



**MEMOIRS OF THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY**

Samuel Madden

**PREVISION. SHOULD THE FUTURE
HELP THE PAST?**

Liam Gillick

Memoirs of the Twentieth Century

Sammuel Madden

Prevision

Should the future help the past?

Liam Gillick

Memiors of the Twentieth Century

Samuel Madden

First printed in 1733. Transcribed from the original with new annotations.

Prevision. Should the Future Help the Past?

Liam Gillick

First published in 1999.

Reprinted with the permission of the author. © Liam Gillick

Cover image from the series *An Election Entertainment*
by William Hogarth, 1755 - 1758.

© 1999 - 2010 Halmos / ■ / Erik Wysocan. All Rights Reserved.

HALMOS / ■

www.halmos.us.com / www.■.us.com

ISBN: 978-0-615-38739-0

“There is something mysterious in the history of this work... One volume only of the above-mentioned “Memoirs” appeared; and whether any more were really intended, is uncertain. A thousand copies were printed, with such very great dispatch, that three printers were employed on it (Bowyer, Woodfall, and Roberts); and the names of an uncommon number of reputable booksellers appeared in the title-page. In less than a fortnight, however, 890 of these copies were delivered to Dr. Madden, and probably destroyed. The current report is, that the edition was suppressed on the day of publication. And that it is now exceedingly scarce, is certain. Mr. Tutet, who has a copy of it, never heard but of one other, though he has frequently enquired after it.”

– Biographical and Literary Anecdotes of William Bowyer:
Printer, F.S.A., 1782

MEMOIRS

OF THE

Twentieth Century

VOL. I.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

Twentieth Century.

Being Original LETTERS of STATE, under
GEORGE the Sixth:

Relating to the most Important Events in *Great Britain* and *Europe*, as to CHURCH and STATE, ARTS and SCIENCES, TRADE, TAXES, and TREATIES, PEACE, and WAR:

And Characters of the Greatest Persons of those Times; From the Middle of the Eighteenth, to the End of the Twentieth CENTURY, and the WORLD.

Received and Revealed in the Year 1728;

And now Published, for the Instruction of all Eminent Statesmen, Churchmen, Patriots, Politicians, Projectors, Papists, and Protestants.

In SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Μάντις δ' ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς

Eurip.¹

Bon Dieu! que n'avons nous point vea reüssir des conjectures de ce temps là comme si c'eussent esté autant de Propheties?

La Mothe Le Vayer Discourse de l'Histoire. Tom. I. p. 267.

1. Printed in the original as: *Μάντις ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς.*

A quote from a lost Greek tragedy by Euripides commonly translated as "The best prophet is common sense, our native wit" or "The best prophet is the good guesser".

Hoc apud nos quoque nuper ratio ad certum produxit. Veniet tempus, quo ista quæ nunc latent, in lucem dies extrahat, & longioris ævi diligentia. Ad inquisitionem tantorum ætas una non sufficit, ut tota cœlo vacet. Itaque per successiones ista longas explicabuntur. Veniet tempus, quo posteri nostri tam aperta nos nesciffe mirentur, non licet stare cœlestibus, nec averti: Prodeunt omnia; ut semel missa sunt, vadunt. Idem erit illis cursus, qui sui finis. Opus hoc æternum irrevocabiles habet motus.

Senecæ Nat. Quæst. lib. 7 . cap. 25.

L O N D O N :

Printed for Messieurs Osborn and Longman, Davis, and Batley, in *Pater-noster-Row*; STRAHAN, and CLARKE, in *Cornhill*; RIVINGTON, ROBINSON, ASTLEY, and AUSTEN, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*; GOSLING, in *Fleetstreet*; NOÛRSE, by *Temple-Bar*; PREVOST, and MILLAR, in the *Strand*; PARKER, in *Pall-Mall*; JOLLIFFE, by *St. James's*; BRINDLEY, SHROPSHIRE, and SMITH, in *Bondsreet*; and GOUGE, and STAGG, in *Westminster-Hall*. 1733.

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

FREDERICK LEWIS,

Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester, Electoral Prince of Brunswick Lunenburg, Duke of Cornwall and Rothfay, Duke of Edinburgh, Marquiss of the Isle of Ely, Earl of Eltham, Viscount of Launceston, Baron of Snaudon and of Renfrew, Lord of the Isles, and Steward of Scotland, and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.

May it please your Royal Highness,

I*T would be highly proper even in a Stranger to Dedicate a Work, where the Growth of the Protestant Interest in Europe, and the Happiness deriv'd to these Nations from your Royal House do so often occur, to that Prince who will one Day wear the Title of the Defender of our Faith, as well as prove the Ornament of that Crown he is to inherit; and that Succession of our Princes, which he is equally born to perpetuate and adorn. But in one that has so long liv'd under, so often admir'd and experienc'd the happy Influence of that Constellation of Virtues, (if I may so speak) which exalts you as much above other Princes, as your Birth does above other Men, it would be equally insensible and ungrateful to have applied to any other Patron.*

It is to be fear'd indeed, that the Work which I have the Honour to present to You, must seem less agreeable to you Royal Highness, who so frequently converse with the great Genius's of Greece and Rome; to You, Sir, who do not only steal many early Hours from the Pleasures of the

Court, to give to their Labours, but whose constant Practice it has been, like Francis the First, to spend some time every Night before you Sleep, in attending to a Gentleman, whose Office it is to read them to you then for your Amusement.

But, as I have long observ'd, the Candour of excusing any unavoidable Errors is more agreeable both to your natural Temper and your settled Judgment, than the severer Delicacy of censuring them; so I must own I have with some Pleasure taken hold of this Opportunity of giving vent to the strongest Passion of my Heart, that Veneration or Admiration rather of your Royal Highness, which my Personal Knowledge of your Heroick Qualities, have imprest in the most indelible manner on my Soul.

Possibly I had been less liable to Censure, if I could have contented my self with paying You in private the secret Homage of my Heart, without giving any publick Testimony of that infinite Regard which I pretend to bear You.

Professions of this kind from a Subject to a Prince seem generally too Interested, to be very Sincere; and we may say of most of them, as well as of the false Patriot's Love for his Country, that, like some matrimonial Smithfield Bargains, tho' much Affection is pretended, there is no more meant by it, than a good Settlement for one's Family.

Nay in this case, the very Tribute of our Praise which we pay to such exalted Benefactors, is seldom taken by the World as current Payment, but is suspected to be mixt up with the basest Alloy. For Praise is so generally the common Incense offer'd up by the Idolaters of Power, that many Men are from the same Principle grown as perfect Infidels in matters of Panegyrick, as some pretend to be in Religion; who because they see so many false Gods set up for the publick Worship of the World, and ador'd with so much outward Profession of Zeal and Ardour; conclude, that all is but Mummery and Hypocrisy, that is paid even to the true One.

But if the Conduct of my Life cannot secure me from an Impeachment of this sort, your Royal Highness's uncontested Virtues so universally acknowledg'd by all, will surely stand as the strongest Proof, that the highest Professions of Veneration and Gratitude to such a Prince, may

well be consistent with Sincerity of Heart, and unsuspected of the little Arts of fawning Sycophants.

And indeed, one may as well charge a Man with Hypocrisy, for professing the Religion of his Country, as tax him with Flattery who owns himself an Admirer of your Royal Highness. For certainly as the one is as universally given into as the other by all our People; if it be Flattery, it is the Flattery of a Nation, and should no more be objected to a particular Person, than the Anglicisms of our common Speech, and in the Mouths of all.

For who is there, Sir, in the most distant Corner of these Nations, that is so insensible of his own, or the general Happiness, as not to regard you with the sincerest Love, when you are only considered as the Heir apparent of the best Man and Woman, the best King and Queen, that ever adorn'd a Family, or blest a Nation: As their Son, who have so frequently given us the most delightful Prospect this World can afford, the Joy of seeing that infinite Desire of doing Good, which has so remarkably distinguish'd their Lives, join'd to as unlimited a Power of exercising it, by contriving for the Happiness and relieving the Miseries of Thousands: As their Son, I say, who have by so many Proofs, taught their Subjects no longer to consider a numerous Family as an intolerable Burthen, while they see such repeated Instances of their Solitude to lighten it by particular Bounties, so many Laws to provide in general, for the Ease and Maintenance of the poorest of their Subjects, as well as such a parental Tenderness for every Calamity that befalls the greatest of them.

Your Royal Highness appears in a most amiable view, even to every common Eye, that regards you merely as a Descendant from such Princes, who have made the Happiness of their People the solid Basis of their Throne; who have govern'd us so, as to be Examples to all good, and Reproaches to all bad Rulers, and in a Word, whose Love of Justice, and Benignity of Spirit, whose natural Goodness of Heart, and hereditary Hatred of Oppression, have secur'd the same Blessings to their Subjects who live under a despotical Government, which we enjoy from them under a free One.

But how infinitely dearer, Sir, must you be to those who are inform'd of your amiable Character from others, or are so happy to observe you at a nearer Distance, and are as it were grown familiarly acquainted with that Complacency of Manners, that Candour and Openness of Soul, that winning Condescension, that fearless Courage, that Elevation of Mind, and Generosity of Heart, join'd with that filial Piety and Sweetness of Temper, which have made you, like Titus, the Delight of Humankind.

With what Pleasure to myself, with what Joy to others, have I been able to produce a thousand instances of this Nature, and convinc'd the most Incredulous, that tho' you promis'd such prodigious things in your Youth, as would have bankrupt the Virtue of any other Prince to have made good; yet your Reputation, how glorious soever then, like the dawning of the Morning, was but the glimmering of that Day, which is now hast'ning to its Meridian height of Splendour.

'Tis the peculiar Happiness of your Royal Highness's Character, that there is nothing necessary to be concealed in it; and that, tho' there are few Princes, who must not have a Veil thrown over one half of theirs, in order to commend the other, who must not, like Hannibal, be drawn in Profil to cover their blind side, there are no Deformities, or accidental Blemishes that need to be disguis'd in Yours. But if there were, your Royal Highness is so entirely in the Possession of the Esteem of Men, that your very Imperfections would appear not only pardonable, but even amiable; and indeed, as to behold You is sufficient to make You lov'd, so to know You perfectly is the surest Method to make You admir'd.

And to speak the Truth, in what other Lights can we regard a Prince, who at an Age when others seem but to enter upon Life, has so happily emulated his Royal Father, as to have done more generous, more beneficent Actions, than he has liv'd Days; nay, more than would adorn the Annals of the longest Reigns? But I forget, that it is not allowable for me even to give the least hint to others, of those secret Depositories of your extensive Charities in this World, which are entirely paid to him, who only can and will reward them openly in the next.

I shall therefore stop my Pen, — nor had I indulg'd it so far, had I consider'd how greatly what I have already said might offend that Mod-

esty, with which you conceal the best Actions with the same Care that others endeavour to hide their worst; or to express the noblest Quality (which to my shame I recollect too late) in the meanest Poetry,

‘Tis thy peculiar Grace, Great Prince, ‘tis thine,
Like rising Suns to blush because you shine!

I shall therefore turn the poor imperfect Tribute of my Praise, into what will become me more, my sincere Prayers for you; that you may so go on to copy all the Virtues of that best of Men and Princes, your Royal Father, that when worn with Cares and Years, God shall call him from that Crown he now adorns, to an eternal one, You may so fill his place, and so become in his stead a Father to your People, as to make his glorious Memory neither reproachful to You, nor too often honour’d with the Tears of your Subjects.

May You then reap the happy Fruits of all your Royal Virtues and his Majesty’s prudent Counsels and perpetual Labours for the general good his Kingdoms, and may they both concur to make us the happiest of Nations, and the best of Subjects under a race of Princes, against whom the little Clamours and Arts of Faction at Home, will be as impotent and contemptible, as the inveterate Malice of Rome, and the Enemies of our Peace Abroad.

In those Halcyon Days may God so bless your Reign as to give you no other object of your Cares, but to preserve to us those Blessings of Unity and Concord (the Seeds whereof are now so happily sown and growing up in our Land) and to encourage the Improvement of the rising Arts, and patronize the learned Sciences, till they gain new Life among us, and grow in proportion cultivated as our Manufactures, and extended as our Trade. In a word, may the Happiness of your People be then so universal and compleat, that your charitable and generous Spirit may search with equal Difficulty for distressed Families to relieve, as for Enemies to convert or pardon; and to sum up all, may you then so second the present pious Cares of your Royal Parents in combating the Vice and abandon’d Wickedness of a degenerate Age, that your Piety may shield us from the

Vengeance of Heaven, if ever our Virtue and Religion should sink to a lower Ebb than they are fallen to at present.

And thus in Virgil's noble Prayer for young Augustus, I commit your Royal Highness to the Protection of the Almighty.

Hunc saltem everso Juvenem succurrere seclo,
Ne, Superi, prohibete. ¹

I am with the utmost Submission,

Your ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

January
25, 1733.

Most Obedient

Most Devoted

Humble Servant

* "Forbid not, at least, that this young man repair this ruined age."

– *The Essays of Montaigne*

A MODEST
PREFACE

Containing
Many Words to the Wise.

BEING about to deliver to the learned World in these Letters, one of the noblest Presents that ever was made to it, I must own, I have been as much perplex'd how to introduce them properly, by a *Preface* worthy of them, as *Cervantes* himself, when he fell on that which stands before his inimitable *Don Quixote*, or as *Thuanus* was how to begin the first Sentence of his History, which we are told, cost him so many painful Hours, before he could settle it to his Mind.

I question if *Malherb* who spent a Quire of Paper, in finishing his Simile of *Phyllis's* gathering Flowers in a Garden; or the illustrious *Balzac* who us'd to take a Week to write a Letter in, for fear of the *French* Criticks; ever toil'd more than I have done, to give full Satisfaction in this Introductory Discourse, to the profound Readers and Judges of these Times, who have the Glory and Advantage of being Witnesses to the birth of this admirable Production.

For, alas! People are so capricious, that as they often take good or ill Impressions of others at first sight, so they will frequently reject the most excellent Piece without looking into it, if the Preface be disagreeable to them. If therefore, I should stumble in the Threshold, and introduce this Work as injudiciously as *Ovid* is said to have done most of his, the consequences may be very untoward; and as I write this poor Prologue, without the least Assistance from that superior

Nature, from whom I receiv'd the Volumes it ushers into the World, I am much perplext left I should not appear equal to the task.

I will not say with the *Spaniard*, that I would willingly write it with the Quill of a *Peacock*, because it has Eyes in it, but I would rather express my Zeal and Concern for what I am here undertaking, in the words an Author, (who will appear before the Year 1739) paints the behaviour of a distress'd Suppliant in, that addresses to a severe and cruel Judge,

——— *her humble Prayer,*
And as a moving Preface dropt a Tear.

Be it as it will, I can only use my best Endeavours to convince the World, what a Treasure I have here offer'd them, and if they will not regard my fervent desire to serve them, but despise the labour I've been at, in bringing these first Fruits of a much greater Harvest to the publick use, I must acquiesce, and be content with the Honour and Misfortune, of being the first among Historians (if a mere Publisher of Memoirs may deserve that Name) who leaving the beaten Tracts of writing with Malice or Flattery, the accounts of past Actions and Times, have dar'd to enter by the help of an infallible Guide, into the dark Caverns of Futurity, and discover the Secrets of Ages yet to come.

I am sensible that all extraordinary Discoveries in their first Proposal, are lightly regarded and hardly credited, and I am prepared for it; yet, if Men will but be prevail'd upon to consider, of what uncommon use these may be, I hope I shall be able to say enough in their behalf, to procure them at least a candid Reception, it not the most generous Welcome.

I expect this the rather, because I freely confess, that what I now publish, is but introductory to many other Volumes, so copious and full of matter, that they will almost deserve the name of the *History of the XXth Century*; and which I hope Persons of Taste and Judgment, will therefore receive with all that Regard, not to say Respect and Veneration, so prodigious a Work will appear entitled to.

Nor shall any slight Disappointments here-in discourage me from Printing them; for how ungratefully foverer the present Age, thro' Blindness or Envy may receive these vast Lights; yet, I shall be sufficiently comforted with the Consciousness, that my declaring the future Births of such great Events, will be regarded by the coming Ages, as my having in some measure sown the Seed of them, in the Bosom of a well cultivated, tho' an unthankful Soil: Besides, at the worst, I shall be as well treated by the World, as those exalted Spirits were, who discover'd the *Antipodes*, the Circulation of the Blood, the use of Telescopes and Barometers, of Printing and Sailing, the Loadstone and the *Indies*, who were so much despis'd at first, tho' so highly honour'd and regarded now.

It is true as a mere Publisher, (which I only set up for) it may seem too arrogant, to rank my self with such illustrious Company; but if it is consider'd, that without my generous Benevolence to Mankind, these mighty Treasures and Discoveries I bestow on them, had never seen the Light, and that I have here convey'd to them the great Secrets of Futurity, in so plain and open a manner, that this Age may say, (tho' contrary to the receiv'd Axiom of the Schools) *de futuro contingenti est quoad nos determinata veritas*, I hope, I shall not appear too assuming. Nay, I have yet the merit of infinite Toil to plead, since I can fairly aver, that the translating this Work, from the *English* it was writ in, (*viz.* the *English* that will be spoke in the XXth Century) was a task so painful and difficult, that no unenligthen'd Mind could have perform'd, and which even I my self had miscarried in, without the superior assistance that my good Angel afforded me.

A Task so laborious! that besides this being the second Time of my Writing to the Publick,* which according to Cardinal *Berule's* Opinion, (who thought we should imitate our Saviour, who is never said to have writ but once before, and once after his answer to the

* See my Works, three Volumes in *Quarto*, Printed for Mr. *Lintot*, 1720.

N.B. There are some sets in Royal Paper for the Curious.

Jews, who brought the Adulteress before him) is full enough for any good Christian; tho' I were more secure of receiving all possible Favour and Honour for my Toils than I am, yet I doubt whether I shall ever venture on a third Sally, in any other Performance, tho' my Modesty and Indolence should occasion ever so much Grief to Posterity.

As to this particular Work, I must indeed be greatly discourag'd by the World, if I suppress the Sequel of it, which I propose by proper intervals to communicate to them, tho' I will not answer, how far their receiving this Book I now offer them, with Contempt and Disregard, may make me use the same Haughtiness the sacred *Sibyl* did to *Tarquinius Superbus*, and after burning all the remaining parts which I design'd for them, make them pay as high a price for this Volume, as on a contrary demeanour I design'd to allow them the whole for.

But as I flatter my self, such Fears are very groundless, I shall say the less on that Subject. I shall rather hope, as these Papers are design'd to enlighten the Nations of the Earth, they will be treated with the utmost Admiration and Reverence; nor need I from any unjust Imagination of their ill reception, threaten the World, as *Apollo* did on the ill Fortune of his unhappy *Phaethon*, to leave it hereafter in eternal Darkness, as a just mark of my Resentment, since I am persuaded all that have Eyes will see and applaud the Light I am lending to them. Naturalists tell us, that setting up a burning Torch in fenny or marshy Grounds, is a sure Method to shut up the clamorous Throats, and silence the Croaking of Frogs; and I hope the amazing Splendour and Brightness of this Work, will have the same happy effect on my envious Maligners, and quiet the noisy Tongues of dull Objectors.

Not that I expect to have it treated at first Sight, as well as it deserves; for as all who set up for extraordinary Discoveries that are reveal'd to them, ought to be receiv'd with Dissidence, and hearken'd to with Caution, I make no doubt, but many People may be ready enough to suspect me as an Impostor, in these I am communicating to them. And I almost imagine my self engag'd, with one of my

Readers of this Character, in such a Dialogue as *Horace* represents between *Ulysses* and *Tiresias*, who pretended to reveal Things to come.

Num furis? an prudens ludis me obscura canendo?

O Laertiade, quicquid dicam, aut erit, aut non:

Divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo.

Quid tamen ista velit sibi Fabula, si licet, ede.

But as I am determin'd to give such Readers and all Men, so full, and fair, and convincing an Account of my self and that celestial Spirit I receiv'd these Papers from, and to answer all Objections so entirely, as to put Ignorance, and even Malice it self to Silence: I am confident, the ingenuous and candid part of the World, will soon throw off such mean narrow spirited Suspicions, as unjust and ungenerous. I am willing the important matters reveal'd to me, may stand as publick and severe a Trial, as those of *St. Bridget* did before the Council, and have the Truth fully examin'd and search'd into, even by the strict Rules Chancellour *Gerson* prescribes for hers and all such Examinations, in this Treatise *de Probatione Spirituum*, where the most gravely and judiciously advises, that all Persons (Layman, Nun, Monk or Friar) who pretend to Revelations of any kind, should give a satisfactory Account, *1st*, From whence it is. *2dly*, What it is. *3dly*, Why it is. *4thly*, To whom it is. *5thly*, How it is, and *6thly*, Whence, or from what place it is reveal'd.

To this end therefore, and that the Reader, my dear and kind and learned Reader, may the better understand the Nature and Value of the Present which I make him; I shall observe the following Method: *First*, I shall give some Account, both of my self and my good Genius, from whom I receiv'd it. *2dly*, I shall mention the Reasons of my publishing it, and also my Care and Conduct about it. *3dly*, I shall answer all kind of Objections, that are or can be made, against this wonderful Treasure I am putting into their Hands, and *lastly*, I shall give my Friends, (my great, wise and numerous Friends) the learned World, (the good, judicious and learned World) and Posterity, (our

noble and excellent Posterity worthy of their admirable Ancestors) some Cautions about it, and so leave it to its Fate.

As to the first point then, I must own that I am descended in a direct Line by the Mother's side, from a Son of that famous Count *Gabalis*, in the 17th Century, whose History is in every ones Hands, and whose Wife, as all true Adepts know, had Carnal Knowledge of, and was Impregnated by a certain invisible *Damon*, that call'd himself *Ariel*. I hope as this extraordinary particularity was the Case of *Plato*, *Appollonius Tyanæus*, the Earl of *Poitiers*, and other great Personages; and as the Mareschal *de Bassompierre* in his Memoirs, is so candid as to confess it also, of one of the Heads of his Family; it will not be consider'd as insolent or conceited in me, that I have own'd this Circumstance, especially since in all Probability, 'tis not a little owing to it, that I am able to enrich the World at present, with these Works, worthy of so celestial an Origin.

I was born also under the most fortunate of all Planets and to make my Nativity still more Happy, in one of the *Ember-Weeks*, and with a Cawl, or certain Membrane about my Head; both which as the learned Jesuit *Thyræus*, (an Order I particularly Reverence), observes, in his Tract* *de apparitione Spirituum*, are Circumstances, that render such Children more likely than others, to gain the Acquaintance and Familiarity of the *Genii* design'd for their Conduct. Nay, I was born under that Aspect of the Heavenly Bodies, which *Ptolemy* in his 4th Book of his *Quadripartite*, and 13th Chapter, assures us, generally confers this inestimable Privilege, having had the Moon, that great *Domina humidorum*, in Conjunction with *Sagittary*, Lady of my Actions, not to mention, left it should look too like Vanity, some others as favourable, tho' less credible Circumstances.

But to pass to more material particulars of my History: I came into the World Heir to a good Family and Fortune, as well as a deal of Pride and Ambition, to distinguish my self from the common

* Cap. 14, Num. 346.

Herd of Mankind. In order therefore, to gratifie this reigning Passion, after quitting the University, and determining any Profession to be below my regard, both as taking too much Time, Thought and Reading to master, and a deal of mean Art, or good Money to succeed in; I resolv'd as a shorter way, to raise my self above the thoughtless Crowd of Gentlemen, to spend one third of my Fortune in Travelling, and seeing and observing something more, than my Country-Seat and Neighbours in Summer, and *London* in the Winter, could furnish me with. This I did for three Years, and came Home as perfectly improv'd as any fine Gentleman of my Time in an utter Contempt of *Tramontane* Barbarity, an absolute Aversion for my own People, Climate and Country, and a thorough Insight into all the little learned Cant of Priests and Religions of all kinds.

On these deep laid Foundations, I commenc'd a sage Politician and Patriot: I bought a Seat in Parliament at a fair Purchase, for a good deal of Beef and Ale for the Mob, and a round Sum of Money to the worthy Electors, and determin'd to grow great by Voting according to my Conscience, and as the best Arguments should be offer'd me in Favour of those who dangerous Monosyllables, *Yea* and *No*.

Accordingly all the Time I sat there as a *Senator*, I never gave a single Vote, without a substantial Reason of one kind or another for it, and endeavour'd to think a certain great Patron (I had devoted my self to) in the Right, whatever side of the Question he took, and shew'd a generous Violence in supporting all the Measures he pursued, as the best and wisest in the World, and particularly while he distinguish'd himself as an Enemy to the Ministry, whom we were to overturn and succeed. But in spite of all the fortunate Constellations I was born under, being entirely disappointed in these glorious Hopes, it luckily happen'd my Patron fell in with the Court-Party, and got a very comfortable Post to live honest by; and as I found my self, by the sacred Ties of Love to my Country and my Family, oblig'd to turn with him; I us'd my humble Endeavours to second him, and to obtain some of those many honourable Employments, with good

Salaries for doing nothing, which I was assur'd by my great Friends, I could not fail of.

To this end, I became as violent for the Court, as ever I had been against it, and to ingratiate my self the more with the Ministry, I kept up an extravagant Table, and a Crowd of humble Admirers of my Eloquence to eat at it, among whom I censur'd our Opposers as Fools or Knaves, rail'd at the Minority as Tools or Villains, and after confuting all their Arguments, to the Satisfaction of my Guests while they were eating, crown'd my daily Victories, with drinking Confusions of all kinds.

On these excellent Foundations, I built up a World of Hopes, and askt for every thing I knew I deserv'd, making a Conscience of aiming at any thing further, and was happy enough to receive many fair Promises and good Looks, not only from my Patron, but my Patron's Patron's Patron, who was a very great Man indeed. I was trusted with several Secrets before they were in Print, and assur'd of succeeding to many tolerable Places, before they were vacant; and was so much consider'd, that I never askt for any thing, that I did not get a distant Promise of, or a very civil Excuse for being refus'd it. This kept up my Spirits, and quickned my Zeal for several Sessions, till finding my Equipage and Table, my Elections and living like a Man of Consequence, had sunk another third of my Estate, I began to be so importunate for something, as soon as I found I had little or nothing left, that tho' I was willing to take any Place during good Behaviour, which by a fair Computation I might have purchased the yearly Value of in Land by half what I had spent in the Service, yet I found my self so utterly unsecure of any thing but sincere Promises, which I knew it difficult to subsist my Family on, that I desperately broke with my Patron, and all my dear Friends the Courtiers, and set up once more for a good Conscience, on the other side. But, alas! I soon found this was the worst tim'd step I could have taken, for it both ruin'd my Character with the World, and my Tradesmen lost me my Election the next Parliament; and in a Word, left me to brood over my own Resentments, Disappointments and Despair.

Under these unlucky Circumstances, the Town not agreeing with my *Constitution*, I retir'd to the Country, to the Ruins of my Estate, of which I had fold two Thirds, to pay off the Debts these Schemes in Politicks had brought on me; and because I could not with Ease look back on the World, I resolv'd to look forward, and consider what might happen, since I abhor'd to reflect on what had.

The truth is, my dear Reader, tho' I blush to tell it, my Disappointments and Discontents wrought so violently on my Pride and Choler, which were the two chief Ingredients in my little carnal Tabernacle, that renouncing all my former Engagements in Favour of our civil and religious Rights, as *Britons* and Protestants, I gave my self up Body and Soul, to a little sorry melancholy Faction, who only subsist themselves, like the *Cevennes* in *Languedock*, on a seditious Sermon now and then, and a few comfortable Visions, Rumours and Hopes, of gratifying their private Resentments at the price of the publick Ruine.

Indeed I must own, I had some Scruples of Conscience at first, on this extraordinary Conversion that was wrought in me; but when I reflected on the Expences I had been at, to obtain Promises that were forgotten, and secure Places I now saw possess by others; when I compar'd the Ruins of my Fortune, with my old Rent-Rolls, my past Debtors with my present Creditors, and my former Hopes with my present Despair; I at once broke thro' all my Oaths of *Allegiance*, and thought my Revolt the less dishonourable, since I had taken them but about seven or eight Times, and I saw several Men of Honour, engag'd in this Faction against the Government, who had taken them on at least twenty different Occasions.

In a Word, my Resentment soon quieted my Reason, and I began to hope for a thousand Scenes of Confusion and Destruction to my Country and the Royal Family, and to see their Labours to make us happy, luckily overturn'd by some fortunate Calamities, which might destroy their Interest with the People. By some such desirable Accident, I flatter'd my self, that by God's Blessing on our honest Endeavours, in bringing it about and improving it, we might all mend our

Circumstances, and that possibly for my part, I might thus recover my Estate, from the Rogue who bought it, by turning *Papist* in some glorious Revolution in the *Chevalier's* Favour.

To indulge my Spleen and Melancholy the more, I gave my self up Night and Day to reading for several Years: And because I despis'd the little narrow beaten Paths of common Scholars, I studied all hidden Sciences, from Magick to the *Jewish Cabala* and the Philosopher's Stone, and particularly turn'd my self to Astrology with vast Application, in hopes to find some propitious Influence from the Heavens, to favour these reasonable Expectations, since I saw with Sorrow there was little to be hop'd for from the Earth.

I made a great Progress, especially in this last noble Science, and flatter'd my self, that I had found out some favourable Conjunctions in the Planets above, that might be too strong for all the united Interests of the best Man and Prince and the happiest People among the Nations below. When behold one Night, which I shall never forget, and *Great Britain* must ever remember with Joy, (it was on the 20th of *January*, 1728,) as I lay in my Bed, agreeably soothing my Spleen, with these pleasing Prospects I had been contemplating in the Stars; I was surpriz'd to see my Door which was fast lock'd, and my Curtains which were close drawn, opening suddenly of themselves, and a great Light filling my Chamber, in the midst of which I saw a beautiful Appearance of something like what we usually imagine Angels to be.

I began to fancy my self in the famous *Van Helmont's* Condition, who says,* he once plainly saw his Soul in an human Shape, but, as he modestly speaks, without distinction of Sex; or like that *Pisander*, who, as a certain *Greek* Author tells us, was afraid of meeting his own Soul, which he apprehended would appear to him separated from his Body, and play him a scurvy Trick. But I had not time enough for many Reflections, for while I lay silent with Wonder and Surprise, he

* Chap. I. p. 9.

instantly rais'd me up by the Hand, told me he was my good *Genius*, and was come to shew me nobler Prospects, that should be deriv'd to me and my Family, as well as my Country, from the present Royal Line and their Posterity, than those I was drawing from my mistaken Principles in Political Astrology. He assur'd me, if I would be directed by him, he would give me sufficient Lights to convince me, that there never could be a greater Blessing bestowed on a Nation, than these Kingdoms receiv'd when the Royal Line of *Hannover*, was by the Favour of Heaven plac'd on the Throne, to be the Source of a long Series of Prosperity, Wealth, Peace and Glory to us, if we would but be content to enjoy it with common Sense and Gratitude. He added much more on this Head, and concluded with promising to keep up a constant Communication and Correspondence with me; and to give me at once some little Intelligence of the great Events that would happen under their glorious Government, not only to my Country but even my own House and Descendants, he made me a present of several large Volumes of these Letters, which, he assur'd me, would be writ by or to my Great Great Great Great Grandson, who would be chief Minister in the End of the Twentieth Century, and to deal plainly with me, as far as he could guess, in the last days of the World.

The Joy! the Surprize! the Transport! these Words gave me, is not to be exprest: And as a *Kircher* told *Schottus**, he was cur'd of a deadly Disease, by dreaming he was made Pope, and receiv'd the Congratulations of all Kings and Nations, while he issued out Bulls and Decrees for new Laws, new Churches, new Saints, and new Colleges, with vast Joy, and awaken'd after a long and happy Reign perfectly recover'd; so I found in an instant all my Discontents in Politicks vanish'd and remov'd by these real Visions, my good *Genius* had communicated to me. I accordingly receiv'd this present, as an immediate Blessing from Heaven, and after assuring him in the most

* *Gaspar Schotti Physica Curiosia*, Lib., 30.

solemn manner how sincerely I renounced my former Principles, I enter'd into a long Dialogue with him, both as to the present and the future state of Things, and learnt from him Secrets as important as the Ruine or Safety of Crowns and Empires can make them, and by the Communication of which, to the chief Ministers of such Princes as can gain my Esteem, and particularly of my own, he assur'd me, I might with good Husbandry, raise a Fortune whereon to subsist my Family with Honour and Affluence, till my Descendant should be Prime Minister under *George* the VI. Every one may imagine, how eagerly I listned to all this, and how easily a Mind thus illuminated, with Views of so glorious a Change, in my own and my Family's future Circumstances, would lay aside its former Principles and Prejudices, as I immediately did, with a thousand Thanks to my good Genius, for all his Favours, and as many Entreaties for his future Correspondence, which both on my own Account, (as he was pleas'd to express himself) and my Relation to Count *Cabalis*, he kindly promiss'd, and has ever since often made me happy in.

He had no sooner left me, than I began to read over the Volumes he had given me, with all the Delight which I hope the World will receive from part of them, which with his Consent and Assistance, and by the Advice of my learned and ingenious Friends, I have resolv'd to communicate to them, as a most inestimable Treasure. I have made no other Change or Alterations in them, than the translating them into the *English* of these illiterate Times oblig'd me to, except where the Secrets of crown'd Heads and prime Ministers, or the good or ill Conduct of the Friends or Enemies of my Country and some great People at home, made it necessary to leave out either whole Letters or particular Paragraphs, which shou'd be reserv'd in Secret, for the Use and Service of the Crown and my own Family, and not expos'd to publick view.

And thus having given my dear Reader, as full an Account as I judg'd proper, both of my self and my good *Genius*, and the Present he made me, (for of my constant Correspondence since with him, I

shall say nothing here) I shall now proceed, to mention my Reasons for publishing this Work, and also my Care and Conduct about it.

And the first I shall assign is, that I really believ'd I should do an Injury to the World, to the Commonwealth of Learning, and above all to my Country, if being thus enlighten'd, and having such wonderful Discoveries revealed and intrusted to me, I did not give them some Foretast of these surprising Scenes, which Fate is to open to Mankind, in future Ages.

Nor was this all, for to say the Truth, when I saw evidently in these Papers, that the World and my Descendant's Ministry would end together; I was the more willing to have my Fame and his laid open to the present Age, since it was impossible for future Times to do us Justice, by assigning us that shining place in History, which Printing these Volumes will so fully entitle us to. Those great Persons, whose Writings or Actions distinguish'd them so much in former Ages, have had a large recompence made them, by the Honour and Applause that has long been heap'd on them; but as my Fame had been entirely conceal'd, and his reduc'd to take up with the short-liv'd Applause of a few Years, in his old Age, the Dregs of Life, and the last Moments of the World, I resolv'd to be before-hand with the Glory of my self and Family, and to enjoy some part of our Reputation before we had earn'd it. And while I make this sincere Confession, let me take this opportunity, to exhort those few great Spirits, who are thirsting after Glory, to redouble their Speed to perpetuate their Fame, and do greater and more glorious Things than have yet been attempted; that thereby they may the sooner obtain that reward of their Merit, and raise those Monuments to their Memories, which at best they see, must so suddenly perish in the common Ruine, and be left for ever in the general Destruction of all Things.

Another Motive I had for making these Papers publick was, that by magnifying the Glory of succeeding Ministers, I might sink and lessen the Reputation of those, that at present sit at the Helm, since they have been so regardless of all true Merit, as to do little or nothing for me or my Family. I saw it in vain to attempt their Ruin by

downright Railing, throwing Dirt at random, and calling them at all Adventures Rogues and Knaves in Print; for they have so deluded the People, by the cursed Success of their Administration, that they will not listen any longer to general Declamations, to witty Insinuations or the boldest Satyrs, without some few real Facts to vouch them, and prove they are well grounded. Now as I found this an insuperable difficulty, since they manage with such vile Art, as to keep all Proofs of that sort from our Knowledge, so I knew no better method to vilify their measures, and serve his *Majesty* and my *Country*, then shewing the World, that notwithstanding the popular Cry of the Prosperity of our Affairs, there will, some Ages hence, be much greater and more successful Ministers than they are, and who, by the by, may then remember to their Posterity, the little respect these Gentlemen pay one of their Ancestors now, whom (out of that Modesty so natural to all great Spirits) I shall not mention here.

Another reason, which, I must own, induced me to present the World with this Work, was, that the busy inquisitive Sages and Politicians of these times, may have some more Employment given to their restless Tempers. For as *Charles II.* by publickly setting up new Systems of *Philosophy*, diverted his unmanageable Subjects from disturbing the ancient Forms of Government, and by amusing them with searching into the Revolutions of the Heavens, kept them from contriving new ones upon Earth; or (not to grudge the Reader another instance of equal force) as by settling our banish'd Felons in the new World, and employing them sufficiently there, we keep our selves pretty quiet at Home in the old one; so I hope that these ungovernable and satirical Observers, who not content with censuring and decrying all that past in former Ages, turn themselves to ridiculing and contemning all that is done in this, may be kept from overturning the Peace of these our Days, by being employ'd on the Secrets of Times to come. Besides I find it is by no means sufficient, for the elevated *Genius's* of this Age, to know all that *may be known*. As I pay the highest Veneration to such exalted Spirits, I have done what Man could do, (aided by the Discoveries of my good Angel) to let

them see all that is to be in Art or Nature, till the Dissolution of both, and have resolv'd to gratifie them with some considerable Conflagration, when they, this Earth, and even Time, and all their learned (their exquisitely learned) Labours, shall be no more!

I am sensible, an Author should observe as proper Seasons for his Productions, as the skilful Husbandman or Florist for their Seeds; and I am of Opinion, I could not have presented this curious inquisitive Age, with a Work more admirably calculated, to amuse and employ their vast Knowledge and deep Reserches, and divert them from less useful, tho' more dangerous Enquiries, which they are of late so profoundly taken up with.

In the last place, my dear Reader, when I consider'd that the great *Augustus*, as *Suetonius* tells us, neither neglected his own or other Mens Dreams, concerning himself or his Affairs, and consequently whatever related to his Country, or the whole World which was his Empire; **Somnia neque sua neque aliena de se negligebat* are the Historian's Words when I read in the great *Artimedorus*, that it was the Custom of the Antients, that whatever any one had dreamt of the Publick, relating to the Commonwealth, he should publish either by the Voice of the common Crier, or by a written Table set up to the view of others; †*moris antiqui suit, ut quicquid quisque de republica somni-asset, illud vel Præconis voce, vel Pittacio, hoc est, tabula quadam descriptum indicaret*, I thought it a criminal Action to conceal such important Discoveries as had been intrusted to my Care.

Besides, how do I know, but the bringing *these* to Light, may in some measure be a means to preserve our Country from all the Confusion and Madness, which the rest of the World will be involv'd in; and continue us in that happy Situation, and that Spirit of improving our Laws, Arts and Manufactures, which I have shewn we shall enjoy in the following Centuries, when the other Kingdoms of the

* In Augusto, Cap. 91

† Lib. I. C p. 2.

Earth are to labour, as it were, in actual Convulsions, and be jumbled together, like the Mountains and Plains of *Jamaica* in the dreadful Earthquake in 1692.

As to my Care and Conduct in this Edition, I fear indeed how great foever it has been, Men will be displeas'd with me, as having bestowed much less on it, than so invaluable a Treasure will seem to have deserv'd. Some will censure me for having conceal'd and suppress'd many important Secrets, relating to our publick Affairs and Ministers, Peace and War, the Trade of the Nation, and the Conduct of the Throne; without considering the dangerous Consequences, of making such matters publick, as well as the particular Interest I may have, to keep them by me in *petto*, till proper Conjunctions.

On the other hand, many great Men will blame me as *Alexander* did *Aristotle*, for communicating too many of such hidden Mysteries, such *Arcana imperii*, to the Knowledge of the Vulgar. For my part, I have acted with the utmost Caution in suppressing or publishing any Particulars, and as it is to be fear'd, if after all my Care this Book should grow too common and be in every one's Hand, it may be applied to ill purposes, by letting the meanest of the People see, *uti digerit omnia Calchas*, I have given order to print but fifty Copies, which I compute will answer the number of Persons in *Great Britain*, who are *Wise* and *Honest enough* to be trusted with such a Jewel.

I have also gone further, and that Posterity may not be impos'd on, by any spurious Additions, Forgeries or Obliterations in this admirable Work, I have with great Labour number'd and reckon'd up the whole of what is in it, which is a safer and fairer Way than a Table of Contents, which our modern Publishers tack to their mangled Volumes. I find therefore that there is in this Collection, (Publish'd and to be Publish'd) 28,967 Sentences that have meaning in them, 1,232,356 Words, 2,125,245 Syllables, 6,293,376 Letters, and thro' the Roughness of our barbarous Tongue, but 2,992,644 Vowels, (exclusive of *y* and all Diphthongs) as any careful Reader may find, who will cast them up with equal Diligence.

Possibly it may seem a little arrogant and conceited, that I should have taken such Pains herein, but if we consider, that the *Turks* have done as much for their *Alcoran*, and that the learned *Rabbies* among the *Jews* value their *Talmud* so highly, as to say, that mistaking a Letter in it, is enough to destroy the World; I hope, I may be indulg'd, if not applauded for my Care, in a Work in the *English* Tongue, where it may happen that the Loss a of Word in it, may be of vast Damage to our native Country, which all Men among us are so desirous to serve.

And now, after so candid an Account as I have laid before thee, one would think, my dear Reader, I might shut up this Preface, and have nothing more to do, than receive the tributary Thanks and Homage of Mankind, for so glorious a Present as I here make them, for the common Good; but alas! I find the envious World, has cut out a deal of other Work for me, and that I must answer a Crowd of malicious Objections, which my learned Friends assure me, are levell'd against this unparallel'd Performance, by those who saw it in Manuscript.

But as this is PREFACE enough of Conscience for one Time, I must say with St. *Austin* when he us'd to cut his Sermons into two, *Parcite mihi fratres, non dicam vobis quod sequitur*; and beg the Reader to indulge me in a Liberty always allowed great Writers, of treading in unbeaten Paths, and for my Ease and his own, as well the Novelty and Boldness of the Stroke, to pardon me if, like the Adventure of the *Bear* and the *Fiddle*, I break off here a little abruptly, and (as I have resolv'd for a *Coup d'Eclat* to make three PREFACES to this glorious Work) send him for the Second and Third to the Middle and End of this Volume.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

TWENTIETH CENTURY, &c.

To the Lord HIGH TREASURER, &c.

Constantinople, Nov. 3, 1997.

MY LORD,

I Have, according to the Commands your Lordship honour'd me with by Captain *Milton*, by the way of *Vienna* in *September* last, so far press'd the Conclusion of the Treaty grounded on the new Stipulations, that I think it is as good as finished, and that our Trade shall be as much favour'd here, as by his Majesty's Authority and Influence and your Lordship's Care, it has been in all other parts of the World. The only Difficulty that remains, proceeds from the *4th* and *5th* Articles, which the Grand Vifier seems to think too highly honourable for our Nation, and derogatory to his own, judging it hard that their Ships of War, should in their own Parts and Seas, strike their Flag to ours and salute them, (as by the *5th* Article is provided) with double the number of Guns.

However, thee Points are so gently canvast by them, that I see evidently they design not to insist on them, and I make account, we shall in a little time mutually sign, and that our Cloath and Manufactures shall hereafter have no unreasonable Duties impos'd on them, as those of other Nations have; who must therefore vend theirs at great Disadvantages. I should be tempted to be exceeding vain on my happy Success herein, but that it is so evident my carrying all my Point here, is owing to no Dexterity of mine, but to the Wisdom and Courage of his Majesty's Measures, the Strength, Loyalty and Wealth of his Subjects, the Terror which his Fleet spreads over the Ocean, and the Care and Policy of his Ministers, and above all your Lordship, who now so happily preside over them.

The long Intimacy and Friendship you have honour'd me with, as well as the Relation I have to your Noble Family, will prevent any Suspicion of Flattery, when I aver to your Lordship, that the News brought me by Mr. *Milton*, of your being declar'd Prime Minister and Treasurer by his Majesty in Council, was to me the most agreeable I have heard this twenty five Years that I have resided here. At the same Time I can say with Truth, that the Satisfaction this gave me, took not its rise from any private Views as to my own Interests, which I neither want nor desire to encrease in the World, but from the assured Hope I have, that our native Country shall hereby be highly advantag'd.

It is a peculiar Felicity that attends your Lordship's Promotion; that it happens when our glorious *George VI*, hath by the Success of his Arms oblig'd his Enemies to accept the Terms he was pleas'd to prescribe them, and that after having humbled *France* so far, as to oblige her to give up all her Ports in the Channel, even *Dunkirk* and *Calais* it self into our Hands, and taught all the Powers in *Europe* the Respect and almost Dependance they owe us; your sacred Master's Cares and Yours, will now be almost solely confin'd, to the keeping the general Peace we are in with all Nations safe and undisturb'd, and to promote our Trade wherever our Industry and Profit can extend it.

But your Lordship is too usefully employ'd with such Cares, to listen to my awkward Compliments how sincere foever, and therefore I shall leave them; and since you are pleas'd to think I am capable of giving you some Light into the State of Things here, which by my long residence I must have some tolerable Knowledge of, I shall obey our Commands herein with the small Abilities I am Master of.

I shall not trouble your Lordship with any historical Events relating to these People, since the *Ottoman* Line was extinguished in *Mahomet IX.* and the *Tartar* Race succeeded. This was many Centuries since foretold, as well as the Decline of this great Empire, and that a *Mahomet* would be the last of that Family, as it has really happened. *Juxton*, the laborious Writer of the *19th Century*, has given us so full a Detail of their Affairs, that they are known to all the learned World as well as your Lordship; I shall therefore only dwell on such Facts and Alterations as are of a later Date, and confin'd within the Year 1949 and this present Time, which are worth your Curiosity; and which the *Memoirs* of my two Predecessors in this Post, which have fallen into my Hands, and my own Experience have given me a fuller Acquaintance with.

Your Lordship is no Stranger to the vast Alterations which the coming in of the *Tartar* Line has produc'd, and above all in Matters of Religion. For as the *Mufties* and all the Heads of their Clergy, have been still the *Grand Seignior's* Countrymen, as fearing to place natural *Turks* in so high a Trust, the Zeal to the *Mahometan* Religion and Discipline, has been thence greatly slacken'd, both in their Priests and People, which was anciently so hot and violent. By this means there succeeded in its stead a dead Palsy in their Faith, which has almost been destroyed betwixt *Christianity* and *Deism*. It is incredible, my Lord, what an Harvest *Christian Missionaries* and *Jesuits* have reap'd thereby among this People. For being disguis'd as *Physicians*, *Mathematicians*, *Astrologers*, nay, as *Janizaries* and *Spahies*, as well as under the appearances of all kinds of the best sorts of Trades, (and some of them even by the *Pope's* Connivance circumcised and acting the part of *Turkish* Priests,) they got so thoroughly both into

the Knowledge and Confidence of all Kinds and Ranks of People here, and especially the better sort, that under pretence of proposing their own Doubts, they soon overturn'd the establish'd Religion, in the Minds of all Persons eminent for their Posts or Learning.

They conceal'd the *Christian* Truths at first under the pretended Name of *Serabackzi* or *Enthusiasts*, till at length their Doctrines got Admission into the *Seraglio*, by the means of the *Renegado Vizier Ibrahim*, in 1955 or 56, who they say, to make amends for his Apostasy, gave this Sect (whose Designs he was not only fully acquainted with, but also conducted) all possible Countenance and Encouragement. By his means it was, that so many *Printing-Presses* were dispers'd thro' the whole extent of the *Ottoman* Empire, thereby supplanting and almost extirpating the infinite Crowd of *Scribes* and *Hogies*, who liv'd by writing the Books of the Law and the heaps of Comments on the *Alcoran*, and consequently were the hottest Zealots for the Glory and Honour of *Mahometism*.

With the same Views he put down the *Minarets* and order'd all to be called to the *Mosques* at the Hours of Prayer, by founding their wind Instruments and beating of Drums. By this means he oblig'd the *Missionaries* by silencing the blasphemous Proclamations of the *Muezins* or Criers from the *Minarets*, who us'd to call the *Turks* to their *Naama* or Prayers; and also made the People less zealous and furious, for the Honour of their Prophet and his Religion, who us'd to have their Ears still dinn'd, and their Zeal inflam'd with the proclaiming their *Mahomet* for the Prophet of God.

With the same subtle management, he confin'd to their own Towns all the vagabond *Dervices*, who us'd to run thro' the Provinces possess'd with the hottest Spirit of *Mahometism*, and turn'd many of the Monasteries of those lazy *Drones* (who had all the Zeal and Ignorance of our worst kind of Monks in them) to *Caravanseras* or Inns for Travellers, or else into *Timariots* to maintain such a number of Soldiers.

He sent such Orders thro' the Empire and appointed such faithful Ministers to execute them, (many of whom were disguis'd *Chris-*

tians and even Jesuits,) that the open Profession of *Christianity*, was so far from being *penal*, that under pretence of the *Christians* being useful for the Arts and Sciences, the Trade and Plenty they brought with them wherever they came, they were even respected and regarded, provided they were not natural *Turks* or converted *Renegadoes*. Nor was this Work less subtilly carried on by the free Trade for all sorts of Wines, thro' the Dominions of the *Grand Seignior*; the Drinking of which was so universally conniv'd at, that in the open Taverns in every Village, the *Turks* would be seen all Day carousing and fuddling in defiance of their *Alcoran*. Nay, some of them have been heard in the Freedom of their Cups, to speak contemptuously of the stupid Prophet, who thought, (they said) by the blind Hopes of an imaginary Paradise above, to deprive them of the only Heaven Men could enjoy below, a cheerful Bottle, and an openhearted Friend.

But what help'd to introduce the *Christian* Religion still further, was the Custom he establish'd during his Ministry (almost as long as the two great *Kuperlies* in the 17th Century joined together) and which has been kept up ever since, of sending Ambassadors to all the Courts of *Europe*; these were accompanied with a great Train of the Sons of the *Bassa's* and chief Men in the Empire, who return'd Home improv'd indeed, but often by the Address of the *Missionaries* (who waited still on the Catch for them) so prejudiced against *Mahometism*, and so in Love with the noble Arts forbidden by their Prophet, as *Painting*, *Sculpture*, *Architecture*, and above all the delicious *Vine-Press*, that it is incredible how far the secret Infection is spread, and how likely suddenly to break out into a violent Distemper in the State.

The Translation of select Parts of the Bible with useful short Notes licens'd by the Pope, and also the number of *Arabick* and *Turkish* Books which the *Printing-Presses* disperst among them, help'd on the *Missionaries* marvellously; for they were so subtilly compos'd, as to shake and undermine the false Religion, and secretly to prepare the People for op'ning their Eyes to the Truth. Indeed, as to outward Profession *Mahometism* still shews its Face, but 'tis just like the *Pa-*

gan Religion under *Julian* the Apostate, the Religion of the State but not of the People; one third of whom are either secretly or avowedly *Christians*, another third *Deists*, and hardly as many sincere *Mahometans*. What adds to the wonder is, that all this has been effected chiefly by the Means and Management of the *Roman See*, who tho she has almost renounced the Faith her self, yet out of political Views labours to encrease her Converts here.

This is an odd Scene of things, my Lord, and yet as true as'tis surprising, and I doubt not in a few Years we shall see, that as the old Empire of the World forsook *Rome* to settle in *Constantinople*, so Religion possibly before this *Century* expires may do the same; and as the *Pope* is almost turn'd *Pagan* or *Turk*, the *Mufti* will set up for *Patriarch* of the *Eastern World*, and the great Head and Father of the *Christian Church* here.

What the Consequences of so prodigious a Revolution may be, I shall not presume to hint, to so exquisite a Judge of such things, as your Lordship is confessedly allow'd to be; and therefore leaving them to your own judicious Reflections, I shall only observe, that had *Great Britain* continued her Care and Protection of the *Grecian Church*, with her true *Christian Zeal*, possibly we should have made as large an Harvest of Converts in *Turky* as by our Supineness and Negligence the *Jesuits* have done.

But leaving this for another Occasion, I shall proceed to give your Lordship some Account of the State of their Army and Soldiery, their Trade and Revenue, their Laws and Customs at present; since the said Period of 1749, to which my Predecessors *Memoirs* and my own little Experience necessarily confines me.

It is certain then, my Lord, that both the Spirit and Courage, as well as the Discipline of their Soldiery, has been sensibly declining ever since the coming in of the *Tartar Race*, and especially within this last 150 Years, provided we always except the small Interval of *Vizier Ibrahim's Administration*.

This has been chiefly owing to their taking in all sorts of People (and especially natural *Turks*, married Men and Tradesmen) for

Money into the Body of the *Janizaries*; who us'd formerly to be compos'd of *Christian* Children taken Captives, and bred up in the strict Discipline and School of the *Seraglio*, in all manly and warlike Exercises.

It must be confest also, that the secret spreading of *Christianity* among their People and the Soldiery, has not a little contributed hereunto; for as the Success of their Arms has ever been the great Source of the Propagation of their *Faith*, it is not to be wonder'd at, if those who had privately made a Defection from this last, did not fight with the utmost Resolution and Obstinacy, for the Power and Glory of a *Mahometan* Emperour.

But the dreadful Custom of giving the Soldiery such perpetual Largesses, and as it were, rewarding their Seditions whenever they resolved to depose one and set up another Emperour, (and confirm or destroy the Grand *Viziers* and Principal *Bassa's*, as the Fancy took them) absolutely overturn'd what little Spirit, Virtue or Discipline was left among them. Let us join to this abominable Insolence, the horrible Licence of daily guzling Wine in the Streets, and almost the very *Mosques* of *Constantinople*, and their Debaucheries of all kinds that accompany'd it, and we need not seek for any other causes of their surprizing Degeneracy.

Some indeed, have also accounted for it from their frequent Defeats in their Battles with the *Germans* and the *Poles*, and their being so often vanquish'd by both the *Muscovites* and *Persians*, who have all of them strip'd this Empire of some of its strongest Fortresses and richest Provinces. But it is plain these were not the Causes but the Effects of their decay'd Valour and Discipline, by which they have by degrees lost all their Conquests in *Persia*, and their Territories round the *black Sea*, together with the greatest part of *Transylvania*, *Moldavia* and *Wallachia*, and almost to the Gates of *Adrianople*.

Nor is it their Land Forces only that have thus declin'd, for their naval Power which was anciently so formidable is now so prodigiously sunk, since the Defect of their Fleet by the *English* Squadron in 1876, and in the Sea-fight with the *Dutch* ten Years afterwards, that

besides their losing both *Crete* and *Cyprus* to the *Pope* and *Venetians*, they have lost all Interest and Influence, with their old Dependants of *Tunis* and *Algiers*. Nay, the very Knights of *Malta*, have since so often burnt and taken their greatest *Galeasses*, that their few Gallies and Ships of War that remain to them, dare hardly fail now out of sight of the *Dardanelles*, to collect the little Tribute of the neighbouring Islands, which are every Day revolting to them and the *Venetians*, and refusing the Payment of their old *Capitation Tax*.

