mr. *Varillas* presumed too much on the credulity of his Readers, when he thought that this could be

be believ'd : and *si non è vero, il è ben trovato*, is so necessary a Character for a Man to maintain, that would have his Books sell well, which I am told is Mr. *Varillas's* chief Design, that he had best find out some Judge of his Pieces, that has a true Understanding, since it is plain, that he has not Sense enough himself to make a right Judgment in such matters.

„ 27. He says, when Cardinal *Wol-*  
 „ *sey* went over into *France*, he carri- P. 266.  
 „ ed a Commission to consult the Uni-  
 „ versities of *France*, touching the Kings Di-  
 „ vorce ; but that the change of Affairs in *Italy*,  
 „ made the King to recal him, who was strange-  
 „ ly surprized, when he found that the King  
 „ had no thoughts of Marrying the Dutches of  
 „ *Alencon*, and that he was become so much in  
 „ love with *Anne Boleyn*, that he was resolved to  
 „ Marry her on any Terms.

It is an unfortunate thing for a Man, to have heard too much, and to have read too little of History : for as the one gives him much confidence, so the other exposes him to many Errors. Mr. *Varillas* had heard, that King *Henry* had consulted many Universities ; but not knowing where to place this, he fancied, that it must be the first step in the whole Matter. But he knew not, that this was not thought on, till after a Sute of above two Years continuance, in which the King saw, how he was deluded by the Court of *Rome* ; and upon that, he took the other Method of consulting the Universities. All his Speculations concerning Cardinal *Wolsey*, are built

built on the common Mistake, that supposes him ignorant of the King's intentions for *Anne Boleyn*, the falsehood of which I have sufficiently demonstrated.

„ 28. He tells us, that Cardinal  
P. 278. „ *Wolsey* having once several Bishops to  
„ Dine with them, the King knowing  
„ of it, went to them after Dinner, and made  
„ a Writing to be read to them, that set forth  
„ the Reasons against his Marriage: the Bi-  
„ shops did not approve it quite; yet they  
„ were so complying, as to say, that if those  
„ things were true, his Scruples were well  
„ grounded.

This was too important a thing, not to be made appear probable by some of his pretended Vouches, tho' it is most certainly false; for a Resolution, signed by all the Bishops of *England*, except *Fisher*, was produced before the Legates, to shew how well the King's Scruple were grounded.

„ 29. He says, the Privy Council  
Ibid. „ acted more steadily, and intended to  
„ give the King an undeniable Proof of  
„ his Mistresses Lewdness, for *Sr. Thomas Wiat*,  
„ that had obtained of her the last Favours, was  
„ willing to let the King know it; and so be-  
„ ing of the Privy Council, he not only own-  
„ ed the matter to the rest of that Board, but  
„ was content to let the King know it; and  
„ when he found that the King would not be-  
„ lieve it, he offered to make the King himself  
„ an Eye-witness to their Privacies; but tho'  
„ the

„ the Duke of *Suffolk* made this bold Proposition to the King, he was so far from hearkning to it, that *Wiat* was disgraced upon it, and by this means the Mistress was covered from such dangerous Discoveries for the future.

Such a Story as this might have passed from a *Sanders*, that knew the World little, but in earnest, it seems the fits of Mr. *Varillas's* Religion are strong even to Extasie, since they make him write as extravagantly of humane Affairs, as if he had passed his whole Life in a Desert. A Man that knows what humane Nature is, cannot think that *Wiat* would have either so far betrayed Mrs. *Boleyn*, or exposed himself, as to have made such a Discovery; it being more natural for a Man, that was assured of a young Lady's Favour, to contribute to her Elevation, since that must have raised himself, than to contrive her ruin. And King *Henry*, whose imperious Temper gave him a particular Disposition to Jealousie, must have been of a different composition from all the rest of Mankind, if he could have rejected a Discovery of this Nature. And when the secrets of Jealousies are opened to Princes, it is too gross, even for a Romance, to make the Discoverer to begin with the Council-Board, and to procure a Deputation from them, to acquaint the King with them. But as *Wiat* does not appear to have been a Privy Councillour, till near the end of King *Henry's* Reign; so it is plain enough, he was never disgraced, but continued to be still imploied by the King in some foreign Embassies, to the end of his Life.

„ 30. He

P. 269,  
& 270.     „ 30. He says, *Anne Boleyn* endea-  
voured, tho' in vain, to engage Sr.  
„ *Thomas More* to negotiate her Affair,  
„ but he being Proof against all corruption,  
„ *Gardiner*, that was a Canonist, was made Se-  
„ cretary of State, and was sent to *Rome* with  
„ my Lord *Brian*, who scandalized all *Rome* with  
„ his lewd behaviour; and had the impudence  
„ to assure the Pope, that the Queen desired to  
„ be divorced, that so she might retire into a  
„ Monastery. And made other offers of great  
„ advantage to the Pope, in case he would al-  
„ low the Divorce.

Mr. *Varillas* cannot say too much in Sr. *Thomas More's* commendation: but since he was a Man of so much Sincerity, it is certain, that he approved of the Divorce: for in a Letter, that his own Family printed among his other Works, in Queen *Mary's* Reign, he, writing to *Cromwel*, owns, that he had approved of the Divorce, and that he had great hopes of the King's success in it, as long as it was prosecuted in the Court of *Rome*, and founded on the defects that were pretended to be in the Bull; and after that, most of the Universities and of the learned Men of *Europe* had given their Opinions in favour of the Divorce, four years after it first moved, he being then Chancellour, went down to the House of Commons and made those Decisions to be read there, and upon that he desired the Members of Parliament to report in their Countries, that which they had heard and seen, and added these very Words, *and then all Men will openly perceive,*