After mentioning this I need not add that their Trade which in the 18th Century was in so poor a Way, and yet before 1876 was in so flourishing a Condition, is now entirely sunk and fallen into the Hands of the Merchants of *Great Britain*. For a great while indeed, they applied themselves to it with more than ordinary Vigour, and by being Masters of the best Ports in the *Mediterranean*, and by the Assistance of their Harbours in the *Red Sea*, open'd an easier and quicker Passage to the *East Indies*, than the *Christians* could have, who are forc'd to fail to them by the tedious and hazardous Navigation of the *Cape of Good Hope*. It was easy with such Advantages to have engross'd the whole Trade of the *East*, and under-sell both the *British* and *Dutch* Merchants in the *Mediterranean*; but the Unskilfulness of their Mariners, the Weakness of their Vessels, with the natural Indisposition of the *Turks* to long Voyages, and the Toils and Hazards of the Sea, prevented their carrying these Designs so far as they might have done. But besides this, our visiting them with our Squadrons, and shutting up the *Dardanelles*, and at last our falling on their Fleets and destroying some of them, soon made them surrender up their Pretensions to that Branch of Trade, and indeed all others into our Hands; where I hope they will long continue to improve, and especially if this Treaty be once agreed to in all its Articles, as I doubt not, it will very suddenly.

I have but little to say of the Revenues of this vast Empire, since I propose not to write to your Lordship, what is to be found in every printed Account of them, but only such Alterations as are of more modern Date, and little known in *Europe*. It is certain within this last

forty Years, they have applied themselves much to raise them, even beyond the excessive Bounds of the late Emperours, who seem'd to strive to make up by new Taxes, the lost Revenues of their old Provinces, torn from them on every side.

They have laid immense Excises on all Eatables and Drinkables, and excessive Customs on all Imports and Exports except our *British* Manufactures, on all Mills, Taverns, and every Trade, not only subservient to the Pleasures but the Conveniences and even Necessaries of Life. They have besides loaded their Lands with great Impositions, and laid Taxes on every Acre plow'd or dug, on every Cow, Horse, Bullock, Sheep, Goat, Ass or Camel throughout the Empire. Besides this and the *Pole-Tax*, every House, Boat and Ship, and every Marriage pays so much to the *Grand Seignior*; the Births indeed are Tax-free, to encourage them to breed; neither do they pay for their Burials for a very good Reason, the *Grand Seignior* being Heir in effect to every Man that dies in his Dominions. There are also Taxes on Paper and Leather, and in one Word, on every thing necessary to Health or Ease, or even Life it self, and if it were possible, I am persuaded, they would Tax the only Blessing they enjoy here, their Air and Sunshine. Yet with all this grinding the Face of the miserable oppress'd Subject, these Revenues are so ill manag'd, and the Officers employ'd in the Collection of them, such wicked Stewards to their cruel and rapacious Masters, that hardly one half is brought into the Treasury of what is paid them. Indeed if it were not for the vast hereditary Revenue, the *Bassa's* are obliged to pay in from their several Provinces, over and above all these Taxes, and the immense Wealth that the daily Forfeiture of their Heads, to their Master's Avarice or Jealousy brings in, this unweildy dispirited Empire would almost sink, for want of vital Nourishment.

Under all this Oppression, there is not one found who dares even lament his own and Fellow-subjects Misery, or who will not pretend at least to Glory, in calling himself the *Grand Seignior's* Slave, and owning that he has no title either to his Life or Liberty, his Lands, House or Substance, but from the sole Will of his mighty Emperor.

A Reflection which I cannot make, but with the honest Joy every *Britton* must feel, who sees himself secur'd by Laws of his own making, in his Liberty, Life and Property, above the Reach of the highest Power and the strongest Arm; and in Peace and Security under his own *Vine* and *Fig-tree*, enjoys from the best of Constitutions, and (the usual and natural Consequence thereof,) the best Princes, all the Blessings Men can ask for as *Freemen* and *Christians*.

*O Fortunati nimium, sua si bona norint, Angligenæ!*¹

I shall detain your Lordship no further, than with two or three Words, as to some considerable Alterations of late Years in their Laws and Customs, by which they have endeavour'd to retrieve the Virtue and Majesty of this falling Empire, and which they owe chiefly to the Skill and Ability of the Renegado Vizier *Ibrahim*, who flourish'd in the middle of this *Century*. Many of them I sincerely wish with some Alterations could be transplanted into our Country and Constitution, and, if that Excess of Liberty we abound in would allow it, I doubt not we should find our Account in them.

The first I shall touch upon is the Method he took to cure the Defects of their Discipline and Courage, which he found so low, and endeavour'd to raise so high. To effect this, he divided all the Troops into Battalions and Squadrons of about 1000 or 1500 Men. Each of these Bodies were raised from one particular Province, whose name they carried, from whence alone their Officers and Recruits came; and consequently whenever they fought, the Glory or Disgrace of the Country to which they belong'd, and where they were born, was directly concern'd. By this means both Men and Officers fought still with the greater Emulation and Desire of distinguishing themselves and their Country by their Valour; and also Recruits were more cheerfully and willingly rais'd, being sure to be sent to assist their own Country-Men and Acquaintances.

1. *Oh! only too fortunate farmers, but did they but know it (Virgil, Georgics, Book II).*

Nor was there any Danger of such Bodies uniting in Seditions in their own Province, being never disbanded; nor yet abroad in the Field, where their Strength was so small and inconsiderable, in respect of the whole Army, and their Country still answerable for their Conduct.

In the next place, (besides the popular Tenets of the *Turks*, that every one's Fate is writ on his Forehead, and is inevitable, and all who die in the War go strait to Paradise) he took care to breed up a contempt of Death or Danger in them, by remitting the half of all Taxes to the Widows and Children of the Slain, and by doubling the Pay of all that were wounded in Battle, as well as by allowing an annual Stipend for Life, to all who lost their Limbs, Eyes, or were any ways disabled. This he settled according to the following Table; for one Eye 5 *l.* a Year of our Money for Life, for both Eyes 12 *l.* for the right Arm 5 *l.* the left 3 *l.* for both 12 *l.* for their Hands something less, but with little difference. For one Leg 2 *l.* 10 *s.* for both Legs 6 *l.* and the same for a Foot or both Feet, or with a very small Disproportion, according to the Danger and Suffering of the Soldier. Nay, so careful was he of Men so disabled, that if any one offered to wound, hurt or even strike a Soldier thus maim'd in the Service of the Empire, he was instantly sentenc'd to lose his Hand for the Offence; which was a severer Penalty than he incurr'd, if he had struck an *Iman* or a *Cady*; as they call their Priests and Judges.

By this means, my Lord, it is incredible for a while, with what Zeal his Troops us'd to rush into the Battle despising Wounds; or rather wishing for them, as the very Road to Preferment and Reward. Nor did his Care end here, for out of the choicest and best Troops, he form'd two great separate Bodies of *Infantry* and *Cavalry* of 5000 Men each, of the bravest *Veteran* Soldiers, who receiv'd double Pay, and were sworn on the *Alcoran* never to turn their backs in Battle, till they had Orders to Retreat, or that two Thirds of them were kill'd, and then to yield and be immediately ransom'd, with twice the Number of the Enemies Troops. To keep them in this severe Discipline, all Officers of his Forces both *Janizaries* and *Spahies* were intirely

chosen out of these two Bodies; which were in like manner ever recruited out of those Men who had serv'd longest and distinguish'd themselves most, in every Provincial Corps in the Army. A method which had he liv'd to have kept up, (for it fell with him) might have bid fair for the Recovery of all the Territory and Glory, they had lost before in so many unsuccessful Battles, and had probably cost the *Christian* Powers, infinite Blood and Hazards to have surmounted. After all, my Lord, the Oath those Troops took was still less than the *Roman* Gladiators obliged themselves to perform, who us'd frequently to sell, not the Hazard but the certain Loss of their Lives, for smaller Advantages.

Till this great Man found a Remedy for it, the *Turkish Cavalry* were generally of little Service, for tho' their Horses were fine and beautiful to the Eye, they were light-limb'd and so thin-bodied and Fleet, that they were still ready to yield to the Shock of the *European Cavalry*, and to trust to their Speed to save themselves; but by banishing those sort of Horses, and obliging them only to use the largest and weightiest that could be found, he taught his Troops to trust no more to the Swiftmess of their Horses, but their Strength and the Weight of them, and their Swords, to the infinite Service of the Empire.

Another Method he took to improve the Soldiery, was frequently employing them to shoot at Marks for Rewards, whence he made them excellent Marks-men with their Guns, when employed against their Enemy; saying often to them, "it was ridiculous a Soldier should not shoot as well as a Fowler, since the one shot for his Life, and the other only for his Diversion or a little silly Gain". Nay, he carried this even to his *Cannoniers*, who by this means in his time, us'd to shoot as true, as with a *Harquebush* or *Musket*.

Nor were his Cares and Skill in Civil Affairs less considerable than in Military Matters, for to him alone are owing those excellent Regulations (which the *Christian* World would be happy in) as to the Proceedings and Decisions of all Judges, who presided in Law-suits and Processes, in their judicial Courts.

By them, a Bribe being fully proved to be taken by any Judge, was Death without Remission, and Forfeiture of all his Substance, half to the *Grand Seignior*, and half to the *injur'd Party*. Nay, whenever Judges decided any Controversy, they were obliged by him to give their Reasons on which they grounded their Judgment, to both Parties in Writing; and as there was still an Appeal allow'd to a *Cadelisker* at *Constantinople*, appointed solely to receive such Decrees; if there was found either great Ignorance, or the least evident Fraud or Malice in the Decision, the Judge was instantly summoned and examin'd, and if guilty condemned to pay the whole of the Value he had given his Decree for. A Precedent, my Lord, I fear we dare not hope to see follow'd, no more than that he establish'd concerning Perjury, by which all false Witnesses were for the first Offence condemn'd with forfeiture of Goods for ten Years to the *Gallies*; and for the second Offence, to be torn in pieces by Horses tied to their Limbs. He also forbid all Persons but the Soldiery, to carry any Weapons about them by Night or Day, on pain of Death; by which means Robbery and Murders were in a great measure prevented, or the Malefactor more easily detected; and, which was still more useful, he made an Intention to Rob or Murder, if fully and evidently proved, equally penal with the having put the design in Execution. Nay, so far did the rigour of Justice carry him, that any kind of Fraud or Collusion, to cheat or deceive another, or even denying or avoiding artfully a just Debt, was made as punishable, as if the Offender had actually attempted a Theft of equal value.

He went further yet, and with the Spirit of the ancient *Spartans*, if any Person could justly impeach another of evident Ingratitude, he gave up the Offender to him into Slavery, for so many Years as might bear some proportion to the Heinousness of the Offence he was Convicted of. Besides, he inforc'd that excellent Law which had grown obsolete, that every *Turk* should effectually learn some Trade, by which he might preserve himself from Want, which he established with such Vigour and Care, as was never before seen in this Empire. A Law, my Lord, which if it were past in *England*, as to the Children

of the ordinary People, would deliver us from those Shoals of Beggars, Thieves and useless Idlers, which are the greatest Curse of our Country.

The late Emperour *Achmat* made also some Laws, (how ineffectual soever they proved) that deserve our Notice at least, if not our Imitation; as that, by which, for his short Reign, he effectually cur'd the growing, Crime of *Suicide*, by Forfeiture of Estate and Goods, and ignominiously exposing the Bodies of the Deceas'd unburied to the publick View. He also ordered the substituting perpetual Slavery, as the Penalty of most Crimes formerly punish'd with Death, not excepting even Theft and Adultery; and prohibited all Playing (which spread prodigiously among the *Turks*) either at Games of Hazard or Skill, on pain of the severest corporal Punishment.

'Tis to the same Emperor, that they owe those excellent Laws against Drunkenness, that occasions so many Quarrels and Murders, and destroys so many Families by Poverty and Disease; as also the appointing Clerks of the Market in all Places of the Empire, to prevent Extortion of Prices from the Poor, and to seize on such Meat for their use, or condemn it to the Fire, which should be found unwholesome or unmerchantable. It was he also, who sentenc'd all owners of Houses, which happen'd by their neglect to be set on Fire, to make good half the Damage they bring on their Neighbours; and that all Slaves who by Negligence endangered and House by Fire, (tho' it should be extinguish'd) shall be branded on both Cheeks with a red hot Iron, and their Noses cut off as a Mark of perpetual Infamy.

It is certain, my Lord, many of these Laws seem too severe; but indeed, that is no more than what is necessary in *Turky*, both from the Nature of the People, and also because such numbers of them are now no ways restrain'd by the Injunctions of their Prophet, (which they consider no longer as the Commands of God, but the meer Inventions of Men,) and must therefore be the more severely watch'd over by the Hand of Justice, and the most sanguinary Laws. A Reflection which while I am making, I can't but turn my Eye and Thoughts, with Grief and Shame on the *Christian* World, where I fear the same

Necessity will call too soon for the same Severity; while we behold so many Miscreants, slighting the Restraints of our holy Religion, and deriding the Faith and Principles, that us'd to Influence the Piety of their less corrupted Ancestors.

But I detain your Lordship too long, with these unimportant Matters, to which I could add much more of the same Nature, if I durst flatter my self that they deserved our Attention.

In the mean Time, as I have the Fortune to be much in the good Graces of the *Grand Seignior*, and am often sent for to entertain him with Accounts of *Europe*, and the Advancement of *Arts* and *Sciences* there, which he Admires without understanding them; and as I have particularly made great Impressions on him, in behalf of our *Astronomy*: I must beg you will send me one of the best new Telescopes you can possibly procure, for I see it will be matter of infinite Delight to him.

When I have the Honour to receive your further Commands, I shall venture, if you desire it, to proceed to continue your Trouble in Reading, and the Pleasure I take in Writing any thing, you will vouchsafe to peruse.

In the mean Time I humbly take my leave, beseeching your being persuaded of my managing the Treaty, with my best Care and Abilities, and my shewing my self with the utmost Zeal and Respect, both to my *King*, my *Country*, and your *Lordship*,

a most faithful Subject,

Friend and Servant,

STANHOPE.¹

1. The Stanhope named throughout may be an allusion to Samuel Madden's contemporary and correspondent Philip Dormer Stanhope, the Earl of Chesterfield. Also greatly concerned with time, Stanhope was responsible for the English calendar reform of 1752 causing 11 days to be lost in a single leap-night. The event was recorded in a painting by William Hogarth in which a protest sign reading "Give us our Eleven Days!" is depicted. Stanhope wrote of the reform to his French mistress, the Marquise de Monconseil:

...Do not imagine, however that I preferred an intercourse with the planets to a correspondence with you; far from it: on the contrary, it was in order to establish your style in this kingdom by act of parliament. I had long observed that you dated your letters eleven days earlier than I did, and that I received them before the day of their date... Hence I am become an astronomer, and it is a pleasure to hear me talk of tropical years, luni-folar years, intercalary years, but at last your style is established here. Thus it is that the public is almost always ignorant of the true causes of events; for nobody suspects your having any hand in this.

– April 11th, 1751

To the Lord Treasurer, &c.

Rome, Nov. 7, 1997.

MY LORD,

YOUR second Express which followed close on the Heels of the first, found me here just settled in a most handsome and convenient House, assign'd by his Holiness a Day or two after my first Audience, on the 3d Instant, which past to my entire Satisfaction. The *Pope*, to say Truth, how heartily soever he wishes our Destruction, as the great Bulwark of the *Protestant* Cause and Interest; yet is so sensible of his Majesty's Wisdom and Power, and the vast Ascendant his Fleets and Arms have procur'd him, over all the Affairs in *Europe*; that he shews the greatest Readiness to comply with all our Demands, and puts the best Mien on it he can. He has already confirmed *Civita Viechia* a free Port for us, and restor'd all our Privileges in the *Adriatick*, and has engag'd that after the next Consistory he holds, which will be in two or three Days, no *British* Subject shall be liable to the *Inquisition*. A Bull is to be publish'd accordingly; and in a Word, he has complied with all the less important Articles I was commanded to insist on.

Matters standing thus, I see nothing to hinder our Squadron, to sail directly from *Leghorn* according to their Instructions, and have signified as much by this Express to Admiral *Mordaunt*; being persuaded that there will not be the least Objection or Obstacle arise in these Affairs, from the *Roman See*.

In the mean Time, I shall use my utmost Industry to observe my Instructions, to get the best Intelligence possible, of all the dangerous Intrigues of this overgrown State; and give the fullest Lights, and use the fittest Means I can reach to, to enable his sacred Majesty, by your Lordship's wife Counsels, to disappoint and overturn them.

Tho' I am settled here but a few Weeks, I have not been asleep, but pursuant to the 5th Article of my Instructions, have applied my

self where I was directed, as well as to the *Imperial* and *French* Ambassadors here. I live already in no small Degree of Intimacy and Confidence with them; as they assure me, they have in Command from their Masters to do, on their parts with me, and which your Lordship well knows their own Interests tie them to.

By their Informations and my Intelligence from the other Quarter, I hope to be able to observe your Directions, and answer your Enquiries concerning this tow'ring See, or rather this new Empire of the *Vatican* as they universally, and too justly call it here; which is risen of late to so prodigious an height, that it seems not only to rival, but out-grow the most extended Limits of old *Rome*, in the fullest Glory of its Strength.

I shall therefore endeavour to lay before your Lordship's discerning Eye, the whole Plan of this *Spiritual Monarchy*, and the Pillars on which it is built; which we shall find subsists no longer, as Cardinal *Sancta Croze* told *Thuanus*, (*Aulæ nostræ Majestas stat tantum famâ & patientiâ hominum*) but on the deepest and best laid Foundations Men can lay, by vast Riches, incredible Policy, and the greatest armed Strength in *Europe*.

When I have done this to the best of my poor Capacity, I shall, as your Lordship directs me, examine whether his Holiness still pursues his prodigious Views, in Case of the present Emperour's Demise; and what reasonable Hopes his Majesty may entertain, openly to thwart or secretly to undermine them.

Your Lordship's Knowledge of the Affairs of *Europe* in the 19th Century, as well as the present Times, is too extensive, to allow me to dwell long on those terrible Wars and Divisions, between the *Emperour*, *France* and *Spain*; which with the unhappy Dissensions here, gave the Jesuits so far the Ascendant in the *Conclave* at that time, as to blind the Eyes of the Cardinals, to take that fatal and deplorable Step, of placing *Paul IX*, a Jesuite on the *Papal Throne*.

Nor is your Lordship less appriz'd of all the dreadful Train of Consequences that follow'd, to the infinite Increase of the Power of that aspiring Order, and thro' their means of the *Roman See*. Hence

it came that after they had by degrees made themselves Masters one way or another, both of *Savoy*, *Naples*, and *Tuscany* in less than fifty Years; they brought even *Venice* it self with all her Policy, to be with her Territories but a sort of *Ecclesiastical Fief* to the *Empire* of the *Vatican*.

In a little Time they actually tore from them, *Brescia*, *Crema*, and *Bergamo* with their Dependencies, as having been anciently united to the *Millanese*, which they were long possess'd of, by the Cession of the Emperour *Charles IX.* in 1845. The *Polesin* they wrested out of their Hands, in the Wars that broke out soon after, between *Innocent* the XV. and the *Senate*; who after the fatal Battle of *Verona*, had like to have lost all their Dominions on the Continent, if they had not sav'd them by that infamous Peace, which has in a manner made them Vassals to this See ever since.

These are Events which fill the Histories of those Times, and all that read them, with Amazement; tho' I doubt not but your Lordship's Wisdom considers them, but as the natural Consequences of the Power of that Church, which being entitled to seize or purchase every thing she can lay her Talons on, and unable to alienate any thing she has once possess'd, must necessarily have been foreseen, (if Men had Eyes) to be secure in a few Ages of becoming Mistress of the World, as she has now in a manner made her self, by enslaving *Italy*. A Truth, which even the Blindness of the last Age, might have discern'd with half an Eye, tho' the *Pope* had not been believ'd by them, to have the Keys of Heaven and Hell absolutely in his Disposal. For this Privilege alone as it tied all pious scrupulous Minds fast to *Rome*, so the other as to this World, where her Power must be ever necessarily encreasing, could not fail to join strongly to her, all daring and ambitious Spirits, by the Riches and Possessions, she could tempt them with, to her Interests. The Policy of this See had, for many Ages perpetually employ'd her *Ecclesiasticks* to preach up to the People in all parts of the Earth, the vast Superiority of the spiritual Office of Priesthood, above that of the Temporal one of a worldly King. They advanc'd the Priest, as taking care of the immor-

tal Part the Soul, infinitely above the Prince, who only had Authority over their Bodies; and as they had persuaded them that the poorest Friars, were the *Moses* and *Aarons* sent and commissioned by Heaven to be as Gods to Kings,* (who were really but the *Pharoahs* of the World,) they had gain'd a much greater Influence over the Minds of Men, than their Governours. On these deep Foundations the Jesuits took care to build the prodigious superstructures of Wealth, Territories and Power; and join'd to that notional Empire, which ties down Mens Minds and Consciences, those additional Strengths and Buttresses, that might prop it up, when length of Time and encrease of Knowledge should threaten it's Fall; and by every worldly Motive, secure Mens Hands and Passions, and earthly Interests to support and keep it standing.

But there are Reflections which lie too open to your Lordship's Mind, to allow of my dwelling long on them, and it will be sufficient to say, that as they have ever since had the ablest Hands and the wisest Heads to employ them; they have so far establish'd their Usurpations, during the Distractions of *Europe* and *Italy* which they artificially fomented, that they have taken such Root, as will probably keep them secure from tumbling in the greatest Storm.

But let us carefully view the several Steps and Measures they have made use of towards the maintenance of this Power they have arriv'd at; and your Lordship will soon see the Apprehensions of the deep rooting of their Strength, to be more than probable.

And in speaking to this matter, I shall not once touch on that prodigious Authority which they have ever claim'd, of disposing of the Crowns and Empires of the World, as they find good for the Service of the Church and their spiritual Kingdom below: This they have exerted these two last *Centuries* in all the Plenitude of their Power: And I shall only dwell on such worldly Schemes and Methods, which have rais'd this Order to be Masters of the Earth; without which

* Exod. Ch. VII. Ver. 1.

power of the Sword, that of the Keys (in these Days especially) would have signified little.

And first then, they are not only Masters of *Italy*, excepting *Piedmont* and that part of *Savoy*, which *Geneva* and the *Swisse Cantons* conquer'd and keep in spite of them to the great Joy of the *Christian Princes*; but they are Masters of it more strongly fortified, better furnish'd with Magazines, and better guarded with a standing Force of near 130000 *Veteran Troops*, than ever the World yet saw it. But besides this, with the Forts and Hands of *Italy*, they have by the *Pope's* Authority amass'd together, all the Wealth of it's Churches, the Hoards of it's Convents and Monasteries, and all the votive Plate, Images, Jewels and Riches of *Loretto*. These, under Pretence of saving them from the Fury of he Wars, and the Plunder of Hereticks, they have treasur'd up in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, to the Value of near 150 Millions, as Men generally compute it. A Fund which in such Hands, and under the Management of such artificial Craftsmen, is able not only to keep up an invincible Army as they perpetually do, but even to buy off the venal Faith and Forces of half the Princes of *Europe*, to their side.

Along with this immense Treasure, the Pope and this Order (for they are but one and the same Body and Interest) have from their Provinces in *Africk*, their Territories or Empire rather of *Paraguay* in *America* and their Revenues from *China*, a Fund so prodigious, that it exceeds all Belief, or even Computation; the neat Produce from *Paraguay* alone, after all Deductions, amounting to near three Millions. To add to these, the Computation of all the Revenues of *Italy*, and their vast Estates in the different Parts of *Europe*, would be a needless Labour; since every one may see, as plainly as your Lordship, that they are already Masters of a Treasure, sufficient to carry on the largest Designs, that their Ambition or even their Religion (as they have drest up Religion) can prompt them to.

But they have Forces still unmentioned, that are equal to their Riches, for my Lord, you, who know the Courts of *Europe* so intimately, can vouch, that there is hardly a great Person in them, who

has not a Jesuite for his Confessor, nay his Director. How few of its crown'd Heads are there, whose Prime Minister is not either a Cardinal Jesuite or so absolutely under the Influence of the *Pope's* Nuncio, that they may be said to be entirely govern'd and directed by them, and the perpetual Couriers and Councils that are sent hourly from *Rome*, where the Nephew or Cardinal *Padrone* dictates measures to *Europe*, as if he were a fifth *Evangelist*.

By these means it is, that they have entirely excluded all Princes from intriguing in the *Conclave*; for tho' they sometimes leave the Nomination of fit Persons to the sacred Purple (provided they are Jesuits) to crown'd Heads; yet are there no longer *Spanish, French* or *German* Cardinals in the World, since whatever Nation they belong to, they are absolutely and solely Jesuits and nothing else. Thus by confining the Cardinalship and Popedom to their own Order, they have been able to avoid two Rocks, namely, long and factious *Conclaves*, and short Reigns. For it is not now as it was formerly, that he who went in there *Pope*, came out *Cardinal*, but even during the *Pope's* Life, they settle by Agreement the next Successor, without Violence and Party-Feuds, and enter the *Conclave* for a few Days for Form's sake, and generally take care to chuse a middle-ag'd and healthy *Pope*, by which they are the more enabled to execute their Schemes and build up their Power.

Nay, so indolent are the Princes of *Europe* grown and so little jealous of their old Rights, or at least so conscious are they of their want of Power to influence Elections, that 'tis grown a common Maxim with them, that *Popes* resemble Houses, which 'tis better generally to buy ready made, than to be at the Expence and Care in making and raising them, when the top Stone is plac'd on the Building. And here indeed, is the great Source and Fountain of their Strength, for chiefly by this Canal (the Popedom) that feeds their lesser Streams, are the great Promotions, Rewards and Preferments, not only in their own but all other Courts, deriv'd to the Friends of the Society; and by them are the smaller Rivulets supplied, and the Land water'd and enrich'd, by their wise and artful Distribution. Thus are all kept

in awe by hopes of Preferment of one kind or another. *Omnibus una quies, Venter!* All that stick to them zealously and serve them faithfully, being secure of Rewards and Advancement, whatever Profession or Employment they follow.

From such plain Facts as these, it is, my Lord, that most People are convinc'd, that over and above the Crowds of great Men, that are lifted openly in this Society, there are still a much greater Number, who are secretly Jesuites in private, and *ex Voto* as they call it. Nay, the World is much deceiv'd if they have not, by this subtle Method as many Generals at their Devotion, in the Service of other Princes, as they keep in their pay in *Italy*, and their Territories abroad.

With such incredible Assistances, is it any thing wonderful, that they have been able to divide and distract the *Protestant* Powers, to corrupt and pervert some of them, perfidiously and atheistically to break thro' Oaths, and the most solemn and sacred Engagements, and to embrace the *Romish* Communion; and purchase off the poor distress'd Branches, of the *Greek* and *Armenian* Churches, to submit to their Authority, and obtain their Protection at the Price of their Faith.

For my part, my Lord, when I see them possess'd of such Power and Policy together, when I see all the Cardinals, Fathers, Prelates, nay, all the Orders of their Church, all the Ministers of their Princes, (not to say the Princes themselves,) absorb'd and sunk into this one prodigious Body; I cannot but admire at their Prudence or rather the Providence of Heaven, that keeps them from being as absolute Masters of this World, as they give themselves out, (and are believ'd) to be of the next; in spite of their flagitious Actions, and the open and flagrant Wickedness of their Conduct.

These Articles, my Lord, which I have been insisting on, are the great Engines by which this vast Machine has gain'd, and now continues to exert its Strength; and let me now hint some others as useful, tho' seemingly more weak and contemptible, which this Church makes use of by her inferior Dependants.

And First then, there is not an Art so mean, which these Jesuits do not stoop to, if it can be of use to them. With this View, besides their being the general Bankers and Traders of the World, they have unjustly, and by the vilest means engross'd all the Schools and Colleges of *Europe*, and the sole Education of the Youth there. From among those, they pick and garble all the choice Spirits and promising Genius's; whom by Places in their Universities and Preferments when they leave them, and every Allurement that suits their natural Temper and Dispositions best, they tie fast to themselves, either as Friends or Members of their Society.

But they stoop lower yet, for as they alone, or such as they license, are allowed the Privilege of being Confessors, (that is Spies over all Mankind) by the *Bull of Clement XIV.* in 1862; so they do not only thus keep an infinite ascendant, over the Minds of Princes and all in Authority, but they even preserve their Empire with the lower Ranks and Degrees of Men; to the poorest Tradesmen, the common Soldiers, and the very Porters and Rabble of the Streets, who are all oblig'd to Confession at least once a Month, or to be Excommunicated and Outlaw'd.

In the next place, my Lord, as by the same *Bull* they are constituted sole *Inquisitors*, and thereby have intirely routed their old Rivals the *Dominicans* and secular Clergy; they have thence got an unbounded Power, of ruining the Fortunes and destroying the Lives, of all that offer not openly to oppose, (which were vain) but even to censure them. For as by their Arts they have turn'd the holy Office of the Inquisition (as they style it,) into a meer Engine of State, to take off under Colour of Heresy, all of whom they, or the Prince conceive the least Jealousy; so the Awe which by this Method they strike their Enemies Minds with, can only be equal'd by the Hopes and Encouragement, they give their Friends both Laity and Clergy, by espousing and serving their Interests and Advancement, *per fas & nefas*, Right or Wrong.

By the same *Bull* they alone are privileg'd to Exorcise the Obsess, which gives them an huge Appearance of Sanctity with the Crowd,

as if none but they among the Regulars, were able to combat with, and overcome the Rage and Fury of the Devil; and what adds not a little to their Veneration, tho' others are allowed to marry People, which they never do (possibly as fearing they may gain more Enmity and Curses, than good Will and Thanks by it) yet they alone are empord'd to examine into, and grant Divorces where they see cause, which makes them not a little consider'd and applied to.

But as tho' these were but small Honours, which the holy See has heap'd on them, they are constituted also sole Licensers of Books, by which means nothing appears in Publick, but what is season'd to their Palate, and dress'd up by their spiritual Cooks so skilfully, as to please their Society and the relish of the World. And it is worth your Lordship's Notice, that since 1862, there has not one Book either in Divinity or History (for on other Subjects they are very indifferent) which has seen the Light, but what have been wrote by the publick Professors in those Faculties; so that both present and future Times, must either take up with the false Lights they present them with, or search out Truth from a few private conceal'd Manuscripts, which it will be difficult, if not impossible to come at.

This brings to mind, what *Pasquin* said on this Occasion, that his Holiness had made his good Brethren the Jesuits, sole Spectacle-makers to the World; by which means they were impower'd to make all things in Print, appear dark or clear, fair or foul, great or little, as they pleas'd to represent them to the Eyes of others.

But to preserve and maintain their Power yet further, as all other *Ecclesiasticks*, are but little Agents and under-work Men to them, so the Cures in remote places are ferv'd by such; while the crowded, and most frequented Pulpits are still filled with Fathers of the Society, who are the popular Preachers admir'd and ador'd by all. Nay, to insinuate themselves the more with the Crowd, they affect to appear the Champions and Defenders of their darling Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception; in favour of which a *Bull* was at last procur'd for them, in spite of the *Dominicans* Opposition. By this means they pretend to be so peculiarly favour'd by her, as to receive par-

ticular Revelations from Heaven, nay, to work miraculous Cures and Conversions, and to be enabled as it were, to inspire the dullest Children with Learning, by her Blessing on their Prayers and Labours, all which extraordinary Gifts none of the other Orders have dar'd to set up for, or rival them in this last *Century*, whatever they us'd to do in the former ones.

Nay, so peculiarly does she protect them, (as 'tis generally said) and believed, that if any great Sinner enters into their Order, he either dies by her Means, or amends his Life perfectly in six Months; and as there has not these fifty Years, been one Jesuit accus'd of any Crime whatever, so it is well known, that for fifty Years before, none were accus'd who were not acquitted, and whose Accusers did not die some violent or sudden Death, by her vengeance and the judgment of Heaven; tho' Hereticks, like your Lordship, may impute it to another cause.

In the last place, their Numbers and political Correspondence are of vast service to them, for tho' there are computed to be near 170,000 known Jesuits in *Europe* alone, all of whom by their Friends and Relations strengthen their Party; yet are matters so regularly order'd, that each Member once a Week, gives an Account of his Conduct and Observations to his Rector, and he to the College, each College to the Provincial, each Provincial to the *Nuncio*, and each *Nuncio* to the *Pope*, who is always General of the Order. Their Numbers are also as exactly distributed, as the regular Forces of a Prince, and even in *Great Britain*, if my Intelligence be good, there are not less than 1300 quartered in different Places and Disguises; some of them as Tradesmen, *Valet de Chambres*, and Clerks, and not a few as Preachers and School-masters, among our unhappy and unreasonably dived Sectaries.

I send enclos'd a List of 75 of these Traytors Names and last Places of Residence; and I need not caution your Lordship, not to be impos'd on by Proofs of their being zealous *Protestants* in their general Conversation, or keeping no Fasts, nor regarding *Lent*, &c. for they have full Dispensations for these useful Acts of *Hypocrisy*.

And thus, I shall shut up this tedious Account, of this prodigious Society, which I believe will be found to have fully deserv'd the Title, so long since given it, of the *Monarchia Solipsorum*. Sure I am, this vast Encrease of Power, has done as much harm to the Health, not to say the very Being of the *Christian* Church, as the Swelling and Over-growth of the Spleen does to the Human Body, which wastes and consumes in proportion to the Size and Excess of the other.

After what I have laid before your Lordship, I fear it will appear, that there is too much Ground for my being sent hither; and to apprehend that his Holiness will be able to pursue, (tho' I hope unsuccessfully,) those prodigious Views which the Imperial and *French* Ambassadors are so much alarm'd with; and both establish the *Inquisition* in *France*, and in case of his Imperial Majesty's Death, endeavour, if possible, to be chosen Emperour. This last is the more to be fear'd, because he has so far influenc'd the Electors already, as to refuse to chuse a King of the *Romans*, and it is by all agreed here, that as *Charles V.* one of the ancient Heroes of the *16th Century*, actually laid his Schemes to be chosen *Pope*, tho' he could not carry it; so the *Pope* could not do better for the good of *Christendom*, if he made Reprizals, now when it is more than probable he may not be disappointed.

Of the eleven Electors, the two last of which were made entirely by the Intrigues of this Court, it is certain he has the five Ecclesiasticks at his Devotion, both as they are all Jesuits, and also as they expect the Purple for their Attachment to him; and tho' the other six seem determin'd to oppose him, yet alas, what a weak Security is a little *German* Truth and Virtue, when tempted by all the Arts, and Wealth, and Power of this See. The Imperial Ambassador assures me, that he has actually offer'd the Electour of *Bavaria* to make him a King, and be acknowledg'd as such by all the crown'd Heads in *Europe* that are *Catholicks*, if he will Vote for a Person he shall propose, and with some Assurances that it shall be a *German*. But how far this, and especially the last Particular, can be depended on, and if true, how far his Electoral Highness's Virtue may outweigh his Vanity,

which has so long thirsted after this airy and empty Title, we must wait on that great Discoverer *Time* to unriddle.

However, amidst all our Apprehensions, it is some Comfort that his Imperial Majesty's Health rather improves than declines; and tho' the strong and hale Complexion of his Holiness, bids fair to survive him, yet it is possible the Goodness of Heaven may interpose, for the Peace and Liberty of *Europe*, which if this terrible Intrigue should succeed, would be greatly endangered. It is most sure his *Britannick* Majesty is consider'd here, as the greatest Obstacle to all these Schemes of the *Papal* Ambition; and how far the daily Terror of our Fleet on this Coast, and his Majesty's Arms, Conduct, and personal Bravery, (hereditary to his House) may intimidate and cool the Ardour of his Hopes, is not easily to be imagin'd. In the mean time, as to the other Particular, this Court seems resolute in setting up the *Inquisition* in *France*, and has actually sent an Express last Week, by the way of *Lyons*, to order the *Nuncio* to make the most pressing Instances, that it may be no longer delay'd; and if this be complied with, the Slavery of that unhappy Nation is compleated, who long since have had no other Remains of their ancient Liberty left them but the Freedom of their Tongues; whereas this infernal Office, like *Satan* who invented it, will accuse them for the very Guilt of their Thoughts too.

A Proceeding so much the more ungenerous and unjust, as it oppresses a Nation, to whose Valour and pious Assistance, the State and Grandeur of this *See* is so highly indebted; but as the great *Cornaro* said once, *that Ingratitude is the Vice of Priests*, so this will be but one of many Proofs, that it is a Crime that descends *ex traduce*, and is hereditary to the *Popedom*, if I may use such an Expression of an elective Kingdom.

The Study of Antiquity which is the reigning Passion of this Court, has put his Holiness on an extraordinary Project, which is, to cut a new Bed for the *Tiber*, by a vast Canal from its old Channel, thro' the deep Valley hard by the *Poute Molle*. As it is expected, (besides, the Convenience of raising the Banks of the River, and secur-

ing it from future Inundations) that prodigious Quantities of Antiquities of all kinds will be found by this Method, and much more than will answer the Charge; they propose to spare no Expence, in executing the Design with Care and Expedition, before the great Heats endanger the Health of the Inhabitants, from the Stench of the Filth and Slime of the River.

I forgot to mention to your Lordship, that I was shewn here Yesterday, an old Gentleman, who is actually the lineal Descendant of one of our ancient Kings, who abdicated his Throne thro' a violent Aversion to the Northern Heresy, and his Zeal to this See; and yet, so grateful are his good Patrons the Jesuits, that he is no farther consider'd here than as a mortifie themselves with in *Lent*. They allow him 2000 *l.* a Year, and a beneficial Place, of first *Valet de Chambre* to his Holiness. He seems to be a grave heavy Man, and very constant at his Breviary, neither he, or his Father ever took the Title of King on them; he is near Eighty, and has a very bad Aspect. He keeps no Attendants but a few Highland Gentlemen, and has such a saturnine melancholy Severity of Manners, that he converses with none but a Rabble of *Scotch* and *English* Jesuits, and now and then an *Italian* Painter or Fiddler. He is certainly Great Great Grandson, to the Person who is once or twice mention'd in the Histories of the glorious Reigns of *George II.* and *Frederick I.* under the Name of the Pretender. He was never married but has five illegitimate Children; two Sons, one of whom is Bishop of *Como*, the other is a Colonel in the *Pope's* Service, (but I know not whether Horse or Foot,) and three Daughters, who are Mother Abbesses to three *Nunneries* of very large Revenues. I saw him at the *Opera*, for he is a great Lover of Musick, and we conversed together near an Hour in *Italian*, having no *English*.

So fall the Idols and the Slaves of Rome.

I am asham'd to have detain'd your Lordship so long and so unprofitably, and therefore shall only add, that as I shall faithfully pursue my Instructions here, so I hope my Zeal for my Country, and

Attachment to your Lordship, stand in need of no Professions, and especially from one, who has so often sacrific'd his Fortune and Interest to the little Services he has been so happy to render to both, and to the Honour of being

My Lord, your Lordship's, &c.

Hertford.

I write this with Mr. *Secretary's* Cypher, having unhappily mislaid the one you order'd for me.

To the Lord High Treasurer, &c.

Mosco, Nov. 29, 1997.

MY LORD,

IN my last of *September 25*, which carried my sincere Compliments on your happy Advancement, and being declar'd *Prime Minister* and *Treasurer*; I sent you the fullest Accounts I was able of the State of Things here, and the good Condition they stand in, by our last Treaty of Commerce. This Court indeed, has not forgot the fatal Blow we gave their Naval Power in the *Baltick* formerly, and the great Restraint we keep them under ever since; yet, as they see there is no hope of bettering their Affairs, by living on ill Terms with us, they seem determin'd to try to gain upon us, by all the Friendship and Favour they can shew us in our Commerce here. I shall omit no Opportunity, to improve this good Inclination towards us according to my former Instructions, and your Lordship's Commands; and as this People are vastly improv'd every way, have made great advances in all polite Arts, as well as the learned Sciences, and are grown considerable in the World, by their Arms, Conquests and Riches; I doubt not but we shall find our Account, in keeping up a constant Intercourse of Friendship and Amity with them. The great Caravan for *China* went off Yesterday, with near twenty *British* Merchants in their Company, all provided with sufficient Pass-ports, and allowed the same Privileges with the *Czar's* Subjects; and I hope in time, to see this Branch of our Commerce turn to greater Account, than it has been represented to the Commissioners for Trade in *London*.

Your Lordship, who is so well acquainted with the vast Encroachments, this powerful Empire has made, on all her Neighbours round her, both on the side of *Turky, Poland, Sweden* and *Persia*, and how dangerous an Enemy, and useful a Friend she may prove, to the Af-

fairs of *Germany*; can never want Inclination to tie the *Czar* to our Interests, by all ways and methods that in good Policy we can make use of.

All the crown'd Heads in *Europe*, except *Sweden* who is at War with them, have Envoys of Ambassadors constantly here to this end, tho' some of them, as *France* or *Spain*, have little or no Trade with them, and therefore your Lordship's Resolutions to keep a constant Resident here, which has been so much neglected of late Years, is certainly extremely necessary. Your Informations of the great Influence the present *Pope* and his Jesuites have gain'd here, are but two well grounded, and I make no doubt, but in a little time, if they go on as they have of late Years, by bribing the leading Clergy and Nobility, by Places and Promises of Preferment, and by keeping up a constant Body of *Missionaries* to disperse their Opinions among the People and lower Clergy; but this Church and her Emperour and Patriarch, will be more obedient Sons to the triumphant *Latin*, than they were to the militant *Greek* Church.

I have nothing more to add to my last Dispatches, but to shew my Obedience to your Commands, in procuring you as exact an Account as I could, of the Affair which you say has made so much Noise in *London*, to wit, the *Laplanders* Sun-shine. It is certain then, my Lord, that this matter, which begun about twenty Years ago, near *Novogorod*, is spread to several Parts of *Muscovy*, and is likely to grow in Fashion at Court.

It took it's rise from the *Knez Peter Kikin*, who living near *Novogorod*, about the Year 1771, hir'd a Couple of *Laplanders* that were Brothers, for Servants. As their Master was fond of Gardening, and had got a *Gardener* from *Moscow*, he put one of these *Laplanders* to work there under him; and the *Gardener* often complaining of the Climate, the Fellow told him if his Master would give him Money to bear his Charges, he would bring him a *Laplander* that with his Assistance, would make Sunshine for him. This he averr'd so frequently and so positively, that at last it was told his Master; who after examining the Fellow, and knowing it was usual with the *Laplanders* to sell

Winds, resolved to make a Trial of this Method, tho' new to him. In a Word, he sent and had the Person hir'd and brought from *Lapland*, who perform'd all that his Countryman and Assistant undertook for him, and even exceeded his Masters fondest Imaginations. Tho' *Novogorod* lies in the Latitude of 56 Degrees, yet by the perpetual Sunshine these Creatures produc'd in his Gardens, he had in Time as Choice Peaches, Nectarines, Figs, and Grapes, nay Pine-apples (as I am assur'd) as could grow in *France*, at least in the more Northern Parts of it. Nay, he got some of the tenderest Plants and Flowers which before he never durst venture out of his Green-House till *June*, to thrive and flourish in the open Air from *March* till *November*; which is longer by much than they dare keep out their Orange Trees at *Versailles*.

This look'd so like a Fable, that I could scarce give it Credit, till I enquir'd of several Persons of the greatest Worth and Honour here, who all agreed in averring it to me; and that several *Muscovite* Noblemen had actually got *Laplanders* by the Means of this Fellow, who by their amazing Art of making Sunshine (for I know not what other Term to use) had as fine Gardens for choice Fruit, Flowers, and exotick Plants, as any Gentleman in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*. They nam'd at least a Dozen to me, that made Use of this wonderful Method, so that there was no Room to doubt of the Fact; and being resolv'd to give your Lordship the fullest Satisfaction I could, I set out the latter End of last Month, to see the Seat and Gardens of *Knez John Petrowisky*, who has two of the most famous *Laplanders* in all *Muscovy*.

I was receiv'd there with much Civility, he being prepar'd for my coming, and as the *Knez* spoke *French* very well, I enter'd into a long Dialogue with him on this surprizing Affair, of which I shall now relate to your Lordship the chief Particulars. The *Laplanders* are extremely reserv'd, in communicating the least Circumstance of their Art to any one; nor will they allow any Man, no not the least Child, to be in the Garden while they are about their Business, so that there was no talking to themselves upon it. The *Knez* told me that with

great Difficulty he procur'd his *Laplanders* to leave their Country. That he was forc'd to allow them Cloaths, Brandy, Rain-Deers dry'd Flesh, and Marrow, (their favourite Dish) which he brings yearly from *Lapland*, besides Tobacco and ready Money, to the Value of at least 90 *l.* Sterl. by the Year. That there must always be two of them, neither of which can perform the Operation alone, and that they will not leave their Country without bringing a Wife with each of them, so that it is extremely expensive to get them or keep them. They are also excessively humour-some, and will neither eat with others, or let any but their Wives dress their Food for them, and upon the least Ill-humour they will leave the Garden without Sunshine for several Days, nay a whole Week; but by that Time the Fit is generally over, and they fall to Work readily of themselves. That about three Years ago being disgusted for not having Rain-Deers Flesh in sufficient Plenty, they left his Gardens without Sun for near a Fortnight, in the midst of a terrible Season of Frost and Snow, and the Wind all that while in the North. That he had like thereby, to have lost most of his foreign Plants and Flowers, several of the tenderest of which actually died; and the rest had followed, but that he got his *Laplanders* in good Humour and recovered them, by giving them fine Weather for several Weeks, and pruning away all that was decay'd of them.

He told me his Men generally made three Acres of Sunshine in a Day, but that few others could come up to that, and many not over one or one and a half. That by their Contract they oblig'd themselves, to continue the Sunshine for seven Hours each Day, and when they were not lazy, would often give them eight or nine Hours; but in very foggy or rainy Weather, and especially, if accompany'd with great and high Winds, they would often toil for the whole Morning, without any tolerable Benefit. He said he had an hundred Times, seen them at Work from the Windows of his Apartment, and that they did all by the Beating of a Drum, and burning some particular Herbs, and especially wild Moss and Mint, and singing some odd Kind of Songs, which he knew not what to make of, but he believ'd they were no Psalms. He concluded with saying, that he would not prevent by an

ill Description, the Pleasure of my seeing Things with my own Eyes, for if I would stay there that Night I should survey every Thing next Morning, as soon as I pleas'd.

I very cheerfully accepted the Offer, and tho' I rose before it was clear Day-light, I was hardly dress'd till he call'd me into his Bed-Chamber, and plac'd me with him in the Window, to behold this astonishing Scene. There I saw at about a hundred Yards Distance the two *Laplanders*, who seem'd to be at their Prayers, for they were both on their Knees. He assur'd me they were every Morning, an Hour and an half before Sunrise constantly employ'd thus, murmuring something in a low mournful growling Tone, (which I heard, tho' faintly from the Window,) and reeling their Bodies back and forwards, and often beating their Foreheads violently against the Ground. He told me that the Place in the Garden, was a little Circle in one of the Walks, which they had planted round with their own Hands with Sun Flowers, common Daffadills, Marygolds, and red Daisies; under the Roots of which, they had buried many Skeletons of several Kinds of Birds, and that they allow'd no Body by their good Will, to walk or sit down in it, and much less to dig or break the Ground.

In a little Time, I perceiv'd they begun to alter their Motions, and heard a Noise of a Flint and Steel in striking Fire, which he told me they were now busy about, and preparing their Moss and Herbs and stretching their Drum. In some Minutes I plainly saw it was so, by a little Smoak arising from a small Heap, they had made in the Garden Walk; and no sooner did the Smoak appear, but they both fell a singing with a low hoarse Voice, one of the vilest Songs for Words and Musick I had ever heard. One of them who held the *Kanus* or Drum, all the while beat on it, first low and softly, and then by Degrees louder and quicker, and again with all his Force, till at last a little Blaze began to appear; upon which they got on their Feet, stamping so violently on the Ground, that I could hear them to the Window, and dancing and singing as furiously, as if they had been distracted. They then fell to running in a Circle round the Fire, and still the Fellow who had no Drum threw something in the Flame;

they seem'd to be Things with Knotts on them, bawling lowder than ever, every Handful he cast on it, while the other still beat the Drum higher and fiercer.

This was all I could perceive they did, for above an Hour by my Watch, and then they both drop'd down beside the Fire, which went out of a suddain, and there they lay as if they were dead or asleep; and the *Knez* assured me the Operation was over, and bid me wait and see the Success. It was a dark cloudy Morning, as generally at that Time of the Year (the End of *October*) the Mornings are here, and as little Appearance of the Sun, as if it had not risen that Day; and yet in less than half a Quarter of an Hour, I perceived the Clouds break into a little small Aperture, as regularly as if one would draw the Curtains of a Bed, and a lovely Gleam of Sunshine burst on the Garden, as bright and as fair as if it had been in Summer. Immediately I perceived the *Laplanders* get up and rub themselves, as Men would do after a severe Sweat, and then they retired immediately out of the Garden, whither I went down with my *Muscovite* Landlord.

I was not a little amaz'd at the Novelty and Surprize of the Thing, and had no great Inclination to go into the Sunshine, which I look'd on as the Devil's making, and could not help thinking of the *Spanish* Proverb of *going out of God's Blessing into the warm Sun*. But my Landlord laugh'd at my Superstition so heartily, and pull'd me into it so merrily, that I was ashamed of my self. I look'd round me and surveyed the Ground on which the Sun smote with remarkable Warmth; and to the best of my Judgment I verily believe there were about three Acres thus enlightned, while all the rest of the Garden about them, as well as the whole Country, was covered with a dark misty Fog; and what amaz'd me above all, and convinc'd me there was something supernatural in the Matter, it continu'd so all the rest of the Day.

I spent some Time in it with my good *Muscovite*, who was very industriously shewing me his choicest Trees, Flowers, and exotick Plants, and telling me whence he had got them, and how well they throve with him; tho' I only answer'd him with a few Monosyllables

now and then, so much was my Mind taken up, with what I had seen those Devils of *Laplanders* perform. He perceived my uneasiness, and tho' he laughed heartily at me, he was so civil as to take me into the House to breakfast with him. There I found his Lady and Family, who fell on talking as familiarly of their *Laplanders*, and how happy they were in them and their Sunshine, as if they had only been commending their dry Wood, and the Fire which was blazing finely in the Chimney.

I threw off my Surprize by Degrees as well as I could, and heard all their Discourse of the *Laplanders* and their Way of Living; and above all their Drum and the Herbs they made use of, both which my Landlord undertook to steal me a Sight of, tho' there is nothing the *Laplanders* are so jealous of, as that any should see or handle either, and above all their *Kannus* and the Hammer they beat it with. However, to oblige me he sent for the poor Creatures, and by giving them a great Cup of Brandy a-piece, he got them to speak to me and served as Interpreter between us. But the Truth is, they were either so reserv'd, or so stupid, that I could learn nothing from them, but that their Names were *Undo Marki*, and *Riconi Noriki*, and that their good Master had brought them out of their sweet Country, and gave them good Brandy, Money, Tobacco and dry'd Rain-deer, for making his Sunshine. I ask'd them how they made it, and they laugh'd just as a Dog grins, and said *Kannus*, *Kannus*, meaning their Drum, and that was all I could understand from these *Deep Adept*s in Sunshine, who in a little Time thought fit to retire, to sleep off their Brandy. They were low, swarthy, ill-looking Creatures, very lean, and stooped much, and hardly ever took of their Eyes from the Ground.

In a little Time my good *Muscovite* followed them, and was not long away, till he returned with a World of Joy in his Face, and their Herbs, Drum, and Hammer in his Hand, which he had stole from them while they were sleeping. I look'd at them and examined all very curiously. The Herbs seemed to be chiefly Mint, Rosemary, Lavender, and wild Thyme, mix'd with a good deal of Moss and some Feathers, and all appear'd to be sprinkled with Blood, probably of some poor

Birds they had murder'd, with a great deal of Injustice, to strengthen the Charm. The Drum is oval, about sixteen Inches one Way and twelve the other; and there were painted on it several Figures of Men and Beasts, two or three Sorts of Birds, a great many Stars, and the Moon in the Middle of them, and at least a Dozen Representations of the Sun, all very ill-favouredly painted, and seem'd to be drawn on the Skin of the Drum with Blood.

The Hammer was of Bone, and about seven Inches long, and something like a *Roman T*, or rather like the young Branches or Sprouts, of the Velvet Head of a five or six Year old Buck, with us in *England* in *June* both of them seem'd exactly to answer the Description *Scheffer* gives of them in his History of *Lapland*, which is too curious a Book, not to be well known to your Lordship, for the many rare and uncommon Accounts of that Country, which are contained in it. I am persuaded upon reading over his Work, that this Drum, and those described by him, are much the same, except the Painting of it; and besides their Manner of beating on it, seem'd to have a pretty close Resemblance with that he describes.

I was so free with my obliging Landlord, as to ask him if he did not think it was a Sort of Magical Incantation that his *Laplanders* us'd, and if he believed it was by the Assistance of the Devil they made their Sunshine, or suppos'd it lawful to make Use of such Helps in obtaining it? But he answered me only with a loud laugh, and assuring me he believ'd there was no such Thing in the Matter; and tho' for his Part he had other Thoughts, yet most of the Noble *Muscovites* in that bad Climate, had such a Passion for Gardens and good Weather, that they would almost be oblig'd to Magick for them, rather than want them.

In short, my Lord, I left him in his Sunshine very happy and contented, and took my Leave much indebted for all his Civilities, and set out for *Moscow*. I fell to considering all the Way of this new Method of making Sunshine, and what Uses it might be applied to, if ever our industrious Merchants, should ship it off and with a fair Gale purchas'd in *Lapland*, sail directly for *England*, like *Ulysses* car-

rying all the Winds in his Bags. What Gardens should we see rising up on every Hill under the Direction of these lovely *Laplanders*, with all the Fruits, Trees, and Flowers of *France* and *Spain*, and even the *East* and *West Indies*. How many Cures might our *George* the Sixth make, by settling a few Acres by the Year on our Hospitals for the Sick, and our Mad People in Bedlam; and how many of our fair Ladies, and nice peevish fine Gentlemen, would be set free from their Spleen and Vapours, by setting out a reasonable Proportion for *St. James's* Park and the Mall, not forgetting his own Royal Gardens and amiable Family. How many fretfull uneasy Husbands and Wives, melancholy Lovers, and sullen Beauties, not to speak a Word of our gloomy Sectaries and four Catholics, discontented Courtiers that lose Places, and zealous Patriots that want them, would he recover to plain Sense and good Humour, by this lovely Cordial.

If he would settle an Acre or two on our Professors of Astronomy, what clear Accounts of our Eclipses should we have for the future, without the old lazy Excuse of dark Days and bat Weather; not to mention a Syllable of the clouded Brows, and the silent splenetick Tempers of our University Men, that would be finely clear'd up by it.

In short, my Lord, I begin to be reconcil'd to this Affair, and tho' the Devil should have a little Hand in it, we might easily get an ingenious Jesuit to bring us off that Scruple, by two or three learned Doctors Opinions, and a few good Distinctions with Probability in them. We should by the Help of these honest Drummers, be able to make our Air and Weather above Stairs as easily and as conveniently, as those ingenious underground Philosophers the *Miners*, can below Stairs; who by mere Perflation and Ventilation, as they term it, that is by letting Air in and out as they find proper, produce a kind of actual Circulation of it, and make it thicker or thinner, as they find best for their Business.

I must take Leave to be merry on this Subject with your Lordship, to make Amends for the Fright it gave me; and if we once fall to Dealing with these admirable Fellows, we shall soon be no longer satisfied, either with the Earth, or Sun of our Forefathers, but by

the Help of their Improvements in our Fields and Gardens, we shall get, as it were, *new Heavens, and a new Earth*, as St. *Peter* speaks. We shall certainly have the Advantage of the good Catholicks, in taking up with this Scheme, for they will probably be fearful of dealing with these same Lords of the Air, *propter metum Judæorum*, and left the Clergy and Inquisition talk to them about it in private. Besides, they will probably stick to their old Way of Weather-making by Processions, and carrying about the Shrines and Relicks of their precious Saints, which we all know by Experience, never fail to produce Rain or Sunshine on all publick Occasions, as the Priest and People desire them; and may with proper Regulations, be made Use of in the Way of Gardening, for the Service of private Gentlemen, that have strong Faith and large Fruiteries.

The Ancients keep a great Noise with their Witches charming down the Moon, and the Priest of *Jupiter Lycæus* causing Rain when he pleas'd, by dipping a Branch of Oak in a certain Fountain, whose Name I've forgot. The *Jews* boast as loudly of *Judha*, that by unloosing one Shoe, brought a heavy Rain down in a Drought; and that had he untied the other, it would have caus'd a second Deluge; but none of them could come up to these same *Laplanners*, that make the Sunbeams brighten the Face of Nature, where they direct them.

The famous *Swedish* Priest and Inquisitor, *Joannes Nider*, tells us, indeed, (in his 4th Chapter of his Tract about Witches,) that the learned Judge *Peter Stadelain*, condemn'd an old Witch for causing Tempests; who confest, on the Torture, that she did it, by invocation of the Devil in the Field, and sacrificing a black Cock, and throwing it up to him in the Air, which when the Devil seiz'd, he immediately began the Storm. This was extraordinary enough, my Lord, but to oblige him to give us Calms, and as bright glorious Seasons in the Night of Winter, as others enjoy in the Morning or Noon of Summer, is an honest Sort of Magick that deserves publick Premiums, instead of Punishment, and excels all that ever yet appeared in the World. Even our learned Countryman, *Roger Bacon*, tho' he declares he could undertake to raise artificial Clouds, and cause Thunder-claps

to be heard, and Lightning to flash in our Eyes along with them, and then make all end in a Shower of Rain, could never pretend to any Thing like these extraordinary Gentlemen; and therefore, my Lord, I leave it to your prudent Consideration, whether I had not better treat with a Colony of *Laplanners*, to come and settle with their Drums in *England*, than spend my Thoughts and Time, with keeping fair Weather with these bustling blustry *Muscovites*.

But I must grow serious when I speak on so important a Subject as our good Agreement with *Muscovy*, which in so many Views, is of the highest Consequence to *Great Britain*. But as it becomes not me to dictate to your Capacity and Experience, and as I have Reason to hope, you think the same Way that I do on this Occasion, I shall not trouble you with a long Detail of Reasons and Motives, to persuade us to cultivate the *Czar's* Friendship. It becomes me better to say, that whatever Commands your Lordship honours me with at this Court, I shall labour to perform with all my little Strength and Ability; as being conscious I am serving the best of Princes, the most generous and disinterested Minister, and where they are well govern'd, the wisest and bravest Nation, that ever gave Laws to the Earth and the Sea. I am, with the greatest Respect,

My Lord, Your Lordship's, &c.

Clare.

To the Lord High TREASURER.

Paris, Dec. 16, 1997.

MY LORD,

YOUR last Dispatch of the 8th, found me just return'd from visiting our Sea-Ports, and their Garrisons in this Kingdom, all which I left in perfect good Order. The new Works at *Calais* to the Seaward, have much improv'd that Port, and in the lowest nepe Tides at *Dunkirk*, our Ships of War of forty Guns can go out and come in without any Hazard; the Benefit of which I need not mention to your Lordship.

Indeed if the eager Zeal of our Ancestors, had not with so much Industry ruin'd this Haven, while it was in the Hands of *France*, we might have sav'd a vast Sum in Repairing it now; and with half the Expence made it a better and safer Port, than at this Time can be hop'd for. All the *British* Garrisons, both Men and Officers, are in perfect good Health and Order, well fed, cloath'd, and paid, and made a fine Appearance; especially when compar'd with those of the *French* in the Towns I past thro', which were as naked and lean as Beggars. This is certainly very impolitick in this Crown, for when Troops are so ill paid and fed, they will never have Heart and Spirit in Time of Action; and tho' 'tis peculiar to the *Turkish* Soldiers, to carry a Spoon tied to their Swords, as Travellers assure us; yet in Effect all Soldiers do so, and never fight well for a Prince that feeds them ill, and neglects to keep them well. *France* and *Spain* have a long Time been remarkable for this Mismanagement, and have paid dearly for their Neglect, by so many terrible Losses as they have met with for these last fifty Years, and yet the *French* seem no way industrious to reform it.

As to the wretched State of Things here, which your Lordship is pleas'd to demand an Account of from me, it is almost as bad as their

greatest Enemies can desire. For these many Years past, partly by the Ravage which both Famine and the Plague made with them, their unsuccessful Wars with *Germany*, and our Ruining their Naval Affairs and cramping their Trade, they have been much on the Decline. Besides the Quarrels *Lewis* the nineteenth and his present Majesty have had with the Papal See, (when the *French* Kind would fain have acted the Part of *Henry* the Eighth in *England*, and renouncing the Pope's Authority, seized on all the Wealth and Revenues of the Abbies and Monasteries) ended so disgracefully for this King, and their Holinesses have held so severe an Hand over him ever since, that his Affairs have gone very untowardly. He was forc'd to give up his Patriarch of *Paris*, (which as your Lordship knows he set up as our Metropolitan of *Canterbury*) into the Pope's Hands, who as he had been the prime Contriver of the Scheme was burnt for an Heretick; and in short, the Clergy and People joining with the See of *Rome*, cut out such Work for him, that he was sufficiently humbled, and glad to buy his Peace, with giving up the Regale and the Loss of two or three strong frontier Towns in *Dauphine*, which the Pope keeps as Keys to enter the Gates of *France* from *Italy*, now that most of *Savoy* is his own.

Nor on the Side of *Spain* are the Affairs of this Crown any Thing better, for tho' in the last Wars between the Crowns, both made a mighty Noise of their Advantages, singing *Te Deum* for every little Village they took on either Side, just like the *London* Prize-Fighters, that with Drums and Trumpets proclaim each little Cut they give each other; and tho' *France* especially pretended, that the *Spaniards* were not able to stand before them, yet on the upshot of the Matter, when they made the Peace that has lasted ever since, *Spain* forc'd them to very inglorious Conditions. Your Lordship is perfectly well appriz'd, that they are as ill circumstanc'd on the Side of *Flanders* and *Germany*, where they have lost both *Lisle*, *Mons* and *Doway* to the *Dutch*, and *Strasburg* to the Emperor; so that all their Conquests in the 17th and 18th Centuries, that cost them such vast Sums, and such Numbers of Men, are vanish'd into Smoak and gone, and the

Pope is now the entire Object of the Fears of *Europe*, instead of the conquering *French*. The Truth is, this Nation does not seem form'd for Empire, and tho' they've often made mighty Efforts, and great Conquests, they never preserve them. They seem to traffick for Provinces, as *Busbequius* tells us the *Turks* do for Birds, to take them and buy them, just to let them go again, and that they may thank them for their Liberty. His present Majesty, *Lewis* the twentieth, does not seem sufficiently resolute, or able, to mend the ill Posture of his Affairs; and if he were, his Clergy and People seem no ways desirous to disoblige the Pope, by strength'ning the Hands of their Prince; and what is worse, they are jealous the King would take a severe Revenge for their joining with *Rome* against him, if he should once recover his former Power.

Besides, tho' the King is not fifty, he is grown a little crazy, and leaves his Affairs to his Ministers, who are more desirous to manage Things well at home, and remedy the Disorders that cramp their Administrations, than quarrel with their Neighbours who use the Nation ill. Thus it is with great Difficulty, we have been able to influence them, to think of coming to an actual Rupture with the Pope, tho' he treats them so ill, and tho' we pay them such high Wages for it. As the King also has been always a very weak Prince, and extremely amorous, and entirely under the Management of one Mistress or another by Turns, so he is now more so than formerly, which is a dead Weight on his Government. Every reigning Mistress introduces a new Set of Ministers and Officers; and this has often occasion'd vast Convulsions at Court, where the Fall of every Favourite brings on the Ruin of all his Dependants; which is but a Sort of Copy of the Custom *Herodotus* tells us the *Scythians* had, where when the King died, all his chief Officers were of necessity to be slain, and accompany him to his Grave.

Judge, my Lord, if the natural Consequence of this must not be, That his Majesty will be very ill serv'd, and have only mercenary rapacious Ministers to manage his Affairs, when he neither shews Prudence in chusing, nor Constancy in supporting them; and indeed

the *French* Nobility have plaid their Game accordingly. The whole of their Endeavours, under several Administrations, for two Thirds of his Reign, has been to pillage the Kingdom, whether Affairs went well or ill, being like some Mills I have seen on the *Seine*, that will grind and get Toll both with Flood and Ebb.

In the Mean-time this unhappy Kingdom has been paying severely for these Mismanagements; tho' every Ministry, in their Turn, have been applauding their own Conduct, and on every little Occasion crying up their happy Times, and striking Medals to the Glory of their King. And certainly if future Historians were to plan out their Chronicles of these Days from such Vouchers, they would represent Writers (if they impartially represent the Distractions of his Councils, the Defeats of his Troops, the Loss of his Provinces, and the Cries and Sufferings of his opprest Subjects) must paint him a weak, unfortunate, and contemptible Tyrant.

It is true, indeed, Mr. *Meneville*, who is a wise and able, tho' a corrupt Minister, and those who are at present at the Helm with him, (and depend on Mrs. *Duvall*, the reigning Mistress) as they seem to have an absolute Ascendant over him, and are likely to keep it, have manag'd him and his Affairs, these last four Years, something better than their Predecessors, and are endeavouring to bring Things into tolerable Order. However, after all, they have chiefly aim'd at keeping the Clergy a little humbler, and calming the Parties and Factions in the Kingdom; and by stopping the Mouths of the boldest and most seditious Leaders by Preferments, making every one pay more Submission to the King's Decrees and Authority.

Tho' this has not sufficiently quieted the Provinces, yet at Court they have taught them all, to speak entirely the King's Language and Sentiments; where (as in *Copenhagen* every body's Clock and Watch is set to go exactly with the King's great Clock the Palace) all are ready to answer his Majesty and his Ministers as submissively, as *Menage*, an ancient *French* Writer tells us in his Time, the Duke *D'Usez* did the Queen Regent, who when she ask'd him what Hour it was, answer'd, Madam, what Hour your Majesty pleases.

This great Work, tho' it be but half done, would never have been brought about barely by Preferments and Places; for I can assure your Lordship, it has cost immense Sums too, which they have been forc'd to fleece the People for, to buy off their Demagogues, so that they whip the Subject with Rods of their own making. And indeed the *Ratio ultima Regum*, which us'd to be plac'd as the Motto on the Cannon of this King's Predecessors, ought to be taken off and plac'd around his Coin, as the chief Specifick of the present Times, for Submission and Obedience to the Authority of the Crown.

Their great standing military Force, has also with the Help of these Lenitives, gone of late a good Way to re-establish Peace and Order, in the Room of their former Confusion and Distractions. By the Means of so considerable a Body of Troops as they keep up, they at once over-awe their Enemies and the *Pope*, from attempting new Disturbances; and also silence the loud *Orators* whom he prompts, from thundering in their Pulpits to stir up the People, as effectually as *Lewis XIV.* us'd to drown the Speeches of the *Huguenots* at the Scaffold and the Gibbet, with the Noise of the Drums, left their Words should make too strong Impressions on the Crowd, by representing how Religion and its true Professors were injur'd.

Such miserable and destructive Measures is Tyranny, and its detestable Advocates forc'd to make use of, to support its own Violence, and chain down that natural Desire, which the great Author of Mankind has plac'd in every Breast, to weaken or overturn it. Whereas, if Princes would act with the Spirit of our glorious King, or his Royal Ancestors, and make the Laws of the Land, the Rule of their Government and the People's Obedience; nay, if they would act barely as honest Men, with a common Regard to Conscience and Justice, how happy would Mankind be? What would then become, my Lord, of Generals, Officers, and Soldiers; of Infantry and Cavalry, Artillery, Powder-Mills, Gun-Smiths, Sword-Cutlers, Spies, Informers, Jesuits, and Assassins?

But Sycophants and Flatterers, that are ever buzzing about the Ears of great Princes, knowing it is impossible otherwise to support

themselves, and the desperate Measures they put their Masters on, are still persuading them they can never reign effectually, but when they tyrannize absolutely. To this End it is, that they so immensely encrease their Troops, to tie the Subjects Chains and Bondage so fast, that 'tis dangerous at last even for the Prince to unloose them, if Pity and Humanity should encline him to it. Thus they strain the Cords of Government, so far beyond their natural Strength, that sooner or later they break of themselves, and end in the Destruction of those Sycophants; who, while they push on Princes to aim at enlarging their Power, (just as the Devil deluded our first Parents) by telling them they shall be as Gods on Earth, turn them into Devils, and occasion their irretrievable Ruin.

The Misery of this poor People, that groan under so many Burthens, is inconceivable; they pay Taxes for all that they eat or drink or wear, to an excessive Degree, even to their Salt and Bread; nay, they pay for every Beast that they keep, even to plow their Land, for every Arpent (equivalent almost to our Acre) when plow'd, and for every Mill that they grind their Corn in, for the Houses, or Cottages rather, they live in, and the very Fires in them which they warm themselves by; and also for every Marriage, Christening, and Burial in their Families. These Taxes are every Year encreasing, and indeed, like *Virgil's* Torrent, the longer they run, the more they swell and enlarge, till at last they lay waste whole Counties, like an Innundation, sweeping away both the Substance, Houses, and Inhabitants of the Land.

By this Means the Poverty, especially among the lower Sort, is so excessive, that they want even the common Necessaries of Life; nor is it possible, in some Provinces, to prevent a general Desolation, without a Remission of many of their burthenous Gabells, unless some of those miraculous Showers should be procur'd them by the Jesuits, which *Livy* tells us were sometimes sent the *Romans* by their Gods, that rain'd down Corn and Flesh and Milt among them.

In the midst of this Misery, the Luxury of the Nobility and Gentry is increas'd beyond all Bounds, as if they were not only insensible of, but even rejoyc'd in the publick Calamities of their Fellow-Sub-

jects. Their Tables are cover'd with such Profusions of Expence, in all Sorts of Delicacies, that it exceeds the Riot and Revelling of *Greece* and *Rome*, flush'd with the Glory of their Conquests, and corrupted with the Wealth and Spoils of the World. The stated Hours of dining and supping are absolutely laid aside, and thro' a silly Affectation of mimicking their Princes, People of Distinction oblige their Cooks, to have a Dinner still ready at all Hours when they call for it, thinking it only fit for Tradesmen and Rufficks to dine at set Times. Nay, I can assure your Lordship, some are grown to such Excess and Folly, as to buy no Flesh of Beeves or Sheep for their Tables, that have not their Hair and Wool close shaven off, and curried with Pumice-Stones, to make the Meat sweeter and higher relish'd.

Nay they have, in Imitation of the Ancients, brought into Fashion, the sowing and cultivating the famous *Silphium* of the *Persians*, with which they feed these Sheep, and make them extremely fat and high tasted; and many mingle *Assa Fœtida* with their finest Sauces, which they reckon gives them a more exquisite Flavour, than the Spices and Ambergreace of their Ancestors. They have in all great Houses also, several different Sorts of Cooks, that preside over the particular Provinces of Luxury; as Cooks for Soops, Cooks for roasting, Cooks for boiling, Cooks of the Fishery, as they call them here, Cooks for Ragoes and Fricassies, Cooks for bak'd and stew'd Meats, Cooks, Confectioners, and Cooks of the Pastry. They have carried this wretched Pleasure of their Palates so far, that there are few Noblemen who do not, like *Fulvius Hirpinus*,* keep an *Escargatoire*, or Snail-House, where they feed their Reservoirs of Snails, all the Year, on the choicest and finest Herbs, Fruits, and Flowers, for making their exquisite Ragoes, which this Nation is so ridiculously fond of; and have even brought the Breed of Pullets from *Malabar* to *France*, because their Flesh is reckon'd prodigiously sweet and delicious, tho' the outward Skin and the Bones are as black as Jet, as dr. *Frier* tells us in his Travels. One would think, my Lord, after indulging them-

* Vid. Pliny, L. IX. C. LVI. & Varro, L. MI. C. XIV.

selves in such amazing Extravagancies this Way, they would not give into any other; and yet the violent Passion for Gaming, in both Sexes, runs so high, that the Honour and Modesty of the one, and the Fortune and Ease of the other, are entirely sacrificed to it. It eats up even their State, and their belov'd Equipage; and devours their favourite Embroidery and Jewels. The only Resource the Ladies have, under the dismal Ravage that attend this bewitching Madness, is to prostitute their Persons to the fortunate Conqueror, and at the dreadful Expence of all that should be dear to them, to prevent the irreparable Destruction that must otherwise consume, like Fire, their domestick OEconomy, and the Fortune of the Family. A Practice which I fear spreads too fast in some Countries, as well as here, and puts me in Mind of what *Tacitus* says* of the *Germans* Love of Gaming in his Time, that when they had plaid away all their Money, they then set their Liberties and their Bodies at Stake, which became the Property of the Conqueror. The Men indeed have sometimes the happy Consolation, by turning Villains and Sharpers, to repair the Ruins of their Estates, by preying on the Ignorance and Inexperience of others; but surely, to an honest and ingenuous Mind, there is no Ruin can befall a Man equal to this, where the Repairs of their Circumstances are owing to the Sale of their Reputation?

I know not, my Lord, whether it be an Alleviation of the Crime, or an Aggravation of it, that this fatal Luxury and immense Extravagance is not so much owing to the Humour of the People, as the Policy of the Court; but certain it is, that this is the main Fountain of all the sad Disorders. Frugality and OEconomy are the great standing Fences against the shining Temptations of ambitious Princes and designing Ministers, and therefore there is a Necessity of breaking thro' them, by rendring them unfashionable, and consequently ridiculous. The great *Machiavels* in the Art of Ruling, know too well the Force of this Reasoning; a luxurious Gentry must be expensive, if expensive needy, if needy they must run in Debt, and if indebted, they must

* De mor. Germ. C. 24.

either give up their Pleasures, or take Places and Preferments to support them, that render themselves Slaves to the Will of their Master, who is thereby Lord at once of their Honour and Liberty, and in them a fair Purchaser of that of his People.

Behold at once, my Lord, the fatal Market of the Freedom of this Nation, and all their boasted Parliaments Rights and Privileges, which they once enjoy'd in as full a Proportion, as our own happy Countrymen. But while we lament their miserable Conduct, let us rejoice at our own, and the Blessings that, under Heaven, we owe to that glorious Race of Heroes, under and by whom we still possess those invaluable Blessings, which the false Ambition of our neighbouring Princes, and the thoughtless Vanity, Pride, and Folly of their Subjects, have extirpated.

But I have detain'd your Lordship too long with these grave Reflections, and shall therefore reserve any further Accounts of this People, and the Conduct of the Ministers here, who seem desirous of improving the present State of Things, till the next Dispatch I have the Honour to send you. Possibly in case what I now send be not disagreeable to you, I may be able, in my next, to entertain you better on this Head. In the mean Time, it cannot fail to give your Lordship some Satisfaction, to see this great Kingdom, that for so many Years was still enterprizing on the Liberties and Dominions of her weaker Neighbours, and laying Schemes for the Ruin of *Great-Britain*, (as the main Step to the Empire of the World,) fallen now from the Object of our Fears, to that of our Pity.

I am sensible, your Lordship's great Wisdom and Experience, knows all these Things that I have wrote on this Subject, or that I am able to write on it or any other, infinitely better than do. But you will be so just to consider, that I have herein rather obey'd your Commands, than follow'd my Inclinations, being sensible I have as little Desire as Ability, to speak or write on such weighty and difficult Matters, but when I am enjoind it by your express Direction.

I send herewith two little manuscript Treatises, remarkable for their Oddness and Novelty, and more to gratify your Curiosity, than

please your Taft. One of them is wrote by Monsieur *Perault*, first Surgeon to the King; it is entitl'd, *An Essay on Circumcision and Embalming*. On the first Head he endeavours to prove, that it is vastly serviceable to Health, in many Respects, especially in warm Climates, and particularly that it is a great Extinguisher of Lust, and chiefly for that Reason enjoind the *Jews*, and therefore advises the Renewing that Usage now. In the other Treatise, he shews the Satisfaction it would be for great Persons, instead of throwing their Friends and Relations, to rot and corrupt in Vaults and Graves, to keep them in a decent Repository, where they might survey the very Persons and Features, of the whole Race of their Ancestors, as little disfigur'd as an *Ægyptian* Mummy. He undertakes to do this in the greatest Perfection, and proposes it to the Publick for their Encouragement, tho' his Friends have, with much ado, prevail'd on him not to publish it. Your Lordship sees, however, these Gentlemen are not satisfied with the Work we cut out for them, which our Debaucheries and Luxury has made but too considerable; but they are for beginning with us from the Birth, and following our wretched Carcasses, even after our Death.

The other Manuscript is a short History of, about, an hundred Men, remarkable for their great Wealth in this last Age, in *Paris*. He first gives a severe, but seemingly an impartial Account, of the vile Arts by which they obtain'd their Riches; of their several Cheats, Extortion, Oppression, sordid Avarice, slavish Toil, and mean Drudgery; their flattering the great, or ruining the Poor, by which they had risen in the World. He there shews the Pain and Uneasiness they went thro'; the Undutifulness of Children; the ill Conduct of their Wives or Widows; the Deaths of their favourite Sons, or their dying Childless, and Strangers possessing their Substance; or at least an extravagant Heir squandering it faster in base Methods, than they rais'd it. In the Conclusion he shews how few of their Families or Fortunes remain at this Day, and how much fewer of them had the Honesty or Virtue to leave, even the twentieth or fortieth Part of what they had, to publick Uses, or the Poor.

The Book is rather an useful Subject, than a well writ Treatise; but I wish it were translated into *English*, and ten Thousand of them presented to the rich Men of our Age; who, with so little Regard to the publick good of their Country, or thinking of making generous Foundations of their own, or contributing to those of others, go on continually in those beautiful Expressions of the *Psalmist*, *to heap up Riches which they cannot tell who shall gather*. It is not to see the Light here, it being dangerous to publish it, for fear of provoking the Resentments of some Persons, whose Relations are hardly treated in it, tho' I am told, with great Justice. 'Tis writ by Father *Meron* a *Capuchin*; but this I tell only to your Lordship. The Jesuits are severely satyri'd in it, for their Avarice, which makes it dangerous for the Author to own the Writing it.

When I have obey'd your Commands, as to giving you some Account of the poor Duke *D' Aumont's* Fate and Character, who has been so differently represented to you, I shall put an End to this tiresome Letter. It is certain, he died the first of this Month at his lovely Retirement in the Country, but not of Poison, as your Lordship mentions, but of a Fit of the Apoplexy, which took him off in a few Hours.

He was unquestionable a Gentleman of the most uncorrupted Integrity, the greatest Abilities, and the most universal Genius, of any Minister of State this Nation ever bred, not excepting that Hero of the Antients, Cardinal *Richlieu*. With all these Advantages, he carried himself in so haughty and arbitrary a Manner, with his late Majesty, who favour'd him, and his Enemies that envy'd him, that he made his Merit and great Qualifications almost useless to his Country. His Honesty had the Appearance of Ostentation and Insolence, (tho nothing was further from his Heart) and his Capacity and Knowledge, seem'd to wear an assuming and supercilious Air. He affected a Sincerity and Severity, that continually alienated the Hearts of the Courtiers from him. Not content to be unblameable himself, he thought to brow-beat Corruption and Immorality, in all that had any Thing to do in the King's Affairs; by reproaching them openly with any ill Conduct in their Lives and Manners. He was not satis-

fied in excelling all Men in the greatest Talents for the Camp, or the Cabinet, for Books or the World; unless he could drive Ignorance or Insufficiency from the Court, by severe Upbraidings of the Weakness, or Mistakes, the Folly, Incapacity or Vices of many in the Crowd of Pretenders there to Place and Power.

It was easy, my Lord, to see the Consequence of such a Conduct must be the Ruin of him who gave into it. And indeed tho' Heaven seem'd for some Time to declare in his Favour, against the Malice of the World, and to labour for his Establishment, by many Successes abroad; yet, on the first Turn of the Tide, by the Loss of the Battle at *Strasburg*, the whole Kingdom, or in other Words, all that was vicious and bad in it, seem'd, with one Voice, to cry out against him, and call for his Destruction; and even *Lewis* the Nineteenth, his Master, tho' he esteem'd him, was so sick of his intolerable Virtue, that he readily abandon'd him to the publick Hatred.

He was turn'd out of any share of the Administration, banish'd the Court, and confin'd to his Country Seat for Life, where he gave himself up, with infinite Relish, to a few worthy Friends and his Studies; and where he writ those Memoirs of his Time, which I sent your Lordship, and which alone will be a lasting Proof of the Virtue and Capacity of the Man. It is certain, if he could have pardon'd his Master's and his Courtiers Vices and Follies, or his Enemies evil Arts to defraud the Crown, by the Mismanagement of the Finances, and the usual Corruptions in the Officers of the Army, he might have rul'd the one, and triumph'd over the others; but he was too much in hast to do good, and too violently virtuous to reform a corrupt World, which he profess'd to abhor. I remember a great Man one Day speaking of his Vigilance, Dexterity, and his equal Zeal and Capacity to serve his Master, and clear the Court of such troublesome Vermin; compar'd his Fate to the Duchess of *Chevreuse's* Cat, who having broke her Leg, by a Fall in the Cellar, was the next Night bit to Death, and almost devour'd by the Rats, she had so often been labouring to destroy.

I am impatient for your Lordship's next Dispatches, and doubt not but this Court will oppose, with Vigour, the setting up the Inquisition, in spite of the Intrigues of the Nuncio, and his humble and pious Masters, the Jesuits; in which, according to my Instructions, I have and shall continue to express his Majesty's and your Lordship's zealous Concurrence and Assistance, by all proper Measures, and am, with the highest Deference and Esteem,

My Lord,

Your Lorships's, &c.

Herbert.

To the Lord High Treasurer.

Rome. Jan. 7, 1998.

MY LORD,

BY the last Courier, my Dispatches carried you a full Account of the fair Prospect of Success I have for all my Negotiations here. The Bull mention'd there-in, ordaining that no *British* Subject shall any longer be jug'd liable to, or hereafter be seized by the Inquisition, having past the usual Forms; has delivered already many of our Countrymen from the Harpies of that Court, and secur'd them from it's terrible Judicature for the future. The Emperor's happy Recovery, has, at present, pretty much suspended all our design'd Proceedings, to prevent the Intrigues of this See, in order to place his Holiness on the Imperial Throne; and above all, as the Elector of *Cologne* has luckily broke with this Court, I hope we shall have Time to take such Measures, as shall effectually secure in *Europe* from so terrible a Blow.

In the mean Time, I hasten this by a very worthy *English* Gentleman, Mr. *Lumley*, which brings you an Account of as extraordinary an Undertaking, as this Court has ever attempted, tho' it seems to be the natural Soil and Climate for Projects of all Kinds. In short, 'tis nothing less than selling by publick Auction all the vast Collection of Relicks, which were brought hither many Years since, at different Times; and particularly, when the Treasures of *Italy* were heap'd up in the Castle of *St. Angelo*.

This amazing Event, of selling publickly those venerable Remains, which the Bigottry and Zeal of their Ancestors had so long held sacred, is entirely occasion'd by the Avarice and Prodigality of the Cardinal *Nephew*; whose Expenses are as unbounded, as his Passions and Extravagancies, which this Sale is design'd to supply. It is

palliated indeed with the Pretence of dispersing such holy and precious Things, thro' all Christian Nations, to encrease their Devotion and Piety, which might otherwise sicken and flag, for want of such extraordinary Incentives, but I have told your Lordship the true Cause.

It is generally believ'd that this Design will bring in vast Treasures to the Cardinal *Nephew's* great Relief and Comfort; and as the Pope's managing Temper, and the rest of the Cardinals high Regard for strict OEconomy, prevent his squandring the Treasures of the See; they have complied with this Project, to raise a large Sum out of this holy Trumpery, which they were sick of, and which they found the Devotion of the *Italians* growing very cold to. I remember to have heard, that in the Beginning of the 16th Century, *Vergerius*, who was afterwards the Pope's Nuncio in *Germany*, was employ'd by the Elector of *Saxony*, to buy up for him many Relicks of the Saints in *Italy*. Accordingly he bought several, but before the Relicks had been sent to *Germany*, *Luther's* Books and Doctrines began to fly about, and lessen'd the Value of such delicate Wares so far, that the Elector order'd him to sell them with great Loss, and possibly that is one Reason that occasions the present Sale, since *Italy* begins to despise them.

The Catalogue is not yet printed, but I have procur'd the Original from the Imperial Ambassador, who designs to lay out great Sums on them, and what follows I have copied and translated very faithfully from it, adding some few Notes of my own, in Hopes it will both surprize and entertain you.

I can venture to assure your Lordship, that whether the Relicks in the Catalogue be really genuine or no, there are none in it, which have not actually been maintain'd, by the gravest Writers of this Church, to have been preserv'd in the Places, from whence they are said to be brought, and which were not religiously venerated, not to say, ador'd there. Indeed the good Jesuits may have falsified some of them, to make their Collection more glorious, and raise the larger Sum; yet I have Faith enough to believe they are fully as authentick,

as most of the Originals, which these poor Catholicks, in different Places, preserve so religiously, and attribute so much Sanctity, and even Miracles, to.

But I will detain your Lordship no longer from perusing the Catalogue, than to say, I omit the Preface, because it only contains a fulsome, affected Declamation on the Veneration due to Relicks, on the vast Preference these deserve above all others; the pretended Reasons of their being exposed to Sale, in order to disperse them more equally thro' the Christian World, and the unquestion'd Authority these ought to have, with all good Catholicks. For these, my Lord, are all voucht (as the Preface speaks) by the Pope's authentick Inspection and Direction, confirm'd by his annex'd Bull, (which I also omit) and verified before the Consistory of Cardinals, by the due and legal Proof, of having past untouch'd and undamag'd, in the Trial by Fire. ---- But I hasten to the Catalogue, which follows. -- -- A Catalogue of the most sacred, and eminently venerable Relicks, of the holy *Roman* Catholick Church, collected by the pious Care of their Holinesses the Popes, the most august Emperors, Kings, and Princes, Potentates, and Prelates of the Christian World, and several of them brought to *Rome*, by the vast Care and Expences of the most Reverend Fathers, the Jesuits. All which are now to be dispos'd of by Auction, for the general Benefit and Emolument of the Christian World, at the Church of *St. Peters* at *Rome*, on *Monday* the *25th* of *April* 1998, from Nine in the Morning till eight at Night, and to continue till all be fold. *N.B.* The whole of these said most precious Relicks, with their proper Vouchers and Certificates of Verification, and his Holiness's Bull for their being true authentick Originals, may be viewed and examined, (but not handled) at the Church of *St. Peter's* aforesaid, by all Ambassadors, Prelates, and Persons of Quality, and proper Credit, Condition, and Character, till the Day of Sale.

The Ark of the Covenant, the Cross of the good Thief; both somewhat Worm-eaten. *Judas's* Lanthorn, a little scorch'd. The Dice of the Soldiers play'd with, when they cast Lots on our Saviour's Garment; from *Umbriatico* in *Calabria*. The Tail of *Balaams* Ass, that

spoke when she saw the Angel. St. *Joseph's* Ax, Saw, and Hammer; and a few Nails he had not driven, a little rust eaten. St. *Christopher's* Stone-Boat, and St. *Anthony's* Mill-Stone, on which he sail'd to *Muscovy*. The Loaves of Bread turn'd into Stone by St. *Boniface*, on a Soldier's denying him a Piece of them when he was starving, for which he suffer'd Martyrdom, as a Sorcerer. Our B. Saviour's Teeth, Hair, and *Præputium* (*Emptum Charovii*) another *Præputium* (*Emptum Aquisgrani*) brought thither by an Angel from *Jerusalem*. *N.B.* In all such Cases of Duplicates equally well vouch'd and verified, it is left to the Faith of the Buyer, which deserves the Preference; but the *Præputium* vouch'd by Cardinal *Tolet*, to be kept at *Calcata*, in the Church of St. *Cornelius* and *Cyprian*. and that other of *Podium*, as well as that preserv'd at *Antwerp*, and vouch'd by *Theobald* Archbishop of *Bisonti*, *John* Bishop of *Cambray*, and confirm'd by Pope *Eugenius* and *Clement VIII*. since they are all three also approv'd by Miracles, are left uncensur'd to the Piety and Veneration of the Faithful; it being certain, that the same Power that maketh his Body to be and exist, at the same Time in different Places, may exert it self in like Manner, as to this most precious and holy Relick. Several Drops of *Christ's* Blood, on different Occasions, as his Circumcision, bearing his Cross, and his Crucifixion, purchased at a vast Price, and brought by the Fathers, the Jesuits from *Rochel*; several small Phials of it from *Mantua*; larger Vessels of it from St. *Eustachius's* in this City of *Rome*. Mix'd with Water, as it came from his Side, from St. *John Lateran* in this City. His Cradle and Manger very old. *Ditto*, a Pale full of the Water of *Jordan*, where he was baptiz'd, fresh and clear to this Day (*emptum Cassini*.) The Water-Pots of the Marriage at *Cana* in *Galilee*. *N.B.* These are not the Pots shewn at *Pisa* (*Cluniaci* & *Andegavi*) but the true original ones. Crums of the Bread that fed the 5000 (*Romæ ad Mariæ Novæ*.) A Bough of the Tree carried by *Christ* entring *Jerusalem* in Triumph, the Leaves almost fresh still; from *Spain* (*ad Salvatoris*.) The Table on which *Christ* eat the last Supper, a little decayed; at *Rome* St. *John Lateran*. Some of the Bread which he broke then; from *Spain ad Salvatoris*. The Cup he then drank out of and gave

to his Disciples (*ad Mariæ Insulanæ* near *Lyons*.) The Sacrament of his Body and Blood (from *Brussels*.) I assure your Lordship, this is neither more nor less than a plain small Ivory Ball. The Towel with which he wip'd his Disciples Feet, very rotten. (*Rome*.) Part of the Money paid *Judas*. *Malchus's* Lanthorn, some of the Panes crack'd, and the Door quite decay'd, from *St. Denis*.

The following most holy and precious Relicks were brought to *Rome*, by the blessed Father *Francis Visconti*, by Order of the Pope, from *Aquisgranum* or *Aken*. Part of the Wood of the Cross, a little decay'd, and a Nail of the same. Some of the *Manna* in the Wilderness, and of the Blossoms of *Aaron's* Rod. Part of the *Sudarium*, of the Reed, and Spunge of our Saviour. A Girdle of our Saviour's, and another of the Virgin's, little worn. The Chord with which *Christ* was bound at his Passion, very fresh. Some of the Hair of *St. John* Baptist. A Ring of the Chain of *St. Peter*. Some of the Blood of *St. Stephen*, and the Oyl of *St. Catharine*. The Arm of *St. Simeon*, ill kept. The Image of the blessed Virgin, drawn by *St. Luke*, the Features all visible. The Relicks of *St. Spes*, or *St. Hope*. Some of the Hair of the Blessed Virgin. One of her Combs, brought originally from *Basançon* in *Burgundy*, and twelve Combs of the twelve Apostles, all very little used, originally from *Lyons*. The *Indusium* or Shift, of the Blessed Virgin, when our Saviour was born. The Swathes in which our Saviour was wrapt the Night of his Nativity. The holy Linnen-Cloath upon which *St. John* was beheaded, wants new Hemming and Darning. The Cloath with which our Saviour was cover'd, when he hung on the Cross. The Brains of *St. Peter*, from *Geneva*. Note, these are the individual Brains which that Arch-Heretick *Calvin* declar'd were a mere Pumice-Stone, sinning against God, the holy Apostle, and his own Soul.

The following most venerable Relicks were bought at, and brought from *Prague* to this City, by the Reverend Father *Prinli*, Jesuit commission'd and authoris'd by the Pope. The Head and Arm of the blessed *Longinus*. Some Relicks of *Abraham*. *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, very old. The Arm and some Part of the Body of *Lazurus*, ill kept and

smells. Two Pieces of two Girdles of the Blessed Virgin. A Part of the Body of St. *Mark*, and a Part of his Gospel, of his own Handwriting, almost legible. A Piece of St. *John* the Evangelist's Coat. A Piece of the Staff of St. *Peter*, and another Piece of the Staff of St. *Paul*. A Part of St. *Peter's* Chain. A Finger of St. *Ann*. A Part of the Blessed Virgin's Veil, as good as new. The Head of St. *Luke*. It is true, there is also another in this Catalogue, but both are so amply verified, nay avouch'd by daily Miracles, that his Holiness leaves it undecided; betwixt God and the Buyer be it. Some of the Relicks of St. *Catharine* of *Alexandria*. The Head and Finger of St. *Stephen*, 'tis suppos'd to be his middle Finger, but that is doubtful. Here endeth the Collection of Relicks from *Prague*. The Staff deliver'd by our Lord to St. *Patrick*, and with which he drove all the venomous Creatures out of *Ireland*. Eight *Veronicas*, or holy Handkerchiefs of our Lord's, one from *Turin*, another from St. *John de Lateran*, and a third from St. *Peter's* in this City, another from *Cadoin* in *Perigort*, a fifth from *Besançon*, another from *Compeigne*, a seventh from *Milan*, and another from *Aix le Chapelle*. It is as impossible as unjust, to decide which has the best Title to be the real one, since they all have been received from Age to Age by the Faithful: but as that of *Cadoin* hath fourteen Bulls in it's Favour, and the rest but one or two, (tho' that of *Turin* produceth four in it's Behalf) we leave it undecided. This we do the rather, as the Prayers and Devotions of the Pious have probably sanctified them all equally; and moreover, it is possible that they have been miraculously multiplied by the Goodness of God, for the Support and Aid of the Faithful, as the Loaves and the Fishes were to the hungry *Jews*. The most holy Fore-Finger of *John* the Baptist, with which he pointed to *Christ*, saying, *Behold the Lamb of God*, &c. brought from *Jerusalem* to *Malta*, by the Brothers of St. *John's* Hospital, and since to this City. The holy *Sindon*, or Linnen, in which *Christ's* Body was buried, from *Turin*. The Dish in which *Christ* eat the Paschal Lamb, made all of one Emerald, from *Genoa*. A Nail of our Saviour's Cross, fix'd formerly on the Church Roof of *Milan*, and brought hither: Another, being one of those which the Empress *Helena* order'd to be wrought

up into the Cheek of a Bridle, for the Emperor *Constantine*; and a third which was thrown into the *Adriatick* Sea in a vast Storm, to appease it, as it actually did. Taken up since in a Fisherman's Net, and brought to this City. The Stone upon which *Abraham* offer'd to sacrifice his Son; and another Stone on which our Lord was plac'd, when he was presented in the Temple. The Top of the Lance with which *Christ's* Side was pierc'd. The Smock of *St. Prisca*, in which she was martyr'd 1700 Years ago, something decay'd. A Thorn of that Crown of Thorns which was put on our Saviour's Head. The Head of the Woman of *Samaria*, who was converted by our Saviour, decay'd, but plainly an Head still. The Arm of *St. Ann*, Mother of the Blessed Virgin; and the Chain of *St. Paul. Scala Sancta*, or the twenty eight Steps of white Marble which *Christ* was lead up in his Passion to *Pilate's* House, and on which visibly appear the Marks of his Blood; sent by *Helena* from *Jerusalem* to the Emperor *Constantine*. A Picture of our Lord, said to be begun by *St. Luke*, and finish'd miraculously by an Angel; or (as others say) *St. Luke* preparing to draw it, and falling to his Prayers to God, that he might draw his Son aright, when he arose, he found the Picture finish'd. The holy Crib of our Saviour's. The Pillar at which he was whip'd, the first of these very old and tender.

Here follow some most venerable and precious Relicks, brought hither from *Venice* by the aforesaid Father *Francis Visconti*.

Some of our Saviour's Blood, gather'd up at his Passion, with the Earth it was spilt on. A Thorn of the Crown of Thorns. A Finger of *St. Mary Magdalen*. A Piece of *St. John Baptist's* Skull. A Tooth of *St. Mark*, a little rotten; also one of his Fingers, and his Ring with a Stone in it. A Piece of *St. John Baptist's* Habit. Some of the Virgin's Hair. The Sword of *St. Peter*, very rusty and old. A Piece of *Christ's* white Robe when he was set at nought by *Herod*. One of the Stones wherewith *St. Stephen* was stoned. Some of *St. Joseph's* Breath which an Angel enclosed in a Phial, as he was cleaving Wood violently, which was so long ador'd in *France*, and since brought to *Venice*, and from *Venice* to this City. The Head of *St. Denys*, which he carried two Miles after it was cut off under his Arm, praising God all the Way,

and saying, *Glory be to thee, Lord.* The Rock which *Moses* struck in the Wilderness, with the three Holes in it of the Diameter of a Goose Quill, out of which the Water issued for the 600000 *Israelites* and their Cattle. Here endeth the List of the Reliques from *Venice*.

A Piece of the Rope *Judas* hang'd himself with, from *Amras* near *Inspruck*. Part of the Crown of Thorns from *Paris*. Several single Thorns from different Places, *Compostella*, *Tholouse*, and this City, to be sold separately. The Reed given our Lord for a Scepter (*Romæ* St. *John Lateran*.) His Holy Cross, a great Part of it from *Jerusalem*, more of it from *Constantinople*, more from *Paris*. A large Crucifix made of the Wood of it (*Rome*.) Several Nails belonging to it, two of *Rome*, two from *Venice*, one from *Colen*, two from *Paris*, one from *Sienna*, one from *Naples*, one from St. *Denys*, one from the Carmelites at *Paris*. *N.B.* We say in this as aforesaid, Which are the right Nails, he only knows, whose Body they pierced; but the Vouchers and Certificates for all are to be seen, proved, and examined, let the Purchasers determine according to the Truth. The Title fastned to the Cross, fair an legible, and thought to be *Pilate's* Hand Writing, from *Tholouse*. The Sponge that was dipt in Vinegar, and given to our Lord; *Rome*. From *Cassini* another. The Point of the Launce, three of them, one originally of *Rome*, another from *Paris*, a third from *Xaintonge*, all properly voucht and evidenc'd. The Church herein decides nothing, but modestly faith, *Caveat Emptor*. The Footsteps which our Lord left in the Rock on his Ascension; *Rome*. The Marks of his Seat made on the Rock by his resting; from *Rheims*. Four Crucifixes, whose Beards grow regularly, seven that have spoke on several proper Occasions; ten more, that have wept often and bitterly upon *Good-Frydays*, and the Success of Hereticks, in their Wars with Catholicks. Five other that have stirred and moved on different Accidents, four of them equal to any in the Christian Church; six more that have groan'd, smil'd and nodded, all voucht authentically, very little inferior to the former, except the freshest being the last made. Another Crucifix, which having had it's Leg broke by accident, stunk so grievously, that all in the Church were forced to hold their Noses for the

Stench, till proper Remedies being applied, the Bone knit again, tho' the Place where the broken parts join'd, is still visibly thicker and larger, and that Leg near two Inches shorter than the other. Another Crucifix from *Trent*, under which the Synod was sworn and promulg'd, and which bow'd it's Head to testify the Approbation which it gave to the learned Decrees of that Holy Assembly. *N.B.* As no Man could ever tell what this Crucifix was made of, so it is much doubted by the Faithful, if ever it was made with Hands; it worketh unheard of Miracles. Another Crucifix from *St. Dominick the greater in Naples*, which spoke one Day to *St. Thomas Aquinas*, *Thou hast well written of me*, Thomas. Another from the Church of the *Benedictines in Naples*, which held twice two long Conversations with his Holy Vicegerent, *Pope Pius V.* of blessed Memory; and another of *St. Mary of the Carmelites* of the same City, which bowed it's Head at the Sight of a Cannon Bullet which was shot at him in 1439, (when *Don Pedro of Arragon* besieg'd that City) and only struck off the Crown. *N.B.* To cover his Head, being very bald, there is a Peruke of the Hair of the Virgin fitted to it, to be taken off in hot Weather. An Image of *Christ* made by himself, and sent to King *Abgarus* from *St. Silvester*, in the Field of *Mars* in this City. Another made by Angels, from the Chapel of the *Sancta Sanctorum* in this City, and a Crucifix which was begun to be painted by *Nicodemus*, but finisht by Angels; from the Cathedral of *St. Martin* in *Lucca*. *N.B.* All these Crucifixes have wrought incredible Miracles within these last fifty or sixty Years. Large Parcels of the Blessed Virgin's Hair, all of one Colour, from *Paris* and several Places less known, and much of it of this City. Great Quantities of her Milk gathered from many Places. Some Butter and a small Cheese made of it, that never decays or corrupts, from *Mexico* in *America*. Her Skipper, and one of her Shoes. *N.B.* This is the original Shoe, which the famous *Rivet*, in his Apology for the Virgin (*Lib. II. Chap. IX.*) was possess of, and had the Figure of it grav'd, and publisht with Licence; and in the middle of the Sole this is written, *The Measure of the most Holy Foot or our Lady*; and then follows, *Pope John XXII. bath granted to those who shall thrice kiss it, and rehearse*

three Ave Mariæ with Devotion to her Blessed Honour and Reverence, that they shall gain 700 Years of Pardon, and be freed from many Sins. I must add here, my Lord, what all the learned, and even those who have only seen the Cut of it publisht by *Rivet*, know to be true, that the exact Measure of this blesses Shoe, is just seven and a quarter of our Inches; which I hint to your Lordship, because some well-shap'd Catholick Ladies, may be much rejoyc'd in case their Feet should tally with this Measure. Her Needle, Thread, and Quasillum, (*Halæ.*) Her Picture by *St. Luke (Romæ ad Mariæ Inviolatæ.)* Another by the same Hand of that Holy Evangelist (*Romæ ad Mariæ novæ.*) A third from *Cambray.* *N.B.* Tho' some Catholicks maintain *St. Luke* only painted one, yet as these are each of them unquestionably voucht, and that allowing *St. Luke* was a Painter, as well a Physician, it is but reasonable to suppose he should have painted more than one; his Holiness, by the annext Bull, has thought is expedient to warrant them all for Originals, of the same divine Pencil. *St. Michael's* Dagger and Buckler (*magni Michaelis apud Carcassonenses.*) *St. John Baptist's* Face, very little the worse for the keeping, (*Cambiis ad Joannis Angelici.*) The Hand, and part of his Head, without a Face, from *Malta.* Others ditto, from *Nemours.* His Brain very well dried and preserv'd (*Novii Rantroviensis.*) His whole Head (*Rome, from the Convent of St. Silvester.*) As to these two Heads, the pious Reader is referred to the foregoing Apology for the two Heads of *St. Luke.* It is true, *Gregory Nazianzen* has declared that his Bones were burnt by the *Donatists*, so that nothing remain'd but a Piece of his Skull; but 'tis absur'd to compare the Authority of him, or one Hundred such Fathers, with the Authority of the Church, and her sacred Traditions. At the same time, far be it from the Modesty of the Holy See to maintain he had two, but both are so amply voucht and verified, that 'tis presumptuous to decide for either. Let us say rather with *Cardinal Baronius* in the Sentiments of a truly pious Mind, allowing a Mistake in such cases, *Quicquid sit, fides purgat facinus.* It is not the Head of the Saint we adore, but the Faith for which he died. Behold, my Lord, what a delicate Plaister of Faith here is for the Wounds of Idolatry. A

second Fore-finger of St. *John Baptist*, with which he pointed at our Saviour, and said, *Ecce agnus Dei*, &c. from *Tholouse*. As good an one from *Lyons*. Another from *Florence* wants the Nail. Another from *Genoa* mightily damaged. *N.B.* Tho' there are not maintain'd to be Forefingers, yet they are indubitably the real Fingers of the Saint, and be they anathema and accursed who say otherwise, wounding the Sides of the Church thro' these her blesses Reliques. His Ashes (*Rome* St. *John Lateran*.) More of them from *Genoa* very safe and dry. Some of the Blood of our Saviour as he hung on the Cross, gathered in a Glove by *Nicodemus*, which being thrown by him into the Sea, for fear of the *Jews*, was cast up after many Ages on the Coast of *Normandy*, and found out by a Duke of that Country as he was Hunting, by the hunted Stag and Dogs all kneeling quietly about it. From the Abbey *du Bec* in *Normandy*, which the Duke built for it, and where it was kept till now, and the said History recorded. St. *Peter* and St. *Paul's* Bodies mixt together, one half belonging to St. *Peter's*, the other half from St. *Paul's* at *Rome*, both equally weigh'd and divided by Pope *Silvester*. *N.B.* That Moiety at St. *Peter's* (with some other precious Reliques) is not to be dispos'd of to any Person whatever, but to remain to the Church. Both their Heads, from St. *John Lateran*, (*Rome*.) A Toe, a Finger, and a Slipper of St. *Peter*, all in good condition (*Rome*.) His Episcopal Chair wants a Foot. His Vestments want mending and darning greatly, but dangerous, the Cloth is so sadly decay'd. His Rochet, which he always us'd to say Mass in, and especially in this City, when he was here, much torn and greatly damag'd by Time, (all at *Rome*.) Another Chain, and another Sword of this blessed Apostle's when in Prison, (all at *Rome*, from St. *Petri ad Vincula*.) A Shoulder of St. *Paul's* (*Rome*.) St. *Bartholomew's* Body. Three of them, one from *Naples*, another fully as well saved from St. *Bartholomew's* in this City, and a third from *Tholouse*, very tender, and not well dried, but plainly his own. *N.B.* These different Bodies are as hard to have any thing determin'd about them, as the Duplicates aforesaid. They are well voucht by ancient and unquestionable Tradition, and all proper Depositions and Certificates; and it suits better

with good Faith and good Manners, to leave such perplext Difficulties in suspense, as the Holy Church, and our Religious Ancestors have deliver'd them down to us, (however ambiguous and incomprehensibly obscure) than that the Temerity of these Days should overturn the Piety of the former. Let the Buyers examine and judge to the best of their Faith and Knowledge, and remember as they are blessed who believe tho' they saw not, so much more blessed doubtless are they, who believe piously and candidly, even against that which they do see. The Skin which was flay'd off this blessed Apostle, in a sad condition, and something rotten; from *Poitiers*. Another of them, probably from one of the aforesaid Bodies, but wants the Buttocks, tho' better preserved by a great deal (*Rome*.) St. *Matthias's* Head (*Romæ Petri ad Vincula*.) His Rib, Shoulder, Arm, one Foot, and a Piece of another, all of them moist kept, and strong scented (from *Paris Aquæ Sextiæ*, and other Places of equal credit.) Another Skin of St. *Bartholomew*, in all human probability flay'd off one of the Bodies aforesaid (from *Pisa*.) His Head, and another Member, but hard to say what it is, 'tis so much disfigur'd by Time, and the zealous Devotions of pious Pilgrims and Visitants (from *Pisa* also.). St. *Matthew's* blessed Bones (*Treviris*.) His left Arm (from *Cassini*.) His right Arm (*Romæ ad Marcelli*.) Another Arm (*Romæ ad Nicolai*. We have said enough on these Duplicates already. The compleat Body of St. *Anne*, the Blessed Virgin's Mother (*Aptæ oppido Provinciæ*.) Her Head (*Treviris*) another. Other Heads (*Tureni apud Juliacenses*.) A third (*Annabergæ oppido Thuringiæ*.) We have said above, what is abundantly sufficient to ease the Minds of truly pious, tho' scrupulous Christians, concerning these δυσγεντα, these vexitious Difficulties. The faithful and sincerely religious Person will ask no more hereupon; and to Schismatics, Hereticks, and Unbelievers, we speak not, as gangren'd Members cut off from the Body of Holy Church, to their eternal Destruction.

St. *Magadalen's* Body (*Vessali prope Altissi-odorum*.) Another Body of hers; but as this is not well voucht, having but twenty Depositions, and those no fully confirm'd by oral Tradition, and the

constant Testimony of the Church, and the Devotion of her faithful Sons; we candidly and ingenuously declare, our not being perfectly satisfied in this particular Relique, which yet we would not cast out, lest we should scandalize the devout Catholicks who have so long venerated it; (*apud San. Maximinum oppid. Provinciae.*) Her Head, and the Mark of the Blow, given her by our Lord on the Cheek when she would have toucht him, when he said, *noli me tangere*, the Blow very plain still. The Head out of order. Great Quantities of her Hair, near twenty Pound from many Places. *N.B.* Tho' this Quantity is large, there is nothing therein to give the least Offence to the Faithful; for on all dead Bodies, and much more on those of the Saints, the Hair, even after Death, grows most exuberantly, by which means probably these Quantities have been produced. The holy spousal Ring with which the Blessed Virgin was espoused to *Joseph*, for which the *Clusians* and *Perusians* waged such Wars here in *Italy*, as History mentions; (from *Perusia.*) The Bodies of the three Kings, or Magi, *Melchior*, *Jaspar* and *Balthasar*, all perfectly fresh and fair, and good liking from *Colen* or *Cologne*. Three other Bodies of the same Kings, fully as fair and as well preserv'd, except the Nose, the right Eye, and a part of the left Foot of King *Jaspar*; (from *Milan ad Eustorgii.*) We shall be altogether silent on these six Bodies belonging (that is, universally agreed by infallible Tradition to belong) to these three Kings; and shall content our selves with referring the Pious Reader, and especially if a Purchaser, to the foregoing Apologies. Blessed be the pious Care of the Empress *Helina*, to whom we and the Christian Church are indebted for these precious Reliques, by her sending them to *Constantinople*; and surely it is much better to have six Bodies disputing for this Honour than none at all. The Knife used at the Circumcision of our Lord; (from *Compendium.*) The Stone on which St. *Peter's* Cock crew, and the Column which was cleft asunder, from top to bottom on the Day of the Passion, and the Stone on which *Pilate's* Soldiers cast Lots for *Christ's* Garments; all from St. *John de Lateran* in this City.) St. *Stephen's* Body (from St. *Stephen* at *Rome*,) Several Parcels of the Bodies of the Innocents from *France*,

Germany, and Italy. *Testiculi eorum* (from *Friburgh* in *Brisgaw*.) St. *Lawrence's* Body (from his Church in this City) together with a Vessel full of his broil'd Flesh, and another full of his Fat when broiling on the Fire (from the same.) The Gridiron on which he suffer'd Martyrdom, and the Coals wherewith this blessed Martyr was broil'd to death for the Faith, (from St. *Eustachius's* in this City.) Four Bodies of St. *Sebastion*; one from St. *Lawrence's* in this City, another from *Soiffons*, a third from a Town near *Narbonne* his native Country, and the fourth from *Pelignum apud Armoricos*. 'Tis not to be denied, these undistinguishable Duplicates do return too frequently, but our former Defences, and the Confusion and too forward Zeal of those darker Times, must (and if he be Faithful and Pious) will content the Reader and Buyer. Let us only add, which is a Point full of Comfort, that the Prayers of the Church, and the Devotions of her Religious Children, have so far consecrated the Mistakes of their Forefathers, that all must allow, that each of these Bodies have wrought most prodigious Miracles, of which the proper Certificates remain with each of them. An Head of the same glorified Saint, at St. *Peter's* in this City. Another Head of his, belonging most certainly to one of the above Carcasses, (from *Magdeburg*.) A third Head of his, in like manner (as is to be believed) fever'd from another of the said Bodies, procur'd from the *Dominicans* at *Tholouse*, who recover'd it at the immense Expence, of a tedious Law Suit. Four of his Arms, one got from the *Dominicans* (*Andegavi*.) A second from *Tholouse* (*ad Saturnini*.) A third from the Town *Casedei* in *Avernia*. And a fourth from *Monbrison*. Sersveral of the Arrows he was shot and cruelly martyr'd with. (*Lambesii* in *Provincia*.) More of them, from the *Augustine Fryers* in *Poitiers*. Several Chests full, of the 11000 Virgins, from *Colen*, St. *Deny's*, the Monastery of *Marcian* in *Flanders*, and many other Places, where the Bodies of those wonderful Saints were disperst. The Bones of *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, very sound and well kept (*Romæ Mariæ super Minvervam*.) One of *Aaron's* Rods (*Paris ad Sacri Sacelli*.) *Solomon's* Candlestick, from *Prague*. Some of the Oyl of the Holy Sepulchre's Lamp, which every *Easter Sunday* blazes up of its self,

before the Eyes of the truly Faithful, got from the Alter of St. *John*. The Ring of St. *Thomas a Becket*, the Blessed Martyr, who rebell'd against his Prince, to serve the Holy See and the Cause of Truth. His Rochet sprinkled with his Blood when murder'd, so as never to be washt out. His Hair Shirt, the same which *Gononus's Chronicon* assures us, the Blessed Virgin sow'd herself for him, and then hid it under his Bed; all from the Monastery of St. *Martin* in *Arthoise*, with an authentick Catalogue of Sixty Seven Miracles wrought by them. St. *Apollonia's* Head and Arm, one Jaw, and several of her Teeth from two or three different Churches in this City. Her Mouth, Part of her Jaw, and one of her blessed Teeth, from *Volaterræ* in *Etruria*. Several more of her Teeth, and her lower Jaw, from *Bononia*, where they us'd to be solemnly venerated the 9th of *February* each Year by the Pope's Legate, or Vice-Legate. A Part of her Jaw from *Antwerp*, where frequent Miracles were wrought by it. A Part of her Tooth from *Mechlin* and several whole ones from *Flanders*. A remarkable Portion of her lower Jaw from *Artois*. Four other Teeth, a Rib, another Tooth and her Shoulder-blade from *Colen*. Another Jaw from the *Carthusians*, a Tooth from St. *Maurice's* Church, and another Lower Jaw from St. *Alban's*, all in the same City. Another of her Teeth and some other blessed Reliques of her's, from the Church of St. *Roch* in *Lisbon*, and from *Placentia* in *Spain*, St. *Anthony's* Beard from *Colen*, and a remarkable Part of his Head. His Tongue, blessed for ever, from *Padua*. *N.B.* This is the same Tongue which St. *Bonaventure* 30 Years after his Death, found in his Ashes still fresh and full of Juice and Blood; which before the Magistrates, he reverently took up and kiss'd, saying, *O blessed Tongue, which always did bless God, and taught others to bless him; now it appears of what Merit thou wast*; and so deliver'd it to them to be laid up again with his holy Ashes, as the famous *Mendoza* tells us. The Hay found in the Cratch where our Saviour was laid, call'd the Holy Hay; (Brought from *Lorain*.) *Moses's* Horns, which he had coming down from Mount *Sinai*, and the Tail of the Ass our Saviour rode on, got from *Genoa*; and a Pair of *Joseph's* Breeches, very old and much worn, from *Aix*. The blessed Navel or our Lord, form

St. *Mary del Popalo* in this City, and the Skin or Pannicle, that came out of the most holy Body, of the Blessed Virgin with our Saviour, when he came into the World, from the Church of St. *Mary the Greater*, in the same City. The Stone, on which the same Blessed Virgin used to wash our Saviour's Linnen, brought from *Constantinople*. A Tear which *Christ* shed over *Lazarus*, enclos'd in a little Crystal by an Angel, who made a Present of it to St. *Mary Magdalen*. Another from the *Benedictins* Convent, at *Vendome* in *France*. *N.B.* This is the very Tear, which the learned Pere *Mabillon* writ so admirable a Treatise in Defence of, to the Honour of God and holy Church.