perceive, that the King has not attempted this Matter for his Will and Pleasure, but only for the discharge of his Conscience. Upon *Wolsey's* Disgrace, he was made Chancehour, and continued in that high trust almost three years ; which is an evident sign that he did not then oppose the Divorce ; nor did he grow disgusted of the Court, till he saw that the King was upon the point of breaking with the See of *Rome*. So that he would have liked the Divorce, if the Pope could have been prevailed with to allow it ; but he did not approve of the King's procuring it another way. Mr. *Varillas* is no happier in the other parts of this Article : for *Gardiner* was not sent first to *Rome*, to negotiate this matter. *Knight* that was Secretary of State, was first imployed ; and *Gardiner* was not made Secretary of State, till near the end of this Negotiation : nor was he ever sent to *Rome* with *Brian* : nor was *Brian* a Lord, but only a Knight ; and it was a year after this Sute was first begun, before *Brian* was imployed in it ; so that he could carry no such deluding Message to the Pope, concerning the Queen's desiring the Divorce, and for this pretension of the Queen's desiring to retire to a Monastery, it was never made use of by the English Ambassadors. It was on the contrary a notion of the Pope's, who thought, that if that could be put into her Head, it would be the easiest Method of getting out of this uneasie matter : and therefore he ordered his Legate Cardinal *Campegio* to advise the Queen to it. And for the scandals of *Brian's* Life, they must have been very great, if they gave offence  
at

at *Rome* at that time : but as I can not answer much for *Brian*, so I will not trouble my self to vindicate him ; but he could not behave himself more indecently at *Rome* then *Campegio* did in *England*, when he came over Legate, who scandalized even the Court with his lewd behaviour.

„ 31. He says, the Pope was sensi-  
 P. 272. „ ble of his Obligations to the King, and  
 „ resolved to do all he could to grati-  
 „ fie him, and so ordered *Cajetan* to examine the  
 „ matter, who did it in his manner after the  
 „ Method of the Schools. And here he gives  
 „ us an abstract of his Book. He laid this down  
 „ for a Maxime, that the High Priest under  
 „ the New Testament had no less Authority,  
 „ than the High Priest had under the Law of  
 „ *Moses*, who had power to allow of such Mar-  
 „ riages, to good ends and in good Circumstan-  
 „ ces ; and that the end of this Marriage was  
 „ noble : that the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*  
 „ being united, might send their Fleets to block  
 „ up *Constantinople*. And that by this Marriage,  
 „ as *Italy* was to be set at Peace, so King *Henry*  
 „ was diverted from Marrying into Fami-  
 „ lies suspect of Heresie : and that therefore the  
 „ Pope could not grant a Dispensation for an-  
 „ nulling it. And with his usual Confidence he  
 „ cites on the Margent *Cajetan's* Consultation.  
 „ And this, he says, confirmed the Pope in his Re-  
 „ solution, not to grant the Dispensation for brea-  
 „ king the Marriage upon any Terms whatsoever.

I have given such Authentick Demonstrations  
 of the Falschhood of this Particular, that I am  
 sure



sure the strongest Fit of Mr. *Varillas's* Religion  
 cannot resist them. For the Pope, upon the  
 first Proposition, franckly granted the Dispensa-  
 tion, and only consulted vvith some Cardinals a-  
 bout the Methods of doing it: and aftervvards  
 he sent over into *England*, and Promised, that he  
 vvould do, not only all that he could grant out  
 of that plenitude of Power, vvith vvich he  
 vvvas vested in the King's favour. The Pope  
 also promised a Method, that perhaps vvould  
 have brought the matter to an easier issue,  
 vvwhich vvvas, that if the King vvvas satisfied in  
 his ovvn Conscience concerning the Divorce, in  
 vvwhich he did not think that there vvvas a Do-  
 ctor in the vvhole World, that could judge so  
 vvell as himself, then he might put avvay his  
 Queen, and Marry another, and then the Pope  
 vvould confirm all. For the crafty Pope thought,  
 it vvould be easier for him to confirm it, vvhen  
 it was once done, than to give Authority to do  
 it: and in short, the Pope made the King still  
 believe, that he would do it, till by that means  
 he brought the Emperour to grant him all he  
 desired. And as for *Cajetan's* opinion, I am  
 now in a Countrey where I cannot find his  
 Works, so I cannot be so positive in this matter;  
 but as far as my Memory serves me, *Cajetan* writ  
 nothing with relation to this matter: but only  
 in the body of his School-Divinity, that he had  
 published long before this Sute began, he had set  
 on foot a new Opinion touching the Prohibitions  
 of Marrying in near Degrees, which the Church  
 by a constant Tradition had in all Times lookt

on as Mortal Laws ; whereas he asserted, they were only positive Precepts, that did not bind under the Christian Religion, and by consequence, that there was no Law now against Marriages in those Degrees, but the Law of the Church, with which the Pope might despenſe. In all the Books that I have ſeen, that were writ for the Queen's Cauſe, *Cajetan's* Authority is brought, as a thing already abroad in the World, and not as a Conſultation writ upon this Occaſion : and by what I remember of that Cardinal's Life, it is ſaid, that in his reaſonings with *Luther* he had found himſelf ſo defective in the knowledge of the Scripture, that whereas formerly he had given himſelf wholly to the Study of School-Divinity, he after that gave himſelf entirely to the Study of the Scripture, in which, making allowance for his Ignorance of the Original Tongues, he ſucceeded to admiration. But tho' I cannot procure a Sight of his Treatiſe concerning the Degrees of Marriage, the Idea that I retain of his ſolid way of writing, makes me conclude, that he was not capable of writing in ſo trifling a manner, as *Mr. Varillas* repreſents the Matter. For what Man of Senſe could ſay, that the High Priest under the Jewish Religion could diſpenſe with a Brother's Marrying his Brother's Widdow, in ſome caſes : in caſe that a Brother died without Children, his Brother, or the next of Kin, might have Married the Widdow, by the Diſpenſation that the Law gave, and not by a Diſpenſation of the High Priest. And for the Ends that  
he