But, my Lord, I propos'd to entertain you, and I am but tormenting you with so hideous a Recital of the superstitious Dreams and Inventions of these formal Hypocrites; whose Godliness is Gain, and who, under the Pretence and Cloak of exterior Sanctity, and an high Veneration of for such holy Trumpery, seek only Wealth, Ease, and Profit, and make a God of their Belly and their sacrilegious Gain.

I shall therefore leave the bulky Remains of this amazing Catalogue, till I know how your Lordship relishes this Taft of it, which I send you; and shall only mention to you, that from the Beginning to the End of it, on the strictest Examination, I don't recollect one Relique, the original of which at least, has not been actually venerated, and almost worship'd, this several hundred Years, by this blinded and deluded People; except that one of the Cheese and Butter made of the Virgin's Milk, which is said never to corrupt, and to have been brought from *Mexico*. Among all the rest, there are but a very few, which I have not been at the Pains to search for, and have really, with these Eyes, seen in different authentick Lists of Reliques shewn at *Rome*, and other Places, and either mention'd by her own Writers, or Men of Honour and Truth, that assert they have seen them in their Travels. So that I can aver, there are few or none inserted in this List, which were not publickly known, and exposed to the Veneration of pious Catholicks. I have made bold, to add a few ludicrous Notes to several of them, that deserv'd much severer Remarks, on such horrible Impostures and Fables. For, alas, if all these Reliques, and the in-

finite Number of Miracles wrought by them, were fairly to be examined, and call'd to the Proof, before equitable Judges, as the Temples in *Greece* and *Asia*, who set up Asylums, were by the *Roman* Senate in *Tiberius's* Time; how many of them would be oblig'd, either quietly to give up all their Pretensions, or to maintain them by some silly old Tale or other, as most of the Defenders of the Temples were forc'd to do, as *Tacitus* assures us in the Third of his *Annals*, *Cap.* 60, 61, 62.

But if this were the Case, this jugling Church, which, like a true Quack, makes Use of Infallibility and Authority as a certain cure for every Sore, has provided a sufficient Remedy, tho' all her Reliques should be prov'd counterfeit; and that is by determining, that such superstitious Reliques may really work actual Miracles, because the good Intentions of those, who piously have Recourse to them, procures them that Blessing from God, as a Reward of their Devotion. She actually teaches this Doctrine, my Lord, which solves all Difficulties on this Point, and what is more, she is believ'd on it; her Confidence in deceiving, and the Credulity of her People in believing, answering like two Tallies, and makes one often remember the famous Axiom, *Homo est Animal credulum & mendax*. In the mean Time, what a Crowd of terrible Reflections, must this Scene of Things raise in every honest and ingenuous Breast, to see this infallible Church abusing the Purity and Excellence of our Faith, and the common Sense of Mankind, with imposing on them such an Heap of senseless Fictions, and silly Bawbles, not only for their Belief, but even for their Veneration and Homage. With what Indignation! with what Resentment! with what honest Scorn! must every considering Christian, that has not blindly given up his Senses and Reason (the only Evidence to which our Blessed Saviour appealed for the Truth of his Miracles) to her groundless and usurp'd Authority, look on such horrid Trifling both with our Religion and Understanding?

Can one bear, without Grief and Torment of Heart, to see this Church of *Christ* exceeding in the Foppery and Folly of such Conduct, the greatest Absurdities of the *Heathen* and *Turkish* Superstition; and at the same Time, by infinite insidious Arts and horrible

Treasures, as well as furious Persecutions and open Wars, attempting daily against the Authority of all Protestant Princes, and the Peace and Prosperity of their Subjects in this World, and giving up both of them in the next to eternal Damnation, for daring to question her Power, or dissent from her Opinions?

After saying this, can I add, (without lamenting the Blindness! the Meanness! the Dishonesty of Mankind!) that Popish Princes will probably, for political Views and worldly Motives, never fail to combine together in supporting her Authority, tho' in their Hearts they may despise or renounce it; and consequently they will in all Likelihood, by enlarging her Power, and joining in the Schemes of her infinite Policy, perpetuate their own unreasonable Slavery, and her ridiculous Empire, to the End of the World, and this wretched Scene of Wickedness and Folly and Falsehood below! I am,

My Lord, Your Lordship's, &c.

HERTFORD.

I beg the Favour of your Lordship to transmit to me a regular List of the Temporal Peers summon'd to this Parliament, his Holiness having desir'd to see it.

To the Lord High Treasurer.

London, Chelsea, Dec. 19, 1997.

MY LORD,

I Had the Pleasure of your Dispatches, of *Nov. 3d*, some Days since, and am thus early in returning my Thanks, where I hold my self so much oblig'd, both for your Care of the Publick and of me. Your Congratulations on my Advancement were very welcome, for from one so sincere and candid, as I have ever found your Excellency, even Compliments pass for Truths, and we think our selves oblig'd to give Credit to them. At the same Time, my Lord, you have not forgot *England* so much, by your long Residence at *Constantinople*, but that you must know, there can be no great pleasure to preside over the Councils of a People, that may almost be called a Nation of prime Ministers; that examine and suspect every Thing, and yet are never pleas'd or in good Humour, and least then, when they can find nothing to blame.

Your Accounts, of the State of Things in *Turky*, were most entertaining; his Majesty did you the Honour to hear your Letters read, and to express some Satisfaction in them; and therefore you must hasten to us the Remainder of your Observations, that we do not overpay for the Pleasure, by too long Expectation.

Mr. *Secretary* will, by this Night's Express, by the way of *Vien-na*, communicate to you his Majesty's Pleasure, in Relation to the Treaty, and the Approbation which all the Steps you have hitherto taken, have met with here. His Majesty has particularly order'd me to assure you, that the Bishops and Papa's of the *Greek* Church, shall be honour'd with his Protection and Favour; and all that are Needy and sincerely Scrupulous to submit to *Rome*, shall have proper Pensions to prevent their making Shipwreck of their Faith, and selling

their Birthright, like *Esau*, for a little Food to sustain them. I think there has been an inexcusable Negligence, in the Ministry here (tho' I know not realy at whose Door to place it) in Relation to that unhappy neglected Church; which has neither had any Benefit drawn from our Protection at the Port, nor the least Care shewn, by sending Missionaries of our own, to prevent the Artifices of the Jesuits, and keep her steady to her Principles, as a Sister Church, who has ever abhor'd to join in their Communion. This is a Defect, which all Protestant Churches have much fail'd in, and our own as much as any; with many other Irregularities, if Providence shall be pleased to lend me Opportunity and Power.

I shall be much oblig'd to your Excellency, if you can inform me if Mr. *Biron* or Mr. *Pearson*, have recover'd any choice Manuscripts, either *Greek* or *Arabick*, or valuable Medals, or any Rarities or Curiosities in their Travels, which I procur'd his Majesty to send them abroad for, when I was only principal Secretary of State. I thank you for the Curiosities you sent me, and to engage you to this Kind of Traffick, I have given Orders to send you, by the *Turky* Fleet, an excellent Hogshead of *Carolina*, (our own Plantation White-Wine) and three or Four fine pieces of Damask, made of the Silk of that Country; both which we have brought to that Perfection there, as is of vast Advantage to *Great Britain*, as well as the Colony.

Since you think it will make the Grand Seignior encourage Astronomy, I have also sent you one of the compleatest largest and best reflecting Telescopes in *London*, which we make with such exquisite Skill and Contrivance, that they exceed tenfold all those that were used by the Astronomers in the last Age. Tho' it be but of a moderate Length, yet it is altogether as good as the larger Ones; and the Expence of fixing it up, much less; and you may discern evidently with this, not only the Hills, Rivers, Vallies, and Forests, but real Cities in the Moon, that seem nearly to resemble our own, and what is still more, even Mountains and Seas in *Venus* and the other Planets. Nay some of our Astronomers have gone so far, as to aver, they could distinguish the Times of Plowing, and Harvest there, by the Colour of

the Face of the Earth, and to specify those Times, that others might make a Judgment of their Observation, and have maintain'd, that they have plainly seen in the Moon, Conflagrations, and the Smoak arising from them.

As I fancy there is more of Imagination than of Truth, in such Opinions, I would not have your Excellency quarrel with this I send you, if it does not perform all these Miracles. I will assure you, beforehand, you will find it magnific to so prodigious a Degree, as will perfectly astonish you, as much as you are us'd to Telescopes; while it gives you such evident Demonstrations, that all the Planets are not only habitable, but inhabited. I shall desire you only, while you are enjoying those Pleasures, to remember, that you are chiefly indebted for them, to the Bounty and generous Encouragement, with which our Royal Master contributed to the Project, for improving them so highly, without which, they would never have receiv'd the Perfection they have gain'd.

As Mr. Secretary will entirely take off my Hands, to Night, the Province of the Statesman and the Minister, your Excellency will pardon me, if I only entertain you very poorly *on Philosophy*, and as a Brother Virtuoso, with some small Accounts of what Improvements have been made here in the polite Arts; and also, how far our Trade, and both the Laws and Manufactures of our Country, are advanc'd and regulated within these twenty-five Years, since you left us.

That I may prepossess your Excellency in the best Manner I am able, in Favour of our Improvements here, I shall begin my Account with those elegant Arts, you have so long admir'd and cultivated, Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture; which, tho' greatly encourag'd by his Majesty's Royal Ancestors, have been shewn such extraordinary Favour and Protection, under this Reign, that there have not only Salaries been allow'd to Professors, in each of them, but a Fund of 5000 *l. per Ann.* establish'd by Subscription of his Majesty, and the Nobility and Gentry, which is divided equally on his Majesty's Birth-Day, in *December*, to the three best Pictures, Statues, and Houses, that have been made in *Great Britain* in that Year. Tho' his Majesty

subscribes 1500 *l.* a Year, he has but one Vote in determining who best deserves the Premiums; and that Parties and Factions may be excluded, and only Merit consider'd, all the Subscribers are engag'd, on their Honour, not to solicit any Member for his Vote, and as all is performed by Balloting, it is generally agreed, that nothing can be manag'd with greater Candour and Impartiality.

By this single Method, we have made *Great Britain*, the Seat of these lovely Arts, and have drawn hither, the first Masters of the World, to contend with Emulation for the generous Rewards, which our Country bestows on their Labours and Merit. I do assure your Excellency, it has such an Effect here, that I am confident, we have better new Pictures and Statues in *Great Britain*, than in all *Europe* besides; and perhaps *Italy* her self, will not, in a little Time, be able to excel the Palaces we have built here, since this Scheme has taken Place. In Sculpture, particularly, we have so far excelled, that no Nation comes near us in cutting in Granite, Serpentine, or Porphyry; and we alone have the Art of Working in that hardest of Stones, the Bisaltes, by the Help of Emery, prepar'd in the new Method; and by having probably found out the Secret of tempering our Steel, after the Manner of the Ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*.

I am sorry to tell your Excellency, that we have gone as great Lengths as to Musick, but without assigning Premiums, and am afraid you will put me in Mind of *Cicero's* Maxim, in his Treatise *de Legibus*, *Mutatâ Musicâ mutantur Mores*, and the Rule he lays down for it, which is worth the Consideration of every Nation, *Curandum itaque est, ut Musica quam gravissima & sedatissima retineatur*. It was with this View, that several of his Majesty's Royal Predecessors, peremptorily drove the *Italian* Opera and Music twice from *Great Britain*, and forbid their acting in their Theatres, in *St. James's Square* and *Kensington*, as enervating our Spirits, and emasculating the *British* Genius. *George III.* would never allow it to be us'd in his Troops, or by any Officers in them; and with Difficulty let it be remain'd in the Church Service, and Anthems. Some States have prohibited the Study and Practice of Musick; with the same Views; and the *Spartans*,

your Excellency knows, made a Decree against *Timotheus*, for improving soft Musick, and yet we have run into a Passion for it, with that Violence, that it has not only thriven at the Expence of the good Sense, and, almost, the Valour of our Nation, but has, in some measure, supplanted our Ambition, and our Thirst for Wealth and Power.

The Fiddle, particularly, has so far got into the Hands of our Gentlemen, that, I fear, they will at last forget the Use of their Swords; and am jealous, they will set up, in Time, a new Sect of visionary Religionists amongst us, who will worship nothing but that ador'd Instrument, tho' at the same Time, every one knows, 'tis as rare to see a good Fidler without a poor Understanding, as it is in *Ireland* to see an Harper, that is not blind. It is certain, however, that they have brought the Improvement of it here to a vast Pitch; but your Excellency observes, that this is rather what I am asham'd, than proud of, being heartily concern'd to see our brave People rivalling the Eunuchs of *Italy*, in so trivial an Excellence, to say no worse of it.

Let me lead you now by the Hand, into the Royal College of *St. George* at *Oxford*, which, tho' founded by his Majesty's Ancestors in the Eighteenth Century, has been so vastly improv'd, and it's Revenues so far encreas'd, by the King our Master, that we may almost call it his own Foundation. Your Excellency was well acquainted with it in your Youth, and therefore, I shall only mention to you, such Additions, and new Regulations, as have been made there of late Years. I shall begin with the great Square, all built by his Majesty, which he nam'd the College of the learned World. Here there are Apartments for Twenty-six Fellows, who must be learned Foreigners in Distress, chosen by the Votes of the Nobility, Bishops, and Heads of Colleges, signifying by a sign'd and seal'd Certificate, that the Person to be elected, is a learned Foreigner in Distress, whom they think best deserving the vacant Fellowship, which is worth 50 *l.* the Year, and Diet, and is conferr'd on him who has the most Votes.

In the old Square, adjoining to this, there are Lodgings for four new Professors, who have each of them 150 *l.* a-piece *per Ann.* The First professes and teaches Agriculture and Gardening, and has (near

the College) twenty Acres of Ground, which he employs in small Parcels, under the Plow and Spade, in different Methods and Experiments, in those two useful Arts; and has still a Number of Scholars, who are bred under him, to whom, in soul Weather, he reads Lectures; and in fair Day's he instructs them, in all the practical Methods necessary to the Improving the Culture of the Field and the Garden. They are to assist him in all his Experiments to that End, which he is oblig'd to publish each Year, with their Success or Failure, and the probable Causes and Reasons of both. The King's, and all Noblemen's Gardener's are bred here; and all young Gentlemen, who come to the Universities to learn nothing, are oblig'd, before they take any Degrees in Arts they are perfect Strangers to, to spend six Months under this Professor, in order to make them know something.

The second is called the Weather Professor, and tho' this was established in 1840, yet as his Salary was trebled from 50 *l.* to 150 *l.* I reckon him with the others. He is oblig'd to keep exact Diaries and Indexes of the Wind and Weather, of all Storms, Drougths and Rains, and the antecedent concomitant and consequent Circumstances, as well as the Position of the Planets; and collect all other Symptoms indicative of the Changes of the Air and Weather, with Deductions and Conjectures as to all Dearth's, great Crops, healthy Seasons, and epidemical Distempers, and the Causes and Remedies of Famines and popular Sicknesses. He is to enter his Observations in regular Calendars, and to add Dissertations on all, and particularly on the Causes of such Accidents, as are occasion'd by Heat or Cold, Rain, Frost, Snow, Lightning, Blasts, Mildews, biting Winds and scorching Suns; and to set down the probable Extents of Coasting Winds, Rains and Snows, and to keep three Clerks at three different Distances of at least Eighty Miles asunder to pursue the same Methods exactly. He is also to keep carefully, and observe constantly, his *Statical Hygrosopes*, as to the Moisture and Dryness of the Air, how far full or new Moons, and the menstrual or annual Spring-tides, the Multitude or Fewness of the Solar *Maculæ*, the Approach of Comets, the Aspects of the Planets, their Eclipses, Conjunctions, &c. ap-

pear to affect our Atmosphere in this particular. He is to attend with the same Exactness his Weather Engines to express the Strength of the Winds, by their lifting up such and such Weights; and measure the Quantities of Rain that fall throughout the Year, the Thickness of the Ice, and Depth of Snow, the Length, Breadth, and Force of Earthquakes, as well in his Neighbourhood as by his Correspondents throughout *Great-Britain*, and the neighbouring Coasts of *France* and *Ireland*, and whether they move as is supposed generally from East to West, or how otherwise.

Six Volumes in Folio of these Calendars have been publisht from 1840 to 1991, at the King's Expence lately, and it is incredible what a Certainty we are come to in these Matters, and the Advantage thereby, as to Sieges, Campaigns, Harvests, Journeys, Sailing of Ships, Inundations, and Tempests; it being certain from them, that every Revolution of *Saturn*, we have the same Weather exactly, or with very small Variations. A Discovery, which your Excellency sees at one Glance the Importance of, tho' I fear, as 'tis probable the World will not hold out many Centuries longer, this will be like coming to a great Estate when one is past Seventy, and has no Hopes of enjoying it. The last I shall mention to your Excellency, are the two Professors of Trades, and Mechanical Arts. These divide all the most mysterious Trades between them, such as Dying, Weaving, Tanning, Turning, Carpenters, Masons, Painters, Brewers, Bakers, Spinners, Miners, Wheel, Mill and Ship-wrights, Printing, Glass-making, and such like; and are oblig'd to inspect into all possible or probable Methods to improve those in his Province.

Each Year they give in their Observations or Inventions to the Board of Trade, who, after examining into them, and consulting thereon with the Hall of Tradesmen in that Mystery, give Orders for its being followed and observed by them and their Apprentices, and publisht, if proper, for the common Good. The Professors must be Masters of Arts in one of the Universities, and well vers'd in Experimental Philosophy, and must every seven Years, present his Majesty with an History of the several Trades in their respective Provinces,

and the Improvements made in them by their Care and Inspection. I cannot detain your Excellency too long, or I could reckon up many prodigious Advantages the Publick has gain'd, by light'ning the Labour, short'ning the Road, removing old Mistakes, and supplying new Methods and Inventions, to the several Trades and Manufactures of these Nations.

Thus I have gone thro' the new Professors our Royal Master, following the Steps of his glorious Ancestors, has so generously and so happily establisht. The Queen indeed, who is the best of Princesses, and a second *Caroline* or *Elizabeth*, would have had his Majesty found a Professorship of Piety, since there was ne'er a one in either University; but he told her pleasantly, There were so many Professors of that Kind already in the World, and so few who put what they profess in Practice, that he would not hear of it, till that matter should be amended. But to shew your Excellency how much the learned World is indebted to his Majesty's Cares, I must describe to you the Royal Printing-house which he has erected and endow'd, and which stand in the middle of the noble Square where your Excellency and I lodg'd. It is of *Portland* Stone, built on such vast massy Vaults, and with such an huge Profusion of convenient Offices of all kinds, and Apartments for the Printers, Correctors, and Servants, and makes all together so august and magnificent an Appearance, that *Sheldon's* Theatre would appear but as a Cottage by it. There is 500 *l. per Ann.* issuable out of the Treasury to the Foundation, besides the Benefit of all Copies they print. They must use no Types or Paper but of the best kind, and they work Night and Day, relieving each other by turns, and are to forfeit 5 *s.* each for all Erratas, so that their Copies are reckon'd the most correct extant. Over the great Gate there is a large Inscription in a vast Marble Table, in which the Causes of the Foundation are declared to be, the Service of Religion, the Good of the State, and the Benefit of the Learned World. Then it goes on to say, that as the Number of Books is infinite, and rather distract than inform the Mind, by a mix'd and confused Reading, some being well writ, but ill Books, others good Books, but ill writ; some huddled

up in haste, others stinking of the Lamp; some without any strength of Reasoning, others over loaded with Arguments, half of which are insignificant; some Books being obscure through too affected a Brevity, others perspicuous through an unnecessary Redundancy of Words (like a bright Day at Sea, where yet there is nothing to be seen but Air and Water;) some treating on Subjects that thousands had handled better before, others publishing useless Trifles, because new and unthought of by others; some Writing as if they had never read any thing, others as if they writ nothing but what they read, and then borrowed; therefore his Majesty decrees, no Book should be printed within those Walls but the Works of the Ancients, and such only as should be voted most proper, by two thirds of the Colleges in his two Universities, and confirmed by the Lord Chancellor, and Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* for the Time being. I have dwelt the longer on this noble Design, because I had the Honour to propose it to his Majesty, and the Happiness to bring it to Perfection for the good of Mankind; and I must now lead your Excellency, to take a View of the noble Square that surrounds the Royal Printing-House, which is all new built since we lodged in it. It is divided now, besides a large House for the Provost, into twenty different Buildings, each of which belongs to a Fellow, and contains Apartments for twenty Scholars who are his Pupils, and live with him as in one House, of the Door of which he keeps the Key, as also of all their Chambers. By this Means, as none can go in or out but with his Knowledge, and by his Leave, so nothing can be privately transacted or conceald in their Chambers, which he enters by his Key at Pleasure, thereby shutting out idle Visitors, and Cabals; and to prevent all Intriagues with Women, none are allow'd to come into the House. This Rule extends to all Relations except Mothers, and to their very Servants, who are all Men.

To each Building there is a large Hall, where Morning and Evening his Pupils meet, and study under his Eyes four Hours, writing down his Lectures from his Mouth, or contracting the Authors he gives them; and each *Saturday* they are examined the Repetition of the whole. For each Morning or Evening Lecture the Tutor is absent,

there is treble the Sum due for each Day's Tuition deducted, which ensures their Attendance. There are each Year four Examinations of the whole Body of Scholars in publick, divided into four Classes, and each Class into five Divisions. The Examination lasts two Days, four Hours in the Morning, and four in the Evening, each Day. The twenty Fellows are the Examiners, and return Judgments of each Scholar's Answering on their Oaths, and the five best Answerers in each Division are paid 5 *l.* each in Books, and their Names hung up in the great Hall for ten Days, and opposite to them the Names of the five worst Answerers. After four compleat Years they take their Degrees of Batchellors, except ten of the worst Scholars in each Class, who are constantly stopt for at least one Year more.

After taking their Degrees, their Studies are continued in like manner precisely, as when Under Graduates; when they are lectur'd and examin'd by the Professors, with equal Severity and Constancy, and not allow'd to idle in private. The first of *August*, each Year, if there are any vacant Fellowships, and are examin'd six Days, and eight Hours each Day, by the publick Professors, who, upon their Oaths, nominate the best Answerers, and distribute in like manner 40 *l.* apiece of the Royal Annual Bounty to those who miss, but appear to deserve the Fellowship.

After eight compleat Years, they commence Masters, and are dismiss the Society, if they desire it, with proper Testimoniums of their Behaviour and Scholarship; and if they continue in the Society, are allow'd 20*l.* a Year each, from the Royal Bounty, and are oblig'd to attend the Professors of Divinity, Mathematicks, History, and Civil Law, each of them, two Hours every Day at their publick Lectures for four Years, and then they are declar'd *Emeriti*, and honour'd with larger Testimoniums, betake themselves to their several Professions in the World.

This truly Royal Foundation, of which I omit many smaller Particulars, costs his Majesty about 3000 *l.* a Year, besides the Expence of a Regal Visitation every three Years, when the Morals, Learning, and Diligence of the Provosts, Professors, and Fellows, are severally

enquir'd into, and all Offenders, either strictly caution'd, remov'd, or expell'd.

The Numbers of admirable Scholars that this Society has sent into the World, and their having deservedly obtain'd, a large Share of all Preferments in Church and State, is the best and plainest Evidence that the Foundation is well modell'd, and will save you the Trouble of my enlarging further on it, unless I venture to add, that were the Discipline of our other Colleges proportionably strict, and the Premiums and Allowances more enlarg'd, it is impossible but a Nation so capable of exerting it's natural Turn for Letters, would send out more exalted Genius's, and excellent Scholars, than we have of late done.

But the Delight I take in this Subject, and my Desire that your Excellency should have your full Share in it, has run this Letter into an unexpected Length, especially from my weak Eyes and Hands. It has perfectly tir'd me, and as the Reader is generally sick,, by the Time the Writer is weary, I shall cut off half the Trouble I propos'd to give you, in relation to our late Improvements, as to our Trade, Manufacturers, and Laws; and shall reserve those for the next Dispatch, I have the Pleasure to send you.

Since I wrote this, Mr. Secretary tells me he has drawn up his Majesty's Commands for you, in relation to the poor deserted *Greek* Church, and the State of all Affairs where you are; to which I have nothing to add, but my best Wishes for their Success, and my earnest Entreaties for your Diligence and Vigilance, that nothing may disappoint the Hopes your Excellence has given us, and the kind Expectations I have ever had, of the skillful management of all Matters, that are to pass through your Hands. When you receive the *Carolina* Silks, and White-wine, pray let me know sincerely how you approve of them, for they are much admired here.

All your Relations in this Family kiss your Hands, and your good Lady's, and long for your return once more to them and your Country, where there is no Man more desirous, not only to see but to serve you, than,

My Lord, Your Excellencies most, &c

N—M.

To the Lord High TREASURER.

Mosco, Jan. 27, 1997.

MY LORD,

I Have the Pleasure of your Command by Mr. Secretary of *January* the 3^d, and am highly delighted that I have in some measure answer'd your Expectations by mine of the 29th of *November* last; and as I shall faithfully pursue my Instructions, and particularly the Hints in *Cypher*, so if any thing new arises, I shall use my best Diligence to give the earliest Intelligence, and in the mean time shall act as my present Lights shall direct me.

I find your Lordship considers me as very little employ'd here, since you seem desirous I should explain to you, upon what Grounds the common Opinion hath prevail'd, that the *Muscovites*, who have so long adhered to the *Greek Church*, are now, as it were, with all their Sails, a Trip bound for *Rome*. You desire I should also inform you at large, by what Methods the Jesuits have been able to overcome, that violent Aversion which has so long been manifested, against them and their Communion here; and above all, what Alterations they have been able to bring about, in order to make the Doctrines and Rites of this Church, compatible with theirs.

I will make no Apologies for my Inability to perform this Task, since you have enjoyn'd it me; and shall endeavour to lay the whole of the Jesuits Plan before you, as I have been shewn it here by a very considerable Person, that you may gratify your Curiosity fully, and judge if I am right in my Conjectures, in saying *Venient Romani*, as the *Jews* said of old; and that the *Greek Church* will soon veil her Mitre, to the Pope's Triple Crown.

It must be confest indeed, that the Jesuits herein have proceeded with their usual subtlety and caution, and have not hitherto attempted in an avowed manner the least publick step to oblige this Church

to own her Subjection to that of *Rome*. As they know the general stream of the People's affection, as well as of the inferior Clergy, went violently against them; they have taken their measures accordingly, and have done all they could to remove that Aversion: while at the same time, they have by a thousand methods, secured to themselves the Czar's favour and protection, as well as the Patriarchs, the two Metropolitans, and most of the Bishops, and the Chiefs and Heads of the regular and secular Clergy.

They have managed this point so well, that they are more respected at Court than is easy to be credited, and have such interest with the Nobility, that no man can succeed with them, but as he is favoured and recommended by these pious and worthy Fathers. It is true, indeed, they owe this kind reception to the vast interest this Court finds they have all over *Europe*, and if that were weakened or overturned, probably they would soon sink here also; but as there is little danger of that, and as they are on all occasions vastly serviceable to the Czar's affairs, both at home and abroad, it is certain their power will rather increase than lessen here.

In the mean time, they make the utmost use of what they have, to bring over more and more the whole body of the Clergy to their Party, that by them they may gain on the People, and by degrees prepare this Church to receive the Yoke on her neck, which she has so long, and so obstinately renounced.

To oblige the Clergy in the most sensible manner, they have persuaded the Czar to establish in different parts of the Empire, near two hundred Schools for the *Muscovite* Youth, and especially the Sons of the Clergy; and to settle the annual Præmiums on the several Universities, for such of them as distinguish themselves by their parts and diligence: and at the same time, they have those Schools, and Universities, and Præmiums, entirely under the management of persons solely dependant on them.

By this means, such principles are instilled, secretly and imperceptibly, into the Youth of the Empire, as necessarily beget a horror

of Schism, a love of Union, and a high veneration for the authority and doctrines of the Church of *Rome*.

But as these counterfeit Fishers of men are generally observed not to do their work by halves, they have taken measures yet more effectual, to oblige both the People and Clergy for ever. There are, my Lord, numbers of poor mortals in this Nation, who being able just to read the service of the Church in their own tongue, and a translation of St. *Chrysostome's* Homilies into it, to the People, get into Priests Orders, like the sons of *Eli*, to gain a piece of bread; and yet the provision made for them is so small, they are disappointed even in securing that, and are almost starving two thirds of the year. There are in the Czar's Dominions four thousand Parishes in these circumstances, where the priest was in this wretched scituation; and yet by his Majesty's personal contributions, and by a regular tax of the tenth penny on all ecclesiastical preferments, which they procured to be voluntarily laid on, by the Patriarch, Bishops, and richer Clergy, whose livings exceed a hundred pounds *per annum*, there is a fund raised, with so generous and christian a spirit, that their poor brethren, who were daily in danger of perishing, and Religion with them, for want of support, are delivered from the contempt and misery of their condition, and have now full forty pounds *per annum*, settled for ever on each of their Livings.

While they thus provided for the poor and the ignorant, they have not forgot the richer and more learned Clergy; and as they have their spies and emissaries every where, whenever they find a man of real merit confin'd to a parish in some remote corner, out of the eye and notice of the Court, where he is obliged to waste his life in instructing his *Russes* (the most stupid of rational Creatures) like a second St. *Francis* preaching to the rocks in a desert; they take care, if they find him a friend to their Order, or can make him so, to have him removed to some happier scituation.

Judge, my Lord, what an influence this must give them on poor *Russian* Monks, who though they are regular enough in their lives, and are good men at their breviary; yet, I fancy, when they pray, may

now and then, as Naturalists say of the Cameleon, look at the same time with one eye to Heaven, and with the other on the Earth, where ease and convenience are pretty industriously sought after. Nay, they have even taken care of their interests, if I may so speak, after their death; and have obtained a Law, that their Widows, if poor, shall enjoy one year's full profit of their Husband's living, after his decease, or ten pounds *per annum* for life: So that here is another deep obligation laid on this powerful body, and by men that are little inclined to favour a married Clergy.

I shall continue, my Lord, a little longer, to make these Jesuits panegyrick (and certainly, if they did these good things to a good end, they would deserve a much nobler one than I can honour them with;) for I must confess, the Constitutions they have introduced into this Church, as to Bishops, are worthy the virtue and piety of the apostolick Age. For in the first place, they have obtained a Law, that no Bishop shall be capable during life, of being translated from the first See he is appointed to fill, (except when he is removed to be Patriarch) but he is married as effectually to his Church as to his Wife, and can never espouse another. The *Russian* Bishops formerly were still changing their scituations, and driving about in their coaches, like the *Tartars* who lived perpetually in carts, journeying from one place to another for better grass, when they had eat the pasture bare where they had first settled; but they have taught them now, like *Is-sachar*, to know that Rest was good (at least in one sense) for them, and made them both remember and practise the good old Monkish maxim,

*Si qua sede sedes, quæ sit tibi commoda sedes, Illâ sede sede,
nec ab illa sede recede.*

By this Law they have obtained two good ends. First, that the Bishops shall not dangle perpetually after the Court, but shall be less slavishly dependant on the Czar, (who before used to manage them as he pleased, and set their tongues to go faster or slower, as we do

our Clocks, as he found most convenient) and in consequence hereof, that hereafter they shall be more inclinable to the interest of the Pope, and his ecclesiastical Authority, when once it shall be established here. This was certainly a most impolitick step for this Court to make, but it is grown a maximum now in this, as well as most Governments in *Europe*, that where the Jesuits are obliged, every thing is done with prudence; and this original error sanctifies all others that flow from it.

In the second place, by bolting the gate against all future preferments, they have effectually provided that the Sees shall be faithfully watched over, and constantly resided on, to the infinite emolument of the Christian Church, and the several Cures dependant on their Bishopricks. This your Lordship will certainly allow to be an excellent regulation, and yet I have another to mention, nothing inferior to it, which is established by the same Law; and that is, that every Bishop shall on the death of any of his Clergy, before he gives away his Living, publickly receive the Sacrament in his Cathedral Church, and in the view of all his Congregation, solemnly swear on the Evangelists, that he will collate to that Living no Relation, nor be moved by any respects to solicitations of others, or blood or affinity, or any worldly regards, *nec prece nec pretio*, but the service of God, and his true Religion; and shall then and there (I am repeating the words of the Law to your Lordship) on the place name the person to whom he resolves to bestow it. A security so strong and binding, to have piety, learning, and true merit only considered in such sacred preferments, that if it prevailed through the whole boy of the Popish Church, or indeed in any other, would soon give them strength and credit sufficient to baffle and overturn all their adversaries, and almost give countenance and authority to the worst and weakest Doctrines she could maintain. Behold here the noblest provision for learning and merit! but the difficulty that still remains, is to find either of them in *Russia*. My Lord, they have taken effectual care, even of this almost insurmountable evil; for besides the new Præmiums they have got established in the Schools and Universities, which are able to rouse and awaken the drowsiest natures, the Bishop is obliged to keep a

constant Library (appropriated to, and belonging to the See) in good order and condition, for the use of his Clergy; and in their turns of seniority, to have six of them residing in his house for twelve calendar months, reading under his direction for at least eight hours every day.

By this means learning, that is, some reasonable degree of it, is become more general among the Clergy who formerly could hardly read their Liturgies; and surely if this obtain'd in our Country, it would be of much greater service than our larger libraries are, which like armories have few or no arms kept for constant service, but are really more for shew than use, and to give an air of strength and superiority to our Neighbours and Strangers that visit them.

And because formerly the *Russian* Clergy like the rest of the *Greek* Church entirely neglecting preaching, never making Sermons but twice in the year, on the First of *September* when their year begins, and St. *John Baptist's* day, they have by their influence and authority in many Diocesses prevail'd on the Bishops to oblige their Parish Priests to preach at least the first Sunday in every month, and to lessen their labour those days they have order'd them to abbreviate the tedious Liturgies of the *Greek* Church, and thereby prepar'd them for the shorter and much easier one used in the *Latin*. It is certain indeed, with all this care and reading the *Russian* Sermons are miserable Performances; for tho' they are kept by turns thus constantly poring in their Bibles and Comments on them, and eternally turning over the best of the ancient Fathers of the *Greek* Church, they do not seem to relish, or at least to digest them well; and if I may be allow'd the levity of the expression, they drink Wine, but they piss Water.

But methinks, my Lord, I perceive an Objection ready to be offer'd here, and which yet I will undertake the good Jesuits shall effectually answer; and that is, that by these excellent Institutions they seem to have cut short their own power of providing for the Friends of their Society and Faction. No, my Lord, never doubt them, they are not so short-sighted; for tho' they concern themselves less in the smaller Preferments, they industriously take care of all that are considerable, and particularly as to the Bishopricks they let no Man step

into the poorest See of this Church, whom they cannot absolutely depend on as a Creature of their own.

There are in all Churches, and especially in this, a kind of very managing and manageable Divines, who pay their court to interest and power, wherever they find it, by a servile obsequiousness in prostituting their Pens and their Pulpits to defend or explode all Tenets as they are convenient or improper for the present times, and the present views of their masters. They are a race of creatures who are still mighty sticklers for all seasonable local Truths and temporal Verities, and are too often found to be the use fullest tools that ever were set at work by the wise *Matchiavels* of the world: However the malice of some envious people nick-name them sometimes the Professors of the *Engastromythick* Divinity, and rail at them a little severely as teaching trencher Truths, and writing and preaching from that lower kind of Inspiration which has set so many great Souls at work, and fills the head from the fumes of the belly.

Out of this illustrious body these good Fathers fail not with infinite skill and care to garble such Spirits as they find entirely devoted to their service, and ready to act the part of meer machines, to be directed and managed as they shall find proper to employ them; and of this clay, thus temper'd and prepar'd, are the choice vessels of the *Russian Church*, her holy Bishops and Fathers constantly made.

Next to this great circumstance (which is ever a *conditio sine quâ non*) there are two material considerations that have perpetually influenc'd their choice of fit Persons to fill the vacant Sees, both which deserve your Lordship's consideration.

The first is, that such as are of the families of the Nobility, and related nearly to the great Knezzes and Officers at the Court, or in the several Provinces, shall still be preferr'd to those that are meanly born, tho' superior to them in parts and learning; by which rule they tie down their relations to support their designs, and approve of that great revolution they have projected.

The second is, that unmarried and childless persons shall always be pitch'd on; because tho' they find it impracticable to introduce

Celibacy among the inferior Clergy (who by the Canons of the *Greek* Church must be married before they take orders, and can never marry again being widowers) yet by this method they have sufficiently establish'd it among the whole Order of Bishops. Hereby they have brought them to conform to the *Latin* Church in a material article, and by being childless, made them less tied down in their families and fortunes to the Civil Powers, and likelier and abler with their Wealth and Interest to support the Ecclesiastical Estate, to which they are so nearly related.

A rule, my Lord, which, if it obtain'd in the *Greek* and Protestant Churches, which allow marriage to their Clergy, would at least have this good consequence, that men of the greatest Talents, and bless'd with a spirit and genius fit for governing others, would live unmarried, and prepare themselves by times for such important trusts; and also the little stream of wealth which is yet left undrain'd and allow'd to feed the conveniences or necessities of their Prelates, would not so often be entirely sunk in filling up the private ponds and canals of a family, but be more generally dispers'd to enrich the face of their country, to the profit and service of the publick. But as these reflections are fitter for a different place, I shall dismiss them, to mention to your Lordship another maxim by which these good and pious Fathers prepare the way for the papal authority; and that is, by encouraging learning among the Nobility and Clergy of *Russia*.

This would be a very unlikely Engine for them to work with, if they did not confine it in proper bounds and limits; but as there are few Printing-presses here, and most of them set up by themselves; and since they are in a manner the sole importers of books; they take heed, while they cherish and reward Scholars, to furnish them only with such Authors as are either secretly or openly conducive to these ends. Thus in *Russia*, as in many other places, Men read not to direct themselves in forming just thoughts and opinions of things, but to confirm them in those which they have already taken up, or in favour of which their Interest or their Passions are strongly engag'd. As to this people, it is beyond all question, the Jesuits could not have so

effectually broken down (the main fences between the *Greeks* and *Latins*) the Zeal and Ignorance of the Laity and Clergy, as by this limited kind of learning; which is as different from true knowledge, as the light of a lanthorn that just directs us in the night in the path we desire to walk in, is from the light of the Sun that opens the whole face of the Creation to our view.

Let us now pass from their management of the Clergy, to consider the mixt body of the people in general; and we shall find there three powerful causes, that are perpetually at work to bring about the ends which the boundless ambition of this society, and the empire of the *Vatican* are ever persuing.

The first of these is, removing a scandalous practice that prevail'd, as all historians tell us, for many ages in this country, of the landlords obliging all their poor vassals to work on Sundays as much as other days, to the intolerable burthen of their tenants, to the utter breach of the Laws of God, and the scandal of those of Men. Their remedy indeed has little regarded the former of these, but has entirely removed the latter, which was nearer their hearts; for by a new constitution of the Czar's, and a Canon of one of their Synods, they have ordain'd, that on Sunday no person shall be allow'd to labour, but shall spend the day, after attending divine service, entirely in sports and diversions of all kinds. As this was known to be their work, it is incredible what favour and respect they have gain'd by it among all the lower ranks of people; who used to abhor the least communication and correspondence with them.

As this artifice takes in all the herd of the lower people, the second reaches to those who are easier in their circumstances, and endeavour by their industry to enlarge their fortune. To gain these, as the good Fathers are the great Bankers and Traders in the Catholick world, (where they have labour'd to supplant both the *Dutch* and us) so they have with great expence and gain establish'd trade and manufactories in the chief towns of this vast Empire, and have taught the *Russians* to extend their commerce and bring in wealth to their commerce and bring in wealth to their country in a surprizing manner.

How far this must endear them to all, is easily conceiv'd; and therefore I shall pass on to the last main cause that favours their designs, and that is the universal Deism that has infected such crowds of persons considerable for rank, power, and fortune in this nation. This epidemical plague has spread most unaccountable among them several ill-grounded and shameful causes, the falshood and folly of which we are not to examine now: but it has prevail'd so here, that even those who still preserve some remains of respect for our holy Faith, indulge themselves in picking out of it and their particular fancies and prejudices, a mix'd Olio of a Religion of their own, which deserves to be compar'd to nothing so properly as that of their neighbouring *Tartars*, the *Morduites*; who are both circumcis'd and baptiz'd as *Jews* and *Christians*, and yet are absolute Pagans in their worshipping and sacrificing to Idols. Nay, I have known Great Men here, remarkable for more Learning than generally falls to the share of Noblemen in *Russia*, who were credulous enough to allow a thousand historical absurdities in Authors of credit on the slightest evidence, who believ'd, or affected to believe nothing in the Bible, tho' supported by the strongest.

Such an odd unaccountable way of thinking have some Minds contracted, that resemble the Dead Sea, as *Mandeville* describes it, on which Iron would swim, but a Feather would sink immediately. How far this deluge of Infidelity, overspreading and overturning the old Foundations settled here in this Church, may contribute and give opportunity to the building up the papal Authority amidst the ruins and destructions of both, I need not observe to your Lordship, who have so thorough an insight in the dependance and consequences of such things. Thus far it is obvious to remark, that in so terrible a confusion, *Rome* and the worst of her corruptions will be preferred by the Clergy themselves, and all that have any remainder of Piety left, to no Religion at all; and even the debauch'd and immoral part of Men who have none, and find it necessary to keep up some outward profession in the world, will come into the change as the best and fittest they can find for their purpose. And indeed it must be confest, there

is no Religion upon earth, where believing or doing so little, will so effectually serve the turn (if men will be silent and obedient) as that of the Church of *Rome*, and these good Fathers with their distinctions and absolutions.

But while I say this I would not be understood, my Lord, as if I gave credit to the reports that are spread here, as if the Jesuits secretly favour'd the growth of this devouring pestilence. Tho' we well know by sad experience in *Great Britain*, what horrible sects and heresies their emissaries fow'd among our ancestors, in the calamitous confusions of the seventeenth Century, in hopes to overturn *our* Church and restore their own; yet I am unwilling to believe they can be possess'd with so infernal a spirit as that of *James Mora* the Surgeon and *William Platen* of *Milan*, who conspir'd to poison and infect the Citizens in the time of the Plague, in order to make themselves masters of their Fortunes, as an old Author tells us in his Travels.* However I think I may without breach of charity say, that they would rather even Deism or Mahometism should prevail, so they could at last establish themselves, than that the *Greek* Church should flourish in opposition to *Rome*, and keep their ador'd St. *Nicholas* in his post of Porter of the gates of Heaven, in contempt of St. *Peter* whom they have plac'd there.

And thus I shall put an end to this account of their Intrigues here, and their Schemes for obliging and serving the *Russian* Church and Clergy, in order to enslave them; and must own, there are some things they have done as to this last particular, that with proper Abatements I would rejoice to see copied in our own Kingdoms, whenever the wisdom and piety of our excellent Sovereign should judge it convenient.

Where truth allow'd it, I have given them their due praises, and should be sorry to speak of them with any unreasonable bitterness and severity. I admire the great Talents, Learning, and Wisdom of that prodigious society as much as any man, where they are applied

* Addison's *Travels in Italy*, page 39.

(as they ought solely to be) to the good of Mankind, and the glory of our Creator. But to see such excellent instruments turn'd to corrupt our Morals, to wound Religion, and raise Factions, Schisms, and Rebellions in the earth to serve their own ambition, must raise every one's indignation. 'Tis a detestable perverting of Wit and reason, and all the powers of the human mind, from the noble purposes they were given us for by Heaven, to the worst that can be suggested by Hell; and bears a near resemblance of their practice who make use of that soul of vegetation, and basis of nutriment, the Nitre of the Earth, to convert it into gunpowder for the destruction of their fellow-creatures.

It is true they pretend the good of mankind, and the peace of the Church, are the great views which all their toils and labours are directed to; tho' they make use of such infernal methods to arrive at them, as plainly shew 'tis the power and empire of *this* world they aim at. If they made a good use of their power where they are masters, Men would certainly oppose them with less violence than they do; but alas, they are perpetually employing it where they dare, to persecute and torment their Christian brethren for the least unessential differences in opinions: condemning them to dungeons and tortures, and delivering them up, as far as they are able, both to temporal and eternal fire. The savage nations in *America* indeed, are said to make war on their neighbours, who do not use the same customs and speak the same language; but these Gentlemen go a few steps further, and pursue you to the death, nay beyond the grave, because you do not think as they do (a matter in no man's power) in speculative points of their own contriving and imposing. For after all, my Lord, they have not only made a perfect manufacture of this commodity, but a monopoly too, and have manag'd with their *Faith*, as to the world, as the *French* King has done with his salt as to his subjects. At first it lay ready in every creek, a plain useful healthful commodity, which all that pleas'd had for taking up, till by his absolute power the King seizes it solely into his hands, makes it up his own way, and refines it as he thinks proper; and then orders every one, on pain of death, to

take such a proportion of it as he thinks necessary for them, whether they want it or no, or whether they will or no; and forbids under severe penalties that any that's foreign should be imported, and punishes all that make use of any other (tho' ever so much better) that is privately brought in by strangers.

But my zeal to satisfy your Lordship's curiosity on this subject has made me go somewhat beyond my own intentions, and I fear a great way beyond your desires. I will not encrease my fault by a long apology, and how ill foever I may have executed this, I shall wait with impatience for some new occasion of obeying any other commands you have for me, and every opportunity of shewing my self with great respect and submission,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

Clare.

To the Lord High Treasurer, &c.

Constantinople, Feb. 25. 1697.

MY LORD,

I Can never sufficiently thank you for the pleasure I received from your Lordship's of *Novemb. 29.* from *London-Chelsea*, and the agreeable accounts you gave me in it, that my little Services here are acceptable to his Majesty and your Lordship; and above all, that the King condescends to entertain himself with the imperfect accounts I am able to send from hence.

Your Presents were most welcome to me, and especially, the glorious Telescope you have honour'd me with, which I shall in a few days set up conveniently enough. The Grand Seignior has already heard of it, and has resolv'd to have it brought into the Seraglio for his entertainment; which I am much rejoic'd at, you may believe, for the reasons I gave you. When he has seen it, I shall write to your Lordship a full account of all passages. Your *Carolina* White-wine was admirable, and the Silks much applauded here.

I hardly know which to admire most, your prodigious Prudence, that has so greatly improv'd that drooping Colony in so small a time; or your Goodness, that after so long an absence can continue to remember me in so obliging a manner. But tho' I have less share in it as to any pleasure or expectation of my own, your Lordship's most exact and minute account of all the surprizing improvements made in the politer Arts, and those noble marks his Majesty has given of his zeal for Learning, gave me the highest satisfaction: and I am confident, all who have any regard to what our Country owes him, will never fail to express a due sense of the blessings they receive from him, and to beseech Heaven to continue long to us a Prince, who seems born for the good of his subjects and the world.

I am glad I can now assure his sacred Majesty and your Lordship, that at last the Treaty is perfected in every article, as directed in my last instructions in Mr. Secretary's Cypher. The Grand Seignior order'd the Vizier to sign them last Tuesday, as he accordingly did; and by this safe conveyance I transmit them for your perusal, and doubt not but your Lordship will be pleas'd to see our Trade here so happily establish'd, and that no weakness or inability of mine, has been able to disappoint the prudence and wisdom of his Majesty's and your Lordships's Measures.

I have spoke to the Patriarch and several of the *Greek* Papas or Priests in a body here, and they have assur'd me they will transmit their thanks in a particular Address to his Majesty. Their miserable condition made the mention of Pensions highly welcome; and indeed if some of our learned Clergy and Books could be sent hither, to concert measures with them, it might produce uncommon consequences in favour of our Church, and to the prejudice of the Papal See, who so ridiculously stiles herself *Catholick*, tho' her dominions are nothing equal to those of this Church in *Europe* and *Asia* as to extent, and very little superior as to numbers of people. And now, my Lord, I return with all submission to observe your commands, to make some additions to those imperfect Observations I had the honour to transmit you from hence relating to these people. But while you increase my desire, you almost take away the power of obeying you, by letting me know I am writing every word under my royal Master's discerning eye. This over-awes and damps my mind: for alas! what am I able to write, that can be fit to be heard or consider'd by so great a Prince, by so great a Judge as his Majesty? But your Lordship's desires, which are to me in the place of the most absolute commands, oblige me too strongly, to admit of any excuse to disobey them: and therefore as I have already spoke sufficiently on the subjects of their Army, Navy, Trade, and Revenue, and have also touch'd on several new Customs and Laws establish'd among them of late years; I shall go on to take notice of some others, that as yet I have left unmention'd. And the first I shall point to, are several Regulations formerly quite neglected

here (which possibly may not be be unuseful to our selves or neighbours here-after) in relation to the Plague.

Your Lordship, who is so perfectly acquainted with the customs and usages of all Nations, is by no means a stranger to the stupid contempt and indifference which this Court used to shew formerly on this occasion; and though they saw every year so many millions swept away, by the ravage of that epidemical evil, yet so blindly were they given up to their prejudices of Predestination, and that every Man's Fate was wrote in his forehead, that they never took the least measures for the common good and safety of their Subjects. But as experience (the fond wife of Wisemen, and the scornful mistress of Fools) has sufficiently convinced them of their error, they have of late issued several Orders relating to this subject, that are not unworthy your Lordship's consideration, if ever the crying Sins and Immorality of our times should call down this severe chastisement on our Country.

I shall not need to take notice to your Lordship, that in all Countries, and especially in *Turky*, whenever that calamity falls on them, one fifth of the People generally perish, and consequently that this is a vast drawback on the strength of the Empire, and the increase of their Subjects, and therefore that the severest Laws are requisite to remedy so dangerous an evil. As they are fully convinced of this now, they have established such Orders throughout the Empire, as they judged most necessary to prevent the spreading of so fatal a Contagion, and decreed that the most severe Quarantines must be observed in all Sea-Ports, whereby it shall be death for any Mariner or Passenger to come ashore, and sufficient rewards established for every person who ingenuously discovers the infection of any Ship, and the heaviest forfeitures in case of concealment. That all Custom-house-Officers shall have the same rewards, who discover any ship to be infected, and forfeiture of place and goods, if they connive at, or conceal such Infection: and that all ships where one fifth part of the crew are sick, shall be judged as infected, and perform the most rigid Quarantine accordingly.

Thus far they strive to shut out the danger by Sea, and at Land they have taken as great precautions, both to prevent its least approach, or, if it appears, to stop its course; and in case it spreads, to put all possible bounds to its raging fury. As to the first of these, the late Emperor *Achmet* ordered that the whole Quarter called the *Janisarchi* where the Linnen and Woollen Drapers, and the Druggists lived, (and where by reason of the moist earth near the Seashore, and the rotting of the vast heaps of drugs thereby, and the aptness linnen and woollen packs have to retain infectious qualities, the Plague generally first broke out) should be removed into different parts of the suburbs, and adjacent villages, in the best air, and only one of those Trades to be assigned to each street. The same order obtains as to all Apothecaries, Brewers, Bakers, Tallow-Candlers, Butchers, Dyers, and such trades, which are apt to infect the air, and injure the health of great Cities, and are therefore obliged to live at a convenient distance from *Constantinople*: which I wish heartily were observed in every Metropolis in *Europe*, as well as in *London*, since I am confident it would make them abundantly more pleasant and healthful. There are Clerks of the Market also settled, who watch carefully that no corrupted or unwholesome meat, fusty corn, or rotten or decayed fruits or roots, be sold to the People, under severe Fines; nay, they are obliged also to destroy and bury those hideous tribes of wild dogs that run about their streets; and have even laid a tax on all houses that keep cats in them (though this last is so great a favourite with the *Turks*) those creature being reckoned to contribute much to the spreading, if not the breeding, infectious distempers. Besides these precautions, all common Beggars, Gypsies, and Dervises, who live on alms, are banished this City on pain of Death; their usual nastiness and distempers having justly rendered them suspected: and also all persons are obliged to bury their dead at least seven foot underground. Nay though they keep publick Scavengers to carry away all filth and nastiness, yet every Housekeeper is to have the street clean swept before his door, and in summer time sprinkled with water to cool the air.