he pretends of those two Princes, going to block up *Constantinople* with their Fleets, a man must be ignorant in History to the Degree of Mr. *Varillas*, to imagine this, since as the Kings of those Times had no Royal Fleets, but were forced to hire Merchants Vessels, when they had occasion for them; so the blocking up of *Constantinople* was too bold a project for those days and does not seem to have been so much as once thought on. And for the other Ends that he mentions, tho' the procuring such a Peace to *Italy*, as was for the Interest of the Popes, was a thing for which they would have sacrificed any thing; yet this differs much from P. *Julius* the Second's Character, who granted the Dispensation, since his whole Reign was a continued Imbroilment of *Italy*. Nor does it appear that K. *Henry's* Marriage could have any influence on the Peace of *Italy*, unless it were very remote. And as for the other Reason alledged for the Marriage, that it diverted K. *Henry* from Marrying into Families suspect of Heresy, this is too great a violation of the Custom; for it seems Mr. *Varillas* had the present State of *Europe* in his Head, when he wrote it: but *Cajetan* could not write this, for in the Year 1503. there were no Families in *Europe* suspect of Heresy: so that all this reasoning, that is here entitled to *Cajetan*, is a mass of Mr. *Varillas's* crude Imaginations, which do equally discover both his Ignorance, and his want of Judgment.

32. "He accuses Mr. *Beaucaire*, for  
 P. 274. "saying a thing, that was no way  
 "probable, when he affirms, that Cardi-  
 "nal *Campegio* carried over to *England*  
 "a Bull annulling the Marriage, which he  
 "was allowed to shew both to the King  
 "and to Cardinal *Wolsey*, but that this was only  
 "an artifice to procure him the more credit  
 "for drawing out the Process into a great  
 "length.

But when a Writer rejects what he finds affirmed by another, that lived in the Time concerning which he writes, he ought at least to give some reasons to justify his being of another mind; since it is a little too bold for any Man, of a temper more modest than that of Mr. *Varillas*, to deny a matter of fact, meerly because he thinks it is no way probable: but it is not only probable, but evidently true, as I have made it appear beyond all possibility of contradiction: for after that *Campegio* had, according to his Instructions, shewed the Bull, both to the King and to *Wolsey*, great endeavours were used at *Rome* to procure an order for his shewing it to some of the King's Ministers; but the Pope could not be prevailed on so far: and I have printed an Original Letter of *John Castalis*, that contains a long conference that he had with the Pope on this head; by which it appears, that the only consideration that the Pope had before his Eyes in this whole matter, was the Emperour's Greatness, and his Fears of being ruined, if he had

had made any further steps in that Affair.

„ 33. He says, that the Queen having thrown her self at the King's Feet, and made a very moving Speech, the King was so far melted with it, that he said, he vvas contented to refer the matter to be judged by the Pope in Person, upon vvhich she vvent out instantly, that so the King might not have time to recal that, vvhich perhaps he had said a little too suddenly: and that she alvways claimed this Promise, tho' the King had no regard to it.

Here is a new Fit of his Religion, for it seems *Sanders* felt not those vigorous Motions, that were necessary to furnish out his Scenes: and therefore, tho *Mr. Varillas* adds no Discovery as to matters of Fact, beyond what *Sanders* had made, yet he has the more copious Inventions of the two. But he does not place his contrivances judiciously, for it is much safer to dress up the secrets of the Cabinet, than publick Courts of Judicature with such garnishings: and as that was the most solemn Tryal, that ever *England* saw, in which a King and Queen appeared as Delinquents, to be tried for Incest, so the matter is not only particularly related by those that lived in that Time, or soon after it, but the Journals of the Court are yet in being, and by all these it appears, that as soon as the Queen made that moving Speech, she immediately rise and went out, without staying for one Word of Answer. And in all that long Sute that followed afterwards, for obliging the King

to carry on the Sute at *Rome*, that depended for three years, this offer of the King's, if it had any other being but that vvhich Mr. *Varillas's* Fiction gives it, vvould have been certainly alledged, for obliging the King to continue the Process at *Rome*; but it vvvas never so much as mentioned, so the Honour of it belongs to Mr. *Varillas*.

„ 34. He says, that in the Process,  
 „ as the King's Advocates produced a  
 „ Letter, that Cardinal *Hadrian*  
 „ vvrit at the time of granting the Bull for the  
 „ had Marriage, that he had heard P. *Julius* the se-  
 „ cond say, that he could not grant it, the  
 „ Queens's Advocates produced likewise a Let-  
 „ ter of Pope *Julius* to the King of *England*, that  
 „ assured him, that tho' he had not granted the  
 „ Bull as soon as it vvvas demanded, that vvvas  
 „ not out of any intention to refuse it; but  
 „ that he had only vvwaited for a favourable con-  
 „ juncture, that so he might do it the more  
 „ deliberately.

This is of no consequence; but some Men get into ill Habits, that engage them, even vvhen there is no advantage to tell Lies. The vvhole Journals of this Sute mention neither the one nor the other of these matters: there is somevvhat like the second, of vvvhich some, it seems, had in discourse given Mr. *Varillas* a dark Hint, and he resolved to garnish it up the best he could. There vvvas a Breve of P. *Julius's* produced, but not vvrit to the King of *England*, for it vvvas addressed to the Kings of *Spain*, and

vvvas

was indeed believed to be forged in *Spain*. It was conceived in the very Words of the Bull for the Marriage, and was of the same date, and the only difference between it and the Bull was, that whereas the Bull mentioned the Queen's Marriage with *P. Arthur*, as having been perhaps consummated, this spoke of the Consummation of that Marriage less doubtfully, and without a *perhaps*: and the inference that was made upon this, was, that the *Spaniards* foreseeing that the Consummation of *P. Arthur's* Marriage would be proved, had forged this Breve, to make it appear, that the Pope was informed of that as of a thing certain, tho' it was decent in the publick Bull to mention it doubtfully. But *Mr. Varillas* shews how dangerous a thing it was to write History upon flying Reports, helped up a little with the dull Invention of an ill Poet.