But in the second place, my Lord, if the Infections break out, each district has publick Searchers appointed to attend it, who remove all the sick who are necessitous to publick Hospitals, where they are well looked after; and oblige the richer sick to live retired in the remotest part of their houses, under the care of the publick Physicians of that district, who are in sufficient numbers obliged to attend them, at the general charge of the Inhabitants, on pain of the Gallies. All sick houses are marked with black strokes, to the number of the sick in them, and two slaves set to watch them by turns night and day, and to bury all that die, in their yards or gardens ten foot deep, with all their clothes and bedding, it being death to sell, or even conceal the least part of such goods, as they used to do.

In each district there are Cadies and publick Officers appointed to examine daily if the publick rules are observ'd both as to Physicians and Apothecaries, Searchers, Watchmen, and the Sick they are to attend; and to order all proper food and provisions for such houses as are shut up, and to oblige all such attendants on the Sock to carry white wands in their hands, that all may avoid them. It is true indeed they are under some difficulties to provide a sufficient number of Physicians for all districts, and the Physicians here are really very ignorant creatures; but then by their frequent experience in this epidemical distemper, and the general rules that are printed and dispers'd among them, every little Quack, Druggist, or Apothecary is able to discharge his duty tolerably in this point, tho' perhaps in no other.

Lastly, my Lord, if the Plague in spite of all this care spreads thro' the City, all publick concourse, even at markets or the mosques, is prohibited, and no person allow'd to walk the streets without some strong-scented herbs in their hands to smell to, or tobacco in their mouths or noses, and all publick houses are forbid the sale of any thing within doors. No Magistrates whatever are to leave the City, but must assemble once every day, to issue necessary orders, and punish all Offenders without mercy. They are to keep guards of Janisaries in every proper post, and to make vast fires in all great streets and

squares, to purify the air, and in a word, to see nothing omitted for the publick benefit.

By these methods, my Lord, it is incredible how many millions of his subjects lives this good Emperor has saved, many of which, if established as laws in *Europe*, would keep us from those disorders, and panick fears which attend us when this publick judgments visits us for our sins, as it has more than once this last Century. In this view I have troubled your Lordship with this tedious repetition of some of the most considerable of them, which have been practiced of late so successfully throughout this Empire.

It is certain, such care is more necessary in this age than ever, when Men and Women are observ'd to grow barren, and to have fewer children than their Ancestors. Whether this proceeds from a detectable proneness to the unnatural Sin, or at least, to Whoredom, or from the waste and ravage which Luxury, Voluptuousness, and Debauchery of all kinds have made in our bodies, or the dwindling and decay of Nature, that is wasted and spent with its own labours, or, which is most likely, from all together; I leave to your Lordship to decide, and to the Governors of Nations to provide against: for as their Strength consists in the numbers of their subjects, so their Lives seem to want and deserve more care than usual.

But I shall quit this melancholy topick, to observe some more agreeable regulations which have obtained here, that might be of service to our Country, if introduced among us, either by Laws, or Custom, the strongest of Laws.

And the first I shall take notice of in this light, is one which has contributed to raise this City from its Ruins, and the obscurity of its dark, narrow, and irregular Streets, to the beauty and uniformity which appears in every quarter of it: and that is, that even in its smallest streets, and much more in its larger ones and open squares, all houses whether great or small, must be built of one equal heighth and uniform model, as to doors, windows, and cornishes, according to the publick plan, settled by the Grand Seignior's Architect.

By this method the meanest streets are kept so even, straight, and with so regulated a neatness and proportion, for the poorest Citizens and the greatest, and are so properly suited to and matched with the adjoining dwellings, that they make a most pleasing prospect to the eye. I have often reflected, that if this had been settled but fifty years since with us, we should have by this time a very different City, and less of that shocking mixture of good and bad, high and low, old or new-fashioned houses, which deform our streets and squares, and look more like ill-sorted different sized Ships, of all burthens, and built by several Nations, when they lie at anchor in our Harbours, than Houses of the same City and People.

Another method I shall hint to your Lordship, is that of the publick Schools, which are used here of late for instructing the youth in wresting, leaping, vaulting, swimming, riding, shooting, and fencing, which has prov'd of vast use in making them active, strong-limbed, and able-bodied. This is of such infinite service to Mankind in the various accidents of Life, that it were to be wished, we, who have so many schools for the improvements of our Minds, would have some to provide for the service of our bodies; and not leave such matters to chance, or the humour of Children, who seldom mind them or practise them, but with danger of hazard, for want of care and skill to direct them.

The next particular I shall mention, is a Law that obtains here as to houses already built, but extends not to future buildings, whereby all homesteads in every City, Town, or Village, where any house falls down, and continues four years in ruins, are immediately forfeited to the Grand Seignior, and sold at a low price to any Person, who will oblige himself to rebuild it. By this single rule they have kept their Towns from that Desolation which used to lay them waste; and if this were extended in our Country to forfeiture or fine, from the Tenant to the Landlord, and then in seven years to the King, it might keep up at least our present Tenements in repair, which are gone to ruin in so many of our Towns, to our great detriment.

I know not whether so abstemious and regular a person as my constitution and course of life have obliged me to be, may venture to mention another Custom which universally prevails here, since the use of Wine has been so general; and that is, that the *Jews* are entirely possessors of the monopoly of Wine in this Country, who are found by experience to sell it pure and unmixed. This practice they give into out of principle, the Law of *Moses* strictly forbidding all mixtures; and as they scrupulously adhere to it, and dare not violate it, they are observed to keep it unadulterated, as it comes from the Vineyard. How far this might deserve to be encouraged in *Great-Britain*, where we consume so much Wine, and so abominably brewed and compounded, by the tricks and imposture of our Merchants; or how far at least, these Brokers of the World, who lie sucking the life-blood of our Trade, might be made useful in this branch of our Commerce, I leave to your Lordship's consideration, who know so well how much the health and lives of the Subjects are concerned in it, as well as the Excise on the consumption.

I have but one thing further to offer to your Lordship, and I shall quit this subject for a while; and that is, the severe Penalties that every one is liable to, who is found in the streets of this City after one a-clock at night. I am very sensible this would be very disagreeable to a Nation like ours, that glories in the very abuse and excesses of Liberty; but whether the consequences of such a regulation amongst us, by preventing Murders, Robberies, and Debaucheries of all kinds, would not make abundant amends for the restraint, I am more in doubt than possibly your Lordship may be, when you ballance the two Evils together.

I shall take the hint from hence to turn to another subject, and shew your Lordship that though it must be owned that there are some advantages in this absolute Monarchy, which ours, as a limited one, is deprived of; yet they are so trivial and inconsiderable, in comparison of the miseries that accompany it, that they deserve not to be mentioned. Nay, if I might trouble your Lordship with my small judgment in Politicks, I am of opinion, that no sensible, not to say no

just and generous Man, would rather chuse to govern an Empire of Slaves, as this is, than a Nation of Subjects, as ours, merely upon the principle of ease and safety to himself, and security to his Family.

For tho' Men here are such vassals to power, that, like the *Chæroneans* in *Bœotia* of old who worshipped *Agamemnon's* sceptre, (as made by *Vulcan* for *Jove*, and brought from Heaven by *Mercury*) they make Gods of their Rulers; yet their History shews us how often they have served their Emperors whom they worship, as the poor Heathen did his Idol that he prayed to so long in vain to ease his miseries, that at last in a rage he broke it to pieces.

As on every little ill-success or ill-humour of the People, the heads of the Bassas are made a sacrifice to them, so on all greater misfortunes or misconduct abroad, we see how insolently and violently the rage of the Commonality and Soldiery breaks out against the Emperors themselves. They then depose one and set up another, according as their Passions or Caprice directs them, and take a full revenge for their intolerable slavery, by usurping as unjustifiable a power to themselves. How often, my Lord, since I have been Ambassador here, have I seen the worst and lowest of the People demand and obtain the heads of the wisest and the best of the Bassas, on false and ill-grounded surmises? and this with such universal fury, that one would think the vengeance of Heaven fell on these Infidels, like *Moses's* great miracle on *Pharaoh*, when the dust of the Earth was turned into Lice that swarmed every where, crawling into the Palaces of Kings, and defiling and devouring the Princes of the Land.

It is true indeed, I have sometimes known these terrible Seditions of the People occasioned by real dangers of the State, which, like the Geese in the Capitol, they have saved by their noise and clamours, when those who should have been their best watchmen slept. But they have still been attended by such dreadful consequences to their Governors, as may make their Successors tremble to consider, that the rage of their Subjects, like the authority of their Emperor, is not circumscribed and bounded by settled and regular Laws, but their own wills.

A reflection which more or less there is too much ground for in all absolute Monarchies, but especially in this; and must make every wise Man chuse to govern a People, who are bound by Rules they have freely consented to, and have no temptations to break through from their own interest, than to rule over them by an absolute authority, which must ever be precarious, in proportion to the People's temptations and advantages to overturn it.

Besides, though in the hands of a good Prince the People seldom suffer by a Despotical Government; yet this Virtue will be no defence to him, if this Arms prove unsuccessful abroad, or his Administration by unforeseen accidents prove unfortunate at home; neither of which opportunities are often neglected by his opprest Subjects, or left unrevenged by Civil Wars or Insurrections, which seldom end but in his ruin, or his Ministers.

Whoever looks into the History of this Empire, will be convinced by numberless instances of these truths, and will find in *them*, arguments sufficient to convince the most absolute Princes, that they would be happier in a more limited Government, and make them not only privately debate, like *Augustus*, how to moderate their tyranny, but publickly set on foot so noble and generous a design. I am persuaded, were the Grand Signior to travel over, as a private person, the wide depopulated Wastes of his Provinces, and with his own eyes behold the Cruelty, Extortion, Oppression, and Injustice, which, under the cover of his authority, his Governors, Cadies, and Officers, make use of to enrich themselves, and plunder his wretched Subjects; his good-natured and generous temper would be affected in the tenderest manner by it. But while he sits in his Palace or Camp, surrounded by his great Bassas, he must hear with their ears, and see with their eyes, whatever is offered to his consideration; and to propose the least abatements of the misery of his People, would be regarded only as undermining his power, which at present rather wants props to support it.

In all absolute Monarchies where I have been, the inhuman treatment of the subjects had ever struck me in the most shocking

manner; and surely, to see Wretches, whom the Prince who tyrannises over them, calls his Fellow-creatures, and sometimes his Christian Brethren, us'd with less mercy or humanity than the beasts of the field; must fill every one, who has any bowels of pity in him, with horror. Indeed the lovely climates where Tyranny has generally seated herself in the World, seem to make some amends for the misery of those who groan under the burthen of such severe task-masters. But to behold it destroying the peace and happiness of the Northern Parts of the Globe, is to see upon Earth a lively image of Hell, that is, Woe, Punishments, and Misery in the midst of an uncomfortable gloom and darkness, without the least glympse of hope from the mercy of Heaven, or the smallest relaxation from their own complaints, or the weariness of their cruel tormentors, who must share in the tortures they are made ministers of.

Many people have wonder'd how such Governments find subjects to live under them, and have generally accounted for it by the love of one's Country, which runs thro' all. But can Debtors love their Goal, or Felons their Dungeon? No certainly, my Lord; and therefore it must be accounted for, partly by the care these greedy shepherds take, that as few as possible of the flock they are to fleece stray from them; and partly, from seeing few of their neighbours much easier; and lastly, from their being teather'd up by little domestick ties and relations, and by customs and languages that are used by them, and thought barbarous by others.

I am assur'd, that about fifty years since the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Scio* found out a middle way (which few I doubt will dare to imitate them in) to put an end to their slavery under the *Turks*. For having severe new Taxes laid on them, and on being unable to pay them, finding their Wives, and Friends, and Children carried away for Slaves; they all, Men and Women, bound themselves by the severest penalties to make their Commonwealth, as *Florus* speaks, *Res unius ætatis*¹, and to put an end to their Slavery by having no more

1. *A thing of only one age*

Children. It is certain they kept up this resolution so many years, that their Masters were glad at last to prevent the utter depopulation of the place, to remove their obstinacy and despair by abolishing the new Gabels. This was certainly a degree of resentment and resolution greater than ever was known in former Ages, and infinitely beyond the generous Fury of the people of *Saguntus* the *Roman* Colony in *Spain*. For they only burnt themselves, their Wives, Children, and Wealth, rather than be taken and enslav'd by their Enemies; but these calmly and deliberately persisted in cutting off all their Race, and delivering themselves without violence or rage in a calm, quiet and regular method, from an insupportable Tyranny, which at last they conquer'd by a noble Despair.

But it is time I should take your Lordship from such disagreeable Scenes of the misery of these States, to acquaint you with the happiness of a Commonwealth, which, next to your native Kingdom, you love above all others; and that is, the Commonwealth of Learning. It is with the highest pleasure I send you two of the noblest Manuscripts which possibly the Spoils of the East or Western World could furnish me with, and which our Royal Master's generous allowance for searching out and buying up all choice Manuscripts throughout this Empire, has enabled me to lay now at his feet, through your Lordship's hands.

They are both in *Arabick*, and as far as I can judge with my little skill in that language, wrote in a good style, tho' probably in the tenth Century. They are perfect and tolerably well preserv'd, though such Treasures deserv'd infinitely greater care. The first and smallest is a Translation of several of *Cicero's Tusculan Questions*, which we have already; and those two invaluable Books of his *De Gloria*, the original of which was preserv'd, as *Paulus Manutius* and several Authors tell us, till the sixteenth Century, in the Library of *Bernard Justiniani*; and probably stolen from thence by *Alcyonius* the Physician, who is said to have destroy'd them, and inserted a great many passages out of them in this Treatise *De Exilio*. If I had the good fortune to have *Alcyonius's* Work here, I could soon inform your Lordship if the Phy-

sician was indeed the Plagiary he was suspected to be: but as I want that Treatise, I must leave that disquisition to your Lordship's care.

Besides this, there is at the end of the Manuscript a Treatise of his *De Vita beata*, that seems admirable in its kind, but 'tis imperfect. I should regret this as a great loss, if the joy of recovering the rest allow'd me; where tho' his admirable Style is still wanting, yet his manner of handling these noble Subjects, and the Reasonings and Images he adorns them with, is still preserv'd, and now happily restor'd to us.

But I hasten to the other larger and in my poor judgment a more desirable Treasure; which is a fine *Arabick* Translation, by one who calls himself *Abumepha Nezan Ali*, of that noble Historian *Trogus Pompeius*, who writ the History of the World in forty-four Books, in so elegant and admirable a style and manner, under *Augustus*. Your Lordship well knows, that this admirable Work was mangled and epitomis'd by *Justin*, and how that wretched Abbreviation occasion'd the loss of his noble performance; like *Pharaoh's* lean kine devouring the fat and well-favour'd ones of their own fort. The Translation seems well perform'd, and has some good Notes added to it, and seems to have been wrote in the ninth, or at least in the beginning of the following Century, by the hand and style, which answers that Age. I have look'd over it carefully, with what little judgment I have in such things, and cannot without indignation observe what Treasures of Antiquity and History, as well as Geography; and what material Passages and Actions, untouch'd by all other Writers but the learned and judicious *Trogus*, his poor end unskilful Abbreviator has ignorantly and carelessly pass'd over unmention'd. This excellent and admirable Person, to whom History and the learned World were so much indebted (tho' they so ill repaid the debt, by suffering him to perish) was, as he tells us in his forty-fourth Book, a noble *Roman*, originally descended of the *Vocontii* in the *Narbon Gaul*, and whose Godfather of the same name was declar'd a *Roman Citizen* by *Pompey the Great* in the *Sertorian War*. His Uncle commanded a Squadron of Horse in the War against *Mithridates* under the same General,

and his Father serv'd under *Caius Julius Cæsar*, both as a Commander and his chief Secretary of State and War. Judge, my Lord, with what transport of heart I send you this incomparable Author, to be restored by you and our Royal Master's cares to the Commonwealth of Learning, which has too long mourn'd for his loss.

I beseech your giving the strictest orders to some able hand, to have him translated into an excellent *Latin Style*; tho' it will be impossible to equal that of his own in-imitable Elegance, which we have lost for ever.

I must in justice to the care and judicious conduct of Mr. *West*, who carries this and them, acknowledge, that 'tis to his industrious and unwearied labours, next to his Majesty's bounty, that we are indebted for the recovery of this invaluable Jewel. He found it, and the Tracts of *Cicero*, cover'd with dust and moldiness in the *Armenian Monastery at Etchmeasin near Rivan in Persia*: and on this and many other accounts I zealously recommend him to your Lordship's favour.

He assures me, Mr. *Pearson* is still in that Country on the same account; and gives me hopes we may yet be able to retrieve some other valuable Authors, among the old *Arabick* and *Perisan* Manuscripts that lie dispers'd in the neglected Libraries of many Monasteries there, and in the Eastern Countries.

Will your Lordship forgive me, if I encrease the length of this tedious dispatch, by accompanying these ancient rarities with a modern one, that was perfectly so to me, tho' I have so long resided here, and which I met the other day at a Cady's house in *Pera*, where I went on some business.

It was a Man of the famous *African* Sect of *Mahomeians* that are called *Bumicilli*, of whom I had heard so much from common report, and the Writings of Travellers, without every meeting one of them before. They set up for a very religious sort of people, who have a knowledge of, and conversation with aerial Beings, and are engag'd in perpetual war with the Devils, who are still ranging about the Earth and the Air, in order to tempt and hurt Mankind by all the arts and methods they can contrive.

However, it is certain these Gentlemen of the *Bumicilli* Sect are at bottom but a sort of vagrant thieves, who go round this vast Empire under this pretence, and either beg or steal all the pence they can from the deluded people. I am assur'd they have by these means greatly enrich'd themselves, and their Society; who have by such collections thus gather'd, founded great Convents, and got large Possessions, to enable them to continue their constant wars with all wicked Spirits with vigour and success.

Methinks, my Lord, one may see here, with half an eye, a perfect picture of that illustrious religious Society, who owe their rise to the holy *Loyola*, and who profess all kinds of labour and toil, both as Exorcists, to drive out evil Spirits, and to extirpate imaginary Heresies and Hereticks, and defeat all such emissaries of the Devil, who distract their infallible Church.

I saw this Creature from my window in the street, laying manfully about him with all his might, (for he was a tall strong black fellow) and beating the air like a Bedlamite, with a long Pike he brandished about his head, and frequently push's most furiously with; traversing his ground, now running forwards and shouting, and then giving back, and appearing sorely hurt; and anon, recovering himself, and seeming to fall anew on his foes. The people of the house told me he was a most holy Man, and had defeated all the Devils in that neighbourhood so fortunately, that they liv'd much happier and holier than formerly; and that it had cost them very little money for so great advantages. I found my self obliged to give them a patient hearing; and especially seeing all the teople in the street seem'd to be of their mind, by the zeal and joy they shewed whenever their heroick Combatant appear'd to get the better of the imaginary and invisible Devil he was engag'd with: for I need not assure your Lordship, that whether he apprehended being oppress'd with numbers, or having foul play shewn him, or other reasons best known to himself, the Devil was so cowardly as never once to let himself be seen by us, who were gazing on this furious engagement.

After I had look'd on this fine battle, with equal amazement and delight, near a quarter of an hour by my watch, I saw our Warriour, to the great concern and trouble of all his religious Spectators, fall down on the earth as in a swoon. There he lay a long time, and the Cady, in whose house I was, being a very zealous and sincere Musulman, ran out into the Street, with tears in his eyes, and with all the concern and care imaginable had him brought in. He made him be laid gently on a Sofa in the room where I was, and had two or three Slaves, sometimes throwing cold water on his face, and sometimes rubbing his limbs, and endeavouring to bring him to life.

As sensible as I was that it would displease, I could not help asking the Cady in the ear, if it was possible he could think all this any thing but a meer cheat to get money from them; and indeed all the people before our faces (as the custom is on these occasions) had put money into the Combatant's bag which hung at his back. Notwithstanding all this, he lift up his hands and eyes at my infidelity, reproach'd me with our credulity as to miracles in *Europe*, and our false Church, tho' we would believe none in the true one; and to convince me of my mistake, and open my blind eyes (for so he call'd them with some fury) he made the slaves pull off the wretch's clothes, and shew me the black-and-blue marks he had receiv'd in the combat, and which appear'd plentifully all over his arms, back, and sides.

The truth is, tho' I well knew, and had been told, that their way is to make such marks by cords, and actual blows they give themselves in the night-time, in order to impose on the croud; yet finding the good Cady so violent, I was oblig'd to seem amazed and convinc'd, and to give my assent to a number of stories they told me of the battles this holy Man had fought with unparallel'd success with a great many Devils, to the peace and comfort of all true Mussulmen in those parts. I was even under a necessity to applaud his courage and sanctity as the rest did; and at last, when they had recover'd their Warriour out of his counterfeit swoon, I very humbly sat down, and eat and drank with him and the Cady, listning attentively to his accounts of his long warfare with different Dæmons, and to shew my

firm faith in all he related, and entirely appease the Cady, I gave him a Zequin for his further encouragement in so useful a method of serving his Prophet, and the good Mussulmen in *Turkey*.

Was this a wonderful scene or no, my Lord? and is there not matter here for fine reflections? However, my Lord, I shall cut them short, having so long trespass'd on your patience already, and shall leave you to make your own remarks on the wretched impostures, and the silly credulity of that noble, that wise, that rational creature Man!

I expect in some little time to be summon'd to the Seraglio to shew the Grand Seignior your admirable Telescope, of which, probably, I may give your Lordship some account in my next; and in the mean time I must acquaint your Lordship, that I find two or three packs of some of our best deepmouth'd southern Hounds would be a most acceptable present to his Highness. If you would procure some able and skilful Physician to come and attend the Grand Seignior, I am empower'd to assure him of 30 Purses at least (or 15,000 Ducats) besides Presents, with all possible good treatment, and to be *Hachim Bachi* or chief Physician. As this I find would be a most agreeable Obligation, I recommend it to your Lordship's care to procure such an one: and indeed the favour and complaisance that has been shewn to his Majesty's desires in our late Treaty, deserve all the returns we can make them.

I reserve my Compliments for another opportunity, and, if I may say so, for another sort of Man than your Lordship; to whom, and all your excellent Family, I and mine are,

My Lord, your Lordship's, &c

STANHOPE.

PREFACE

the Second.

IT is not without a mixture of shame and sorrow, my dear Reader, that I am forced to take thee from the delightful Entertainment which thou hast been tasting in these admirable Letters, and the amazing Scenes of Futurity discover'd in them; to return to so insipid an employment, as my answering all objections against this Work. But there is no help for it; and since the World (as some ill Paymasters serve their Workmen) loves rather to rail at the performance and skill, of the wise Authors who labour for its service, than to pay them their wages; I must do my best to answer all its Accusations and Cavils.

I shall not expostulate here against the ingratitude of such treatment. I shall take a nobler revenge, than upbraiding or reproaching them for it: and that is, by shewing the Folly, Stupidity, and Ignorance of all they are able to urge against me! Against me, did I say? against that exalted Spirit, that seraphick immortal Being from whom I receiv'd it!

The first Objection then, and which I find most insisted on, is, That there are no such Beings assign'd to attend Mankind, as good or bad Angels or Genii; and that therefore all I have said on that subject, must be meer Invention, that I may not use so vile a word as Falshood.

These Objectors are very violent, but altogether as blind and ignorant; and I may say of them as *Momus* did of the Bull, that he was a stout pusher, but he wanted an Eye in his horn, it being his way to

shut his Eyes when he pushes, as one would think these poor people do.

For it has been the common opinion of all Nations, of all Religions, of all Ages, that every Man had a good Angel attending him. 'Tis true indeed, we must except a little Sect among the *Jews*, from this general account: but till we are in danger of becoming a Nation of *Sadduces*, I hope we shall have little regard for their Error. All the *Pharisees* in the ancient *Jewish* Church, who were follow'd by infinitely the largest, and wisest part of that people, did not only maintain the existence of Angels, but many of them believed every Man had two assign'd him, the one good to protect him, the other bad to record his faults, and be his accuser. Nay, some of their Doctors made these Angels to resemble exactly those whom they thus attended; and asserted, that as it was *Esau's* Angel, who wrestled with *Jacob*, it was for fear of being known, that he would fain have persuaded *Jacob* from keeping him till the morning, which however he could not succeed in, and so was discovered by the Patriarch.

Some of them carried this point so far, that I can produce proofs from their best Authors, (however some *Rabbies* may deny it) that they used to pray on all occasions, to their guardian Angels to protect them; and applied to them to this end, even in the very act of relieving Nature*: a time when in every one's opinion, but *Thomas d'Aquinas's*, the body is too much taken up, to leave room for pious Meditations, or Ejaculations of any kind, unless in case of painful costiveness, or violent fluxes.

The very *Turks* and *Persians*, and all the Heathens that overspread the Eastern parts of the Earth, acknowledge this great Truth; and tho' they shut their eyes against some of more importance, yet are asham'd to deny one so glaring and manifest as this; and surely my Adversaries will not have us shew ourselves greater Infidels than these, let things go ever so ill with some conceited Men among us as to believing. Nay, the *Mahometans* do not only allow two Angels

* Vide *Ceremonies of a'l Nations, for those of the Jews Prayers.*

to Men, to attend on them during their Lives, but even after their Deaths, they assign to each wicked person two black Angels, whom they call *Mongir* and *Guavequir*, to sit by him in his Grave, and torment him there till the Day of Judgment; or if good, two white Angels, one of which lays its arm under his head, and the other sits at his feet, and so protect him most quietly, till Domesday discharges these trusty Watchmen. It is true, we should not build too much on the *Turks* opinion herein, the good *Mahomet* having been so very liberal of his Dæmons, as to assign an evil Angel, (a matter of Faith to all his Followers) to every single Grape. But tho' he may have overstrain'd that point a little, yet still he has but followed the general opinion of Mankind: for many Nations in different parts of the Earth, do not only allow Angels to Men, but even to the four Seasons of the Year, the four Gates of Heaven, the four Quarters of the World, the four Rivers of Paradise, the four Winds, the seven Planets, the twelve Months of the Year, the four Elements, the twelve Signs of the *Zodiack*, and the twenty-eight Mansions of the Moon. To the very Days of the Week, and every particular Hour of the Day and Night, they assigned a presiding Angel, as these ignorant Objectors might read (if they could read such things) in all occult Astrologers, and great Philosophers; and particularly in the *Elementa Magica* of **Petrus de Abano*, where their names are specified, and joined regularly to their several Offices.

Certainly therefore, as almost all the known Nations of the Earth, not excepting the Atheists of *China* and *Siam*, have maintained this opinion, I might, had I wanted stronger proofs, fairly insist that it must be true; and lay it down as no ill axiom for these sceptical doubters, *Quod præscriptione valet, ratione valet*. But I shall argue more fairly with them, and shall undertake to shew them, first, that the learned Heathens, and some great Rabbies; and secondly, that many of the Fathers, and all the *Roman*, and truly Catholick Infal-

* *Apud Corn. Agrip de occulta Philosoph.* p. 342. Edit. Lyons.

lible Church, have ever maintained this doctrine; and shall give some known instances from learned Writers in both.

Among the first, both *Homer* in several places of his *Iliad* and *Odyssea*, and *Hesiod*, in his *Moral Poem*, appear plainly of this opinion; and the latter has even assigned the number of good Angels^{*}, appointed to attend Mankind. In the little that we have of the Works of *Menander*, there is a full proof that he gave into the same sentiments; for in one of his fragments he asserts, that every one from his birth has a particular Dæmon assigned to take care of him. *Pythagoras*, who dogmatized in the sixtieth Olympiad, and whose school lasted to the nineteenth generation; and *Plato*, who flourished above thirty Olympiads after him, (as *Diogenes Laertius* tells us[†]) and all their Disciples taught this; and especially among the *Platonists*, *Maximus Tyrius*, *Plotinus*, and *Jamblicus*. This was also the universal doctrine of the *Stoicks*, as one might easily shew by numberless proofs; but it will be sufficient to point out *Seneca's* hundred and tenth epistle to *Lucilius*, where this is abundantly made evident: and not only that they maintained that every man had his *Genius*, but every woman her *Juno* attending on her. All the greatest *Jewish* Rabbies of the three last Centuries, treading in the steps of the learned *Porphiry*, and more ancient *Jewish* Writers, held this doctrine; and have sown it so thick in their works, that a man knows not where to begin to quote them, or where to end when he has begun. They all agreed as one Man on this head, and to this day it is generally maintained by the few among them that have any learning. To go no farther than the Patriarchs, they believe that *Adam* was often conversant with, and governed by his Angel *Raziel*; *Sem* by *Jophiel*; *Abraham* by *Tzadkiel*; *Isaac* by *Raphael*; *Esau* by *Schamael*; *Jacob* by *Piel*; *Moses* by *Mitraton*; and King *David* by *Michael*; as any one may see, that will but look into their Writings relating to these matters.

Nor are the instances in ancient Writers of Men who had such *Genii*, and conversed with them sometimes, infrequent. *Hermes*,

* Vid. *Hesiedi Opera & Dies* ad lin. 252.

† In his *Lives of Plato and Pythagoras*.

Socrates, Nama, Cyrus, Scipio, Marius, Scylla, Sertorius, Julius and Augustus Cæsar, Julian the Apostate, and Apollonius Tyanæus, are often mentioned on this occasion; as well as *Aristotle, Dion, Fl. Josephus, Plotinus, Galen, Synefius, Porphyry, Jamblicus*, and even *Brutus, Cassius, and Cicero*; though these three last indeed, had no communication with them, till a little before their deaths. It were endless to quote all the testimonies of Authors, that these great Men were allowed to have their *Genii*, who either appeared to them, or only assisted and watched over them privately: whoever reads their Lives or Works will easily acknowledge it, and save me much needless labour. But the evidence for *Socrates* having such an one, is so universal both among the Philosophers and the Fathers, that I can't but mention it particularly. Some of the latter have carried it so far as to say, that from thence he had an actual prescience of our Saviour's coming into the World, and though darkly (as *Socrates* words are very dark on it) yet he foresaw both the necessity and advantages of his appearing among Men.

As to the Philosophers, both *Plato**, and even *Zenophon*†, who was no friend to *Plato* (and would willingly have contradicted and opposed him, had he writ a falshood) agree in this fact, and are worth a thousand other Witnesses (for *Maximum Tyrius*‡, *Apuleius*§, *Antisthenes*¶, *Diogenes Laertius, Cicero* and *Plutarch*, all agree in it) because both of them knew him intimately, and were Men of the highest veracity and honour. Nay, this was so uncontested a fact, that *Origen* shewing the virulence and rage of calumny, in Men of bad hearts and malevolent spirits, whom no innocence can escape, nor virtue silence; adds, that such People will even make a mock of the Genius of *Socrates*, as a vain thing.

* *Plato de factis & didtis Socratis in Theage.*

† *Lib. 4to memorabilium & alibi.*

‡ *De Deo Socratis.*

§ *De Deo Socratis.*

¶ *In vila Socratis.*

Now as this is so evident, as to *Socrates*, so a few quotations of the like nature, would make it as probable, that the testimonies producible for all the rest are as well grounded; and especially, when such undeniable Facts and Authors are brought for their vouchers: all which, however, to avoid confusion and a troublesome prolixity, we shall omit, and pass to the opinion of the holy *Roman Church*, and more modern instances of this sort among men.

It has been said already, and 'tis universally known and allowed, that several of the ancient Fathers were of this opinion, and (abstracted from proofs from holy Writ, which, I will own to my adversaries, is perfectly silent here) it was indeed a natural consequence from their being generally *Platonists*. There will be no need therefore, of appealing to quotations from their works, on this head; and for the same reason I shall pass by the Schoolmen, many of whom are so clear on this point; and content myself to shew, that some modern Divines and Philosophers have not deserted the Fathers here, but rather have gone as much beyond them, as truth and prudence could possibly allow them.

Let us begin then (without mentioning *Kircher's* good Genius, who carried him through the Planets in his *Iter Extaticum*) with that grave and wonderful writer, the excellent *Franciscus Albertinus*. I shall introduce this Author first, both as he is a Jesuit, and on that account alone deserves to precede all others; and because in his admirable Treatise *de Angelo Custode**, he has, on evident reasons, though too tedious to insert, peremptorily determined, that every Church, Temple, Monastery, and Family, as well as every Man, is allowed a Guardian Angel, not excepting even Antichrist himself, which, says he, is to keep him from doing greater mischief. Nay, he does not only assure us, on his own unexceptionable credit that the number of Archangels is greater than that of Angels, and that the crowd of these last, exceeds that of all Mankind: but to put it out of any possibility of being ever contested again, he has irrefragably proved it by a divine Revela-

* Printed at *Cologne*, 1613.

tion made to St. *Bridget*, whose words he quotes, *viz.* That if all Men that have been born since *Adam*, to the last Man that shall be born in the very end of the World, should be computed, there would be found more than ten Angels for every single Man.

I will not urge here that all this wise and venerable Order, are so far from doubting of this great Truth, that they and their whole Church pray to them daily; (*Paul* the fifth having published *Officium Angeli Custodis*, with the Prayers to them) because my ill-natured Opposers may say, they pray to a number of Saints who never had, and who they know, as well as Mons. *Launoie*, never had a being. But I hope I may fairly insist on it, as a good proof, that the Jesuit *Schottus* must have believed their Existence, otherwise he had never dedicated his Book of Mathematicks to his Tutelar Angel, so solemnly as he did: for however a wise and learned Jesuit may pray, he would never dedicate his Writings (I speak as an Author) but to a real Being, from whose influence he might receive benefit and advantage.

But let us pass from these great Men, and their sacred Order, whose probity, humility, and piety, I ever honoured, to the learned *Cornelius Agrippa*; who in his third book *De occulta Philosophia*, and the twentieth chapter, declares, that no Prince or Nobleman could be safe, or Woman chaste, or Man in this Vale of ignorance (so he speaks) able to serve God, but for the assistance of their good Angel. That great Divine *Bartholomæus de Sybilla**, goes yet farther, and avers, a good Angel is assigned to every one of us, from the moment we peep into the World; because, as he wisely and judiciously observes, the minute we are in danger of sinning, the care of the good Angel is necessary to defend us from the assaults of Satan; and that till we are born, we are sufficiently watched over by our mother's good Angel.

In another treatise†, he is so modest as to except our Saviour from this general rule, and determines that he had no guardian Angel: and though he proposes it as debateable, he gravely and learnedly maintains it, against all opposers, and overturns a seeming objection, of

* *Peregrinarum Quæst.* p. 436.

† *De Angelorum Custodia.*

the Angel that appeared to him in the Garden, and shews that it was but a ministring Spirit, and not a guardian Angel: which last thought, as odd as it looks, was the opinion of no less a man than *St. Jerome*. As the Devil when exorcised will sometimes witness to the Truth, so even one of the greatest Hereticks that ever appeared in the pulpit in *Great-Britain*, is forc'd to maintain the doctrine of good Angels very strenuously, in his sermon on the Feast of *St. Michael* the Archangel*; though he does not carry it so far, as that eminent writer *Joannes Eckius*† does, in his seventh homily on the same festival. Indeed many grave Doctors of the holy and infallible Church of *Rome*, have ventured to assign to Men in high and publick Stations, not only an Angel, but an Archangel; and to the Pope, besides his Angel in ordinary, which he had a full title to from his birth, a couple of prime Archangels, to assist and direct him, having all of them enough to do, to keep him and his important affairs in tolerable order. And really to say the truth, I cannot but think these tutelar Angels of his Holiness, must be wearied out of their very lives, by such a vast variety of business, and a multiplicity of Intrigues, Designs, and Interests, as they must have daily on their hands, for the good of mens Souls, and the service of the Church. Possibly indeed the two Angels, whom *Lactantius*‡, with some ancient Fathers, afferts, God appointed to watch over Satan, might save them some trouble, and make their Province less burthensome to them. But the good *Eckius* is so bounteous of these spiritual Guardians, that he declares in that Homily, a Man of consequence may sometimes be allowed thirty or more Angels; and that he cannot think his Imperial Majesty (for whom he has a mighty regard) ought reasonably to be allowed less, his great cares and employments considered, than a single Angel for every Kingdom, Dukedom, or Province, over which he presides.

One would think the *Germans* were either flattered extremely by the Divines in this point, or supposed to have more enemies below,

* Vid. *Tillotson's Sermons*. vol. 3.

† Vide *Egium in dicto locol.*

‡ Vide *Lactantium*, lib. 2. chap. 15.

or friends above, than all other Nations, since they are more than the rest indulged in this affair by them. Nay the learned *Carlo Fabri** has been also so careful of their interests, as to give us in the list of the Angels assigned to the several Princes of the World, those who watcht over the seven Electors of the Empire, when he writ. He assures us, that the Angel *Michael* waited on the Archbishop of *Mayence*; *Gabriel* on the Archbishop of *Treves*; *Raphael* on the Archbishop of *Cologne*; the Angel *Uriel* on the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*; *Secaltiel* on the Duke of *Saxony*; *Jehudiel* on the Elector of *Brandenburg*; and the Angel *Farechiel* on the King of *Bohemia*.

It is certainly an huge pity this same *Carlo Fabri*'s knowledge did not look forwards into future Ages, since by this means he gives us no account of the two Electorates of *Hannover* and *Bavaria*; so that unless Providence has issued new orders about them, they must be unluckily left destitute, of the care and superintendance of any good Angels; and must therefore necessarily cost his *Britannick* Majesty, and his said Electoral Highness, abundance of more Pains, Money, Troops, and Counsellors, to manage them, than any of the other seven can want, that have such preternatural assistances to aid them.

But as this is fully sufficient to shew, that the holy and infallible *Roman* Church declares entirely for the opinion we have been defending, I shall not weary the Reader by quoting more Authors; and shall only name a few eminent Persons among the Moderns, who have been allowed to have had an intercourse with their Genii, as well as the Ancients.

And here I can't but begin with that famous Physician and Astrologer *Peter D'Apono*, because he had no less than seven entirely in his service, which also taught him the seven liberal Arts, as *Ludovicus Wigijs*† tells us. We shall place *Cardan*‡, and *Scaliger*, those two great rivals, next to him, though they are both so modest as to own they had but one a-piece; which is the more humble in *Cardan*, because

* *Carlo Fabri dello Scudo di Christo o vero di David.* lib. 2.

† *Dæmonologia*, Quæst. 16.

‡ *Cardan de vita propria.*

even his father *Facius*, as the son assures us*, had one, which he conversed with about thirty years. *Boissard*, in his book *De Divinatione*†, tells us at large, that the renowned *Trithemius*, Abbot of *St. James's* Monastery, had several Revelations and important Discoveries made to him by his good Angel; and *Froissard*‡, the Historian assures us, Count *Raimond* of *Gascony*, had a constant communication with his Genius, who informed him of all occurrences, and frequently gave him his advice, as to his conduct concerning them.

To these Gentlemen, besides *Paracelsus*, who 'tis disputable whether he ad a Dæmon attending him, or was one himself, every one will agree to join the illustrious *Tasso*; who as his intimate friend *Baptista Manso*§, the Author of his Life assures us, (being a witness of one of his conversations with it) frequently had a communication with his good Genius. *Bodin* (to say nothing of his anonymous friend, of whom he gives the same account) is another instance among the Moderns of this fort; though *Guy Patin*¶ seems to insinuate, his conversation with his Guardian Angel went little farther than such hints as were lent him, by the chairs and stools in his room being moved by an imperceptible hand, whenever any thing was proposed to him that he ought not to agree to.

But to omit many other Foreigners, who have been famous on this account, we might find several instances of the same nature among our own People, if the modesty of some Families, who would be offended to be named on this occasion, did not confine us to those which are already publick. Among these, the Manuscripts of the reverend Dr. *Richard Nepier* (with which Mr. *Ashmole* has wisely enriched the *Musæum* at *Oxford*) are plain evidences of his frequent conversation with his Angel *Raphael*, whose answers he has there regularly set down, not only as to several polemical points in Divinity,

* *De rerum varietate*, lib. 16. p. 221.

† P. 49, and 50.

‡ *Froissard Annal.* lib. 3. cap. 17.

§ See *Tasso's* Life by *Manso* in *Italian*, and in *French* by *D.C.D.D.T*

¶ *Paciniana*, p. 6.

but (as he was a Physician as well as a Divine) as to his Patients and Prescriptions, their Diseases, and Cures.

This was an intercourse extraordinary enough, and yet it falls very short of that which another of our Countrymen, Dr. *Dee*, (the great Mathematician and Astrologer) is known to have had with his aërial Spirit: as Dr. *Meric Casaubon*, has with equal labour and zeal shewn, in his dissertation and preface before his large folio*, entitled, *A true relation of Dr. Dee his actions with Spirits*; to which I would gladly refer the Reader.

With these evident instances therefore, I shall shut up this matter; and though I could name some great Men at Court, who it is impossible could have our hearts and affections so entirely devoted to them, if they had not more good Angels at their command than any I have yet named: yet being loth to insist too far on this point, and having sufficiently made good already, what I undertook to prove against my adversaries, I shall venture to leave it to the Reader's serious consideration; who I doubt not is fully convinced of the absurdity of this objection, that there are no such Beings as good Angels assigned to Men.

But were this less clearly proved, let me ask thee, dear Reader, what motives, what considerations, what reasons, could move me to say, I received this work from my good Genius? Would it not be much more to my honour, to foretell all these things (which will certainly in due time be verified) by the force of my own Learning, and Wisdom, and a happy Foresight into future events? Would it not be more glorious to my memory, that all Posterity should speak of me in future Centuries, (when they see, with astonishment, the verification of all I have here presented to them) as *Nepos* does of *Cicero*†, *Sic enim omnia de studiis Principum, vitiis Ducum, ac mutationibus Reipublicæ perscripta sunt, ut nihil in bis non appareat; & facile existimari possit, prudentiam quodammodo esse divinationem: Non enim Cicero ea solum, quæ vivo se acciderunt, futura prædixit; sed etiam quæ nunc usu veniunt,*

* London Edit. 1659.

† *Nepos in vita Attici.*

cecinit ut vates? Would it not endear me infinitely more to After-ages, that I was the original Inventor and Author of this new and unexampled way of writing the History of future Times, than that I was the bare Transcriber, or Translator of this prodigious work? Yes surely, and consequently nothing occasions this honest plain-dealing, and this ingenuous, this modest confession, but the infinite weight which humility and gratitude ought to have with all Men.

I am sensible the World has indeed been too frequently imposed on in these Matters. *Lycurgus* pretended his Laws were dictated to him by *Apollo*; *Draco*, and *Solon*, by *Minerva*; *Charondas*, by *Saturn*; and *Minos*, that his come from *Jupiter*, with whom he convers'd familiarly, nine years together, which was a pretty long Dialogue, for a Mortal to hold with a God. *Zaleucus* ascrib'd his Laws to *Minerva's* Revelations; and *Numa* pretended to owe his to his close and intimate Conversations with the Goddess *Ægeria*, which he had with her in the Night-time; a very suspicious hour for her communicating such Favours in! But these were the little Arts and Contrivances of Governours of the People, set on fire with a poor ambition, of enlarging their power; whereas all I propose to publish, are a few naked Facts, which if they bring me any honour, when confirm'd by the event, I disclaim, as not belonging to me; and the disgrace of which, if falsified by time, I must entirely bear with Posterity, without any advantage at the present, but what I can reap from the envy and malice of an ungrateful Age.

Besides, what is it I set up for? I pretend not to entertain such hopes, from any correspondence with my good Genius, as *Kepler* did on *Tycho Brahe's* death, that nothing new should happen in the Heavens, unknown to him! No! all I pretend to, is to be the bare Publisher of just so much and no more, as he has been or shall be pleas'd to communicate to me: and if I do this candidly and sincerely, without obtruding any vain Fancies of my own on the world, I hope the least I can expect in return, is to be absolutely trusted and believed, in what I put into their hands. And indeed it would have requir'd such an unusual Fund of Imagination, to have struck out so many vast Inven-

tions in all Arts and Sciences, and such infinite Scenes of Events, as are contain'd in the six Volumes I propose to present the world with: that I am sure this will serve as the fullest proof, (and a very modest and humble one) that I must have receiv'd them from the hand of a superior Being, since my talent that way, is so very confin'd. But this will be still further enforc'd, when my dear Reader perceives, that he finds so little in this Work, which ever was contain'd in Books and Authors, as being a subject entirely untouch'd and unthought of by mortal Man; and consequently he'll plainly discern things in every part of it, too transcendent for the little narrow roads and beaten, paths of such low groveling Creatures as I am; and only fit to be the produce of that enlightned Mind, whence I fortunately receiv'd it.

But I hasten to another malicious Objection urg'd against this Work, which is, that allowing my Communication with my good Genius, it is impossible that he, or any such Being, could be able to foretell Events, which are so contingent and uncertain. But this Objection is very ill grounded; for first, it is against Matter of Fact, both in our own days and in ancient times: secondly, against the opinion of the holy and infallible Church of *Rome*: and thirdly, against Reason.

It is against Fact, even in our days; for, not to mention several uncontested proofs of the like nature in *Lapland*, the *East* and *West-Indies*, and many foreign Countries, we see at home here how common it is in *Wales*, to have the Death of particular persons evidently foretold, as well as the place of their departure and burial, by the means of those surprizing Apparitions, call'd Dead Men's Candles; which are as frequently seen walking their rounds in that Country, as our Watchmen are with their Lanthorns every night in *London*. Nay, we find in the Western Isles of *Scotland*, by the assistance of such aërial Spirits, not only Men and Women, but even Children foretell things to come, with the greatest certainty; nothing being so universally known and practised there, as the learned Mr. *Martyn* has shewn the World in his History of those Islands; the veracity of which, no man has, will, shall, may, or can presume to question.

But secondly, it is against Fact in ancient times; in as much as we have the testimony of both the Historians and Philosophers, that the Oracles of the Ancients, in numberless places, for many Ages, did on all occasions, when regularly consulted, give such undisputed proofs of their sufficiency herein; that both *Greeks* and *Romans*, who were most capable of, and interested in discovering the cheat, if it had been one, entirely acquiesced in all they deliver'd; and found it still confirm'd by the Success. Nor was this perform'd only by the Heathen Priests and Priestesses, assisted by their *Dæmons*, at *Delos*, *Delphi*, *Thebes*, *Libadia*, *Milesia*, and a thousand other places; but if we believe *Gallimachus* and *Pindar*, the famous brazen Bulls in *Rhodes*, on the Mountain *Æthobirius*, (probably directed and inspir'd by particular *Dæmons* and Spirits, like their Oracles) used to give the *Rhodians* sufficient warning of all impending Evils, or remarkable Accidents.

It were easy to enlarge here, on many instances of the like nature, if there were occasion for them, and to bring in the prophetick Cow at *Memphis*, the Crocodiles at *Arsinoe*, and the Doves and Oaks at *Dodona*, mention'd by *Herodotus*; as well as the Ox *Apis* in *Ægypt*, whose oracular Faculties *Pliny*, and all the Ancients speak so much of. The *Teraphims* of the old *Chaldæns*, which used to foretell future Events to them, by the means of the informing *Dæmon*, is an evident proof herein, as well as their Telestick Science, which by certain Rites and Ceremonies, procured them the Conversation of their good Genii or *Dæmons*, at Mr. *Stanley** informs us. Even amongst the *Jews*, we see by all our accounts of them, this was a method of Divination or Prophecy, too frequently practis'd. The learned *Rabbi Kimchi* declares he believes *Laban's* Gods were of the same nature, and a kind of *Teraphims*, that by the means of their *Dæmons*, were endued with a prophetick Spirit.

St. *Austin*† is of the same opinion, as well as our Learned *Selden* in his Tract *de Diis Syriis*; and *Philo Judæus* has the same sentiments, speaking of the *Teraphim* of *Michal* the Daughter of *Saul*. Nay, this

* *Vid. Stanley* of the *Chaldaick* Philosophy. *Ch.* 4, 5, and 6.

† *St. Austin* in *Genes*.

last-cited Author does not content himself with advancing this as his opinion, but has confirm'd it in another place, by that remarkable History he has given us, of *Manachemus* the *Essæan Jew*, who he assures us foretold, by the assistance of his good Genius, that *Herod* (at that time an Infant) should become King of the *Jews*.

It was so generally known and believed among the Ancients, that all Dæmons were endow'd with this faculty, that *Homer* makes *Elpenor's* Soul in his 11th *Odyssea*, (*lin.* 69.) prophesy to *Ulysses*; and *Scipio* in *Silius Italicus*, *Tyresias* in *Statius*, *Æson* in *Valerius Flaccus*, and *Erichtho* in *Lucan*, are all introduced as consulting the Souls of the Dead on things to come.

The famous *Psellus** gives us the precise manner, how they were to obtain exact Answers to their Demands from the Dæmons and Genii; and prescribes their manner of preparing the Alter, and sacrificing the Stone *Mnizuris* on it, which had the power of evocation over them: all which abundantly proves, what we have asserted on this point.

Thus Fact is against my Objectors. But further, the Opinion of the holy infallible *Roman Church* is against them; which ought to silence these silly Reasoners.

All her Divines, and what is more, all learned Jesuits allow unanimously, that even evil Dæmons can foresee and foretell many things, not only as the Devil in *Samuel's* shape did, with regard to the impending Judgment of *Saul's* death, but of distant accidents, by interpreting the Prophecies in Holy Writ, more skilfully than even the Fathers, or Popes and Councils are able to do. Hence it was, say they, that the Devil foresaw *Alexander* the Great (who is darkly pointed at by *Isaiab* and *Daniel*) would conquer the World, and told him so by his Oracle at *Delphos*: and much more may we suppose Angels, and good Spirits, able to perform in the same way. Nor indeed do they only foresee the rise and fall of Empires, and who will be the instruments therein; but also what the Means, Manner and Time will be,

* *Psell. de Orac.*

and the Causes and Consequences, and even the minuter Effects that accompany them. But if any one desires to be more fully satisfied in these matters, let him read *Eusebius de Præparatione Evangelica**, and also St. *Austin's* Treatise *de naturá Dæmonum*, where they will find several reasons assign'd, for their being endow'd with such powers.

Lastly, Reason is also on my side; for as some by the advantages of greater knowledge, parts, age and experience, can see much further than other Men; as he that is placed on a heighth, has a more extended prospect and view, (especially if he has better Eyes and a sharper Sight) than he who is in the vale: since even wise Men, as the excellent *Marcus Antoninus*† observes, may by looking back on past times, and the changes of Empire, foresee in some measure what will happen for the future; since even the humble *Loyola*, as *Massæus* tells us in his *Life*‡, was a remarkable instance of this kind, so much more can those spiritual Natures, who are unincumbred with bodily Organs, and have these and many other advantages, to infinite degrees above us, be suppos'd to be endow'd with such powers, in proportion as they rise higher, in the unbounded Scale of celestial Beings. Who can say, what unimaginable helps they may borrow, from their intimate acquaintance, if not with the very Decrees, yet at least with the ways of Providence, (whose Agents and Ministers they frequently are, in the great Changes and Revolutions below) as well as from their perfect knowledge of the natural Byass of our Tempers, the Influence of Education and Principles, of our Humours, Appetites and Passions, and from the perpetual course of Causes and Effects, since the Creation. What assistances may they not gain, even as bare Historians, contemplating all the various Accidents of Time, lying naked and undisguis'd in one view, before their piercing Eyes; as Physicians, judging as it were of the Constitution of the World, by the feeling its pulse; or even as meer Astrologers, surveying the immense Revolutions of the celestial Planets, in their different aspects, and the

* *Lib. 6. Cap. I.*

† *Lib. 7. Cap. 4. Gataker's Edit. with Dacier's Notes, Lond. 1697.*

‡ *Ignatii Vila per Massæum, Lib. 3. Cap. 14*

wide train of consequences produced by them, in the vast rotation of Events, in this Scene of things below.

But as this point is not worth insisting on further, I shall now proceed to an Objection, which gives me infinitely greater trouble, which is, (*horresco referens*) That it is entirely by my deep skill, in the worst sort of Magick, (or the Black Art, as the Vulgar speak) that I have attain'd to the amazing knowledge in Futurity, discover'd in this Work.

An Objection, which if my Adversaries themselves sincerely believ'd to be just, they would not dare to make, for fear of exposing themselves to my resentments, and that power and art they pretend I am master of; and which therefore, as I might content my self with barely denying, and they could never prove against me, so I shall only answer for the sake of Philosophy, as *Apuleius* speaks, *ut omnes aperte intelligant, nihil in Philosophos non modo vere dici, sed ne salso quidem posse consingi, quod non ex innocentiae fiducia, quamvis liceat negare, tamen habeant potius desendere.*

I am not ignorant from what quarter this aspersion comes; and if it continues to spread, shall not fail to name my unjust Enemies, (as eminent and learned as they think themselves) to the world, and expose them to the publick resentment, as wretches of a malign and envious spirit; who, like the people about Mount *Atlas*, as *Herodotus* tells us, curse the rising Sun, for the prodigious heat and splendour he lends them.

I well know the only grounds they go on, next to their envying the little Learning and Glory, which has fallen to my lot; and as *Furius Cresinius*, when accus'd at *Rome* of having by Magick drawn away the richness and fertility of his Neighbours Farms to his own, clear'd himself by bringing into Court his Rakes, and Spades, and Plows, which alone produced his large Crops; so I hope my sincere confession of the Celestial Source, to which only I owe this knowledge of Futurity discover'd here, will sufficiently overturn this wicked Objection, tho' I did not frankly lay before the Reader, as I am resolv'd to

do, all that the malice of Men or Devils can contrive to urge against me on this head.

It is certain then, that in my retirement in *Yorkshire*, I did read the more innocent branches of Magick, and apply'd my self much to understand thoroughly all the mysterious Arts of Divination, practis'd by the Ancients; and that I am in some degree skill'd in the *Anthropomantia*, or divining of Men, the *Cyathomantia* and *Oinomantia* by Cups and Wine, the *Chiromantia* by the Lines of the Hand of Palmistry, the *Arithmantia* or divining by Figures, the celestial *Astrologia* by the Stars, the *Cleidomantia* or Bible and Key, the *Stichomantia* by different kind of Verses; besides the useful Art of *Physiognomia* and *Metoposcopia*, by the mien and persons of Men: all which indeed I was not meanly vers'd in.

I got also a thorough insight in the *Gastromantia* or divining by the Belly, the *Hippomantia* by Horses, and especially Hunters, Race and Coach-Horses; the *Rabdomantia* by the Rods or White Staves, much used at Court, where I both taught and practised it, as many Great Men* can vouch for me; and which I think fully as valuable, the *Coskinomantia* or Art of managing the Sieve and Sheers. I made also some moderate progress in the famous *Cubomantia* or *Aleatoria*, the Art of divining by the Dye, a Mystery which if well understood would prevent numbers of our Gentry and Nobility being daily stript and plunder'd with impunity, by those judicious and sagacious mortals, the Knights of the Industry; not to mention the *Copromantia*, as the *Greeks* call it, or in plain *English*, the Art of divining from the Dung of Creatures; a matter I wish from my soul, the sage inspectors of our Close-Stools, were a little better skill'd in, than our Weekly Bills of Mortality shew they are.

My Knowledge and Practice in these things, made a little too much noise; especially among the poor party I was then engag'd in,

* I appeal to my very good Lord the Earl of R--, my Lord C--, my Lord L--, and my Lord G-- for the Truth of this Fact; and am content to let the Credit of this Work entirely depend on the report their Lordships, in their great Judgment and Goodness, shall give of my Abilities herein.

and who had little else to trust to, but a few monthly Predictions I dispers'd for them, and some good Prognostications once a year, from *Rome* and *Bologna*: But that my Skill, even in these little Outlines of Magick, went any further, than helping people to stolen Goods, calculating Nativities, or giving some small helps to Almanack-makers, as to Wind and Weather, and predicting a little Treason now and then, from a few Eclipses, Sextiles, Trines, Oppositions, and Conjunctions of the Planets, pursuant to the Configurations of the celestial Bodies, and their mutual Radiations, or in the least border'd upon the infernal Branches of Magick, (which I renounce and abhor) I utterly deny.