„ 35. He runs out into a high Com-  
 „ mendation of the Zeal and Fidelity P. 278.  
 „ that some of the English Bishops,  
 „ who were named to be the Queen's Advocates,  
 „ shewed in pleading her Cause.

But in this he shewvs, how little he understands the common forms of Law: for since the Queen declined the Court, and appealed to the Pope, there was no more occasion given to her Advocates, to speak to the merits of her Cause. And whereas he pretends, that this was done, not only by Bishop *Fisher*, but by the Bishops of *London*, *Bath* and *Ely*, that was impossible, since all the Bishops had signed a Writing, which was

produced before the Legates, in vvhich they all declared themselves against the Lavvfulness of the Marriage.

„ 36. He says, the Pope recalled the Cause, „ to be heard before himself, on this Pretence, „ that the King had by Word of Mouth consented to it.

This is a flight of our Authors, to colour that shameful secret: for vvhen the Emperour had agreed to put *Florence* into the hands of the *Medici*, the Pope vvho had seemed to favour the King's Cause till that time, did then admit of the Queen's Appeal: and tho' he had signed a formal Promise, never to recal the Cause, yet he being as little a Slave to his Word, as Mr. *Varillas* is to Truth, broke his faith. But he never so much as once pretended this Consent of the King's.

„ 37. He says, *Wolsey* being disgraced, vvvas sent to *York*, vvhere he „ languished some time, being reduced „ almost to Beggary.

This comes in as a dash of his Pen, to set out King *Henry's* Severity: but one of *Wolsey's* Domesticks, that vvrit his Life, tells us, in how great State he vvvent to *York*, vvith a Train of 160 Horse, and in an Equipage of 72 Carts following him vvith his Household-stuff; for the King restored him not only his Archbishoprick of *York*, but also his Bishoprick of *Winchester*, vvhich Mr. *Varillas* fancies he took from him: and it vvvas impossible for a Man, that had those tvvo great Benefices, to be reduced to any degrees of Want.

„ 38. He



„ 38. He says; *Anne Boleyn* raised *Cranmer* to the Dignity of chief Minister of State, who was one of the profligatest Men of *England*, that had nothing of Christianity in him, but the outward appearances, being ambitious, voluptuous, bold, turbulent and capable of all sorts of Intrigues. He had studied long in *Germany*, where he was infected with Lutheranism, tho' he did not outwardly profess it. He took a Concubine in *Germany*, whom he afterwards Married by the King's permission. He had been Chaplain long in the Family of *Boleyn*, so when the See of *Canterbury* fell vacant, *Anne Boleyn* presented him.

The Fit here is extream hot and long, and shews, how entirely Mr. *Varillas* was subdued by it, since it is hardly possible for a Man to spit out more Venom and Falchood at once. *Cranmer* was never in the Affairs of State, much less chief Minister. And any Ignorance less than Mr. *Varillas's* would have found, that *Cromwel* succeeded *Wolsey* in the Ministry. As for *Cranmers* Ambition, as he had passed the greatest part of his Life in a secret Retirement, so he was in *Germany* when the See of *Canterbury* fell vacant, and when he understood that the King intended to raise him to that Dignity, he excused himself all he could, and delayed his Return to *England* some Months, that so the King might have time given him

to change his Mind. He was so far from being turbulent and hardy, and from being a Man of Intrigues, that his plain Simplicity made him to be despised by his Enemies, till they found that there was a wise Conduct under all that Mildness and Slowness. And it was this simplicity, and his keeping himself out of all Intrigues, that preserved him in King *Henry's* esteem. He never went to study in *Germany*, but was sent into *Italy* and *Germany* to reason with the learned Men in the Universities concerning the King's Divorce. He married a Wife in *Germany*, and was so far from obtaining the King's Permission to Marry her, that upon a severe Law, that was afterwards made against the Marriage of the Clergy, he sent her into *Germany* for some time, yet he frankly owned his Marriage to the King, when he questioned him upon it, and there was never the least imputation laid upon his Chastity, except this of his Marriage, which we think none at all. He was never Chaplain in the *Boleyn* Family, but lived private in *Cambridge*, when the King came to hear of him, and to imploy him in the prosecution of the Divorce. And so far was he from being presented by *Anne Boleyn*, upon the Vacancy of *Canterbury*, that he was then in *Germany*. And now it appears what a secret Mr. *Varillu* has, of making as much Falseness go into one Period, as would serve another to scatter up  
and

and down a whole Book; but we know the Society that has this secret, and it is certain, that Mr. *Varillas* has learnt it to perfection.

„ 39. He says, the King accept-  
 „ ed *Cranmer* upon condition, that Ibid.  
 „ he would pronounce the Sentence  
 „ of Divorce between their Majesties of Eng-  
 „ land, in case that the Pope ratified their  
 „ contested Marriage: and thus by a way  
 „ so uncanonical he was made Archbishop of  
 „ *Canterbury*.

There was no occasion of demanding any such Promise of *Cranmer*, for he had openly declared his opinion, that the Marriage was incestuous and unlawful, so that his Judgment was already known. But Mr. *Varillas* shews how little he knew our matters, when he says, that *Cranmer* was made Archbishop in an uncanonical way; for as he was chosen by the Chapter of *Canterbury*, so he had his Bull from *Rome*, and how little soever, this is Canonical according to the Canons of the Ancient Church, yet Mr. *Varillas* has no reason to except to the Uncanonicalness of it.

„ 40. He says, he was installed by  
 „ another Artifice, for being requi- Ibid.  
 „ red to swear the Oath to the Pope,  
 „ he had a Notary by him, who attested, that  
 „ took his Oath against his Will, and that he  
 „ he would not keep it to the prejudice of  
 „ the King.