There is nothing I do abominate more, or hold in greater detestation, than all evil magical Arts: and tho' I know the great *Hermolaus Barbarus* rais'd the Devil, to consult him, on the meaning of *Aristotle's* unintelligible term, *Enteleceia*; and that the learned Jesuit *Cotton* had him examin'd, at the famous Exorcism at *Loudun* in *France*, on several abstruse points in Divinity; yet I must own, I cannot even think of such practices, but with the greatest abhorrence.

Far be it from me therefore, to deserve such horrid Imputations, as my envious Maligners would gladly throw on me: and if by any extraordinary insight into these deeper Mysteries of Divination, used by the learned Ancients, I have heedlessly given some seeming grounds for this malevolent Accusation, I hope this candid confession will largely atone for it, and set me right in the opinion of this honest and scrupulous Age. It has too often been the fate of the greatest Names of Antiquity for Virtue and Knowledge, as *Naudæus* shews us, to be blasted with this vile and gross aspersion: and if such divine Persons (*Heroës celeberrimi nati melioribus annis*) could not escape it, I may the better despise this invidious Objection, in these evil days into which I am fallen; and possibly the next Generation may join my name with those illustrious Personages he has defended, in some future Edition of that learned *Frenchman's* Apology.

There is another Objection, somewhat allied to this, which I shall now go on to consider: and that is, an Insinuation some people

have whisper'd about, as tho' I borrow'd all the vast Scenes of future Events, from my understanding thoroughly the Celestial Alphabet, which many of the greatest Rabbies assure us* is wrote by the divine Finger of the Creator in the Stars, plac'd in the Heavens in *Hebrew Characters*, and which contain all the various accidents which shall ever happen below.

I am not so disingenuous to deny, that I have been very conversant with the works of several of the *Jewish Doctors* of note, as *Maimonides*, *Nachman*, *Chomer*, *Aben-Ezra*, *Kimchi*, *Jomtoss*, *Levi*, *Capor*, and *Abravanel*, who have strenuously maintained this opinion; and aver'd that a true Adept in this heavenly Science, may by it predict every change and revolution in Nature and Empire, in this inferiour World. I acknowledge, the learned Jesuit *William Postell*, has not only confest the truth and infallibility of this Science, but has also called his Creator, in the solemnest manner, to witness his having read in Heaven (in the Stars thus disposed in *Hebrew Characters*, which *Esdras* has given the Key of) whatever is in Nature. I confess, if that will satisfy my enemies, that *Picus*, the learned *Picus Mirandola* maintains, that several of the *Jews* hold this opinion as unquestionably true; and I own that even the illustrious Rabbi *Chomer*, embraced this Sect so far in the 17th Century, as to foretell the ruin of the *Turkish* and *Chinese* Empires from it. Indeed, the great *Origen* is justly taxed by *Sixtus Senensis*, in the sixth chapter of his *Bibliotheca*, with maintaining it; and every one knows, *Plotinus*, by thus foreseeing things, hindered *Porphyry* from killing himself: and the judicious *Flud*, whose Works I am so fond of, was as deeply skilled in, and in all future accidents by it, as *Postell* himself.

Nay, that I may conceal nothing from the Reader, and as I love to bring all learned remarks as close to the eye of common observation as I can; I shall not deny but one of the most skilful and ingenious Writers of Almanacks among us, my honoured and esteemed friend

* *Vide Basnage's History of the Jews, Book 3, ch. 25.*

Mr. *Vincent Wing*, has plainly given into the same opinion, as appears by that fine Lemma he prefixes to all his Almanacks;

The Heaven's a Book, the Stars are Letters fair; God is the Writer, Men the Readers are.

But alas! does this prove that I am a follower of their Doctrines, and reduce them to practice, because I have been conversant with those Writers who hold them, and have foretold some few things by them? Is it reasonable, or indeed honest, to infer, that because I may perhaps be more than ordinarily acquainted with such Books, and have profest to esteem them, and the immense erudition of some of their Authors; that therefore I am tainted with all their opinions, and have given into the whole of their Hypothesis? No, surely! and above all, since I truly and sincerely aver, though I have seen and studied *Gassarall's** *Tables* of that celestial Alphabet, and his Explanation and Defence of them, yet I have not got the least assistance to this work from those Systems; and that what time soever I may have spent that way, which I candidly own has been too much, I have only been able to discover from them, that they know less of that matter than *Patridge* and *Gadbury* did, in their little way of star-gazing. Nay, I must go further, and declare that I have found such palpable errors in the whole of their Doctrines, as makes me entirely distrust and despise them; and tho' the reverence I had for the learned *Postell*, (whom still as a Jesuit I must ever honour) kept me a while in suspence about them; yet I soon abandoned both him and them, when I found him so intoxicated with Enthusiasm, that he was firmly persuaded a *Venetian* Religious, whom he calls *Mother Jane*, was sent into the World to save all Woman-kind, as every one may see in his famous Treatise (which for the sake of that blessed Order I blush to mention) called, *The most marvellous Victories of Women*, printed at *Paris* in 12^{mo}, in 1553.

* *Vid. Gassarall's Curios. inaudita, c. 12.*

This stumbling-block therefore, which malice would lay in my dear Reader's way, being thus happily got over, I shall proceed to mention another envious insinuation, which some, who by the indulgence of my friends perus'd this work in manuscript, have ungenerously spread against it. For, say these judicious Persons, if these Memoirs were indeed the performance of a Guardian Angel, they would carry unquestionable marks of their high Original, and the Style, and Matter, and Manner, would evidently shew something celestial in them, and above the stinted force and skill of human wisdom and learning.

It becomes not me, my dear Reader, nor that unexampled modesty I have shewn in these Prefaces, to expose the want of Taste and Judgment, that appears in this false, this groundless, this inhuman method, of attacking such a consummate performance. Let Men use me and it as they please, I am resolved to possess my Soul in patience, and smile at their malice; and especially since I know 'tis as vain and impotent, as if they laboured to tear down the Sun from Heaven, because their purblind eyes, dimm'd by this splendour, and unable to survey so glorious and Orb, pretend to discern a few spots in it. I shall therefore silently and quietly pass by the illiterate ignorance of such Barbarians; who thus resemble the Negroes of *Asrick*, that murder all *Europeans* for the deformity of their white complexions, and not coming up to the hideous standard of beauty which they have established. I shall; for my part, make no other return to the ignorance and ill-nature of such Cavillers, than my prayers for their reformation; and shall contentedly, in this matter, chuse to refer myself to the better informed Judgment and Taste of the learned World, and leave them to decide how unjust a surmise this is, which they bring to discredit these Papers.

This only I must say, which with all modest and candid persons, and especially all good Catholicks, must have great weight; That though there might appear some slight, some very slight grounds for this objection, yet the defects they are built on, ought to be imputed to the alterations, interpolations, omissions, disguises, or mistakes, I

necessarily, or possibly a little injudiciously, have been guilty of, in preparing it for the Press; and were even these faults to be imputed to my good Genius and not to me, yet I never heard it objected against the many Crucifixes and Pictures ador'd in the holy and infallible Church of *Rome*, as being made by Angels and Apostles, and such celestial hands, that they sell very short of the Works of many famous Sculptors and Painters among Men. It is enough that we are well assur'd of the Celestial Hands that produc'd them, and that single point ought in justice and modesty, to be sufficient to silence the silly criticisms and affected cavils, of such self-conceited Examiners, who could call them down to the common rules of Art and Science.

And thus having ————— But 'tis time to let the wearied Reader sleep, who when he has rested himself, may (after the delightful entertainment of the remaining Letters, and the vast scenes of future times contained in them) either read at the end of this volume what is to follow in my third Preface; or slight it and throw it by, like the fag end of a Cloth, which serves only to wrap up the rest of the piece, and preserve it from the dirt that would otherwise fall on it.

MY LORD,

London-Chelsea, Feb. 2. 1697.

I Am ashamed to acknowledge so late, that through a load of affairs of importunate People, that engross my time and thoughts, I have so long referred you to Mr. Secretary, and am but now returning my thanks for two of yours Excellency's Letters from *Rome*, one of *November* the seventh, and another of *January* the seventeenth; for both which I am indebted to your care and goodness, beyond all possibility of repaying you.

The account you gave of your respectful and honourable reception there, is very agreeable to us in *London*; and as his Imperial Majesty's health is spoke of by the last Letters (as well as the disagreement of the Elector of *Cologne* with the Court where you are) in stronger terms than ever, I doubt not we shall manage our Negotiations so happily, as to secure the Peace of *Europe*, and defeat the astonishing ambition of the Empire of the *Vatican*.

It is certain, we shall stand in need of our utmost efforts to accomplish this, because the rest of the Protestant Powers are far from being well united, through the artifices of this See ever watchful to divide us, and even buy off the venal Faith of some of them from our Communion to hers. Moreover though the Protestant Interest is greatly increased in *Europe*, and in spite of all her snares, stronger this last Century than ever; yet they are so distrusted by their jealous Neighbours, that all offers to humble the Papal Power, are but considered as attempts, to throw their Kingdoms into confusion and rebellion.

Besides, the Popish Princes have by their furious Quarrels and Wars among themselves (which this See has ever fomented) given the Pope great opportunities to raise his temporal Power, and spiritual Authority on their Weakness. Hence he has acquir'd such large ac-

cession of Subjects, Wealth, and Territory in *Italy*, that they are cow'd and over-awed by his prodigious Strength, and the interest he keeps up even in their own Kingdoms and Councils; and seem only desirous of good conditions, to become as it were provincial Tetrarchs to this Lord of the Earth, and Vice-gerent of Heaven.

However, as this violent Jealousy of the Emperor, and the Scheme of introducing the Inquisition into *France*, are likely to unite us more than ever, in opposing her designs; and as our prodigious Naval Force has kept all the Islands in the hands of their old Sovereigns, and both prevented the *Venetians* being entirely swallowed up, and holds the Pope, by the means of his Sea-Coasts, Ports, and Trade, in great awe; I do not despair, but we may be able to humble his aspiring hopes.

The confirming *Civita Vecchia* a free Port, restoring all our Privileges, and declaring by his Bull that none of his Majesty's Subjects shall be liable to his Inquisitors, are great points gained, and also shew the fear he has of us, which I hope your Excellency will improve to weightier purposes.

Your accounts of the monstrous growth of this vast Empire, which has risen these two last Centuries, like a huge Mountain, from the unnatural fires and eruptions in the bowels of the Earth, have occasioned many reflections in my mind, on the blindness and folly of our Ancestors, who with proper care, might have prevented the confusion and oppression this age labours under. If instead of dreading the *Bruta Fulmina* of *Rome*, they had opposed their cannon to her thunder, and instead of attacking her with a silly paper-war of Books and Writings, they had by resistance and arms contracted her power; if instead of increasing her Riches and Wealth, and loading her with the very Lands, and the Tribute, and Spoil of their Nations, they had kept her within her own bounds, humble, pious, and just; the Princes of the World, and *Italy*, had not worn her Chains, and groaned under her bondage now. We had not seen in these our days, her Armies and Forces under the command of Cardinals, and her Generals, that are Priests and Jesuits in secret at least, and *ex voto*, as they call it, ha-

ranguing her armed Troops, and turning the old word *Concio* (which signified the speech of a Commander to his Legions, to the Senate, or People, upon affairs of State or War) to its original signification again, and shewing themselves the true Sons of the old Soldier their Founder.

It is true, what our Ancestors did, proceeded from a laudable Piety; and the Wealth and Possessions they poured into her lap, were paid by a sincere respect to their religion. But what has been the goodly consequence? only this, *Religio peperit divitias, & silia devoravit matrem*. The Christian Bishop has been entirely absorbed in the Temporal Prince; as the *Cæsars* of old sunk the *Pontifex Maximus* in the *Imperator*. In the mean while through a thirst to secure the Power of the latter, the holy Fathers have stuck at no Crimes or Wickedness, even of the blackest dye: And to hinder the Gates of Hell from ever prevailing against the Church, too many of her Popes, I fear, have gone thither, as eternal Hostages for her faithful alliance with it.

Your Excellency, who is so well read in her Historians before the ancient Reformation of Religion, is perfectly acquainted with many of the detestable Lives of these creatures, who stile themselves the Successors of St. *Peter*. A name they have no other title to, than that as *He* contradicted and shamefully opposed the truth, of what our blessed Saviour asserted twice, and afterwards denied him thrice; so they have ever since been acting the same part, and while they are openly renouncing him, have been violently making use of the Sword, and shedding blood, under pretence of defending his cause.

I shall not rake in the filth of History, to mention to your Excellency the foulness of the Crimes, so many of them were confessedly guilty of. Your Excellency and the learned World, are but too well acquainted with them: and would to God, for the honour of Christianity, they were as fully amended as known! Indeed, since the family of the Jesuits have set up for the royal Line of this Empire, the crime of Whoredom has been less frequent among them; but they have so far excelled their Predecessors in all others, that it were to be wished we had such Popes again as *Paul* the third, *Pius* the second, and *Gregory*

the eighteenth, who, with the best titles of all other to be called Fathers of the Church, were, with all their Bastards, much better Popes than these last ages have seen.

And yet these are the great pretenders to Infallibility, and to being directed immediately by the Holy Ghost; though surely common reason would allow a Man to believe as easily what a known Historian tells us (absurd and blasphemous as it is) in *Peter the Hermit's Crusade to the Holy Land*, that a Goose he kept was believed by the Crowd to be the Holy Ghost; or what the *Turks* say of the same nature of *Mahomet's* Pigeon; as that he speaks by the mouth of such vile and evil Popes, as these which the Jesuits have given us.

Certainly if your Excellency considers their lives and history, you will be of an opinion I have often maintained, that nothing has more fatally contributed to that dreadful Deism which has infected our Gentlemen, and so long sapt the foundations of our Faith, than the actions, or in other words, the Crimes of those holy patrons of it. For where Men of sense and figure evidently see, such flagitious wickedness daily practiced by them, under such sanctified professions, they enter into a distrust of their Religion, as some do of Physick, when they behold so many die by it: and as these last think the shortest way to health, is by plain constant temperance, so the others think the best and surest way to please God, is by a plain, honest, moral conduct, without regarding particular Systems of Revelation and Rules of Faith.

It were easy to prove the weakness of this way of reasoning, and to shew by experience (to carry on the allusion) that both of them, when Age and Sickness overtake them, call for the Priest and the Physician: but this I need not meddle with at present, having only hinted at the cause, not the remedy, of that vile and infectious evil. The very Jesuits themselves are so sensible of this truth, that they trouble not their heads to persuade these Rulers and Pharisees to believe our blessed Religion, provided they are silent and quiet. They only aim to gain the Crowd and Rabble of mankind, and have calcu-

lated all their conduct, as *Terence* says he managed as to his Plays, *Id fih negotii credidit solum dari, popula ut placerent quas fecissent fabulas.*

And indeed, what other management could be expected from the inferior Clergy, or opinions in the sensible Laity among them; when the Popes have on all occasions shewn, that they judged themselves under no obligations to keep the sacred Commandments of Christianity inviolably, whensoever they found the good, that is, the temporal interest of the Church, advantaged by breaking through them. It is true, some of the best of them, as *Gregory* the twentieth, and *Pius* the tenth, as Popes, were blameless and worthy Men, and careful enough not to break through those sacred fences of our holy Faith; but even they, as Sovereigns, were seldom observed to regard them, where reason of State made it adviseable to distinguish between their private and publick Characters.

Whenever your Excellency, or any impartial judge, looks into the history even of their reigns; you will find their Religion, as Temporal Princes, to be a System in which they and their Predecessors have ever moved, like flaming Comets, each in its different Orbit, not to be reduced to any known certain rules by the best Astronomers.

Like them you will find them menacing in their progress, ruin and destruction to the wretched Sons of Men, and even seeming to be no otherwise influenced by God's Power, Laws, or Will, in the circle of their Lives, than Comets in their revolutions are by the Sun; which sometimes they approach so near as to be heated, and violently set on fire by its flames, but which generally they keep themselves at such a distance from, as to be not only cold and unaffected, by its beams, but even unenlightened by its rays and splendor.

But this I write to your Excellency, not as the Statesman, and my Royal Master's Servant, but as your old Intimate and Friend. You may blame yourself for my dwelling so tediously on the subject, by the long detail you have given me of their Power and Arts to sustain it, which my heart has been too much affected by, not to let it overflow a little in my pen. Your catalogue of the Relicks, and their intended sale of them, has equally surprized and scandalized his Majesty; and

he is pleased to direct you to purchase some few of the most remarkable, that will come cheapest, but not to exceed ten thousand pounds in the whole. He inclines you should employ some skilful and able hand in bidding for them; and take care to have all their pretended vouchers and certificates exactly preserved, and sent over with them, with the utmost care; that we may have here the strongest evidences, of the superstition and vile conduct of this See at the same time, and try if the drousy eyes of some of our zealous Catholicks, can bear so glaring a light, without opening them effectually.

I admire their usual caution and subtlety has not restrained them; from so manifest a breach of all the Laws of decency, which they do not break for unimportant reasons; but I suppose, as your Excellency observes, the greatness of the gain this sale will produce, to supply the vast expence of the Cardinal-Nephew, has drawn them to these measures. For a small profit they would hardly have taken such a step; being like the Negroes in the *Guinea Coast of Asrick*, who hold themselves obliged by their Religion, as *Bosman* tells us, not to eat a lean Fox, but that it is lawful to eat a fat one. I am confident however, it will strangely offend the *Italian Gravity*, and make them think on occasion of this Cardinal's conduct, of a certain proverb of their Country, relating to their good Lords the Popes, that *when God denies them Sons, the Devil sends them Nephews*.

Your account of their allowing no books in History or Divinity to be licensed, but such as are wrote by the publick Professors, is what I was no stranger to, nor the grounds of their policy in it; for 'tis plain, by this method, that the two great keys of Knowledge, as to the Will of God, and the Actions of Men, will be hung at their girdle. This they do under pretence of the love of truth, and to prevent falshood; though in fact, 'tis but to impose it on the World their own way. I must own (*entre nous*) I am not fully satisfied, if it were to be wish'd as to History (for as to Divinity I am certain it is) that the truth of every thing was known; for possibly, if the secret springs of the actions of some of our neighbour Kings of late years, the cabals of Ministers and Courtiers, and the trivial piques, humours, and passions,

in those Princes, that occasion Wars, and the destruction of millions of their fellow-creatures, were nakedly and sincerely laid open to our eyes; I fear there could not be a readier way to turn the hearts and heads of Men, to hate or despise those that rule them.

But these are secrets only for your Lordship's ear; which as I believe I have pretty well tired on this subject, I shall return to one that will furnish us with more agreeable scenes of things, I mean our happy Country. As it is a great while since your Excellency heard from me on that subject, I think I may venture to tell you, as news, that about ten weeks since our Parliament was dissolved, and last week a new once called. Before their dissolution, after dispatching the publick Business with all possible regard, both to his Majesty's affairs, and the interest of their Country, they past several Laws, which I cannot but congratulate you upon, as publick benefits.

The first of them was an Act for translating all our Writs from the old unintelligible *English* of the eighteenth Century, into our present modern Tongue; and also for the regulating and ascertaining the Fees of all Offices and Officers, Counsellors of Law, and Attorneys; and obliging these two last names, to swear, when they take usual Oaths on being admitted to practice, never to be concerned in any base, wicked, or evidently unjust Cause. The second was a Bill for establishing a publick Bank for lending small sums of money to the Poor, at the lowest interest, to carry on their trades with; such as the *Monte della Pieta* at Rome: but by this Act no sum larger than then pounds, or less than twenty shillings, can be borrowed, and it must be lent upon sufficient Pawns, or City-security.

The third was an Act for erecting the Bishopricks of *London* and *Bristol* into Archbishopricks, and enlarging their Revenues to five thousand pounds *per annum*; and appropriating a fund to raise all the Parishes in *England* under thirty pounds, to fifty pounds the year. A fourth was the so much talk'd of Law, for new modelling, and farther confirming and enlarging the two Corporations of the Royal Fishery and Plantation Company, and their Rights, Privileges, and Præmi-

ums, as established in the Reigns of *Frederick* the first, and *George* the third.

Another, was an Act to prevent any Judge, Bishop, or Archbishop, to be preferred, or translated, from any See or Place to which they were first promoted: and also one for the settling four thousand pounds *per annum*, for the founding a School and College, with proper Officers, for the advantage of Experimental Philosophy, according to the excellent scheme proposed by Mr. *Abraham Cowley*, the famous ancient Poet.

The last I shall mention (though several others were past) is an Act for explaining and amending an Act in the tenth of *Frederick* the second, and the eighth of *William* the fourth, for taking away all privilege of Parliament, in case of Arrest for Debt, or Lawsuits, when the house is not sitting. And indeed, the amendments made in this Law are so favourable to the rights of the Subject, that it will endear the memory of the Contriver of it to Posterity; and will keep up that veneration for Parliaments with the People, which the burthen and abuse of Privileges, had too far undermined and supplanted.

I have not time to enlarge on the vast advantages, these several Laws will probably derive to Posterity; though indeed I could dwell on them with great delight, if I had more leisure, and were not writing to one of your Lordship's great discernment, and intimate acquaintance, with both the excellencies and defects of our Constitution in Church and State.

At your Excellency's request, I send you an exact List of all our temporal Peers, summoned to meet at this Parliament, to be held at *Westminster* on *Tuesday* the 25th of *March* 1997, which the old Act against creating more than one Peer in a Session, has contracted to a small number.

His Royal Highness *George* Prince of *Wales*. His Royal Highness *Frederick* Duke of *York*. *John Scrope*, Lord High-Chancellor of *Great-Britain*. *John* Earl of *N--m*, Lord High-Treasurer of *Great-Britain*. *William Herbert* Duke of *Pembroke*, Lord President of the Council. *William Fitzroy* Duke of *Grafton*, Lord Privy-Seal. *Charles*

Seymour Duke of Somerset, Lord Steward of his Majesty's Houshold. Henry Lenox, Duke of Richmond. Charles Somerset, Duke of Beaufort. Richard Beauclair, Duke of St. Albans. John Pawlet, Duke of Bolton. George Wriothesly Russel, Duke of Bedford. John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough. John Manners, Duke of Rutland. George Montague, Duke of Montague. Charles Graham, Duke of Roxburgh. George Hamilton, Duke of Hamilton. Frederick Pierrepoint, Duke of Kingston. William Holles Pelham, Duke of Newcastle. George Bentinck, Duke of Portland. John James Brydges, Duke of Chandos. George Campbell, Duke of Greenwich and Argyle. Charles Egerton, Duke of Bridgewater. George Compton, Duke of Northampton. Frederick Stanhope, Duke of Chesterfield. Robert Boyle, Duke of Burlington. John Slingsby, Duke of Warwick. John Davers, Duke of Andover. William Bridgman, Duke of Guilford. Joseph Williams, Duke of Hargrave. Robert Halsey, Duke of Preston. John Bacon, Duke of Dunsmore.

MARQUISES.

John Stanley, Marquiss of Derby; Henry Clinton, Marquiss of Lincoln; John Hales, Marquiss of Brompton; George Edward Turner, Marquiss of Allerton; George Walpole, Marquiss of Walpole; John Parker, Marquiss of Macclesfield; Edward Vaughan, Marquiss of Richley; John Coke, Marquiss of Hilton.

EARLS.

Henry Howard, Earl of Suffolk; James Cecil, Earl of Salisbury; Charles Sidney, Earl of Leicester; Basil Fieldings, Earl of Denbigh; John Fane, Earl of Westmorland; Charles Finch, Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham; Philip Stanhope, Earl Stanhope; Charles Tuston, Earl of Thanet; George Spencer, Earl of Sunderland; Frederick Mountague, Earl of Sandwich; Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle; Henry Lee, Earl of Litchfield; James Berkeley, Earl of Berkeley; John Bertie, Earl of Abingdon; James Noel, Earl of Gainsborough; Richard D'Arcy, Earl of Holderness; Frederick Lumley, Earl of Scarborough; Robert Booth, Earl of Warrington; Francis Newport, Earl of Bradford; William Zulestein

de Nassau, Earl of *Rochfort*; *George Van Keppell*, Earl of *Albemarle*; *Thomas Coventry*, Earl of *Grantham*; *Sidney Godolphin*, Earl of *Godolphin*; *Hugh Cholmondeley*, Earl of *Cholmondeley*; *James Sutherland*, Earl of *Sutherland*; *Robert Leslie*, Earl of *Rothes*; *Robert Hamilton*, Earl of *Haddingtown*; *James Campbell*, Earl of *Loudon*; *Thomas Ogilvy*, Earl of *Finlater*; *George Hamilton*, Earl of *Selkirk*; *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Orkney*; *William Dalrymple*, Earl of *Stair*; *William Campbell*, Earl of *Ila*; *Robert Hume*, Earl of *Marchmont*; *Charles Paget*, Earl of *Uxbridge*; *Frederick Bennet*, Earl of *Tankerville*; *John Mountague*, Earl of *Hallifax*; *Thomas Cooper*, Earl *Cooper*; *Robert Sherrard*, Earl of *Harborough*; *George Farmer*, Earl of *Pomfret*; *George Byng*, Earl of *Torington*; *Charles Townshend*, Earl *Townshend*; *Henry Raymond*, Earl of *Raymond*; *Frederick Offley*, Earl of *Stafford*; *Edward Scrope*, Earl of *Avington*; *Harvey Westley*, Earl of *Newington*; *Joseph Milton*, Earl *Milton*; *John Temple*, Earl of *Beverley*; *Jacob Tilson*, Earl of *Westbury*; *Roger Richmond*, Earl of *Malmsbury*.

VISCOUNTS.

William Fiennes, Viscount *Say and Sele*; *Thomas Lowther*, Viscount *Lonsdale*; *George Obrian*, Viscount *Tadcaster*; *Frederick Temple*, Viscount *Cobham*; *William Boscawen*, Viscount *Falmouth*; *Robert Grosvenour*, Viscount *Grosvenour*; *James Wentworth*, Viscount *Wentworth*; *William Jones*, Viscount *Wandsworth*; *Robert Smith*, Viscount *Langston*; *Edward Wynn*, Viscount *Marston*; *Robert Dean*, Viscount *Hedsworth*; *Richard Wardell*, Viscount *Wardell*; *John Morecraft*, Viscount *Alston*; *Thomas Clerk*, Viscount *Dorington*; *Frederick Holmes*, Viscount *Rainsford*.

BARONS.

George West, Lord *De la War*; *Charles Fortescue*, Lord *Clinton*; *John Ward*, Lord *Dudley and Ward*; *William Maynard*, Lord *Maynard*; *George Byron*, Lord *Byron*; *Robert Berkeley*, Lord *Berkeley of Stratton*; *George Carteret*, Lord *Carteret*; *Charles Waldgrave*, Lord *Waldgrave*; *William Ashburnham*, Lord *Ashburnham*; *Richard Herbert*, Lord *Her-*

bert of Cherbury; Robert Gower, Lord Gower; Edward Boyle, Lord Boyle; Henry Windsor, Lord Mountjoy; Charles Granville, Lord Landsdown; Henry Bathurst, Lord Bathurst; George Onslow, Lord Onslow; John King, Lord King; George Edgewcombe, Lord Edgewcombe; Charles Morgan, Lord Tredegar; Henry Hobart, Lord Hobart; William Doddington, Lord Gonvill; George Pulteney, Lord Heddon; William Bowes, Lord Strettham; Edward Child, Lord Wansted; Richard Dutton, Lord Sherborne; Thomas Bateman, Lord Bateman; Edward Monson, Lord Monson; Robert Coke, Lord Beverley; John Methuen, Lord Methuen; Thomas How, Lord How; Arthur Worsley, Lord Worsley; Henry Fortescue, Lord Borlace; Robert Davers, Lord Clifton; George Windham, Lord Windham; John Mowbray, Lord Danvers; Thomas Edwards, Lord Harston; Peter Strickland, Lord Rigdeway; Frederick Bamfield, Lord Brereton; Joseph Lane, Lord Walton; John Pierce, Lord Rolston; Henry Hatson, Lord Elsington; George Gore, Lord Walford; Edward Beaumont, Lord Stoughton; Robert Bagot, Lord Cranston; Frederick Long, Lord Upton; John Pritchard, Lord Castleton; George Pitt, Lord Woodcote; John Stapleton, Lord Bromfield

I have been comparing this List, with the ancient ones that remain on record with us, and I am struck with the deepest melancholly, when I see so many great and noble Families, that once made such a figure in our Country, washed away by the devouring Flood of Time; without leaving any more remembrance of their vast Fortunes, stately Houses, and magnificent Equipages, than there is of the very Beggars, that in their days were refused the scraps and crumbs of their Tables. When they flourished, and distinguished themselves by their Wealth and splendid Living, and immense Estates, surrounded with Power and Interest, Relations and Children, one would have thought they must have lasted in their glory for ever; and yet, alas! in a few years of a Century or two, how are they and their Generation swept away, like the Leaves of the Forest by the Winter's Storms.

It is true, indeed, some few among them have left Monuments of their merit and virtue by good or great Actions, that make their

names dear to us, and will carry down their Memories with honour and esteem, to future ages. A few others, by the blessing of Providence on them, and their real services to their Country, have left Posterity behind them, that to this day reflect back part of the glory they receive from their Ancestors: but alas, your Excellency will perceive how few they are, to those whose Families and Fortunes have been hurried down the high and steep abyss of time. *Apparent rari nantes in Gurgite Vasto!* I am persuaded, that of near twelve hundred Families that have been ennobled since the Reign of *Henry* the first, to these days, there will hardly be found above eighty who were Peers before the great Revolution, in the end of the seventeenth Century. I cannot but put your Excellency in mind here, of our favourite *Pliny's* reflection on the like occasion, when he was surveying a vast Assembly of the highest Court of Judicature at *Rome*, in his old age, and comparing them with the same Assembly, when he had first appeared in it a young Man; and considered within himself the terrible ravage, which so great a tract of time had made, among them and their Fortunes. *Tantas conversiones aut fragilitas mortalitatis, aut fortunæ mobilitas facit. Si computes annos, exiguum tempus, si vices rerum ævum putes:* and then follows that noble moral reflection, *Quod potest esse documento nihil desperare, nullius rei sidere, cum videamus tot varietates, tam volubili orbe circumagi.*

There is something of Madness sure, in the passion that Men are generally possessed with, of spending their days in care and anxiety, to build up mighty Fortunes, and raise a Family by their toils and labours; (and too, too often, by the most flagitious actions, and the vilest, and the most dishonest conduct) in hopes that they and their Descendants shall last for ever, and at worst, enjoy their Possessions for many Ages. But they calculate that matter so ill, that generally all they are able to do, is to feed the extravagance and pride of two or three Descendants for a while, till Luxury and Debauchery have brought all the dwindled, sickly Race to the grave; as Gaming, Building and Equipage, had put an end to their Wealth and Fortunes.

Now I am got into this serious way of thinking, what if your Excellency allowed me to carry it on farther, and observe to you, that even the great Empires of the World, that set the ambitious Spirits of Mankind on fire, are, in proportion, of as short-liv'd a duration, as these little private Families. For after all the Blood and Bustle, which they cost their mighty Builders and Founders to rear them up, we shall find five hundred years may be reckoned the grand Climacterick of most of them, as much as sixty-three to Men. In the Government of the Kings of *Judah*, beginning with *Saul*, the first Kingdom continued to the Captivity of *Babylon*, which was five hundred years, and pretty nearly the same space of time may be assigned from the Captivity, beginning at *Esdra*s, and reckoning down to *Vespasian*, who utterly extirpated the *Jews* and their Empire. The *Assyrian* Empire in *Asia*, was of just the same duration: and the *Athenian* Commonwealth, from *Cecrops* to *Codrus*, lasted four hundred ninety years, and then was changed to a Democracy. The Commonwealth of the *Lacedemonians* lasted about that time, under the Kings *Heraclides*, till *Alexander* the Great swallowed that up with many other States. The consular Government in *Rome* flourished about five hundred years, till *Augustus's* Monarchy; and the same period is observed from *Augustus's* reign, till the fall of *Valentinian*, the last Emperor of the *West*, and that then the *Western* Empire failed. The same number of years were remarked a little after, from the time that *Constantine* the great transported the Empire from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, until *Charlemain*, who restor'd the Empire to the *West*, having chased the *Lombards* out of *Italy*. I could easily produce many other instances of the like nature, to shew that five hundred years has been frequently the age assigned to Empires by Providence. It is true, many have hardly subsisted so long, and some of them have flourished somewhat longer; yet the first of these we must consider as being formed and produced with unhealthy Constitutions, and that had naturally in their first conception, such *mala stamina vitæ*, that they perished in their infancy, and were not able to live out half their days: and the others we must look on as we do on men of hardy, athletic Constitutions,

which are thereby enabled to outrun the common periods of life, that generally are assigned to their neighbours. Of these short-liv'd ones we may reckon that of the *Persians*, from *Cyrus* to the last *Darius*, continued but about two hundred thirty years: and the Monarchy of the *Greeks*, founded on its ruin by *Alexander*, and derived from him to the Kings of *Egypt* and *Syria*, lasted but two hundred and fifty, and then sunk under the *Romans*. In *France*, from *Syagre* the last *Roman* Proconsul, who was deposed, to *Clovis* the first Christian King, until *Pepin* Father of *Charlemain*, and then after until *Hugh Capet*, was but two hundred thirty-seven years; and so of many more. And on the other hand, the *Carthaginian* Commonwealth, when destroyed by *Scipio*, had lasted seven hundred years: and even the ruin of the *Roman* Liberties, if we reckon in the seven Kings (as we justly may) which was compleated under *Julius Cæsar*, continued full that time.

All I mean to deduce from this long detail of things, is a very plain and obvious inference, which I am sure your Excellency makes before I mention it; and that is, what little, mouldering, tottering Cottages, these boasted Empires seem, which yet are the utmost efforts of human pride and ambition, with seas of Blood, and ruins of Wealth. After all, the building up noble Families, or founding great Kingdoms, are in the eye of reason as trivial performances, as the baby-houses and puppets of Children, in comparison of those generous schemes and foundations, Wealth and Power might provide, to relieve the distressed and the miserable, the poor, the sick, and the unfortunate part of Mankind, and to instruct the ignorant, or reform the savage, the brutal, or the wicked among Men. In short (for we may trust such a dangerous truth to a private Letter) all the empty noise, and pomp, and shew of Life, which Men aim at with such infinite expence and folly, is not worth one action greatly generous, humane, or honest.

Well! by this time I suppose your Excellency is willing, to give me a full discharge for the two Letters I was indebted to you, when I begun this, which I believe you think is never to end: for fear therefore of enlarging too much, I will soon put all my excuses for it in a

very short and a very sincere compliment; and that is, that as full as our Court is at present, I do not find there every day one like you, that I unbosom myself to, on such subjects with pleasure, being very much,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's, &c.

N----m.

I refer you for his Majesty's new Instructions to Mr. Secretary's enclosed Pacquet, which I see is above half of it in cypher; and which I heartily recommend to your care.

To the Lord High-Treasurer, &c.

MY LORD,

Paris, Feb. 8. 1797.

MY last from this place to your Lordship, was of *December* the sixteenth; and I have since, pursuant to your commands, given Mr. Secretary the trouble of two Letters, of the first and thirteenth of last Month. I now return, because you are pleased to have it so, to go on with the long account of Affairs here, since I have sufficiently answered all other particulars, relating to our Negotiations at this Court, in those two former ones.

When I broke off this subject in my last, I had acquainted your Lordship with the address of Mons. *Meneville*, and the present Ministers, in remedying the Disorders of their Predecessors conduct; and by Places, Preferments, and Pensions, to take off the edge of the factious Leaders of the People, and bring both the Clergy and Nobility, to the legal restraints of Duty and Allegiance to the King. I observed, that this had succeeded as it usually does, where Men mean nothing by their Clamours for the good of their Country, but to build up their own Fortunes, and make themselves considerable: but I must add here, that this would have been doing their work but by halves, if they had not cut off all occasion for new Complaints and Patriots, by remedying the evil that occasioned them. As the great diseases they laboured under, were the want of Trade and People, and scarcity of Money, frequent dearths of Bread-corn, the defrauding the Kingdom in the accounts of the Publick Money, and the extream Debaucheries of the Gentry; they endeavoured to remove them all, by severe Edicts against the Causes of these Grievances.

As their Trade and Manufactures had suffered by an idle affectation in the Nobility, of wearing and using every thing that was foreign, high Taxes were laid on all Commodities not of the growth of

the Kingdom: and as his Majesty set an example to his Subjects, by observing this rule himself, as to wearing Apparel particularly, so no Person that had any Office under him, or that ever appeared at Court, was allowed to wear any thing of foreign growth. By this single point of management, the tide of the fashion was turned entirely in a new channel, to the great advantage of the *French* Manufacturers, and to the saving immense sums of the Cash of the Kingdom, which used to go out to feed the pride and folly of the People of condition, to the utter impoverishing of the Poor.

The same care was taken to redress an evil that had gained ground extremely among the *French* Gentlemen, of travelling abroad. This, by a severe Tax of the fifth of all their Estates, and by being also discountenanced by the King, in a little time was quite laid aside; and remittances of near a million of Money prevented, besides a destructive importation of foreign fashions and luxury. At the same time as the long Plague, their unsuccessful War, and the Dearth and Confusions of the times that followed them, had made a vast consumption of their hands, and made their People, and especially their Gentlemen, very averse to marrying, and taking such an encumbrance on their Pleasures and Debaucheries upon them; an Edict was passed, by which no unmarried Person, if past thirty and under fifty, could hold any profitable employment, or Pension whatever; and all of them were taxed a fifth part of their yearly Income, if Gentlemen, and all others ten shillings a head. This was sufficiently strict, and yet the latter part of this Edict was more severe: for after remarking that it was unreasonable, he who ravishes a Woman, and only hurts her honour, shall be hanged; and he who debauches her by flattery, and ruins her Soul, shall be often admired by the Women, and envied by the Men, as a fine Gentleman; it enacts, That in all such cases, the Woman shall be entitled for life, on full proof of the fact, to the third part of the Person's Estate who debauches her.

Your Lordship may easily guess what a compleat alteration for the better this has produced in the *Beau Monde*, as well as the inferior People; and I am persuaded *France*, in half a Century, will owe one

seventh part of its inhabitants to this cause; at least in conjunction with another Law, that soon followed it, by which severe Penalties were laid on all voluntary Abortions, or unwholesome Nurses; and freedom from several Taxes to all who had ten living Children, or a proportionable reward for all who had a smaller number, if above six.

The next Evil they applied themselves to remove, was the frequent Dearth; which they also effectually remedied by taking off the Taxes on plowed Grounds, and laying them on all such Trades as are nourished by our Luxury, and prove unprofitable to the Commonwealth; as Perfumers, Confectioners, Embroiderers, Wig-makers, Vintners, Jewellers, Lacqueys, Lawyers, Toyshops, Foreign Lace, and gold and silver Lace-shops; by which means numbers were kept to Agriculture and Husbandry.

At the same time they kept publick Granaries in all considerable Villages; by which means, by borrowing and saving from the plentiful Crops, like *Joseph in Egypt*, they have now near two years provision before hand, to supply their necessities, and relieve the low condition of the Poor in times of Famine, whenever this Judgment of the Almighty happens to visit this Nation, in vengeance for their sins.

The last evil this Ministry has prudently remedied, was the preventing the continual Frauds in the managing the Finances, and over-reaching the King and the Nation, in the Receipts and Disbursements of the Publick Money, and the Accounts of the national Taxes and Funds.

Judge, my Lord, what notions I must have, of his integrity and honour who is to read this, when I speak with abhorrence and detestation, of the vile arts these Financiers, and Bankers of the Treasures of the State, made use of to enrich themselves, and impoverish their Prince and their Country. For it is evident by the facts, that have since their disgrace been proved on them, and by the immense Fortunes they so suddenly raised, that there never were greater Robbers or Villains employed, under a careless and lavish King, and a cunning Ministry.

To prevent such base and dishonest management for ever, there was an excellent Edict passed, constituting seven Commissioners, with eighteen thousand Livres yearly Salaries to each of them, sworn to examine with the strictest care and fidelity, all publick Accounts of the Nation; and with their utmost industry, by their examining all Officers (from the highest to the lowest) on oath, to discover all errors. These Accounts, with all proper Vouchers annexed to them, they were obliged by the first of *March*, to publish and print annually for the publick view; with their notes and observations upon them, and to mention all errors found in them, and the several Officers who had committed them, whether by fraud or mistake. All such sums so discovered, the particular Officers and their Securities, were to make good; and the Commissioners also, to have the entire benefit of such sums, paid to them by the said Officers and their Securities.

But this did not end here, for if after the publishing and printing the said Accounts, any other Person should prove and make out, any fraud or mistake omitted by them; then such Person was to be adjudged the whole of the said Sum, as a reward for his diligence, half to be recovered from the Commissioners, and half from the offending Officer, who by fraud or corruption had passed it over.

By this means, it is hard to be believed with what honest severity, regularity, integrity, and œconomy, the Publick Finances here have been managed of late: while in other Nations, whoever robs a private Subject of five shillings, is hanged, and those who can with dexterity rob their Country of a Million, are honoured and rewarded, if not ennobled for it.

If we add to this the publick Registry, for all Conveyances of Lands and Settlements, and Deeds affecting the real Estates of this Kingdom; I believe your Lordship will see in these Regulations, as great care and conduct shewn, to retrieve this People from all their misfortunes, as has been known in this Kingdom, since the days of *Richlieu* or *Mazarine*.

I shall now take leave of this part of my observations, and shall proceed to such others as I have not yet touched on; if possibly I can communicate any thing of this kind, that may deserve your notice.

And the first I shall mention is the low ebb of Religion in this Country, which is indeed in a very dead and languishing way, between the blind Infidelity of the Laity, and the cold indifference and want of Zeal in some, and the immoral and luxurious Lives of others of the Clergy.

As the first of these is greatly occasioned by the latter, so *that*, I fear, is too much to be charged to the conduct of the Court and the Ministry. For finding in the late contests with the Pope, that the Clergy universally preferred the interest of the Empire of the *Vatican*, to that of their own Country; it has been a constant maxim ever since, to sink their credit with the People, by encouraging them in a want of Zeal for Religion, and a scandalous looseness of Life and Morals, and preferring either the most lukewarm or the most luxurious and debauched among them, to all Sees, Abbeys, &c. in the gift of the Crown.

By this conduct, their influence on the Laity and the State, is perpetually sinking: and as such heads will probably prefer Men like themselves, to the Cures of Parishes in their several Diocesses, the credit and interest of the Clergy, and consequently of the Pope, must necessarily decrease; and all that they lose, must as naturally revert to the Crown, as the Power and Estates of Rebels, that are forfeited for Treason.

It is grown so much the fashion here, to treat them with contempt on all occasions, and despise them, that the great Men shut them out generally from their conversations; and even at their Tables they have always a Page or *Valet de Chambre*, to say Grace, (which for fashion's sake some of them keep up as an old custom in their Families) that they may not be disturbed by the Priest or the Friar.

And indeed, notwithstanding the general decay of Learning and Virtue, in the Ecclesiasticks of this Century, I believe there can hardly be found such notorious and flagrant instances of this nature,

as in this Kingdom. Many of them are as nice and effeminate, as if, (as we read of the Clergy of *Formosa*, who are all Females,) they were entirely of a different sex from the Laity; or like the Prophetesses of *Caria* in *Asia Minor*, who, as *Aristotle* tells us, were bearded Women. But I am sure they live with such softness, nicety, and woman-like delicacy of manners, as shew their sense and notions of things, must be mean and sensual. Numbers of them are sunk and drowned, in the good Wine and Cheer of *Paris*; wallowing in the Bottle and the Dish, as the chief pleasure and joy of life, and are so given up to their bellies and gluttony, as if they thought our blessed Saviour was born at *Bethlehem*, because the word in *Hebrew* signifies, The House of Bread; and was designed to express thereby, that they should serve him chiefly on that account, and feed by him. Is it not a melancholy prospect, my Lord, to see the sacred repository of the divine Will, shut up from the eyes of the Laity, and confined to such despicable creatures, as stewards and dispensers of it to others?

So far, indeed, they may be called faithful stewards of it, as they bestow its Treasures entirely on their neighbours, without keeping any share of it to themselves; being too often, and especially the Jesuits, in this case like Miners, who are perpetually employed to dig out the Riches of the Earth; for the use of the World, while they preserve not the least portion of it for their own service. The truth is, the pretended heads of this Church are not, as formerly, Men who by an eminence in Parts and Learning, and a Sanctity of Life and Manners, are chosen out as fit Overseers of the Christian Sheepfold, to increase their numbers, cure their disorders, and prevent their straying; but are picked out to disunite and disturb it, in hopes thereby to shake the foundations of the Papal Power. They are not, my Lord, so properly Archbishops of *Paris*, or Bishops of *Auranches*, as Temporal Peers, and the Dukes and Barons of those places; who have these Preferments bestowed on them for life, as Pensions to oppose the Pope, and maintain the Quarrel of the Crown. How far true Religion can be served by such Creatures, or Learning, Virtue, and Piety, be kept up in this Kingdom, is easily foreseen; and especially, when nei-

ther the outward decencies of publick Preaching or Praying, or even appearing in their Churches, unless on great Festivals, is made use of to palliate their irregular Lives, and corrupted Morals.

A reflection, which while I make with sorrow and anguish of heart, on the State of the Church here, I cannot without pleasure and transport turn my eyes on our own Church; where we are so happy to see the greatest purity of Faith, joined with a primitive simplicity and sanctity of Manners, and an eminency in both these, made the surest road to Promotion and Preferment.

Another point of policy which the new Ministers have put in practice here, in relation to the Clergy, and which deserves to be locked up *inter arcana Imperii*, is, forbidding all polemical Works from the Press, or Discourses of that kind from the Pulpit. For as such Disputes and Party-wars of the Pen, have been ever observed to heat, and keep up the zeal and spirit of the Clergy, above all other things; such stimulative and awakening Medicines are by no means judged, proper by these State-Empiricks, for that Lethargy and drousy Stupidity, they find it their interest to keep the Ecclesiasticks in.

It is certain, by this means the peace and quiet of the State, as well as the Church, is the more secured, and many eminent Genius's employed in nobler pursuits, to the great advantage of the Commonwealth of Learning. But at the same time, this introduces a sensible decay and indifferency in all points of Faith, that lie like the Fortifications of Towns, on the Frontiers of a Country, where we are secure to have no War; mouldering, and falling away daily, being neglected, and ill maintained, in too profound a Peace.

Along with this part of their conduct they have joined another, and left in any future disputes with the Pope, they should want able Pens to defend the Rights of the Crown; they have in several Universities, and especially in the *Sorbonne*, appointed Salaries for learned King's Professors of Divinity; though indeed their true title should be, Professors of the King's Divinity. These are the best Pens and the ablest Men they have, who are retained, like Lawyers, to plead the

Cause of *France*, against the Usurpations of the Papal See, as they have often done, though never so successfully, as when they have had the Armies of the Crown for their Seconds.

The truth is, they have taken up such an aversion to Learning here, from the mischiefs it has occasioned, in their disputes with the Pope; that I am persuaded I could not do them a more agreeable piece of service, than to contrive a Plan to model all the Schools and Colleges in this Kingdom a-new, in such a manner that they should be entirely employed in teaching Children Nothing, educating them to Nothing, and breeding them up to read Nothing. By this means, they might have the rising Generation, ready to receive any impressions they pleased, unbyassed by the reigning prejudices in favour of the Pope's Supremacy. If I set up this Scheme here, I must aim to introduce the famous *Chinese* Sect of *Bonzes*, who assemble their Followers in the Fields, where every one is furnished with a pair of Drum-bones between his fingers; and whenever the *Bonzes* learnedly prove to them, that all the Opinions, Pleasures, Sorrows, Hopes, and Fears of this World are *Xin*, that is, (in their Language) Nothing, which word ends every sentence; the whole Croud rock their Bodies to an extasy of transport, and rattle their Drum-bones, crying out in confirmation of their beloved Doctrine, *Xin, Xin, Xin!*

I must also of a certainty send for some Professors, from the Academy *Gli Insecondi* in *Italy*, who write Nothing; and for crouds of *Spanish* Schoolmen, *German* Poets, *Dutch* Divines, *English* Politicians, *Muscovite* Sea-Captains, *Italian* Patriots, *Jewish* Rabbies, and *Turkish* Dervises, who have above all Men the happy art of amusing others, and employing themselves in that amiable mystery, of writing, and thinking, and doing Nothing. We should have some trouble in watching carefully over a few bustling, inquisitive tempers, who are possessed with that devilish spirit, of doing, thinking, or writing something. But the usual croud of the School or the College, might be left to the conduct of their gentle, easy Genius, and by the amiable inactivity of their Indolence, would naturally arrive at Nothing. By such a model as this, great things might be done here, to drive out

the impertinence of reading and study; and in a few years we might see this Reign, rival that of *Lewis* the seventeenth, when Learning, and Religion, and Arts, were so happily banished that Kingdom; and Infidelity united all its divided Schisms and Parties, in one general League of Irreligion and Ignorance, against Superstition, Pedantry, and Priestcraft, or in other words, Piety, Virtue, and Knowledge.

But it is time to present your Lordship with some observations of a different nature, as to the Humour and Temper of these People. I formerly took notice of the prodigious Luxury that reigns here, amidst the confusion of their affairs; which shews it self in all the amusements and diversions of the better sort, in such an infinite variety of things, that it is impossible to describe the half of them. It would be very entertaining to write an History even of the Fashions, for the last five years I have resided here, and I am confident it would make a little folio, to go thro' them in all their different reigns and seasons. High Stays, low Stays, no Stays, short-waisted, long-waisted Stays; short, mid-leg, all-leg, no-leg Petticoats; broad Lace, narrow Lace, *Flanders* Lace, *English* Lace, *Spanish* Lace, no Lace, Fringes, Knottings, Edgings; High-heads, Low-heads, three Pinners, two Pinners, one Pinner; much Powder, all Powder, little Powder, no Powder; Mantua's with a Tail, want a Tail, false Tail; four Flounces, three Flounces, two Flounces, no Flounces; wide Sleeves, strait Sleeves, long Sleeves, short Sleeves; many Ribbons, all Ribbons, few Ribbons, broad Ribbons, narrow Ribbons, rich Ribbons, plain Ribbons, flowered Ribbons, stamp Ribbons, no Ribbons. Such a noble and important work as this, with the dates and rise of every Fashion, the Councils that decreed it, the Authors and Inventors, and the vast Revolutions it produced in the polite World; and dedicated to the lovely Dutchess of *Monbazon*, who is able, my Lord, to prescribe what Fashions she pleases, both to her own Sex and ours; would, I am sure, raise more Subscriptions here, than the Works of *Cicero* or *Livy*. I fancy an History of their Breakfasts at *Paris*, for these last thirty years, would be almost as diverting; for as the quickness and inconstancy of the fair Ladies Fancies, are ever on the wing for new

Entertainments for us, it is comical to consider the various successions they have contrived, since the days of cold Meat and Wine of their Ancestors. How have these lovely Cooks rung the changes with Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate, Chocolate, Coffee, and Tea, backwards and forwards, sometimes drinking their Tea infused long in cold water, sometimes in hot; and when they were driven off the stage, what new scenes have they furnished out, between Sweetmeats and Creams, Tysans and Sherbets, Milk cooked in twenty different methods, Bitters for the Stomach of a thousand sorts, Wine mull'd and brew'd in several shapes, Jellies and Fruits of all kinds, Broths and Caudles drest up in various disguises, and Possets, Syllabubs, and Gruels, in as many; till at last they have returned to Manchets and Butter, with fresh Eggs and Whey, or Milk from the Cow, which their Fathers used about three hundred years ago, in *Lewis* the thirteenth's time.

One of the reigning Fashions at present is, in all their Assemblies, or Visiting-days, to entertain their Company with Consorts of the best Musick, and to perfume all the Apartments but the Antichambers, which are at the same time adorned with the most exquisite Pictures *Great-Britain* or *Italy* can furnish them with. I take this to be the most natural and agreeable method of receiving great People with respect, that can be thought of; for besides regaling you with many kinds of Wines and Sweetmeats, almost all the Senses are gratified at once, and the everlasting, unmeaning rhapsody of Talk, that prevails in mixt Conversations here, is removed; and the Ear, Eyes, Taste, and Smell, entertained in the noblest manner. If your Lordship will allow me to mention one reigning Fashion more, that seems established here, I shall detain you no longer on this subject; and that is, the keeping Mutes in all great houses, which they generally import from *Turkey* at excessive rates, and employ as *Valet de Chambres* and Waiters at Table. I fancy this humour is likely to reach some of their neighbours in time: and indeed, where half the World act, and the other half talk things, that ought to be buried in everlasting silence, I wonder it has not been introduced among us long

since. In some Provinces of *France* this has obtained so far, that they as commonly cut out the Tongues of Infants, as in *Italy* they make them Eunuchs; and the prices for them run so high, these having the advantage of hearing, which many of those that are imported want, that it is probable in time, the number of Mutes among Servants, will bear a higher proportion than they do in the letters of the alphabet. In the mean time, to encourage us to give into this practice in our Country, it is to be considered, we may furnish ourselves much cheaper with very tolerable Mutes from both our Universities; who besides, are generally happy in a more grave and sheepish Modesty than these Foreigners, and can sometimes also, on an extraordinary occasion, utter an odd monosyllable now and then, which is rather an advantage in my opinion, than otherwise.

I am sorry, my Lord, that I must lengthen this tedious Letter with two pieces of news, neither of which, I fear, will be agreeable. The one is the death of Mons. *Le Fevre*, whom your Lordship honoured formerly with managing some business for you here. He was a chearful, well-natured, honest Man, but he talked immoderately; and though he shewed a great deal of wit in his Conversation, he used to laugh so much at his own Jests, that his mirth was seldom accompanied with *Sarah's* blessing, who said, *God had made her to laugh, so that all that heard her laughed with her*. I mention this the rather, because I was with him the day he died; and as he had raised his fortune from nothing, by your Lordship's bounty, so he spent it extravagantly, and died almost for want. He took notice of this rise and fall in his Circumstances, and desired me to tell your Lordship, he died your humble Servant; and that for the change in his fortune, it was but in the way of the World, and according to the old axiom in Philosophy, *Ex nihilo nihil fit*.¹

But I have another loss to acquaint your Lordship with, which will touch you more nearly; and that is the *Danish* Envoy here, Mr. *Plessenburg*, who died last night of an Apoplexy, as he sat at supper

1. *Nothing comes from nothing*

among a great many friends. He had no Will by him, to the ruin of a numerous Family; for his whole Estate goes to his eldest Son, a Man not worthy even to inherit his Name. Your Lordship knew him personally so long, and lived so intimately with him, when he was Envoy at our Court, that I need not draw his Character. He served his Prince faithfully, and was an honour to his service, and a credit to his Country; and indeed, we may say in this case, that the Servant was greater than his Master.

He was a most religious Observer of his Promise, of which he gave a glorious instance lately; when being pressed by the Nuncio to prefer a friend of the Society to a Troop in his Regiment, and put by one he had promised it to, he told him, he would not break his word to serve the true friends of Religion, and much less to serve its real enemies, the Jesuits. 'Twas an answer worthy of Mr. *Plessenburgh*, of whom I cannot say a greater thing, than that he had the honour of your Lordship's friendship, and deserved it.