He made no Protestation, that he took that Oath against his Will; but he repeated a Protestation twice at the high Altar, that he intended not by that Oath to the Pope, to oblige himself to any thing that was contrary to the Law of God, to the King's Prerogative, or to the Laws of the Land, nor to be restrained by it from proposing or consenting to any thing, that might concern the Reformation of the Christian Faith, the Government of the Church of *England*, or the Prerogatives of the King and Kingdom. This is a different thing from protesting, that he took the Oath against his Will, which as it had been ridiculous in it self, so was very far contrary to that native Singleness of Heart, in which he always acted.

P. 282. „ 41. He says, there was an ancient Law against the Subjects of *England's* acknowledging a foreign Jurisdiction, upon which the King raised a Sute against his Clergy, for owning the Pope's Jurisdiction, in that which was a mixt Court, relating both to the Temporal and the Spiritual. And he adds, that the Clergy had an ealie Answer to this Charge, since that Law had no regard to the Spiritual Authority.

Matters of Law are things of too delicate a Nature for so sight a Man as Mr. *Varrillas* to look into them. He represents this as one single Law, that was very old, and that

hat related only to Temporals, whereas if he had known any thing of our Laws, he would have seen, that there was a vast number of Laws made in the Reigns of many of our Kings, such as *Edward* the first, *Edward* the third, *Richard* the second, *Henry* the 4th, and *Henry* the 5th, all relating to this Matter, and these Laws were made in express Words against all that brought Bulls and Provisions from *Rome* to Ecclesiastical Benefices.

„ 42. He says, the motions of  
 „ the Clergy in their own de- Ibid.  
 „ fence, could not but be feeble,  
 „ since they had two such treacherous heads,  
 „ as *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and  
 „ *Lee* Archbishop of *York*, so they made a  
 „ Submission to the King, but he would  
 „ not receive it, unless they would acknow-  
 „ ledg, that he had the same Authority o-  
 „ ver the Ecclesiastical Body, that he had  
 „ over his other Subjects, and thus without  
 „ thinking on what they did, they furnish-  
 „ ed the King with a pretence of calling  
 „ himself Head of the Church of Eng-  
 „ land.

*Cranmer* was so little concerned in this matter, that it was past two Years before he was Archbishop, while *Warham* was Archbishop of *Canterbury*; for the Submission was made in *March* 1531, and he was consecrated in *March* 1533. And *Lee* of *York* was so far from consenting to it, that he struggled long against it, after *Warham*

and his Synod had past it. And whereas he pretends, that the King drew his Pretence, to be Head of the Church of *England* from a general acknowledgment that they had made of the King's Authority over Churchmen, this is so far from true, that the whole Clergy, even his admired *Fisher* not excepted, did in the Title of the Submission, to which they all set their Hands, call the King in so many formal Words, supream Head of the Church, and Clergy of *England*, in so far as was agreeable to the Law of Christ: and this was done during *More's* Ministry, who continued Chancellor 15 Months after this.

„ 43. He says, that upon *More's*  
 R. 283. „ laying down his Office, the  
 „ King gave the Seals to another  
 „ Churchman, that was no less devoted to  
 „ him than *Cranmer*, whose name was  
 „ *Audley*, on whom he bestows a Character, though he knows nothing concerning him.

*Audley* was no Churchman, but a common Lawyer, as *More* was, that had been Chancellour before him, and the Gentlemen of that Robe being raised upon merit, and not by their Birth, his low Extraction was no extraordinary matter.

„ 44. He says, the King finding  
 Ibid. „ that the Pope was afraid, that he  
 „ should contract a Secret Mariage  
 „ with *Anne Boleyn*, resolved to do it, on design to do the Pope a Spite; so the Day  
 „ being

„ being set, one *Rolland* a Priest, being ap-  
 „ pointed to do the Office, demanded the  
 „ Pope's Bull for the Mariage, which he was  
 „ made believe that the King had procured;  
 „ but the King swore to him, that he had  
 „ it in his Closet, and that nothing made  
 „ him not go immediately to fetch it, but  
 „ his unwillingness to retard that Action.

This is so ill told, that Mr. *Varillas* ought to have imployed a little of his Religious Zeal, to make it more plausible: for it was then so well understood, that the Pope was entirely united to the Emperour, that *Rolland Lee* could not imagine there was any Bull granted; and he was all his Life of too complying a Temper, to need such Artifices to oblige him to do any thing that might serve to advance him. Mr. *Varillas* represents the King here too much like a private Gentleman, that keeps his Papers in his own Closet, and that must go fetch them upon occasion, which was so far from K. *Henry's* Temper, that our Poet neglected the *Custom* too much, in presenting him in such a Manner. Only it was thought fit to make the King begin his Marriage with a false Oath: And tho' not only Truth but Decency was Sacrificed to that, this was too small a matter to create any Trouble to such a Man as Mr. *Varillas*: and his making the King to Mary, *Anne Boleyn*, only to do a Spite to the Pope, is of a piece with the rest. But this being the Conclusion of an

Amour of a seven Years continuance, a  
 Poet

Poet should have given it a more amorous turn.

P. 284. „ 45. But to let us see, that his  
 „ Character of Poet has not quite  
 „ abandoned him, he brings in A-  
 „ mour in Jealousy, and tells us, that the  
 „ Jealousy of the two Sisters was the true  
 „ cause of it ; for the Elder envying the  
 „ Fortune of the Younger, began to publish  
 „ the Privacies that had been between the  
 „ King and her, upon which the younger,  
 „ to take her turn of Revenge, was con-  
 „ tented to be Married to the King secretly,  
 „ upon his promising to publish it within two  
 „ Months.

But the Fictions as well as the Verles of old Men, when they enter upon amorous matters, taste of their Age : for it is a pleasant thing to see our Poet fancy that it was Revenge that determined a young Gentlewoman to be content to be a Queen, one would think that other Considerations without this, were strong enough to make a Crown appear a lovely thing to her. As for her eldest Sister *Mary's* Indiscretion, and Jealousy, our Author has the honour to be the Inventer of it : for I do not find it in any other Writer, and therefore I do him all the Justice he can desire, in confessing this to be the Product of his own Fancy. But his imagining that the King would not lose this favourable Moment, least the attractives of a Crown should have been less operative, if Spite did not concur  
 to



to quicken them, Is a thought too little worthy of a Man that pretends to have observed humane Nature so exactly.

„ 46. He says, upon this *Cranmer* with some Judges, that *Ibid.*  
 „ were corrupted, were sent to  
 „ *Dunstable*, to put an end to the process  
 „ of the Divorce, and tho' the Queen refused to acknowledg them, yet they dissolved the Marriage.

There was no occasion to corrupt Judges in this Matter, nor were there any Judges imployed in it: a great many Bishops went along with *Cranmer*; and concurred in the Judgment with him, tho' the Sentence was past in his Name. It was made appear, that it had been the constant Doctrine of the Church, that the Prohibitions of the Degrees of Marriage in the Law of *Moses*, were moral Precepts, which did oblige Christians. This was proved by the Decrees of several Popes, the Canons of many Synods and Councils, and by the concurring Testimonies of almost all the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers both Ancient and Modern, and by the agreeing Doctrines both of Schoolmen, Canonists, and Casuists; and if Tradition was the true Expounder of Scripture, and the sure conveyance of Doctrine, the Marriage was certainly incestuous; so that according to the fundamental Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the Marriage was unlawful: and by the same Authorities it was also proved, that the Pope's Dispensation could not make

make void the Law of God, and that the Clergy of *England* were the proper Judges of what fell out in *England*. This being the State of that Matter, and almost all the Universities of *Europe*, that of *Bologna* it self not excepted, tho' it was the Pope's own Town, having declared in the King's Favour, it was no wonder, if *Cranmer*, upon such Grounds, proceeded to give Sentence.

P. 286. „ 47. He dresses up a Speech  
 „ for Card. *Bellay*, all out of his  
 „ own fancy; but one thing is re-  
 „ markable; he makes the Cardinal repre-  
 „ sent to the King, that if he went to sepa-  
 „ rate himself from the Communion of  
 „ the Church of *Rome*, either he would  
 „ succeed in it, or not; if he succeeded  
 „ in it, besides that he put himself in a  
 „ state of Damnation, there would be no  
 „ place found that would be safe for his sa-  
 „ cred Person, against the attempts of zea-  
 „ lous Catholicks, who would endeavour  
 „ to Kill him, that they might preserve their  
 „ ancient Religion; and if he succeeded not,  
 „ he might be assured, that he would lose  
 „ both his Crown, and his Life in a general  
 „ Revolt.

Mr. *Varillas* is now in a Fit of Religion of another sort, for as there are hot and cold Fits of Agues, so if some of his Fits make him forget the Obligations of speaking Truth, this makes him speak out a truth indeed, but of that Nature, that if he had been long practised in the Secrets of the Court

of *Rome*, or of the Jesuite Order, he would have known, that tho' during the Minority of a King, a Cardinal *Peron* might speak it boldly, or during the Confusions of a Civil War, the whole *Sorbonne* might declare in Favour of it, yet under such a Reign, and in the present Conjunction, it was to be denied boldly. And one would not have thought, that at this time a *Clement* or a *Ravilliac* would have had no worse Character, but that of zealous Catholicks. So we have now an entire notion of a zealous Catholick from Mr. *Varillas*: he does not trouble himself to examine what he says, whether it is true or false, nor will he stick at any Crime, if it may tend to preserve his Religion. And if a Prince goes about to change his Religion, and to depart from the Communion of the See of *Rome*, he must at first look for a general Revolt, which must end in his Deprivation and Death, and if that fails, there is a reserve of zealous Catholicks, who will persue him into every corner, ad never give over, till they have Sacrificed him to the Interest of their Religion. This is the severest thing that the greatest Enemy to their Church could possibly object to it; and yet Mr. *Varillas* has so little judgment, as to put it in the Mouth of a Cardinal. But it is but lately that he has got his Pension, and he has not past a long Noviciat, or perhaps he is now too old to learn the resayings, that his Pattern Mr. *Maimbourg* would have taught him, who  
in

in such a Reign as this is in *France*, must dress up their Religion as a Doctrine, all made up of Obedience and Submission. But perhaps some had told Mr. *Varillas*, that the late Articles of the Clergy lookt like the beginning of a Separation from the Court of *Rome*, so that he thought, it was fit to let the King know his Danger, if he went a step further, either in that Matter, or in a Reformation of Religion, of which there has been so much noise made lately in *France*, tho' it is visible that this has been set on foot, meerly to deceive those, that had a mind to cozen themselves by the hopes of some Amendments, to make Shipwreck of their Faith and of a good Conscience.

P. 287. „ 48. He makes the Hopes, that the  
 „ Cardinal *Bellay* had of succeeding in  
 „ his Negotiation, to be chiefly founded  
 „ on the King's being weary of *Anne Boleyn*, and  
 „ his becoming in love with *Jane Seimour*; and  
 „ that therefore he concluded that time, and a  
 „ little Patience might infallibly dispose him to  
 „ return back again to Queen *Katherine*.

He makes here strange Discoveries in the matters of Love, since he fancies, that the King's falling in love with a new Mistress, might dispose him to return to his old and abandoned Queen. The thing is also so falsely timed, that it was two years and almost a half after this, before there appeared any beginnings, either of the Kings displeasure of *Anne Boleyn*, or of his Love to *Jane Seimour*. But the true account of this last Negotiation of the Card. *de Bellay* is that at *Marseilles*: The Pope had promised to *Francis*  
 the

the first, that if K. Henry would submit the matter to him, and send a Proxy to *Rome*, he would judg in his favour against the Queen, because he knew that his cause was just and good; and the Cardinal was sent over to induce the King to make his Submission; but the King would not upon verbal Promises make so great a step, yet he promised, that if Assurances were sent him, that were formal and binding, he would upon that send a Submission in full form to *Rome*, and when the Cardinal procured these from the Court of *Rome*, the King did send over the Submission. So that Mr. *Varillas* having suppress the true Account of this Negotiation, he thought he must make it up with somewhat of his own Invention: and as all Liquors drawn out of a many Barrel taste of the Cask; so there are so many Characters that belong to Mr. *Varillas's* imagination, that it is heard for him to venture on inventing, without discovering that he has full as little Judgment as he has Sincerity.