In my last dispatch to Mr. Secretary, I gave so full an account of the state of my Negotiations here, and the high professions they make of their obligations to his Majesty, for interesting himself in the affair of the Inquisition; that I need not report a matter to your Lordship, which I know Mr. Secretary, with his usual care, has long since laid before you.

I expect very soon to have an Audience of the King, in which I hope to find their measures concerted and resolved on, pursuant to what I was instructed to lay before them, for their approbation. When it is over, I shall give your Lordship an exact account of it, and what is likely to be the result of these counsels, which you so happily direct, and so worthily preside in.

By our last Letters by the way of *Vienna*, we have received fresh assurances, that his Imperial Majesty is so well recovered of his asthmick disorder, that he had ventured out to take the air in the Park, and to see his Hawks, (which the Grand Seignior lately sent him as a present from *Constantinople*) kill two or three brace of Woodcocks. However this may be relished at *Rome*, I am sure it is very agreeable

news at *Paris*, and I hope will be as much so at *London*; where I wish you all the Honour and Happiness you deserve, and am, with the greatest deference and regard,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's &c.

HERBERT.

To the Lord High-Treasures, &c.

MY LORD,

Constantinople, April 16, 1698.

IN my former Letters I believe I gave you a sufficient surfeit of my political observations on this great Empire, and its present Condition, Laws, and Customs; and I shall now furnish another kind of entertainment for you, if any thing I can send your Lordship can be justly called so. I shall chiefly confine myself at present to give you some imperfect accounts of my Telescope's performances, and of several conversations I have had on it, with the Grand Seignior in person; in those secret recesses of his retirement, the Apartments of the Seraglio, and the lovely Gardens with which it is almost surrounded, to the very Banks of the Sea.

I have formerly told your Lordship, how extremely affable and courteous, not to say obliging and affectionate, I have on many occasions found the Grand Seignior to me; insomuch, that I am really considered here as the greatest Favourite, of any Ambassador that has appeared here from a Christian Prince, for these many years. This, I believe, has been chiefly occasioned by my speaking the *Turkish* Language to some perfection, and by my studying to gratify, as far as I could, his great passion for such Curiosities, as I could furnish him with from *London*; such as Globes, Maps, Clocks of all kinds, and Watches; Dogs, Guns, Barges, Coaches, and, in a word, whatever I found him most desirous of.

It is certain, by these means I have ingratiated myself mightily with him; so that when he refuses Audiences to other Ministers, he often *sends* for me, and will make me sit in his presence, and discourse of *Europe* and my Travels, with a familiarity very unusual to this Court.

Since my last Letters by Mr. *Biron*, I received his commands to wait on him, and found him in one of his Gardens, after our *European* Models, with Grass, Gravel, Portico's, and Fountains, by the side of one of which he was reposing himself. He told me, he had heard of the wonderful Telescope your Lordship had sent me, and that he was impatient to see it, and try if it answered the surprizing relation the Grand Vizier had made him of it; and desired to know, if it could be set up in that place immediately. I answered every one of his demands, in the manner I knew to be most agreeable to him; and as I had been prepared for it by the Grand Vizier, I told him, I had brought it by some of his Highness's Slaves, who, with my Servants directions, should soon set it up, and regulate it. As he expressed a great desire to make trial of it immediately, and as the Evening was very serene and cloudless, I gave my People proper directions, and with a very little time and trouble, the necessary Apparatus for it was set in order; and then, without delay, it was brought in, and made ready for using. All this time he employed in examining me about it, how much it magnified, and if it were possible we could discern Mountains, Hills, Seas, and Rivers, in the Moon by it.

I assured him I had tried it, and though in the last age few magnified more than two hundred, I found it magnified Objects many thousand times bigger than they appeared to the naked Eye; and that we could not only discern Hills and Rivers, but even objects like Towns and Forests in the Moon; and that, if the Inhabitants there were as large as some great Astronomers conceived them to be, I doubted not in time, our Glasses might be so far improved, as to see even Men and their actions there.

He repeated all this after me with vast surprize; and after musing on it, he turned to me, and said with some concern, Seignior *Stanhope*, do you think there can be living Creatures, and above all, Men in our Moon? I told him, I had great and weighty reasons to be persuaded of it; and as he himself would see Hills and Woods in it, Clouds and Vapours surrounding it, though they are very thin and small, and also actual Waters, Seas and Rivers in it, I durst undertake he would be of

the same opinion. For since she is found to resemble our Earth in all such Conveniencies, what is more natural than to suppose she must have Fruits and Herbs also, as we have; and if those, unquestionably Animals to live on them; and above all others, Men, since Nature does nothing in vain.

That it was absurd to suppose such a beautiful Work of God, should be so amiably and usefully adorned, and yet be furnished to no purpose, with such vast Conveniences, which might be so pleasant and useful an Habitation, for rational, intelligent Beings; who might there enjoy with so much happiness, the Beauties and Delights of the Place, and with due praise and gratitude look up to the excellent Author. That though our Eyes did not convince us by such evident appearances, that there were so many resemblances in the Moon, of what we see on our own Earth, yet it was absurd to suppose, the wise Maker would have formed such immense, solid, opaque Globes, rolling by rules, and in Orbits he has prescribed them in the Heavens, as bare useless Heaps of Matter, and unwieldy Lumps of Rock or Clay, to no end, but to give an imperfect Light to our system, and to be looked at by the Eye. And if this is not to be imagined as to the other Planets, much less as to the Moon, who enjoys the Heat and Light of the Sun, to much greater advantage than several of them, and almost as well as our Earth. I said a great deal of this sort to him; to which he made several slight objections, that were easily got over: and perceiving our Telescope was by this time near ready, I presented him with the vast Map of the Moon, which I had from *London*, with all the Seas, Rivers, Mountains, Hills, Valleys, Forests, and the supposed Towns that are so accurately laid down in it by the Selenographers; and especially by the *Savilian* Professor Dr. *Bertie*, who has divided it into its several Kingdoms and Provinces.

He examined it with abundance of care, and was delighted with the prodigious size, as well as the beauty and exactness of the Performance, asking me many questions on it; and appeared particularly pleased to see *Stamboul*, and his own Dominions (which I shewed him) set down in it. But by this time our Telescope being perfectly

settled, I begg'd his Highness to let his own Eyes answer his curiosity better than I could, and to compare the Map with what the Telescope would shew him; the Moon being just at the Full, and the Heavens clear and serene.

He immediately set himself to make his observations, and with the greatest surprize and transport, one while applied his eye to the Telescope, and then to the Map, surveying all the different ranges of Mountains, Hills, and Valleys, the vast Surfaces of Seas, Lakes, and Rivers, in the Lunar Globe, tracing out every thing with the greatest sagacity.

It is hard for your Lordship to believe the amazement that appeared in his Face all this while; and as the faithful Telescope represented every thing so plain and distinct, and brought the Objects he surveyed so clear and close to his eye, that he could not be more convinced of their existence, had he walked on the face of the Earth he was surveying, he would ever and anon break out into some expressions of admiration.

He seem'd, indeed, to doubt a little as to the darkness of the vast Plains of the *Pontus Euxinus*, the *Caspian*, and *Mediterranean*, and the *Baltick*, and *East Seas*, and the great Rivers that roll into them, by so many mouths; and supposed the Sea would rather appear with a lucid brightness, and even outshine the everlasting Snows and Rocks of Mount *Taurus*. But I soon convinced him, without troubling him with the philosophical reasons of things, with putting him in mind, that the Earth and Sea had just this appearance from the elevated heights, of his own Mount *Olympus*, where he so often had been. The only scruple that remained with him, was as to the great *Hyrceanian* Forest, and the resemblances, to call them no more, of the several Cities, such as *Rome*, *Stamboul*, *Paris*, *Vienna*, and *London*. As to the Forests, I made him observe the vast difference there was between the appearance of the bright even flats and plains, and that dusky, brown roughness that swelled up in the middle of those extended fields; and that as all the higher grounds in the surface of the Moon's Globe wear a remarkable brightness, compared with those vast levels;

it was impossible these being so dark, could be high Downs, or Hills, not to insist on the even Level that their tops appeared with, which hilly Countries never have.

That it is certain, besides all this, that allowing there are Woods and Forests in the Moon, (and such she must probably have, in so many different Soils as he saw there) they could appear no otherwise than they did here, because they imbibe the Sun's rays through so many apertures of their Boughs and Shades, and therefore cannot reflect them back, as the surfaces of hard, solid bodies would: and since it is plain, there must be Woods and Forests there, and if there, they must appear in the same manner he saw them; it is most reasonable to call them, and suppose them such.

For the Cities, I must own, my Lord, I had not much to say; and though it is true, the running of Rivers close by them, the white circles that like Walls seemed to surround them, and the different heights and hollows, as it were Houses and Towers, and Shade and Lights, that reflect from them within those circles; and above all, that blackness, that like a thin cloud hung over the largest, and looks like a vast collection of smoke, such as we see about Cities here; all which make it possible, they may be what the Map calls them: yet I cannot but think, they may be rather white Rocks, shaded by Woods on them, or some neighbouring Hills, than real Cities. However I endeavoured to convince the Grand Seignior, that the resemblance was so strong, and agreeable to what one would imagine Cities would make to us, if they were built there; that one could not charge the composers of the Map, with over-great rashness or folly, for assigning such denominations to them.

The Grand Seignior seemed pretty well satisfied with what I said to him, and continued some hours surveying and contemplating the beautiful Object he had before him, till the interposing of some clouds, and a little rain that fell, put an end to this agreeable amusement I had furnished him with. We retired from the Garden into the great *Kiosc*, or Summer-house, where he often spends the Summer Evenings, and the beginnings of the warm Nights, with his chief Fa-

vousites and Bassas, drinking Sherbets and Coffee, and smoking Tobacco. He made me sit down on the Sofa, and begun a long discourse with me, of the wonderful instrument I had brought him, which, as he expressed it, drew down the Heavens to the Earth, and made us as it were neighbours to those celestial Orbs, which the great Author of them had placed so remote from us. He asked me of the distance between us and the Moon, and when I told him it was generally computed by Astronomers, that her mean distance was about sixty semi-diameters of the Earth, he seemed astonished that our Telescopes could bring her so near us; but he was a great deal more so, when I acquainted him with the much greater distance, betwixt us and the other Planets of our system, some of which I told him I would shew him, whenever he could have leisure for it; and, if he pleased, the next day about evening, if the Sky was serene and cloudless. He seemed much rejoiced with my undertaking, to procure him that satisfaction so soon; and telling me, he would not detain me any longer for that night, he in a very gracious manner dismissed me, and left me to retire to my house, where I immediately hastened; much pleased that I had the honour, of being the first that had introduced the *Turkish* Moon, (the Arms of this Empire) into the acquaintance of her great Masters, that had oftener alarmed the World, with her appearance in their Standards, than ever she had been able to do, with all her Eclipses.

Early in the evening of the next day, I returned to the Seraglio before it was dark, the weather being very favourable, where I found the Grand Seignior attending my coming. He immediately began to tell me, that as he was convinced by what I had said, and what he had seen the night before, that the Moon must be inhabited, he had been considering with himself, what sort of Men they must be that were placed there. I told him, that, was what no one could pretend to account for, but that probably they must in many things resemble us pretty nearly, and in all likelihood be not much more different from us, than many Nations of the *Indians*, which the Ancients had discovered in *America*.

But, says he, I am perplexed with a great scruple, that I know not how to get over; and that is, as we know of a certainty that *Mahomet*, in his passage to Heaven with the Angel *Gabriel*, touched there, I cannot conceive, had there been Men there, but he must have communicated his Law to them; and if he had done so, he must have mentioned it in that holy book his *Alcoran*, which he has left us. Now as he has not taken the least notice of so important a point, I am persuaded there cannot be such Inhabitants there, as you and your Philosophers have disputed for.

I saw the danger immediately, of touching on this point, and therefore shifted it off, by saying, that there were so many Worlds more, as thick planted with such Colonies as the Moon was, that it was probable he chose to leave them to themselves, since had he undertaken to visit them all, they were to infinitely numerous, and so infinitely distant, it would have taken up many millions of years, to have gone through with them. Your Highness, continued I, will allow there is some weight in this reasoning, since it is as probable that every Star we see in the Heavens, and an immense number we cannot see, even with our Telescopes, are every one of them so many Suns, in the centre of as great and as noble a system, at this which we are placed in, all the Planets whereof have the same pretensions to be inhabited as the Moon. This, I observed to him, was a point which all Astronomers contend for, as in the highest degree reasonable; not only from the same arguments that evince the Moon's being replenished with living Creatures, and rational Beings, which I already touched on; but also because, in the first place, all the denser Planets are seated nearest the Sun, in regard that the denser matter requires more heat, to render it capable of natural Productions; and secondly because the nearer such Planet is to the Sun, the greater is the velocity of its motion, and consequently, the vicissitudes of its Seasons are rendered the quicker, as it is highly proper they should be, in order to favour the productions of Nature in it, of what kind soever they are. And really the presumptions on these accounts, and many others, are so exceedingly strong in favour of this opinion, that I think

we must leave the Astronomers, in possession of this favourite Doctrine of theirs, till we can bring better arguments against them, than I have ever yet heard of. I perceived he was going to reply, and as I had a mind to avoid the dialogue, I told his Highness, if he pleased, we would leave those enquiries, to see what information we could get about it from *Jupiter*, one of the noblest Planets of our system; which, says I, (pointing to it) shines so brightly yonder, as if he had spruc'd himself out in order to shew himself to us, and entertain your Highness in the best manner, his great distance from the Sun and our Earth will allow him.

Accordingly, I immediately applied my Telescope to him, and as I had seldom seen him so bright, he made a very glorious figure, drest up with all his Belts, and Spots, and Satellites about him. I laid the fine Map your Lordship sent me of him, before the Grand Seignior, with the imaginary Regions, Mountains, and Seas, which these admirable Glasses have furnished us the prospect of.

I pointed out all the most considerable tracts on his mighty Globe, and especially the bright Mount *Olympus*, and *Athos*, and the wide *Atlantick* Ocean, and *South* Sea on his *Western* Limb, and the vast Islands here and there disper'd in them.

I then made him turn his observations, to such of his Satellites as we were able to observe, and explained to him how these attendant Moons, served to enlighten the darkness of his Inhabitants, and to make him some amends, for their being so far removed from the warmth and splendor, of that sole source of light and heat in our system, the Sun. He attended to both their appearances, in the Map and the Heavens, and the explanatory hints I added to all, with infinite surprize and delight; every now and then crying out, how wonderful it all was, and what a pity, that so immense a Globe, should be confined to so dark and gloomy a scituation!

To remove his concern on this account, I told him, that though *Jupiter's* People, certainly received but the twenty-fifth part of our light from the Sun, and that this days were but five hours long, yet it was plain, by the very brightness he now shone with, and by the

splendor of so many attendant Moons, he had abundant light to make every thing agreeable, and pleasing to his inhabitants; who had probably more light and warmth than our Polar Regions, and were certainly so formed as Moles, Owls, and Batts with us, to take more delight in the gloom of the evening, than the dazzling glare of the broad-day. That possibly in *Jupiter*, they measured not their days by sun-rise and sun-set, but by several successions of them, and called them only sun-hours, and moon-hours; after such a proportion of which, according to the strength of their bodies, they divided their times of rest and labour. * * * * *

* * * * * N.B. *There were here some new, and (in the Editor's and Translator's poor opinion) some beautiful hints given the learned World, in relation to Jupiter, and the rest of our Planets. But as several of our greatest Astronomers, whom I will not name, for fear of exposing them to the rage and resentment of Mankind, have been pleased to threaten, they would lay out all their skill, in publicly opposing the new systems, which had been communicated to him, it has been thought proper to suppress them for the present. A method which the Translator has the more willingly complied with, for the sake of peace, and to prevent new Schisms, Feuds, and Factions, between great and learned Men; and especially, since such amicable methods have been proposed, that there is good hope all points may be so fairly adjusted, that these vast discoveries, in this new system of things, may, to the satisfaction of all parties, be communicated to the World in the subsequent Volumes. Accordingly, the Translator has modestly deferred his Publication of them, and in the mean time, has so carefully connected the paragraphs in this admirable Letter, that there will appear no material interruption in the sense.* * *

* * * * *

* * * But certainly, says he, how contented soever they may be with their Light, they must suffer severely by cold; nay, I am afraid their Waters are constantly frozen. I told him there was no fear of that evil, if we either supposed their Waters of a warm nature, like our mineral Springs, and Hot-Wells, or the inhabitants so fram'd, as to delight in a cold climate, and abhor a warm one, as our northern nations do

the heat of the Line; or if warmth, like ours, must be suppos'd necessary for them and their plant, &c. possibly as *Jupiter's* Diameter is 20 times greater than that of our earth, and all of it bask'd in the sun's beams, the warmth of the sun might be greatly increas'd there by *Jupiter's* so frequent rotation round its own axis, and by its acting on so much greater an extent of surface; which answer, however your Lordship may think of it, pass'd for very good reasoning at the Seraglio. But, says he, I fancy I am the more sensible of their being pinch'd by cold yonder, because I find the night air grow very uneasy; and as we have fully observ'd these wonders of the heavens for this time, let us retire to our former shelter in the Kiosk, and talk over our coffee of these amazing Discoveries.

We were hardly set down on our Sofa's, when he began to ask me, whether the Astronomers in *Europe*, or elsewhere, were often thus employ'd, and to what uses their labours-serv'd? I told him, unhappily Astronomy had been confin'd to *Europe* to its great disservice; having been banish'd *Egypt*, and those regions in his Empire, that by their serene skies and air were fittest for her observations, and where she first appear'd, and for many ages flourish'd considerably. That in *Europe* our Astronomers were perpetually taken up in watching the Stars, Comets and Planets, adjusting their places, and observing their motions. That by their labours we both discover the harmony by which the immense works of the Creator are knot together in the great Universe, the motions of the heavenly bodies, the degrees of their magnitudes, light, heat and motion, and how they act on each other, their natural intercourse and regulated circulations, with their certain returns and periods. That by their observations on each and all of these, we are oblig'd to confess and adore the infinite magnificence, power and goodness of the great Mover and Former of them all; of which we could before have no true notions, till these his glorious works were thus reveal'd to us to our equal convenience and pleasure.

That besides these advantages, we also were indebted to the labours of Astronomers, for the clearing up the now establish'd system

of all the Comets in their immense Orbits, as well as the perfection of our Geography and Chronology; both which would be made up of mere fables and guesses without their assistance. Nay, that we owe to the same means, that our navigation is become so safe and secure thro' the vast seas and pathless oceans through which our commerce is extended. That his Highness might have some notion hereof by those very *Satellites* of *Jupiter* which he had been so long observing that night, the observation of whose frequent Eclipses alone, had ascertain'd the Longitude of many thousand places in our Earth, which before were utterly unknown; and had thereby made that noble Globe, I had presented him with from your Lordship, so admirably compleat, as I had often shewn to him.

That besides many other things, by the observations of their Eclipses, as I had explain'd them to him, men had demonstrated, by their being seen earlier when the Earth is nearer, and later than calculation when it is remoter from *Jupiter*, that Light was not propagated to us instantaneously, but by a successive motion; and that we can measure out its journeys from the Sun and the Planet to us, as by a stated scale, which was about 500000 miles in a minute. We had a vast deal of conversation on these subjects, in which as I gave him accounts, that probably our Earth, by its smallness, had never yet been observ'd from *Jupiter*, and that *Jupiter's* Moons, to say nothing of *Venus's*, which are vastly smaller, were as large as our Earth, and that as their days were proportion'd to their revolutions round their Axes, so they were in some of them double, and in others 16 times as long as ours. We fell again into a long discourse, whether these vast Orbs, no ways inferior to the Earth in bulk, ought not to be allow'd inhabitants as well as our Moon. As to *Jupiter*, the very beholding him thro' the telescope with his seas and mountains, made it sufficiently probable to him: but tho' I urg'd to him, that it was absurd to suppose that an infinite Creator would have such glorious parts of his Creation void and empty of proper classes of his creatures, like an extravagant builder raising more edifices than he was able to place fitting furniture in, and used many arguments, which I need not repeat to your

Lordship, I could hardly make him confess, that he thought it very probable that they must be inhabited.

However, I had the pleasure to find that my hopes had not deceiv'd me, and that what I had said now and formerly of Astronomy's being driven out of *Egypt*, and those parts of his Empire, which Nature had, as it were, cut out for an Observatory for this lovely Science, had made great impressions on him. In short, before we parted, he order'd the Vizier to take care directly for chusing a fit place there, and building and endowing an Astronomical College, as I should direct; and desir'd that I should send for some of the best Professors in *Europe* to settle there, with large and honourable provisions. I can assure your Lordship this is already settled so far, that a large quantity of ground near *Grand-Cairo* is set out, and by this time actually building; and as I am persuaded no delay or obstacle will arise from hence to compleat this noble design, I intreat your Lordship to give such orders, that some excellent Astronomers may be prevail'd with to set out with the next fleet for *Turky*, whose provision and protection to their full content, I do hereby, on sufficient warrant, bind myself to be answerable for.

Judge, my Lord, what progresses we shall be able to make in this noble Science, when she is restor'd to her native Empire, and the serene and cloudless skies of *Egypt*, where neither rains nor vapours, nor the exhalations, mists and fogs of our Northern Climate shall once interrupt her divine Contemplations. What discoveries shall we not make in the Heavens of new Stars arising, old ones decaying, unobserv'd Comets, with new Suns and Planets in their several systems, arranging in the thousands and then thousands of the yet undiscover'd hosts of Heaven, in the beauteous order and array of Glory, in which their omnipotent Creator has plac'd them in his infinite Wisdom and Power?

But I must leave this subject, my Lord, lest I run out into too great lengths on it; and tho' I have often since attended the Grand Signior, to shew him the rest of the Planets, and particularly *Saturn* with his Ring, and his Satellites, which he was infinitely pleas'd with;

and had many farther conversations with him on their Eclipses, one of which I shew'd him; and also on the new discoveries and improvements in Astronomy, and the new College for its Professors in *Egypt*; yet as the repetition of them would be needless, after what I have said on them here, I shall not trouble you with them.

On my return home from the Seraglio, I met your Lordship's dispatches of the 28th of *December*; but as my last of the 25th of *Febr.* effectually answer'd all their Contents, I shall make no other return to them here, than my humble thanks for the care you express so obligingly for me, and to make my compliments to Mr. Secretary for the huge Pacquets of *English* News Papers he was pleas'd to inclose to me. It was really a surprize to me, to see such a vast spawn of the productions of these insects, that thus float and feed upon the air we breathe, and have no appearance of existence but in their constant buzzing about, hearkening out, and attending and list'ning to the noise and motions of their neighbours. They seem to make their ears as useful to them, as the Pigmies which* *Pigafetta* tells us he saw in the Island of *Aruchet* near the *Moluccas*, who liv'd in dark high caverns (like the garrets, I suppose, of these Authors) and lay upon one ear as a bed, and cover't themselves by way of warm bedcloaths with the other.

I send your Lordship, as a little return for all your favours, a very excellent statue of *Constantine* the Great, which was lately dug up near this city by some *Greek* masons, and with great difficulty preserv'd from the barbarous hands of the workmen, who maim all such statues as they meet with any where. It is the more curious, because it is represented with a cross to it; which (tho' the Ecclesiastical Writers assure us there were many such erected to him) is, I believe, the only one to be found now in *Europe*. Your Lordship will observe, that it perfectly agrees with the Medals of this Emperor that are stamp't with it, of which I send your Lordship two very fair and well preserv'd. He is crown'd by a victory on the reverse with this Inscription, *In hoc signo Victor eris*; and I am rejoic'd I have got such a

* Viaggio del fig. Ant. Pigafetta, & c. Racolti da Ranusio, p. 368. *Venet.* 1588.

treasure to adorn that admirable collection you have made, and are daily increasing.

Every thing here continues on the same happy foot as when I last wrote, and our merchants are treated with the greatest favour and regard we can possible desire. As I have few correspondents, I have no foreign news worth sending your Lordship, unless the late death of his *Polish* Majesty, who, after the most intemperate Life, died at (I think) near eighty. A great age for any one to arrive at, and especially a King; it being observ'd by historians, that of all the *Roman, Greek, French* and *German* Emperors, but four liv'd to eighty, and but five Popes; and none of those in any late Century.

He was so given up to his belly, one would have thought he could not have liv'd to fifty, unless the devil had kept him alive to procure credit to intemperance. He was a sowre, ill-natur'd man, but an excellent King; for it made him inaccessible to flatterers, and not to be practis'd on by favourites, and the skilfullest courtiers, who could neither lead or blind him. He had so little Religion, that he infamously gave up that which he was born in for his Crown; and us'd to say, as it was necessary to profess some kind or other, if he was not a Prince, he would have lik'd that of the *Jews* best, because it allow'd railing at all the rest, and was never believ'd or minded by those that profest it.

As that Crown is soon to be set to sale, I hear there are already as many new Kings set up among them, as ever were made on a twelfth-night for diversion; and will probably have the same fate, and be unking'd again, when their parties that set them up are tir'd of them and their silly play, and sick of the poppets they created.

I beg the continuation of your Lordship's undeserv'd favours, and to believe me, with all possible gratitude, my Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

STANHOPE.

To the Lord High-Treasures, &c.

Moscow, March 8. 1697.

My LORD,

SINCE mine of the 29th of *November* and 17th of *January*, I have receiv'd but one short one from your Lordship of the 26th of *February*, in which you acknowledge the receipt of mine, and are so good as to desire the continuance of my correspondence, and to express some satisfaction in the accounts I have hitherto had the happiness to send you.

You are pleas'd also to desire the best information I can procure you, in relation to the Jesuits practicing Physick here with surprizing success; which, you are told, has contributed to their interest in this Court, as much as any one method I took notice of to your Lordship, in relation to the prodigious growth of that Society in *Muscovy*.

As I have endeavour'd to prepare myself to obey your Lordship's commands on this head, I shall begin such accounts as I have been able to procure for you, with ingenuously confessing, that I quite overlook'd that particular; which was chiefly occasion'd by my considering them only as Ecclesiasticks, and omitting the disguises they wear here, and in all Courts, in every kind of profession that can give them interest and favour.

And indeed it must be allowed, that their great application to the study of this profession has been of infinite credit and service to them, by the prodigious success they have had in their practice at the Czar's Court, and throughout his Empire; and tho' this is ascrib'd, by common report, to the prayers of the Society, that bring a blessing down on all their prescriptions, yet I fancy I shall have no difficulty to persuade your Lordship, that 'tis owing to their employing some

of the most learned and ingenious men of their whole body in the business of this profession. For as by the *Athenian* Law, all mean, illiterate people, and slaves particularly were forbid to practice Physick; which, if put in force now, would exclude numbers of base, servile, mercenary creatures, who follow that employment, and would force them to turn Horse-farriers and Rat-catchers; so these Fathers have taken care that none of their body should study this branch of learning, who were either of mean parts or griping spirits. By this means, what between vast reading and a generous neglect of fees, as well as close attendance on their patients, and several new methods they have establish'd, it is hardly credible how few that have recourse to their medicines, have fail'd of being recover'd, where old age, or a weakness of nature, or a long course of intemperance and debauchery, did not occasion it. I have as little faith in the common run of Physicians as most people, but I must own I have alter'd my thoughts on that article, since I have seen such effects of their skill; and I fancy were the ingenious *Petrarch* now living, he would not write in the title page of his *Hippocrates's* Aphorisms, as he did in his days that odd Axiom, *Nulla certior via ad salutem quam medico caruisse*, for the reverse of it is now become true.

There have of late years prodigious genius's in physick appear'd in *Great-Britain*, who, like new stars, have enlightned the darkness of the last age, and have plainly shewn, not to say demonstrated, the reasons of the several virtues and operations, by means of which their prescribed Medicines produce such vast changes in our bodies. Nay, *Dr. Turner*, in his *Treatise de principiis rerum*, has found out evidently the fountain and first principle of life and action in all animated and vegetable bodies, which formerly appear'd such an unfathomable mystery to our Ancestors, who were wandering about and groping in the dark after knowledge; or, at most, wishing in the dawn of its morning for that bright and glorious Day that has since broke out upon us.

The Jesuits have studied the works of these great men with no small application, and by improving their hints, and introducing sev-

eral new methods and rules, have been of vast service to the publick; some of these I shall now lay before your Lordship, as I have observ'd them my self, or have been appriz'd of them by others.

And I shall begin with that excellent one of prohibiting all Apothecaries to practice on the severest penalties. For besides the want of skill in a profession they can never be supposed masters of, it is certain those Gentlemen used to bestow their attendance on the poor *Russians*, merely with a view to be well paid for their drugs, (that would otherwise have rotted on their shelves) just as Vintners give a sunday's dinner to their customers, provided they pay for the wine they drink. After all, my Lord, there is methinks as good ground for this Law, as for one we have in *Great-Britain*, that forbids Drovers to be Butchers, it being unreasonable that the same persons who provide the cattle we are to make use of, should also have liberty to kill.

Another method they introduc'd here, and which produc'd a great care in the physician of his patient's recovery, was, obliging the Doctor to refund half his fees in case of the death of the sick person. This ingratiated them much with the people, as it shew'd a generous neglect of gain in the college that establish'd the rule, and also spurr'd on all practitioners to do their utmost to serve their patients, or to pay a reasonable fine for their want of success.

In the next place, all that were licens'd to practice, were oblig'd to keep regular Diaries of every symptom in their patients from the least to the greatest, and to have the Friends and nurse-keepers that were about them write down all things observable in their absence, and to give copies (if demanded) of their prescriptions, in case the sick person died, to the censors of the college, where any ignorant or faulty conduct was fineable. By this means the hands of those dangerous animals, officious Physicians as well as ignorant ones, were severely tied up, and caution and judgment made necessary in prescribing.

But further, all were obliged to see their prescriptions made up themselves, and that right and good drugs were only used; by which means thousands of lives were sav'd, that us'd to be sacrific'd to the

knavery of Apothecaries, who gave bad ones, or the ignorance of their apprentices, who often gave wrong ones; both which evils were thus effectually prevented.

Another method they were oblig'd to observe, was, that each practitioner was sworn to report to the college and censors all such extraordinary cases as occur'd in his practice, and his observations on them, and at least three each year; out of which a choice collection was made, and annually publish'd for the service of the publick, with proper notes and reflections: and this occasion'd great helps to the advancement of the Science in general, and the improvement of each member of the college in particular.

In the next place, the Czar, at their request, gave the college the lives and bodies of so many condemn'd Felons as they pleas'd, to try all such experiments on, which they judg'd useful to improve their Science. By this means many thousands of such experiments were made, to the vast emolument of the world, and at the same time the lives of as many thousand honest *Russians* sav'd, that us'd to be sacrific'd to the folly, the curiosity, or rashness of their Doctors, by substituting Malefactors to be purg'd, blooded, and vomited, and to run thro' all the ordeal fire of experiments, in their room.

But again, the college having divided all diseases incident to the human body into four parts, each member was oblig'd, after ten years practice, to confine themselves entirely to the list of such diseases, as they judg'd themselves best qualified to succeed in the cure of, and all the rest of their lives to meddle with no other distempers, unless in case of necessity. By this means their studies and experience being thus entirely apply'd to a narrower province, they grew in time so absolutely masters of all that lay within their own district, that they frequently perform'd cures in the most desperate cases, and were able to exert the whole force of their art in that particular branch which they apply'd their studies and practice to. And certainly, my Lord, it is to this regulation of the Jesuit Physicians in *Russia*, as much as any thing I have observ'd, that we have found out since the 19th Century so many wonderful specificks for the Jaundice, Bloody-Flux, Small-

Pox, Dropsy, Green-Sickness, and Cholick, which otherwise would never have been discover'd, or at least not so soon. With the same sagacity they have introduc'd the use of scales into their practice, and the weighing Urine with greater caution than Bankers do Gold; from whence in many cases what advantages have arisen, is known to all. Nor with less care and judgment have they brought Musick into use in particular disorders, which before their cultivating this Science, was never once thought of any service, even in melancholy or phrenetick disorders themselves.

But I must not pass by unmention'd another singular method they have ever used this last forty years here, and that is, curing several disorders by milk of goats and asses, which they have brought to prodigious perfection by several methods that are reserv'd to themselves. One of these I know by experience, is dieting the animal whose milk they prescribe with particular kinds of herbs, whose juices and qualities they judge most efficacious and conducive to the circumstances of the distemper. The service, (the miracles, I may say) they have done in this way is perfectly prodigious; and indeed as they first introduc'd the skilful use of the admirable *Chinese* Root Ginseng with such success in most cases, so they are observed as much as possible to deal in the simplest medicines, and frequently restore men to health with as much ease as *Asclepiades* did, who only used cold water and wine in his method of cure.

This single circumstance in the practice of Physick is surely of vast importance; and as one of the prayers in the wise *Italian's* Litany, is, *Da Guazzabuglio di medici*; so certainly that terrible hodge-podge of drugs, powders, and a thousand compounded recipes we are obliged to swallow for a little ease or health, is a hazardous and as unpleasant a circumstance as I know in all their method of prescribing. I remember to have read in a great physician's works, that what naturalists assert, that whoever draws the root of *Moly*, *Cynospastus*, or Mandrake, out of the earth, will die soon after, is a meer vulgar error; but I wish he could as easily convince us, that those who take their roots and drugs inwardly, are not often seiz'd with death

for their pains. And indeed there is nothing I admire more in their conduct, than their banishing those heaps of drugs which used to enter into the prescriptions of most physicians, and which formerly many of them were obliged to keep up, *propter metum Judæorum*, tho' thereby they sacrific'd our lives to the dishonest gain of those vermin the Apothecaries, whom they were afraid to disoblige.

Their gentleness and caution to avoid violent courses, is much applauded also. Some physicians purge, bleed, blister and vomit with such haste and fury, that they may be said rather to murder the disease than to cure the man, who is left weak and spent may be for life; and, like a Country where the King gets the better by a bloody civil war, they save the man, by ruining the happy constitution he enjoyed before. This is what the Jesuits are remarkable for avoiding, unless where it is absolutely necessary indeed; which, as they manage matters, seldom happens.

There is another particular, which is entirely owing to them, and which has been very serviceable to these people, that I must not forget to take notice of. Your Lordship has often heard now epidemical pleurisies used to be here, and what numbers they swept away of the poor *Russians* every year, like the plague in *Turky*.

To remedy this, the Czar, at the instigation of the Jesuits, introduc'd the custom of using linseed-oil by the common people with all eatables, where olive or sallad-oil was formerly used (on which last he laid great duties;) and by means of this medicinal kind of sustenance, they have so effectually removed this reigning kind of pestilence, as I may call it, that it is seldom known to make any ravage among them now. This was at once restoring the health of a nation, my Lord; there remain'd only to banish the gluttony and drunkenness of the Nobility and Knezzes, to have in a manner completed the cure.

One would think, my Lord, I had reckon'd up enough of their performances, and yet I have one more to touch upon that is sufficiently remarkable, and that is, a pleasant Elixir which they have invented, a few drops of which, taken just going to bed, never fails to

give easy rest, and, what is most extraordinary, pleasant dreams. You see, my Lord, their skill has contriv'd to reach to that half of our lives (which we give to sleep) that before lay entirely out of our power and theirs; and as they have invented a specifick, to make it not only easy but delightful to us, I think they almost deserve to have altars and monuments raised to them.

But, my Lord, after what I have said to the advantage of these Gentlemen, I am sorry to add one reflection that overturns all their glory; and that is, tho' they have made the practice of Physick extremely laborious to themselves, and useful to others (beyond what it ever was known to be) by these methods and inventions; yet they have done it all with faulty views, to enslave those they pretend to serve, and establish the Empire of the *Vatican*, and all its superstitions and errors. Nay, my Lord, it is said, that they watch the sinking spirits and the dying hours of their patients, to screw from them, by their sollicitations and importunity, large legacies and considerable donations to their society; and, what is still more detestable, that they are as industrious and artful to dispatch their enemies out of the way, as they are to preserve the health and lives of their friends. It is certain, there have not wanted instances in this kind that have occasion'd such suspicions; yet they have entirely surmounted them, and beat down all opposition, by letting every one see it was in vain to contrive any remedy against their power; it being as useless an attempt (in *Caligula's* words) as *Agrippina's Antidotum versus Cæsarem*.

But it is time to quit this subject, to acquaint your Lordship with something more material, and that is, the apprehension every one is in here, that the war between this Crown and *Sweden* is like to be carried on by both sides, with greater animosity and resolution than ever, this approaching season. They work night and day at *Petersburg* in their preparations to have their fleet in the *Baltick*, before the *Swedes* can be able to leave their ports; and indeed, if the frost were once gone, and the Harbours open, I believe we should soon see the *Muscovite* squadron at sea. They carry on their levies for their land forces with all possible application, and have made large remittanc-

es to *Poland* and *Germany*, to remount their cavalry; and tho' I am inform'd by a sure hand, that the *Swedes* are doing their utmost not to be unprepared for them; yet I am very doubtful they will not prove so good a match for them this campaign as they did last. How far his Majesty's mediation between the contending powers may be proper, your Lordship and the Kind are the best Judges; but I am privately assured, it would be very useful to the *Swede*, and probably not unacceptable to this Court.

I know not, while the Princes of the Earth are contending for these little corners of it, whether it may entertain your Lordship, to give you a little history of an honest Gentleman here, one *Rabbi Abraham Abrabanel*, who has very fairly put in his claim to the whole* of it.

He is a mad enthusiastical *Jew*, who followed merchandize, and broke; and after travelling over most part of *Europe*, settled here at *Mosco*, and was employ'd at last by the Czar, as his first herald, and got a good deal of money by drawing up genealogies for the *Russian* Knezzes and Noblemen, whose pride he flatter'd, by tracing up the source of their families further than history or truth could carry them. He had a very numerous family, and as the *Jews* here paid him great respect, as being a descendant from the famous *Abrabanel* of the tribe of *Judah*, and the house of *David*; his pride and some losses in his fortune turned his head, and made him take up one of the oddest fancies that ever madman thought of, that he is the direct descendant from *Adam* in a right line by *Noah*, and has a full title to his father's inheritance, the world. Tho' he behaved very oddly in his family and neighbourhood, yet no one ever disturbed him, till he went one day directly to the Czar's apartments, and making way for himself thro' all the crowd, humbly acquainted him with his pretensions, and desired him to set a good example to the princes of the world, by resigning his Empire to him.

* *Vide Filmer's Patriarchal Scheme.*

The Czar was so good as to compassionate the poor creature's disorder, which he soon perceiv'd by his appearance and gestures, as well as his speech, and very gently desired him to give him some time to settle his private affairs, before he resigned his crown; and promised him to have all possible regard shewn in the mean while, both to his person and remonstrances: But as he happen'd to smile in speaking these words, *Rabbi Abraham's* passion was raised so high, that he called him a vile dissembling usurper, and ordered the guards to seize him. Your Lordship may easily imagine the consequence was, that they very basely neglected his commands, and convey'd him with less respect than became his station as Emperor of the World, to the publick Bedlam where they confine madmen.

This affair has occasion'd much mirth; and as the Czar has order'd great care to be taken of him, I had the curiosity to pay him a visit yesterday along with the *Danish* Envoy here, to see if we cou'd make any tolerable terms for our royal Masters. We found him in a neat, clean room, where his wife was sitting by him weeping bitterly; but he was in no manner of concern, but writing a great many letters which lay in heaps before him. As he offends no body, we began to discourse with him of his affairs, and desir'd to know calmly what his pretensions were; because we were confident if the Princes of the World could be convinc'd of the justice of them, they would rather come to an amicable treaty, than dispute it with him against Conscience and Reason, by arms. As he knew us both, and our characters, by seeing us often at Court, he seem'd mightily pleas'd; and pulling a prodigious long genealogy out of his papers, he bid us read them there, and we should find he was the lineal descendant in the right line from *Adam*, and consequently had an undoubted title to every acre on the globe.

We look'd over his paper with great respect, and told him we should represent the affair and his pretensions at our several Courts; but would be glad to know, whether he was not inclinable to compromise matters, and accept some kind of tribute, by way of acknowledgment of his title, and allow the present possessors to hold their

Crowns under him as Fiefs of his great Empire. By the Crown of *David*, said he, it is a very fair proposal; and tho' I have eight sons who could fill the Thrones of *Europe*, to say nothing of the rest of the Earth, better than they have been for these five Centuries past, if your masters and the rest of their brethren will pay me 1 *s. per acre*, rough and smooth. I shall give them no farther disturbance, nor trouble my head with writing to my subjects on this dispute. It is true, says he, finding the Czar trifling with me, and putting off matters from week to week, I was drawing up manifestoes to all my vassals, and discharging them from owning their pretended masters any longer; and I have order'd all the inhabitants of the Earth to pay no further rents, taxes or customs to them; and if I can once cut off those supplies of their power and pride, I shall soon humble them so far as to submit to me. The truth is, says he, taking me aside, and whispering me in the ear, I am under some perplexity what place to receive the money they bring me in; for having at present no one of my Territories in my possession, if they should pay it me here, this Usurper the Czar might be so dishonest and base, as to seize on it for his own use, and possibly might hang up some of my poor, faithful vassals for their loyalty to me.

I told him very freely as his friend, that his doubts were reasonable, and that he should first try to get into some one of his Kingdoms by the way of treaty, before he order'd any of his rents or subsidies to come into him, unless a few for his private occasions. He thank'd me very gratefully for my good advice, and told me he was resolv'd to follow it; and in the mean time, says he, I shall send four general manifestoes to the four quarters of the World, and circular letters to the several Princes and their subjects, acquainting them with my title, and commanding them to acknowledge it. After all, said he with tears in his eyes, God knows how far they may regard my remonstrances; but considering how few of them can pretend the least title under my great Ancestor; and besides that defect in their titles, how much worse they govern my poor people than I should, I think they might in conscience either submit to me, or at least pay

me a few millions of Rubles by way of an annual tribute. Besides, as I should be willing to take half those taxes and rents from my subjects which they extort from them, it is certain the poor people would gladly revolt to me if they durst, and if I had a tolerable army to maintain my just title.

I told him he spake very reasonably; but it was so difficult an affair, either to conquer his antagonists by force, or convince them by reason, that he must necessarily manage with the greatest caution and prudence to compass his ends. Sir, says he, you know not the circumstances of mankind as well as I do, who both from interest and inclination have so long consider'd their hardships and oppressions, and their uneasiness under their Tyrants, whose titles to their Empire are only founded in blood and violence, and a few sorry Laws which their swords have cut out for their own purposes. My people are torn in pieces by new Religions of a hundred different cuts and fashions, by unjust Laws and worse Judges, by Poisons they call Physick, and Murderers they call Doctors, by Plunderers they call Landlords, and publick Villains whom they call Tax-gatherers. They have departed from all the good customs of their Ancestors before the flood, and after it; and have so far deviated from the right of succession in the lineal descendants, that I can maintain there is not this day in the world a single family that has the least title to the estates they enjoy.

There is no Prince in *Europe*, whose Genealogy I cannot trace up to people that were no later than 2000 years ago; either Pedlars or Tinkers, Lieutenants, Lacqueys or Lawyers, or at most menial Servants to several of my relations. There is not a Nobleman, Knight or Gentleman on earth, who is a lineal descendant from his own forefathers: I have search'd into their Genealogies, and I find them in their different successions the sons of Coachmen and Footmen, Soldiers and Courtiers, Priests, Friars, Jesuits, and Valet de Chambres.

Besides all this, they have confounded right and wrong, vice and virtue; they take corruption for justice, hypocrisy for religion, falsehood for truth, lust for love, brutal fury for courage, cheating and fraud for honest gain, prodigality for generosity, pride for greatness

of spirit, ribaldry for wit, debauchery for pleasure, purchases for legal titles, cunning for wisdom, slavery for liberty, and irreligion and infidelity for strength of reason and zeal for truth.

Nay, they mistake the butchers of mankind for heroes, readers for scholars, bastards for heirs at law, soldiers for patriots, flatterers for friends, and honest advisers for open enemies; they look on atheists as moral men: and in short, their conduct in every view is so equally absurd and wicked, that I am no longer able to bear with them; and I see evidently I must take the government of them into my own hand, to be able to reform them as they ought to be. Neither in truth do I resolve on this from any interested views of power and profit to myself and children, but barely for the general good of mankind, being willing to sacrifice the unquestionable title I have to the Empire of the World, to their service, if I could otherwise contrive any way to work a proper reformation among them in this depraved state of things.

I told him I very much approv'd his generous intentions to serve the publick, and be as instrumental as his high birth and station entitled him to be: but that I was apprehensive his setting up his title, how just soever, might occasion prodigious wars and commotions in the world, which must certainly be a great affliction to him. Dear Sir, says he, what you say would deserve my consideration, if I did not certainly know, that obliging men, even by force (if force must be us'd) to acknowledge my title, would still deliver them from much greater evils. For be assur'd, says he, (in a very important whisper) all the famines, pestilences, commotions, desolations and wars that have afflicted the world these last 40 Centuries, have fallen upon men by the vengeance of a just Providence, enrag'd to see the succession and claim of my family laid aside and neglected by a wicked and degenerate race of villains and traitors. He accompanied this with a flood of tears; and turning to his wife, My dear, says he, if your Majesty will reach me those papers I have written, I think this will be an excellent opportunity for dispersing them through my subjects, and Gentlemen, says he, as you are the first of my vassals who have shewn

a sense of your duty and inclinations to return to your allegiance, if you will send them to the several Princes they are directed to, and assist me to bring about the Revolution I have resolv'd on, I shall both consider your respective Masters, and (tho' I can't part with any of my dominions in *Europe*) I hereby promise them the best Territories in my *Asian* or *African*, or at worst in my *American* Continent. But by this time the farce grew too tedious; and therefore desiring a few weeks to consider of his demands, we thought fit to retire, and leave his Imperial Majesty to write his dispatches without the help of Secretaries or Counsellors. I am sorry I forgot to beg his Majesty to take care of his precious health, and to be on his guard against his mighty rivals for the Empire of the World the Jesuits, and the dangerous Monarchy of the *Solipsi*, who I fear are so jealous of all rivals in interest and power, they will be very apt, by fraud, or poison, or violence, to remove so dangerous a Competitor out of the way.

But I must make amends to your Lordship for this trivial amusement, by a present that is really worth your consideration and regard, which I send you by this bearer; and that is no less than sixty volumes in *Folio* of the late Czar's travels thro' *Europe*, who, as your Lordship knows, never stirr'd out of his own Empire. He was a Prince of great natural genius and abilities; but as he did not approve of his own or any great Princes travelling, he employ'd a number of the most able and understanding men he cou'd procure, to take that trouble for him, and travel thro' the whole tour of *Europe*, accompanied with excellent designers, who at all proper stations should graphically design the face of nature, and the situation of rivers, towns, palaces, castles, mountains and plains, in the very manner the eye survey'd them on the spot. Besides this, they were oblig'd to take draughts of all the finest gardens and improvements, the most famous performances in Architecture, Painting and Sculpture; and even the very habits, the very looks, shape and air of the people of every country they pass'd thro'. Nay, they were to design the very cattle, fishes, birds; and, in a word, every thing that could deserve their notice in their journeys: all which they were to accompany with the best notes, remarks and ob-

servations possible. But this is not the only treasure that has enrich'd these volumes; for here are all the rarities of the best cabinets in *Europe* for choice collections in all kinds, express'd to the life in admirable cuts, and explained by short judicious dissertations. In these, all the best statues, and their habits, medals, seals, intaglias and basso-relievos, inscriptions, vases, mausoleums, sacrificing instruments and vessels, sepulchral and other lamps, lachrymatory and sepulchral urns, idols, engines, and instruments of war; rings, symbols of cities and countries, instruments of musick, and the weights and measures of the ancients, are incomparably represented, as well as whatever relates to the temple and worship of their Gods; not omitting all the modern productions of art and nature in animals, plants, minerals, metals, and the manual improvements of the several Sciences. An immense profusion of all these, digested under their proper heads, are engrav'd on these copper plates in a beautiful and regular order, where we may at once form the clearest notions of all such things, without running the hazards of ill health, as well as the corruption of faith and manners, which travelling is generally accompanied with, and have at least all the benefits that one can borrow from the eye in performing the tour of *Europe*. The Czar has about 1000 Copies made of them, which are presented as the greatest favours to those they design to oblige; and as I owe this I have receiv'd to your Lordship's friendship, by whose means I am fix'd here, I thought it a piece of justice to restore them to the hand, by whose mediation I became posses'd of it from the Czar's bounty.

If it were not for the Patriarch's death, who died here last week, I should have no news of any consequence to communicate to your Lordship. Tho' he was brought over, in the latter part of his life, to all the Jesuits measures in modelling this Church to submit to the Pope, yet he would have been an excellent Bishop but for one fault, which I believe few men were ever guilty of before him. He was a learned, sensible, pious man, and with the greatest zeal to serve the cause of Religion and Virtue, he had an utter contempt for that epidemical evil in the Christian Church, the building up a fortune, and making

a family. But as he ow'd his advancement to the Prince *Dolhorouky*, thro' a false notion of gratitude to the end of his life, he never ceas'd heaping preferments on every relation or friend, nay, on every dependant of that Prince, how worthless soever, (against all reason, nay, against his own) on the sole merit of their belonging to that family. This is a little obscur'd the lustre of his virtues, and might teach us (but, alas! we do not want the caution) that we should not be too violently grateful; which is almost as dangerous as being too violently in love, and distracts and biasses the judgment as much. But we may forgive his excellent Person this weakness, which was compensated by so many great and shining virtues; and besides, there is so little danger of his example being infectious, that I fancy he is the first man in this age, who (in his character) fell a martyr to gratitude. He is to be burried with a great solemnity, which the Jesuits are to have the management of, as well as of providing him an humble, docible Successor, who, 'tis said, will certainly be the Bishop of *Novogorod*. One very unfit for such a charge, being an old, weak, injudicious creature, without will, or even speech or passions of his own, but as he is inspir'd and mov'd, like a puppet, by the hands of these jugglers behind the curtain; and so notoriously dull, that the *Knez Petrowisky* told him in a violent quarrel this winter, his head was so barren (he is very bald) that it would not even bear hair. Yet to these very defects, which ought to have prevented his promotion, it is that he owes his advancement: a thing, miserable and unfortunate as it is, that often happens in the world; these Jesuits being like those mungrel sort of cure, that would never find a master to own them, but for such poor blind wretches, who cherish and feed them, that they may lead and guide them in the ways of the world.

But I detain your Lordship too long with these trifles, and therefore will not increase their number by vain and useless professions of being on a thousand accounts, and by a thousand ties,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

CLARE.

My LORD,

London, Chelsea, Feb. 24. 1799.

I Had the pleasure of receiving yours of *December* the 16th and *February* the 8th and have now the shame of answering them together; but if your Excellency considers the multiplicity of affairs that have been on the carpet of late, and in which I have been more than ordinarily engag'd; you will not take it unkindly, if I am more dilatory in my answers, than my strong attachment to your noble family, and my personal regard and esteem for your merit and services, may justly demand from me.

In the mean time, I have not been wanting in my care, as to those negotiations you are charg'd with, as the dispatches from Mr. Secretary *Bridges* will witness for me; nor in my respects for your brother, who is now one of the two Secretaries for foreign affairs. It is true, the salary, by increasing the number of Secretaries to four, is not so considerable as formerly, yet the credit and honour of the place will be of greater service than a more lucrative employment,

His Majesty expects with impatience the resolutions of the *French* Court, as to the affair of opposing the Inquisition. As you have receiv'd his instructions on that affair from his own hand, you will do well to return as exact an account as possible of your next audience, and to shew your utmost dexterity to spirit them up to vigorous resolutions on that matter, which may produce events of vast service to that crown and this, in humbling the exorbitant power of the empire of the *Vatican*. Your care in reviewing our *French* seaports and garrisons, and the works carrying on in the harbours of *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, gave his Majesty much satisfaction; and be assur'd, I shall endeavour to improve the impressions which your diligence and skill, in observing the state of things where you are, have made on him, to the utmost.

The ability and application of the *French* Ministers to retrieve the low condition a weak and unfortunate reign has reduced their country to, is very commendable; and as she can never recover strength enough in half a century to make her once more an object of our jealousy, it is our interest to support rather than distress her, lest she becomes a perfect province to *Rome*. *Cæsar* left her so, and there are many cowed *Cæsars* beyond the *Alps*, and in her own bowels, whose heads are as wise and bald as his, who would make her so again, if the pastoral staff and crosier did not want something of the force and vigour of his sword. Our accounts from *Rome* leave us no shadow of doubt of this, as well as their deep designs on *Germany*; but I hope the recovery of the Emperor, and a vigorous opposing the establishment of the Inquisition, will give us both room and time to lay such invincible obstacles in her way, as she can never get over.

But Mr. Secretary has so fully enlarged on this subject to you formerly, that there is no occasion for renewing any discourse on it now to your Excellency, who are also so well appriz'd of the state of affairs in *Europe*; and therefore I shall only add my earnest desires that you may continue to do service to the King and your Country, and honour to the character you sustain, by observing and taking hold of every occasion that offers, of making his Majesty's cares for the service of the world more and more successful.

I observe with pleasure (to pass to another subject) that while your Excellency is thus solicitous for the service of the publick, you are perfectly regardless as to your own interest here; and particularly, as to the Royal Fishery and Plantation Companies, in both which you have so large a stock, and are so deeply engag'd. As those corporations have been entirely new modell'd by the act past this last sessions, and much improv'd from the state they have been in, since *Frederick* the first and *George* the third's establishing them, till now, I believe it will be a pleasure to you, if I acquaint you with their present circumstances.

I shall begin with the Royal Fishery, to which this act has assign'd six new ports to the ten formerly appointed, and obliges the company

to keep at least 200000 hands employ'd, either as Coopers, Shipwrights, Smiths, Cawkers, Sawyers, Sailors, Fishers, and Sailmakers; or else in making nets, baskets, ropes, dressing and spinning hemp and flax, and weaving poledavies. Of these hands, there are to be at least 1600 lame and 1000 blind people employ'd in ropes and net-making, and the hemp and flax articles. The company must keep at the least 1000 Busses employ'd, and one fifth of all their hands, boys from 11 to 16 years of age, and one third new men, who had never been at sea before, as a nursery for seamen; and are to furnish the royal nave, on forty days notice, with 4000 mariners. On these accounts it is enacted, that for the encouragement of the company, and those who enter into wages with them, and enabling them who carry on the trade (tho' less gainful to private persons, yet more serviceable to the Nation than any other) to pursue it vigorously, the fourth of all the Profit of play-houses, shows, prize-fighters, operas, musick-meetings and gaming-houses, shall be paid to them for ever; and also the 200th part of all money or land recover'd at law, and the same of all immoveables that are sold. That all common beggars and vagabonds, and all foundlings, when eight years old, shall belong to the company, and be seiz'd by them, and kept in their work-houses for seven years, allowing them cloaths and diet, without wages. That no person shall have more than 10000 *l.* stock, nor less than one, in the company's funds, except his Majesty, who shall have 20000 *l.* embark'd therein; and that the tolls and customs for passage on the great canals cut by *George III.* and *Frederick II.* from *Bristol* to the *Thames*, from *Southampton* to *Winchester*, and from sea to sea from *Carlisle* to the *Humber*, be paid also to them. That for their further encouragement, each *Friday* in every week no person shall eat flesh, on severe penalties nam'd in the act; and every house in which are five inhabitants, besides children, shall be oblig'd to take from them one barrel of herring or other fish, at the market-price.