“ 49. He lays the blame of the  
 “ slowness of the Courier, on the Ibid.  
 “ Care that the Emperor's Ministers  
 “ had taken, to stop the Passages.

But this was a ridiculous observation; for there being a day set for the Courier's Return, he hapned only to come two Days after his time, and it being in the Winter, in which the Sea was to be twice past, there is no need to run to any other speculation for a slowness of two Days in such a Voyage, and at such a Season

son ; but it is often observed of those, that have contracted ill habits, as lying in particular, that their naughty *customs* return upon them, even when there is no provocation lying on them to tempt them to them ; so Mr. *Varillas* has given himself such a liberty, to interweave his own Fancies with all the Transactions that he relates, that he cannot let the slightest thing pass without bringing in a stroak of his Politicks to adorn it.

p. 288. “ 50. He says, the Pope having  
 “ past Sentence against the King,  
 “ the King did upon that hold a Par-  
 “ liament on the 24 of *April*, 1534, in which  
 “ he made himself to be acknowledged supream  
 “ Head of the Churches of *England* and *Ire-*  
 “ *land*; and got his former Marriage to  
 “ be condemned, and his second to be con-  
 “ firmed; upon which Q. *Katherine* died of  
 “ Grief.

In such publick things Mr. *Varillas* should be wiser than to venture on the giving of Dates, for it is at least two to one that he gives them wrong. The Parliament, that past all these Laws, sate down on the 15th of *January*, and was prorogued on the 29th of *March*, and Sentence was given against the King at *Rome* the 23 of *March*: for the truth is, the King did not expect sincere dealing from the Court of *Rome*, and therefore he looking on this last Proposition as a Delusion, to divert him from passing the Acts, that he had projected

jected for this Session, resolved to go on with his Design, knowing that if the Pope would grant him that which he desired, it would not be uneasy for him to get those acts repealed.

Q. *Katherine* lived two years after this; so that, tho' the Melancholy, which this gave her, did very likely shorten her Days, yet it was too Poetical, to make her just to dye at the end of that Parliament.

“ 51. He says, that the King upon  
 “ the first Informations of *Anne Boleyn's* P. 289.  
 “ Disorders, would not believe them;  
 “ but at last he found such Proofs, as fully  
 “ convinced him, upon which he waited,  
 “ till he found a fit opportunity, to let his  
 “ Jealousy break out.

It agrees ill with what he had said before, that *K. Henry* was become weary of *Anne Boleyn*, to make him now so uneasy to believe ill of her; for nothing disposes so much to Jealousy, as a Dislike already conceived, which naturally inclines one to think ill of a Person whom he does not love; but it is certain *K. Henry* never pretended, that he saw any thing, that was dishonourable in her: and the ridiculous Tale of the Tilling at *Greenwich* was a ly too ill contrived, to be again taken up; for the Queen's dropping a Handkerchief, was a favour of too publick a nature, and is not at all credible, considering that she found the King's affections were straying from her. And even that was too slight a matter, to have wrought her ruine, tho' it had been true.

“ 52. He says, her own Father  
 p. 250. “ was one of her Judges, but tho’ she  
 “ made a cunning Defence, yet she  
 “ was condemned together with four of her  
 “ Adulterers, and after that she went to meet  
 “ Death, with more of fierceness, than of a  
 “ true greatness of Soul, and she died as exactly in  
 “ all the Maxims of the Stoical Philosophy, as  
 “ if she had studied them.

This assertion of her Father’s being one of her Judges, has past so current, that I have no reason to charge Mr. *Varillas* for it, because I my self yield to the current of Writers; yet having procured a sight of the Original Record of her Process, I found it was a falsehood, and in the end of my first Volume I had corrected the Errour in which I had fallen: so I must at least conclude, that Mr. *Varillas* never read any History. The Queen had a strange Plea, for there was not one Witness brought against her, so that she was condemned meerly upon Testimonies that were brought in writing, which is expressly contrary to our Law. As for her Behaviour at her Death, it was far from being Stoical, for it was rather too cheerful; and the Lieutenant of the Tower, who knew her Behaviour better than any Person whatsoever gives a very different representation of it, for in his Letter to the Court he tells of her great Devotion, of her cheerfulness and of the protestations that she made of her Innocence the Morning before she died, when she received the Sacrament, adding, that  
 her



her Almoner was still with her, and had been with her ever since two a clock after Midnight. And he also says, that she had much Joy and Pleasure in her Death. And as all this is very far from the Maximes of the Stoical Philosophy, so it seems Mr. *Varillas* understands very little what they were, otherwise, if he had remembred vvhat a picture he had made of *Anne Boleyn*, he must have knowvn, that the amorous disposition that he had fastned on her, agreed very ill vvith a Stoical Unconcernedness and equality of Temper. But this he thought vvvas a pretty conclusion of one of the Scenes of his Piece.

And novv being as vveary of this ungrateful Imployment, as any Reader, or as even Mr. *Varillas* himself must needs be, I find my self at great ease, being no more obliged to turn over so very ill a Book. And since in the Survey of one of the shortest of the ten Books, of vvhich that Work consists, I have found so many capital Errours, in most of vvhich there is a complication of divers Mistakes in the same Period; to hovv much publick shame must Mr. *Varillas* be exposed, if those vvho are concerned, examine the other Books, as I have done this. I expect no other Justice from himself, but that he vvill reckon all this scorn, that such a Discovery must bring upon him, as a meritorious Suffering at the hands of Hereticks, and that he vvill use it as an Argument to raise his Pension. But it vvill be a great happiness if others can learn, tho' at his cost, to vvrite vvith more Truth and greater Caution. The

The design of all revealed Religion is, to heighten, in us those Seeds of Probity, Vertue and Gentleness, that are in our Nature, and I will not stick to say that it were better for Mankind, that there were no revealed Religion at all in being, and that humane Nature should be left to it self, than that there were such a sort of a revealed Religion received, that overthrows all the Principles of Morality, and that instead of making men sincere, teaches them to be false, and instead of inspiring them with Love and Mercy, inflames them with Rage and Cruelty, and it is likely, that Mr. *Varillas* will easily find out, what that Society is, which I mean. For he deserves well to be at least one of the Lay-Brothers of the Order, if not to fill up Mr. *Maimbourg's* room, and then the Order will not lose by the change much of a quality, that has been believed to be almost an essential ingredient in its Constitution, which gave occasion to a very pleasant Passage, that, as I was told, fell out at *Amiens* within these 20 years.

All the Companies of Tradesmen in the Church of *Rome* choose a Saint for their Patron, and the many new invented Trades have put some Bishops to hard shifts to give proper Saints, which has produced some very ridiculous Patronages, for the Cooks have the Assumption, for their Feast, because the two first Syllables *assum* signifies roasted; and when the Needle-makers at *Paris* asked of the Cardinal *Gondy* a Patron, he could not easily find out a Saint that had any relation to their Trade, but he advised them to take All-Saints, for it could not be thought, but that some one or other of the Saints had made Needles; but the Bishop of *Amiens* gave *Ignatius Loyola* to be the Patron of the Packers, now the Word *emballeur*, as it signifies a Packer, it passes also for a Trapan; so the Packers being satisfied with the Bishop's nomination, had *Ignatius* upon his Day in a Procession, upon which the Jesuits were offended, to see their Patron pretended to by such a Company of Mechanicks, and sued the Packers upon it, they defended themselves upon the account of their Bishop's naming him to them, and when the Bishop was asked why he had given him for  
their

their Patron, he alluding to the other signification of the Word *emballeur* said, that he had observed that all the *emballeurs* of Europe were under that Saint's Patronage. But it is not necessary to infer from hence, that Mr. *Varillas* has a just claim to his protection, for tho' he seems to have very good inclinations, yet he wants the address that is necessary to recommend him to so refined a Society, and to a perfection in it, that cost Mr. *Maimbourg* a whole Jubily for a Novitiate; for tho' seven years is enough to learn an ordinary Trade, yet fifty is necessary to furnish a man with sufficient stock of Impudence for so hardy an Employment.

## A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

I Have at last found Card. *Cajetan's* Works, and am now confirmed in that, which was only a Conjecture, when I writ upon the 31st. Article, p. 141. for it is hard even to guess wrong, when it is in Contradiction to Mr. *Varillas*, and as the Reasons that he put in *Cajetan's* Mouth, had such manifest Characters of his own ignorance and hardness, that I could not so much as doubt of the Imposture, yet I was not positive, till I had taken some Pains to find out *Cajetan's* Works, and there I saw my Conjectures were well grounded. That Volume in which he delivers his Opinion in the matter of the Obligation of the Levitical Law concerning the degrees of Marriage, was writ long before this dispute of K. *Henry's* was started; for it is dedicated to Pope *Leo* the tenth. And instead of all those Impertinencies, with which Mr. *Varillas* calumniates him, and of which none less ignorant than himself, is capable, all that *Cajetan* says is that whereas *Thomas Aquinas* was of opinion, that those degrees were Moral, and of eternal obligation, he in his Commentary declares himself of another Mind, but takes a very backward Method to prove it, yet such as was suitable enough to the blindness of the time in which he writ; for he proves that they are not Moral, only because the Pope dispensed with them, who could not dispence with the Moral Law, and he gives  
for

2da 2da

quæst. 154.

Art. 9.

Moderna  
quoque  
Regina  
Angliæ  
consum-  
maverat  
prius ma-  
trimonium  
cum olim  
fratre isti-  
us Regis  
Angliæ  
sui mariti

for instance the Marriage of the Kings of Portugal, to which he adds these Words, *The present Queen of England had likewise, consummated her former Marriage with the late Brother of the King of England her Husband.* So that *Cajetan* was only driven to this opinion, that he might justify the Practises of the Court of Rome. And it appears by what he says concerning it, that it was considered at Rome as an undoubted Truth, that the Queens first Marriage with Prince *Arthur* was consummated: and so it is sufficiently apparent how impudent Mr. *Varillas* is in the Abstract, that he charges on Cardinal *Cajetan's* Memory, it was far from his way of reasoning, to talk of Fleets blocking up *Constantinople*; but Mr. *Varillas*, who knows little of the past Time, and fancies that matters went formerly as they go now, had perhaps the low Estate in which the Ottoman Empire is at present, or the Bombarding of *Genoa* in his Eye, when he thought of the sending Fleets against *Constantinople* above 180 Years ago, but this speculation was as much out of *Cajetan's* way, as it is suitable to Mr. *Varillas*.

Page 158. He says, *K. Henry* the Eighth had opposed the Marriage of his Sister to the King of Scotland, with so much violence, that it brought on him several Fits of an Ague. But that Marriage being made in August 1502, the young Prince was not then eleven years old, and this is too early even for a Poet to make matters of State to have gone so deep into his thoughts, as that they endangered his Health. But as the Legends of Saints represent them in Extasies, before they have past their Childhood, so Mr. *Varillas* thought it suitable to the rest of his Poem, to represent *K. Henry* even in his Infancy as transported with the violence impetuous Passions. But I am afraid I lay too much to his charge, since I do not believe that he had examined the history of his Life so critically, as to know even his Age; but it is a sad thing for an ignorant Man not have a Chronological Table always before him.