This is the main act, which by the nearness of our shores, and being furnish'd with all victualling and fishing necessaries within our selves, without the taxes the *Dutch* pay their masters; and being near-

er the *Baltick*, and most foreign markets, enables us to undersell all our rivals in this trade, to breed up every year several thousand Seamen, and employ numbers of our useless poor, and import immense sums of treasure to our happy Island. But the great advantages this new model of the royal Fishery has procur'd us, are best seen by its stocks having risen above five *per Cent.* which your Lordship will be a great gainer by. The Plantation-Company for the new Colonies in the *West-Indies*, is by the same act favour'd by great encouragements, as to all duties of exports and imports, and a grant of three millions of acres, to be laid out and applotted equally to all planters who shall settle there, and build new towns. They have also large Premiums settled for such limited quantities of iron, pitch, tar, hemp, flax, silk, indigo, wine or oil, as they shall import from them hither. This has rais'd their stock as considerably as the former, and will probably, in a few years, make us utterly independent of our neighbours in the North for all naval stores, which us'd to drain such immense sums from us.

I do not congratulate your Excellency on your particular advantage herein, but on the credit and honour you have gain'd, by being so zealous for the welfare of these two glorious companies, and the prodigious addition they are likely to give to the strength and wealth of our native country. They will not only enrich us vastly beyond any of our neighbours, (and they that are richest, will be able to carry on a war longest, and consequently tire out and subdue at last their enemies;) but they also vastly increase our naval strength, employ our starving poor, and will so far enlarge and extend our colonies on the Continent (greatly encourag'd by our former laws) that our trade will be every day growing more considerable. The very wine, oil and silk imported annually from the, is incredibly great already; and tho' in *Frederick* the first's and *George* the third's days, there were hardly forty engines for throwing of silk in this nation, it is certain there are now above a hundred; and yet there are daily new ones set up by the company, which throw more silk with two or three hands, than by a vast number of workmen in the ordinary way. The demands for our

goods and manufactures there, are within this last century (as I am assur'd) risen to double what they were before; and I doubt not but your Excellency will live to see our *Thames* like the famous River the *Tibiscus*, of which it was said, that one third of it was water, a second fish, and another shipping and boats.

The truth is, our colonies abroad have, and are likely to acquire still such an increase of hands and strength, that the greatest care will be necessary to keep the strongest of them dependent; and yet to provide that the weakest of them may not live on the blood and spirits of the mother nation, nor suck, if I may use the allusion, on her breast too long. I am confident as they will require, so they will well deserve, and fully repay this care. Besides the advantages of the commerce and navigation betwixt us, it is certain, they generally in proportion produce greater, more sublime, and warlike spirits; as being compos'd of adventurous and daring people, or, at worst, of melancholy discontented men; which last, to say nothing of the other, (who must evidently be of service to us) are the best seed-bed for ingenious and inventive, as well as learned and judicious heads. It may indeed be objected to our foreign plantations, that they are in part made up of the filth and purgings of the nation, as felons and robbers; but we all know *Rome* it self built up all its courage and virtue on no better a foundation: and after all, even such offenders have often such resolution, subtilty, strength, sharpness and activity, as make their posterity, (by these qualities they derive from them,) sufficient amends for their descending from such evil ancestors.

I am confident the new bishopricks founded among them by the piety and generosity of his Majesty's ancestors, as well as those of *Carolina*, *Barbadoes* and *Boston*, establish'd by himself, will greatly contribute to the reformation of manners and principles in our colonies, and to the keeping them firm in their allegiance to the crown. Besides, as the severe ecclesiastical discipline settled there against all profaneness and scandalous immorality in both laity and clergy, and the encouraging those two noble colleges, erected there by *George III.* have gone a great way already in their civilizing and improving them;

so I doubt not but a regular continuance of them, will fully amend what is yet wanting.

The melancholy prospect you have drawn, as to the corruption and debauchery of the *French* nobles, and the misery and excessive poverty of the lower people, must surprize every one, who considers the glory, virtue, and bravery of that nation in the last centuries, that cost her jealous neighbours such treasures of wealth and blood to prevent the universal empire she aim'd at in those days. It is true, one would not see so dangerous a rival restor'd to her former strength and vigour; but yet a generous enemy cannot see her present misfortunes, without some regret. However, a few years and a wise administration may by degrees resettle her affairs, and bring her out of that weak and languishing consumption that at present preys on her; but that deadly corruption and degeneracy of faith and manners that infects her clergy and laity, seems of a more desperate malignancy, because it does not only prey on her vitals, but is also encourag'd and increas'd by those physicians, who are only able to undertake the cure. Certainly while the King and his Ministers find their account in imitating the maxims of *Venice*, keeping the interest of the clergy low, and their persons and character contemptible, Religion and the influence of the mitre will be utterly absorb'd in reason of state, and the power of the crown; and the subject must necessarily become equally sceptical in their belief, corrupt in their principles, and immoral in the conduct of their lives. Now tho' this will evidently lessen the unreasonable authority of the Pope and the Church with the nation; yet whether such measures will not at the same time unloose the sacred bonds, by which religion ties the allegiance of the people to the supreme magistrate, and make them bad subjects in proportion as they are bad christians, is worth the consideration of the mighty *Machiavels* of *France*.

Your Excellency, who is so well acquainted with the history of our own country, will be the better able to judge of such consequences by the reign of *Frederick* III. in the 19th Century; when the miserable infection that had corrupted both the lives and faith of one part

of our people, had almost driven the other to an absolute revolt in their allegiance and principles, to *Rome* and her superstitions. A consequence as natural in the politick, as a consumption to and old inveterate cough in the natural body; and if that wise Prince had not in time foreseen, how unsafe all foundations must be, that were not built on a pious, prudent regulation of the establish'd church, and by professing an abhorrence for libertinism and scepticism, and a zeal for our religion, by preferring and honouring none that were known to think meanly of it as to their opinions, or that dishonoured it by their lives, I know not if we had not now been bowing to images, and adoring the Pope. The struggles and convulsions which that looseness of principles we were infected with, produc'd in his father's reign, are known to every body, that does but cursorily look into the history of those times; and certainly, nothing but the piety and prudence of his son, could have restor'd our peace and happiness, whose calm and rational zeal for our religion, in a few years wrought as great a change in the people, as ever happen'd on such an occasion since the days of *Constantine the Great*, when the sincere Christian triumph'd over the dissembling Pagan. But I will not follow this subject so far as it would lead me; and shall only say, that I heartily wish our neighbours in *France* may not find some consequences from the maxims they are pursuing, very different from what they expect; and that they are not tumbling into a greater, to avoid a lesser evil; like him who run into the water for fear of rain.

But let us leave these melancholy prospects for other nations, and let us reflect a little on the happy condition of our own country, and what it owes to that glorious Line of *Hanover*, that has adorned its throne with such an uninterrupted race of Heroes. What blessings have they not deriv'd on us, and our posterity, by their counsels at home, and their arms and courage abroad in the field; by giving us the best contriv'd and the best executed laws, and by raising the trade, wealth, power, and glory of our country to such heights, that our enemies may envy, but cannot lessen, and our friends may admire, but know not how to increase? And certainly, as our ancestors used to say,

when they were torn in pieces by their senseless and distracted factions, *That England could only be ruin'd by England*; so we may as truly maintain, that our happiness, and (that greatest of all our blessings) our Liberties, as now settled under our excellent Prince, can never be destroy'd but by Parliaments; and our Church, as it now stands fenced in by human Laws, and founded on the divine Law, can only be overturn'd by the Fathers of it the Bishops. As neither of those cases can be supposed possible, unless men should break thro' the most sacred trusts; and, in spite of the most solemn obligations that nature, religion, and honour, can bind them by, prove false to their Posterity, their Country, their King and their God; I think we may be justly secure of their continuance, and bid adieu to jealousies and fears!

I return your Excellency my thanks for your two manuscript treatises, which gave me much entertainment for three days, which I stole from the hurry of affairs in this restless town, to give to my gardens in my beloved retirement at *Windsor*. You have so high a relish for the true rational pleasures of life, which are to be found in the silence and solitude of the country, that I shall easily persuade you to believe me, when I aver, that a debtor releas'd out of the *City-Marshalsea*, is not more transported with his liberty than I am, when I get loose from the crowd of importunate great beggars, (that besiege our chambers and anti-chambers, nay, our tables, and even our very beds, that should be sacred to peace and rest,) to breathe a little free air in that private retreat I am so fond of.

This was ever my way of thinking in my best health and vigor; but I must own, it grows much upon me of late, now that I am in the decline of life, and find the business of the world increase upon me, with the additional load of age and its infirmities. You will smile at me, may be, when I tell your Excellency, that I sometimes think seriously of retiring betimes, and living no longer, as I have done this thirty years, enslav'd to the world, and the wretched business of it, but to be at last possess'd of that delightful wish, *vivere sibi & musis*;

or, to translate it into better *English*, to live to my self, and the great Author of all things.

When or whether ever I shall be able to put this in execution, I cannot say; but if I do not tell you my fixt resolutions, I tell you at least my sincere desires, which lie nearer my heart than any thing else on this side of the grave; where, I think, I find many hints given me every hour, that I am soon to retire. I am sure the unreasonable fatigue I am forced to undergo at Court, will hurry me thither the sooner; and I often reflect on the remark in the *Talmus*, *That there is no prophet in the Old Testament*, (as they past their days without care) but they out-liv'd four Kings: and that *Joseph* died before his brethren; *because*, says the *Talmudists*, *he was turmoil'd and barrass'd by being prime minister to Pharaoh*.

But these, you will say, are but the little fretful sallies of a mind sick of confinement, and thirsting after liberty; let us therefore leave them, without justifying them further with the least complaint of the malice, the envy, and ingratitude of the publick, which, (tho' perhaps not very successfully, yet still) we endeavour to serve; and return to the business of the world, and the worthy Creatures that make up the Crowd, and contribute to the noise of it.

The best news I can send you from it (you see, my Lord, death and the grave are still in my thoughts) is the departure of sir *John Wingford*, the best lawyer, and the worst judge that ever appear'd in *England*. He was, at the bottom, extremely avaricious; he had long refus'd the place of chief Justice, which his Majesty had offer'd him, on account of his prodigious abilities, for the sake of the immense sums he got every year from the crowd of his clients. But as the severe act against lawyers exorbitant fees, and the infirmities of a bad constitution and a wasted body in the latter part of his life, at length oblig'd him to comply with the desires of his Majesty, and indeed of mankind, to accept of it; he did it with the worst grace imaginable, and as haughtily, as tho' he had sacrific'd the interest of his family to the good of the nation.

I must own, with shame for my ignorance, that I was no small instrument in settling that affair; and I can make no better atonement for it, than confessing that I have now reason to believe, this first and greatest of our lawyers, (whose memory and imagination, whose learning and judgment seem'd by turns to outdo not only mankind, but themselves,) to the disgrace of human nature, prov'd the vilest and most corrupt of judges; and found the way, as I'm told, to make a comfortable balance between the bribes given his wife, and the fees of a private pleader at the bar. But he's gone to appear before the great Tribunal of his Maker, and therefore we shall leave him to stand or fall, as he pleases to determine; and I shall only add to the trouble I am giving your Excellency, since we are upon this subject, the death of a much honester judge, but a weaker man, my Lord Chancellor *Hoskins*, who died last week, a few days before him, of a fit of the apoplexy, which took him off in an instant.

Tho' his abilities were vastly meaner, yet his probity and honesty were infinitely superior to the others; but he had so perverse an integrity, that if any one attempted, or appeared to attempt, to lead or wheedle, or influence him in his decrees, he was sure to go the contrary way, where-ever it lead him. He carried this so far, that my Lord *D----* having a suit before him for a great Estate with Mr. *L----p*, in which he was sure to be cast, contriv'd to get a certain great man, whom I shall not name, to recommend Mr. *L----p*'s interest to him, with a kind of menace if the did not do him justice; by which single expedient he so turn'd the scales, that he run violently and headlong against Mr. *L----p*; and indeed against justice, and reason, and equity, to avoid the imaginary guilt of being influenc'd and biass'd.

It is true, some of his friends have attempted to make an apology for this weakness, by asserting, that on his being advanced to that bench, he had been misled in his judgment in one of the first causes he heard, by Mr. *P----l*, a near relation of his Wife's; and as he had been severely censur'd for it, like the scalded dog, he was afraid of the least shower of rain that threatned to fall on him: but surely this was but giving a stronger proof his weakness instead of excusing him, and

shews more fully what vile and wretched creatures we are, when our poor scanty portion of reason is influenc'd by our passions or folly.

But I will quit this ungrateful subject for one that ought to be more agreeable to you and me; and that is, my sincere assurances, that as much as I have ever been attach'd to the interest of your Excellency, and your noble family, I have never been biass'd by any other regard, than that evident merit and justice, which oblige me both by inclination and judgment to be, with the most reasonable passion and affection,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's, &c.

N----m.

My LORD,

Rome, Feb. 28. 1797.

BY the last Courier by the way of *Lyons*, I was made happy in the receipt of your Lordship's of the 2d instant, for which I return you my most sincere thanks; and as I hope I shall never forget the friendship and kindness you have express'd for me in it, so I shall make it the study of my life to deserve them more and more, by all the little services I am capable of rendering you and my royal Master.

I was favour'd with two dispatches of Mr. Secretary's the week before within six days of each other, to which I made the properest returns I could in the present state of things; and as they will be communicated to your Lordship, I shall not give you the trouble of a needless repetition of them here. I have, since I made those answers, communicated the contents of them, and the advices and orders that occasion'd them to the Imperial and *French* Ambassador here; who seem very unanimous in entering into all his Majesty's measures, and express greater resolution and resentment against the Court, than I could have expected from the indifferent posture of their affairs at present.

They have given me such peremptory assurances of this kind, and of acting in concert with our Court, that I am fully convinc'd, if the Emperor's health continues to improve, we shall be able to give a greater blow to the ambitious views of this Empire of the *Vatican*, than she has receiv'd since *George IVth* oblig'd her forces to repass the *Alps*, and leave *France* in peace, and the *Swiss* in full possession of *Piedmont*, and that part of *Savoy* which they have ever since been masters of.

Your Lordship's reflections on the immeasurable growth of the Papal Power, and the weakness and blindness of those who contributed to it, are equally becoming your experience and knowledge as a

statesman, and the honest zeal of a *Briton* and a Protestant. If you express some resentment, it arises from a generous concern for the welfare and liberty of *Europe*, and the Honour of Christianity; both which have been in the most daring manner endanger'd, not to say destroy'd, by the insatiable ambition of this pretended Vicegerent of Heaven.

I am infinitely rejoic'd, that what I have hitherto been able to remit to you from hence, has been any ways agreeable to your Lordship; and shall therefore continue to send you such observations of the same nature, as I think may entertain you. This I am sure is a nobler use than any thing I am able to furnish you with can deserve to be applied to. The truth is, your Lordship has brought me so deeply in your debt by your last letter, that I fear all the diligence and means I can use, will be too little to balance accounts in any tolerable manner with you. However, I will depend on your goodness to accept of such inconsiderable payments as I am capable of making you. To begin some attempt this way, I must acquaint your Lordship, that since my last letters to Mr. Secretary, according to my instructions, in concert with the two Ambassadors, I demanded an audience of his Holiness the 20th instant; to which I was immediately admitted, tho' he was that morning something indispos'd, by a cold he had got the day before, by walking too late in his gardens.

I found him in his great chamber hung with purple velvet, where he receiv'd me the first time I had audience of him; and as I perceiv'd by his smiling on me when I enter'd, and by the countenance he put on when I begun to speak to him, that he either was, or desir'd to make me think he was perfectly pleas'd with me, I resolv'd both to deliver the Memorial on the part of his Majesty in relation to the Inquisition; and also to lay before him, that in presenting it, I not only obey'd my Master's commands, but also in every line of it spoke the sense of the Emperor and his most Christian Majesty. Accordingly I acquainted his Holiness, that I had demanded that audience on an affair of the greatest importance to the reputation of the *Roman* See, the happiness of *France*, and the quiet of all her neighbours, who

were deeply interested therein. That his Holiness, by the suggestions of men of unquiet and turbulent spirits, who were better understood than nam'd, had of late made several extra-ordinary steps to the setting up the Inquisition in *France*, where his Predecessors had never once thought of establishing it; and as such an attempt will infallibly be accompanied by several ill consequences, I humbly besought him that he would, with that calmness and goodness which distinguish'd his character, allow me to lay before him those pressing reasons, which made it at all times improper, and at this time utterly impracticable. I observ'd he blush'd at these words; and rubbing his forehead with his hand, seem'd to be more than ordinarily mov'd; and as I expected he would have spoke, I stopp'd a little that I might frame what I had to say, as near as I could, to the temper he should put on; but as he only nodded to me, and bid me go on, I immediately proceeded.

That if those who press'd his Holiness to follow such counsels would consider the reasons that made such an attempt both now and at all times unadvisable, they would not shew such warmth and passion in carrying it on, as the manifestly had done. That these reasons were founded, First, on the natural temper of the *French*, who being of a free communicative disposition, and wearing their hearts as it were at their lips, would be expos'd to a thousand accusations for words, that proceed from mere levity and gaiety of mind; rather than any guilt or wickedness of the heart, where heresy can only be feated.

That in the second place, it was notorious that there was no nation in *Christendom* where hereticks had been so effectually purg'd and driven out, even to the loss of many millions of subjects, as in *France*; and this both by open wars and private massacres, as well as the fiercest persecutions, tho' against the solemn stipulations of formal treaties, in which the honour of the Crown was constantly sacrific'd to its zeal for Religion, and its regard for this See.

That in the third place, as none of his Holiness's Predecessors had ever resolv'd on such an attempt before, it would be consider'd in *France* as the most violent outrage against the liberty of the subject, and the honour of the Crown, that could be contriv'd by the greatest

enemies of both: and as *France* abounded with discontented people, and was still labouring under its late misfortunes, an innovation of that sort would be attended with such commotions and factions, as must end in an utter subversion of the Royal, if the Inquisition should be establish'd; or if resisted by force, and successfully oppos'd, of the Papal Authority. As I kept my eye fix'd on his Holiness, I plainly perceiv'd his colour come and go at these words, that shew'd an extraordinary emotion within; but as he put on a pretended smile, and endeavour'd to disguise it, by coughing two or three times, and stroaking his face with his handkerchief, and as I apprehended there was as much fear as anger in his countenance, I made no pause, but continued my remonstrances.

That, fourthly, as the power of the Clergy had of late years been carried higher than ever, and that at his Holiness had by the last treaty possess'd himself of two of the strongest places of *Dauphine*, and almost entirely master'd *Savoy*, and thereby, in effect, possess'd the keys of *France* as absolutely as those of *St. Peter*, this new attempt would be consider'd as setting up a Monarchy within a Monarchy, and opening the gates thereby to new violences, rapine and war.

That, fifthly, as some (and his Holiness best knew who) have and do obstinately maintain, that the Clergy are not subject to their secular Princes, nor oblig'd to obey their Laws, whether contrary to the Ecclesiastical Estate or no, the least Princes could do, was to prevent their Lay Subjects being liable to imprisonment, corporal punishment, and even torture and death, from this terrible tribunal of the Clergy, especially since such power was expressly against the laws of the land.

That, in the sixth place, as there had been high disputes between the most Christian Kings and his Holiness's predecessors, concerning the privileges, rights and immunities of the *Gallican* Church, and the extent of the Papal Authority; the Tribunal of the Inquisition might be applied to extirpate such doctrines, and those who maintain them, as heresies and hereticks, to the endangering the power of the Crown and Church of that Nation. That moreover, as the Ecclesiasti-

cal Laws, establish'd in 1897. by *Paul* the IXth, had determin'd, that subjects might refuse tributes and taxes to their Sovereigns without sin, if they thought them unjust; and might disobey any other legally proclaim'd Law of their respective Princes, which they judg'd very inconvenient for them to submit to; and as all loyal subjects in *France* were generally of a different opinion, they might, on declaring their sentiments herein, be taken up and detained in the prisons of the Inquisition as hereticks, on account of their being loyal and good *Frenchmen*.

In the eight place, as to matters merely spiritual, since many doctrines are taught by certain divines (whom his Holiness highly esteem'd) as true, which the Christian Church have been so far from approving, that they have violently oppos'd them as false, and overturning the very foundations of Christianity; if the Power of the Inquisition should be lodg'd (as it certainly would) in those very hands, the best Catholicks might be imprison'd and tortur'd by such as hereticks, for holding the real doctrines of Christianity; which possibly has been sometimes the case.

Here his Holiness, who had hitherto been entirely silent, was no longer able to conceal his impatience; but looking with a fix'd and stern countenance at me, ask'd me, if I had any thing further to offer to him? To which I thought it best to reply (cutting of two or three less agreeable remonstrances, that I should not too far incense him) that I had not. I have in command however, added I, to enforce all I have said to your Holiness, with representing it as the common sentiments of the Emperor, as well as his most Christian Majesty and my Master; in all whose names I humbly besought him to accept the Memorial I had in charge to deliver to him, (and therewithal I took it out of my breast, and in a very respectful manner presented it to him) beseeching his calm consideration and favourable answer to it.

He took it somewhat hastily, and put it into his pocket; and after a short pause answer'd me very calmly (being, as I conceiv'd by his mien and gestures, gl'd I had done) and told me, *imperatoria brevitate*, it should be fully consider'd, and as fully answer'd.

I saw evidently how disagreeable an entertainment I had given his Holiness; and being desirous, if possible, to smooth his temper, which I had ruffled too far by speaking more truth to him in half an hour, than probably he had heard in all his Pontificate before; I pulled out the Catalogue of our Nobility I had been favour'd with from your Lordship, very fairly copied and translated, and told him, in obedience to his commands, I had procur'd him the List of the *British* Peerage in the present Parliament.

He seem'd glad to have the scene and the subject shifted; and taking it from me, and looking on the title, he ask'd me immediately how many Catholicks there were among them? To which I replied, after some hesitation, that in his Holiness's sense of things there was not one Catholick Peer in *Great Britain*; but that in our opinion, there was not one Heretick among the whole of our Nobility. He appear'd not a little surpriz'd, tho' he made me no answer; but look'd at me with an odd mixture of disgust and astonishment in his countenance, by which I plainly saw he was less acquainted with our affairs than I imagin'd. Immediately herewith, finding my attempt to remove his ill humour was likely to increase it, and conceiving my retiring would probably be the most agreeable compliment I could make him, (since I saw him not a little perplex'd and disturb'd) I put an end to my audience with the best looks and the best *Italian*, I could get together for the occasion.

I made not the least mention, as your Lordship sees, of the other articles relating to the *Swiss* Cantons, and our trade and fleet in these seas; because I judg'd it improper to insist on them now, when he appear'd in none of the best dispositions to answer me as I could desire. I hope therefore you will approve of my delaying them for some happier hour, and the *mollia tempora sandi*, which I shall not fail to watch for, and take hold of, and give an exact account of the answers I receive thereon.

I know not whether it may not be agreeable, after entertaining your Lordship with this audience, to give you some account of the present Pope *Innocent* the XIXth; and though I doubt I shall draw

his picture very unskilfully, I shall at least endeavour to avoid two great faults of Limners, and shall both give you a sketch that shall resemble him, and yet one that shall not flatter him. He is in his person a low, broad, strong-made man, and somewhat of the *staturà quadratà* Suetonius gives to *Vespasian*. He is of a saturnine complexion, and melancholy aspect, with large black eyes and a bottle nose, a well-shap'd mouth, but which appears with less advantage when he laughs, (which indeed is seldom) having very bad teeth; which however would shew better had he more of them. He is reckon'd perfectly chaste as to women, his chief pleasures being eating and drinking a little too voluptuously, and using much exercise either by hunting or hawking when he rides, or walking long in his gardens. He is not however much given to his bed, seldom sleeping more than seven hours; and even in the heats of the summer avoids reposing himself in the day time. He seldom minds books any farther than to buy vast quantities of them, to crowd his favourite library; and, after the *Italian* taste, he is fond of filling it with vast collections of admirable pictures, busts and statues, being a passionate admirer of antiquity in all its branches, as his fine cabinets do plainly shew. However, he loves the company of learned men, but chiefly those of his own Order, by whom he is continually surrounded, and who would willingly exclude all others from his notice, as well as his favour.

He is about 52, and has been now six years Pope; and as he was chosen, as I may say, to the Pontificate before *Pius* the VIIIth his predecessor died, chiefly for his zeal for his Order, he has not, since he attained that dignity, given away one considerable Place, Abbey, or Benefice, but by the advice of the Cardinals in full Consistory.

He had but one Nephew that he has ever shewn the least regard for, and to him he has only given the hat, and some benefices, which in all are worth but about 30000 *l.* sterling annual rent; but he is so very dissolute and debauch'd, and of such mean parts and abilities, (and especially since no Popes are elected till they are sworn not to lavish the wealth and preferments of the Church on their families) that it is thought he will do no more for him. All his other relations

he is so cold to, whether in regard to his oath, or for want of natural affection, that he has not admitted them to come to *Rome* but once since his election, and that but for a few weeks, sending them home with very moderate presents.

He is a *Milanese*, of a pretty good family; his father *Don Mario Franzoni* having a considerable ancient estate in the neighbourhood of that city, to which his being heir, was the first occasion of his being entic'd by the Jesuits (with their usual policy) to enter into their Society, tho' they had conceiv'd great hopes of him for his talents and abilities, which were very extraordinary. When he grew up, he answer'd all their expectations; and being made Secretary to the famous Cardinal of *Santineri*, who was employ'd in so many important negotiations, and afterwards as Nuntio at the Courts of *France* and *Spain* successively, (in the late wars between the two Crowns) he shewed what he was able to do, by gaining his esteem, who was one of the ablest and severest judges of men.

When his master was made Pope, he soon got the reward of his many and faithful services, being in two or three years time made Bishop of *Paua*, *Maestro di Camera* to the Pope, Archbishop of *Milan*, Legate of *Ferrara*, Nuncio to *Venice*, and at last Cardinal, with the title of *Santa Maria in Aquino*. In these posts he gained the love and admiration of all, both as an excellent master of Politicks, an upright Judge, and one whose prudence and wisdom knew how to influence every one, and be influenc'd by none. He has a great turn to business, is indefatigable in weighing and considering whatever he sets about, and finding out the best and easiest means to bring it to pass, determining nothing but on sure grounds, shewing the clearest head, and the firmest resolution in every thing he takes cognizance of, or sets himself to accomplish. There is nothing too deep, too dark, or too weighty for the strength of his parts, having no defect but the want of learning, which he makes ample amends for, by that kind of knowledge which is most cultivated by his society, a perfect experience of affairs, and a thorough insight into the nature of mankind, who are the tools of their ambition and policy.

He is indeed somewhat apt to give way to passion, and to act with too little dissimulation with regard to others with whom he is offended; and especially in speaking against those whose follies, or irregularities in their conduct, displease him. This had like to have lost him the Pontificate; but as that was concerted in the late Pope's life, his enemies were not able to put him by; and indeed they could hardly have chosen a man likelier to serve the society, and preserve, if not enlarge their power, if it were possible to carry it further. His scheme to get himself chosen Emperor, is a manifest proof of this, the success whereof is but too likely, if his Imperial Majesty should relapse, before his design can be sufficiently countermin'd.

He has few very intimate favourites, dividing his kindness equally among the ablest of the Cardinals, who are most capable and desirous to serve the society, which has been the inviolable maxim this See has observ'd ever since it became the inheritance of the Jesuits. But as I have taken up a great part of this dispatch with describing what I knew of this extraordinary person, I shall defer giving your Lordship the characters of the most considerable Cardinals who are chiefly employ'd by him in his weightiest affairs; and shall now pass to some other matters that deserve your notice.

And the first thing I shall mention is, the extraordinary Bull which his Holiness has just publish'd, in relation to keeping of *Lent* with less strictness than formerly. The original Bull in *Latin* is very voluminous, and therefore I shall content my self to send such an abstract, as shall take in the substance of the whole, only omitting such unnecessary forms as occasion its length.

It begins then with a sort of preface, in which his Holiness *Innocent XIX.* addressing himself to all true sons of the holy *Roman* church, takes notice of the universal care of the faithful incumbent upon him, and the perpetual sollicitude he is under, both for the salvation of souls, and the ease and happiness of the christian world. He fervently exhorts all the faithful to exert their best endeavours to prevent the daily revolts and falling off of so many members of the catholick church, who in these evil, nay, worst of times, on whom the

ends of the world are come, are deluded by hereticks, and led away by the Devil into the paths of error, and the dangerous infection of the northern schism.

After enlarging a good deal on this point, he proceeds to take notice, that whereas the severe discipline of the church, conformable to the zeal of the primitive times, concerning the abstaining from flesh in *Lent*, had been found to produce sundry great inconveniences to the scrupulous observers thereof; (all which are enumerated and enlarg'd on with very pathetick complaints:) Therefore, says the Bull, to lighten such burthens, which, like an heavy yoke, do gall the neck of our zealous catholick children; and, to make the observance of *Lent* less painful to them; we, by virtue of the supreme authority committed to us from above, have thought fit to pronounce and determine, and by these presents do absolutely determine and decree, that all wild fowl, and more particularly and especially those which resort to and generally live on the water, and frequent rivers, ponds, lakes and seas, be from henceforth deem'd and taken as fish, and be used, understood, receiv'd and taken as such, by the faithful for ever.

Moreover, that no doubt, suspicion, or scruple herein may remain in the minds of all true catholicks, concerning the deeming, taking, using, understanding, receiving and eating the several kinds of fowl, for real and actual fish, as we have and hereby do pronounce and decree by our sufficient authority and determination; we have thought fit to annex and subjoin here-unto those cogent and weighty reasons and motives, that have determin'd our judgment in this matter, in which the salvation of souls, our great and chief care, is so deeply embark'd.

First then, whereas the original foundation of fish being appointed to be eat in *Lent*, was greatly built on the opinions of those eminent physicians and philosophers *Galen*, *Hippocrates*, *Chrysippus* and *Erasistratus*, who maintain'd, that fish do not nourish any more than water, into which they are immediately turn'd, we do declare the same to be false and absurd, groundless and ridiculous. For tho' *Ariosttle*, in his fifth book, does maintain that opinion, whose great

authority, with those afore-cited, did too far influence the piety of the church herein; yet it is found by constant experience, that those kinds, formerly only accounted as fish, do rather nourish the body more than those kinds, which we have, and hereby do allow to the faithful. It is also as vulgar and trivial an error, that those kinds of fish wee appointed to be eaten in fast-days, and in *Lent* particularly, because in the Deluge the sea and all kinds of fish, escap'd the general curse that fell on other creatures, the earth and its productions; for it is certain, that curse fell equally on all.

But, secondly, our judgment hath been grounded on these other important reasons; first, because of the great and surprizing conformity between these two species of animals, the feathers of the one answering the scales of the other, as the clearness, fluidity and brightness of the water, the element of the one, doth to the air, the usual element of the other; in both which elements also they do mutually live, as a sort of amphibious creatures, as the diving of waterfowl, and the flying of some fish, and the frisking and leaping out of water of all, do plainly manifest.

But further, this conformity is found also in the sins of the one corresponding to the wings of the other, and that they agree in that remarkable circumstance peculiar to them, of moving the lower eyelid only, and that many of them have a kind of holes in their heads for eyes and ears which no other animals have; and, which is still more wonderful, neither of them have bladders, or do stale or urine like other creatures; and the very motion of the one in the air, (the tail serving as a rudder to both) is nearly resembling that of the other in the water. But there is still behind a yet more surprizing proof of this great conformity between them, and which has been of great weight with us; and that is, that the globules of their blood are both of an oval figure, which is found in no other animals, as is evident every day to those who make use of microscopes, which put this point out of all doubt.

But, thirdly, what has mightily determin'd us herein, is the constant usage of all our predecessors in the *Roman See*, who have ever allow'd the sea-fowl call'd the *Macreuse*, to be deem'd, eaten and taken as fish; which is a plain Indication, that our present decrees and determinations are in all respects bottom'd on the same truths, and conformable to theirs. It is true, the learned *Naudæus* has pretended to prove that wild fowl, and especially the *Macreuse* aforesaid, cannot be reckon'd fish, because all animals that have necks, have lungs, and if lungs cannot be fish: But this is so vile and false a way of reasoning, that it deserves not be confuted, since both whales, and dolphins are fish, and yet have lungs, as the learned* *Scaliger* plainly proves against *Cardan*.

But, 4thly, we have made this decree also for the good of souls, because we continually find many, who, thro' the former severity, are alienated in their affection to holy catholick church, and fall off daily to the hereticks; or at least, if they do not revolt from us, endanger their souls, by incurring our excommunication, and privately eating flesh, which is so expressly forbidden on that terrible penalty.

In the 5th place, we have consider'd the tenderness and delicacy of some constitutions, which are frequently endanger'd by being confin'd at that season from all sorts of flesh; and moreover, we find by experience, that there are fewer children got in *Lent*, which is much to be laid to heart in a church, which ever has, and we trust ever will, depend on her numbers. There is also less work and husbandry done then, from the same cause, men as well as beasts being then much weaker, by having been pinch'd by the bitterness of winter, and at the same time stinted in their food; many weaker husbandmen being also killed by the change of diet. Nay, this evil extends to their very calves, kids and lambs, which are frequently starv'd, or at best stinted in their growth, by having little milk left to suckle them; all which are heavy grievances, and produce many ill consequences to our catholick children.

* Exercit. p. 224.

Lastly, we have been mov'd hereunto by two special reasons. The one is, because while our faithful sons are thus pinch'd and burthen'd, hereticks thrive, and are fatt'd by their losses, keeping at least 9000 vessels in taking fish, which they extort great rates for from our people, to the great detriment of our church, and the intolerable increase of their naval power. But our other reason is no less considerable, and that is, that *Lent* is most unequally settled and appointed throughout the christian world; for while the faithful in *Europe* are thus bow'd down to the grave, by the severity of the church, others, in different regions of the world, have their *Lent* in so favourable a time of the year, that their fruits and gardens load them with all kinds of delights. Of this last point, *Chile*, and its fruitful country and climate, among many others, is a flagrant instance; and therefore it is but fit to bring all catholick christians herein upon a greater equality, and to prevent *Europe* from envying the advantages of the youngest daughter of the church, *America*.

For these therefore, and many other as important reasons, which it is needless, or improper to insert here; we, out of our paternal care of the faithful, have, and hereby do decree, that all wild fowl, and especially all water-fowl aforesaid, be from henceforth deem'd, taken, receiv'd, understood and eaten as fish by all catholicks, of whatever region, country or climate; and we also, in tender regard to the faithful, do allow all *English* and *Dutch* Brawn to be taken, eaten, receiv'd, deem'd and us'd as Sturgeon, as well because the fleshy parts thereof, are so macerated by the boiling, pickling, and long keeping, as to have less, and more wholesome nourishment in it, than any kind of fish; and also, because as it is entirely of heretick growth, it is probably less nutritive, than the poorest sort of viands in christian and catholick countries.

Lastly, for the greater ease, consolation, and satisfaction of all the faithful, and that their bodies may not be worse treated than those of schismatics and hereticks, when their souls are so much better secur'd and provided for; we do further determine and decree, that as well on all fast-days, as throughout the whole of *Lent*, it shall be

lawful to all our Nuncio's, Bishops, and parish-priests, and all proper officers duly authoriz'd by us to that end, to issue licenses to all sick people, or all that are afraid of being sick, or otherwise incommoded, (or apprehensive of being incommoded in their health or strength by abstaining from flesh, when the allowance of such fowl or fish is not sufficiently agreeable to them) to eat all and every kind of flesh, that they shall judge to contribute more effectually, to the sustenance and comfort of their bodies, in their pilgrimage here. Provided always, that all such persons do regularly take out authentick licenses for the same, and pay, if rich, for such license, either for the whole *Lent*, or the year, the sum of twenty Scudi, or, if poor, the sum of two Scudi, and no more.

And to prevent, cut off, silence and confute for ever, all debates, cavils, disputes or objections hereon; we do hereby declare, that all and every person who shall in any wise oppose, contradict, argue against, or in any sort contravene this our decree, is, and shall be adjudg'd to stand excommunicated, and cut off, as a rotten member, from the body of the holy catholick church; unless by his full and ample submission, repentance and retractation, he shall be absolv'd for the same. Given under the seal of the Fisher, this 19th of *February*, 1998. and in the sixth year of our Pontificate.

Thus, my Lord, I have perform'd my promise, and given you an abstract of their famous Bull, the political views of which will sufficiently employ your Lordship's thoughts. There is nothing more certain, than that this See has resolv'd on new modelling their church, finding by experience the absolute necessity there is for it. For altho' the power of the *Roman Vatican* is vastly increas'd, it is evident their interest with all catholick Princes is greatly sunk. Indeed they are almost on the wing to depart from her, if the vast height of that deluge of riches, strength and interest were but once so far abated; that, like *Noah's* dove, they could find a safe place for even the sole of their foot to retreat to, and not be oblig'd to return unto the prison of the ark, when they have taken their flight from it. The only hold this See has of them, is very different from that they had in antient times; for

then she was reverenc'd as the real head of the christian church, arm'd with the divine authority; whereas she is now regarded as a temporal tyrant, who makes religion but the stalking horse to universal empire. How greatly this has shaken her authority among the Princes of *Europe*, and alarm'd their jealousies, is perfectly known to your Lordship, as well as the vast increase of credit and reputation that the protestant faith hath obtain'd hereby in the world. And tho' reasons of state, and their jealousies of our trade and power, keep them too much estrang'd from us; yet such a crisis of affairs may come, as may unite them all with us so far, as to renounce the papal authority, and set up patriarchs of their own, and as probably reform the faith, as alter the government of their churches.

Indeed the ill success of the *French* King, in attempting this, had kept them greatly in awe, together with the vast power of the clergy in their respective Kingdoms. For the chief ecclesiasticks being entirely Jesuits, or their creatures, do their utmost to support the interest of the *Vatican*, and to watch every motion of their sovereigns, that looks like the least encroachment on the papal authority. In the mean time, all possible measures are taken at *Rome*, to prevent either the people of their sovereigns, taking new disgusts at her tawring ambition. It is this probably has occasion'd the Bull I have sent you; which, as ridiculous as the pretences in it are, will please the people extremely; and will also hurt our royal fishery, and lessen the numbers of our seamen, at the same time that it takes off one great burthen that lay on the good catholicks shoulders.

There is another point, which this See is as fond of correcting as the affair of *Lent*, and that is, the vast damage they receive from the celibacy of the Clergy, and the numbers of hands which are every year cut off from them, by shutting up such crowds in monasteries and nunneries. These might bring an incredible addition of strength to the Church and all popish Princes, if they had not, by such silly monastick institutions, made them useless to both. It is not to be denied, but that this method has produc'd great genius's in their Church, who, by brooding over their melancholy, and closely pursuing their studies,

have made a great figure, either for piety, abstinence and charity, or for learning and knowledge, (especially in divinity); the ablest pens for the interest of this See having been pluck'd from the wings of the poor creatures that are fed, and shut up in these hen-houses. The Church has also found her account by encouraging celibacy, from the great wealth many of those her unmarried votaries have left her heir to; but the scandal that has fallen on her by the irregularities many of them, unable to bear these restraints, have daily run into, have, in my opinion, largely over-balanc'd her Gains.

Besides, I am persuaded, for one great genius in piety or learning her monasteries and the celibacy of her Clergy have produc'd, they have lost and buried ten, that would otherwise have been serviceable to the Church or State: while, under a silly pretence of despising the world and its glory as vain and sinful, they have lull'd thousands of excellent persons asleep, and deadned them to all regard for their Country, or any ambition to excel in useful knowledge and practice of the Sciences, or employing themselves in the civil arts of peace and war, in which the good of society is so deeply concern'd. This is a prodigious damage done to the publick; but there is another that sits heavier on them, which they are more concern'd at; and that is, their occasioning and immense draw-back on their numbers, and in proportion diminishing their strength and their power.

Let us consider this a little, my Lord, as to *France* and our own Country, since the antient reformation of religion among us; excluding all consideration of the damage to Christianity in general for so many centuries before. As I know *France* pretty well, I think I have grounds to say, there were no less than 300000 churchmen and nuns under vows of celibacy at that time in that Kingdom; and probably not fewer than 120000 under the same denomination in *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*; the breed of all which numbers we have gain'd for 500 years, and that of all their descendants; and the *French* have lost, and consequently in propoortion, all other catholick Countries.

It is plain that this is of infinite service to one party, and of equal detriment to the other; and in a few centuries more, as their number

must daily sink, and their trade, wealth and manufactures in proportion with them, it is easy to foresee that the balance will still be turning, and at last decide in favour of the Protestants; tho' the advantages of the evidence and truth of their doctrines, and the discovery of the faults and errors of the Papists, should no way contribute thereunto.

I have seen computations that pretend to demonstrate, that by this single mistake in politicks, and cutting off the breed of such numbers, whose real abilities and bodies might have rais'd such powerful recruits to their cause; the Church of *Rome* has lost near 30 millions of souls, whose labour, trade and wealth, were they now in being, might have prov'd a vast over-balance of the protestant interest and power. At the same time, as tho' this was not enough, besides the tyranny of their Government and the Inquisition, they as it were strive to lessen their numbers still more; by almost daily fasts, pilgrimages, and annual *Lents*, and an unpardonable connivance at adultery and whoredom (not to mention the unnatural sin;) all which are vast draw-backs and discouragements to matrimony. As the Protestants have wisely avoided these faults, it is evident what advantages we have over them, if we make a right use of them. And yet after all, it is to be fear'd, that the perpetual policy, industry and application of this See, and the coldness and sleepiness of our people, may be so ill match'd, as to give them too many occasions of breaking in on us, by our divisions and factions, and yielding them the victory, which we indolently rely on Providence for, and they, by so many plots, artifices, and engines of state, are perpetually contriving to obtain.

But as I acquainted your Lordship, that the Jesuits are very sensible of the inconveniences we have been remarking on, I must do them the justice to take notice of several remedies they have of late apply'd to this evil in *Italy*, and where-ever they have interest and power to put them in practice.

And in the first place, it is generally believ'd, that they indulge numbers of their Clergy in private marriages, who have not the gift of continence; but this is manag'd with great address and secrecy, and cannot bring in very large recruits to them. In the next place, they

keep a severe hand on the admission of persons into their monasteries, allowing much fewer than ever to be harboured there, and only such as would be useless or troublesome to the world, if they were in it. Nay, I am assur'd, that two or three pious Bishops having left lately large sums by their wills to the founding new monasteries; this Court order'd a stop to be put to them, and divided the money among the neighbouring poor; which shews their sentiments on this head. They have also of late made several laws, by one of which all unmarried laymen or women are oblig'd, if past forty, to pay one fifth of their income to portion poor virgins and young tradesmen who marry. By another they have reviv'd the *Roman Papian* law, by which all who were unmarried after twenty-five, are incapable of giving or receiving a legacy; and by a third they have re-establish'd the *Jus trium liberorum* of old *Rome*, by which parents who have three or more grown children living, are favour'd with an exemption from certain taxes. These have had extra-ordinary effects; nor have their allowing of divorces, in case of barren or very unhappy marriages, and obliging both parties to marry others, and of late punishing whoredom and adultery with great severity; and above all, their obliging mothers to nurse their own children, (by the neglect of hir'd nurses, thousands of infants being daily lost to the commonwealth) been of less benefit to the filling their exhausted Country with its truest riches, numbers of subjects.

These, my Lord, are useful regulations indeed; but as they are but of late date, and come like the prescriptions of wise physicians in an old consumption, where the lungs are too far spent and wasted, it is very uncertain how far they may prove successful; and at worst, we have the pleasure to know, we have the benefit of them of a long time in *Great-Britain*, by the care of the wisest legislature, and the best of Princes that ever watch'd over the publick interests.

Before I conclude this subject, I cannot but acquaint your Lordship with an answer I once had from a zealous Jesuit in this city, who, discoursing on it with me, maintain'd that the Protestants, who glory in the increase of their numbers, do multiply merely from the curse

of God upon them, that by a just judgment he might have the more victims, to pour down his vengeance on, for their heresies, wars, and numberless sins against the Church. For, said he, in the zeal of his heart, had they kept up monasteries and nunneries, God had wanted some millions of sacrifices, to suffer for the sins of themselves and their parents. You see, my Lord, how conveniently the charity of the good society would dispose of us, tho' we increas'd faster than we do; they want but power sufficient to their wills, or they would enforce their opinions by real facts, and convince us abundantly, that Heaven had mark'd us out for vengeance. But I have enlarg'd too far on this subject already, and shall therefore increase your Lordship's trouble no further, by speaking to some other particulars mention'd in your last, which I shall chuse to reserve for another occasion; and shall trespass no longer on your patience, than to assure you of my best diligence, in answering the ends of my residence here, and my shewing my self with a heart fully sensible of all your favours,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

HERTFORD.

My LORD,

London, Chelsea April. 5. 1693.

NOTWITHSTANDING the pleasure I have ever had in your Excellency's correspondence, I am in pain to begin it to day, with acknowledging, that tho' I have been honour'd with three of yours of *Nov. 29th, Jan. 17th, and March the 8th, from Mosco*; I have never yet been able to make my acknowledgments for them, except by a very short answer to the two first, which deserv'd a very different return. But the truth is, I have ever liv'd on such good terms, and with so entire an intimacy with your Excellency, that I am in less pain how to excuse my self to one, who hath ever lov'd even my faults; and will therefore the easier pardon any involuntary omissions of the respect which I owe you. I can the easier hope, to find your Excellency favourable in your construction of my long silence, when I tell you, I have had more perplexing and uneasy affairs on my hands of late, than I ever remember since I knew this Court.

As they are at last pretty well over, I hope I shall be able to prove a better correspondent now to your Excellency than I have been; by being for some time more than ordinarily engag'd, in endeavouring to be as faithful a servant to my royal master, as my infirmities and labours increasing together, would allow me. Besides, not to accuse my self too far, I must plead in my defence, that I have ever had my share in the trouble of most of Mr. Secretary's dispatches to *Mosco*; so that my offences are only personal transgressions against your Excellency's goodness, and which is a great matter for a minister to have to say, I have at least no national guilt to answer for.

That I may atone for the faults I confess so sincerely, I must begin with my best thanks for your account of the state of our affairs at your Court; and as you have put our trade there on an excellent footing, I doubt not but our merchants will find their interest in it, as we may see already they do, by their having sent double the number of ships,

on the account of the increase of that branch of our commerce, than they formerly us'd to do.

As his Majesty resolves to keep up the best correspondence possible with the Czar, and to have a Resident at least, if not an Ambassador, perpetually with him, to preserve a constant mutual intercourse of good offices between the two Crowns, and favour our trades thither all we can; so I believe nothing but your being wearied of that employment, will incline him to recall your Excellency. I believ'd indeed by your long continuance in that Court as an Ambassador, you were almost chang'd into a perfect *Russian*; but I never expected to see your Excellency turn'd a downright *Laplander*, as one must almost suppose you, by the relation you give of one of the most incredible things, that ever this or any age before it, heard of.

For my part, I shall never dispute against absolute fact, and a fact your Excellency declares your self an eye-witness of; but I can assure you, his Majesty has not so strong a faith; and is of opinion, you have either a mind to laugh at us, or to make us laugh at you and your Sun-shine. I therefore beg in your next, you may inform us if you have heard or seen any thing more, of the handy-work of these Sun-drummers; tho' after all, they are only qualify'd to serve us poor people of the northern Regions, and can be of no sort of service to those who are burn'd up in the South; and whose prayers, like the old *Jews*, are all for rains and dews, and rivers and springs.

Your full and particular account of the intrigues of the Jesuits, in relation to the *Greek Church*, and bringing it and *Russia* under the papal yoke, had the honour of his Majesty's notice and approbation; but (as the King observ'd in reading it) the Jesuits have been humble enough, to copy after some part of those excellent plans, which his Majesty and his royal Ancestors, put in execution long since here, to the infinite service of the *British Churches*.

For so long ago as the beginning of the last century, *Frederick III.* establish'd præmiums in our principal colleges, for those who gave the best proof of their scholarship; not to mention the royal college founded by him, and so nobly enlarg'd by new endowments by his

successors, and particularly his present Majesty. Nay, the Jesuits have only imitated the zeal, of one of our best Princes in the same century, who at once raised 400 poor livings to 50 *l.* a year, by recommending their deplorable circumstances, to the care of the legislature; and we all know with how much nobler a munificence, our royal master has very lately taken care, of a provision for all the rest of his poor and distressed Clergy. But whencesoever they have borrowed their regulations, I am persuaded of what your Excellency maintains, that the *Russian* Church must in a very little time, become a province of the *Roman* See, and embrace all her errors, superstitions, and idolatry, as the essential truths of Christianity.

But I shall not touch on this subject, which lies ever uppermost in my thoughts, and haunts my dreams, left I expatiate too far upon it; and therefore shall only add my sincere prayers, (and by God's blessing my best endeavours) that this over-whelming deluge that thus saps and privately undermines, or violently in a torrent breaks thro' all the mounds and banks, that human industry and wisdom would oppose to it, may not, when it swallows up and covers the rest of the Earth, rush over and subvert the sacred fences, of the Protestant church and religion in the world.

Your relation of the extraordinary improvements they have made in the practice of Physick, was extremely welcome to me; but, to say truth, many particulars in it are criticis'd by our most celebrated practitioners here, as less proper and useful than your Excellency seems to think them; but as you are no physician, and only report such facts as you have been inform'd of, you are no way accountable, for any mistakes they may be liable to.

For this reason, I shall not send you any of their objections, which seem besides of less importance, than to deserve your notice; and shall rather chuse to return all the miracles of your Jesuits, (in physick among the *Russians*) with one that in my opinion exceeds them all, which *Great-Britain* has alone found out the secret of. Your doctors therefore must triumph no longer, that they cure the Gout, and dissolve the Stone, that they subdue Fevers, and restore and heal

Consumptions as easily as we cure Agues, or that they have secret specificks for the Jaundice, Small-pox, Dropsies and Pleurisies; for we have a skill in physick superior to all their performances, in a distemper hitherto judg'd incurable by all. A distemper every one is as certain to labour under as the Small-pox, and yet subject to have several times in his life; a distemper (which can be said of no other) that generally does most harm to the noblest and worthiest spirits in the world; nay, a distemper which I have been told you have had some terrible fits of, can your Excellency yet guess at it, my Lord, it is that fatal and desperate malady, violent Love!

I should not offer to mention this to you, if I was not as certain of the truth of it, as that I am now in my chamber writing to you; for I have actually known two of my intimate acquaintance, my Lord *L-----* and Sir *Thomas D-----* who were dangerously seiz'd with it, cur'd within these six weeks, and they are now perfectly well, as they have assur'd me with their own mouths. Nay, my Lady *B---y W---* my wife's relation, who, after a long courtship (which was basely broke off) had engag'd her affections to my Lord *P---* and was so irrecoverably gone in it, that she could neither eat or drink, or sleep, or even speak, but with him, and his conduct in her thoughts, was also in a little time so perfectly recover'd, that she made a visit to his Lady, without the least palpitation of heart; and is so indifferent to him, that she can even praise him. She is no longer splenatick or melancholy, but receives and returns the visits of her friends, goes to all publick places with the greatest gaiety and pleasure imaginable; and is so good humour'd, that she has not turn'd off a servant these two months. Your Excellency sees I do not write these facts, from the general report that prevails here with every body, but as cases within my own knowledge and observation; so that you may depend on it, this art is arriv'd here to its utmost perfection, and that the cure of this terrible disorder is now become more infallible, than that of the Ague by the Jesuits Bark.

Doctor *Howard* is the person to whom the world is indebted for his admirable secret; and tho' by this Majesty's commands, he has en-

trusted the methods of cure, for fear of death, to three of the King's Physicians; yet they are sworn not to discover or make use of it, till he is safe in his grave. I cannot therefore pretend to give your Excellency the real secret of this prodigious art; but I shall tell you the method of his prescriptions, as far as some of his own patients have related it to me; by which it is plain, he treats it in the general, as they do several other chronical distempers, having ever an exact regard at the same time, to the particular constitution of the disorder'd person.

The first thing the Doctor prescribes to them, is, the taking a little Pill thrice every day for three days, with a small paper of powders, which taste and smell like powder of Crabs-eyes; both which 'tis conceiv'd sweeten the blood, correct the acrimony of the humours, and cheer and recreate the spirits extremely. After these three days, they bleed and blister them severely for about a week, as the case and the patient's constitution allows them; this done, they take the pills and powders again for two days, then they give them violent purgatives to 8 or 9 stools a-day for a week or longer, as the case is, with strong fudorificks to carry off redundant humours; all which is accompanied with drinking a kind of ptifan, and keeping to as low and emaciating a diet as the patients can allow, for at least ten days or longer, if they can bear it easily. This method (the chief secret of which, they say, lies in the pills and ptifan) constantly eradicates the disorder, in the most inflammable constitutions in a month's time; and in some much less will do, and especially where they are not naturally, of a very rank or robust constitution.

I have already hinted, that the chief secret is conceal'd in the pills and ptifan, which alter the state of the blood and humours, and fortify the heart; while the regular evacuations calm the hurry of the spirits, cool the body, and discharge from it all the vicious morbifick particles separated from the habit, till at last that inflammable disposition is entirely remov'd, which is the great source of these kinds of disorders. It is certain, that ever since this method has been follow'd

by Dr. *Howard*, the violent effects of this passion or possession, I know not which to term it, have never disturb'd the world as they used to do. For now whenever people find their passion is unsuccessful and desperate, without hanging or drowning, shooting or poisoning, which was the usual method, they calmly send for Dr. *Howard*, who immediately puts them into the Love-course, as they call it, and so they get rid of it at once, and then very quietly go about their affairs; and as soon as they have recover'd the cure, (which, as in most other cases, generally takes up as much time as the distemper) they chuse a more proper, or at least a less cruel person for their adorations. It is universally agreed, that the sincere and tender hearts of the poor Ladies, are cur'd with much more difficulty than the Men; and some of them, as my Lady *R-----* particularly, died, after she had been given over for incurable; but this does not happen one time in a thousand.

This I take to be one of the happiest discoveries of this age; for tho' *Morison*, in his *Itinerary**, assures us, that in this time the baths of *Baden*, were made use of with great success for the cure of this terrible distemper, hopeless love; yet I think he evidently took up that story on very insufficient grounds. For not to urge that if this were true, they would have been the most famous baths, and the most resorted to by all people and nations in the whole word, (which is false in fact); he overthrows his own assertion, by maintaining, a few lines after, they were of great service to women that were barren. Now without appealing to the experience of our Ladies and Gentlemen, who know very well on what account they frequent our Baths and Spaws; I leave it to common sense to judge, how it is possible these waters of *Baden*, could produce two such contrary effects, as curing Love and removing Barrenness; and consequently, I think, we may allow Dr. *Howard's* prescriptions, to be a blessing to his fellow-creatures peculiar to this age, and utterly unknown to our ancestors.

* P. 26.

I shall not trouble your Excellency, with many consequences with which this affair is, and will be accompanied in the world, but shall pass on to something more important; and that is, to return you my sincere thanks, for your noble present of the Czar's travels in sculpture, which have oblig'd me infinitely. However, as I think them too noble a present, for the library of a private subject, you will allow me, after professing my self deeply indebted to your generosity, to give them, in your name, to his Majesty, who is you know extremely fond of such curiosities.

As to the proposal you make, of the King's offering his mediation between the Czar and the King of *Sweden*, who are both making such preparations for war, I must acquaint your Excellency, that upon some private hints from the *Swedish* Ambassador here, his Majesty order'd me to feel the pulse of the Czar's Envoy at this Court; but he declar'd frankly, his master could never think of a peace, or the least step towards it, while his enemies kept any part of *Livonia* in their possession. Thus this affair is desperate, unless the bravery of the *Swedes* this next campaign, (as I heartily wish) may reduce them to speak in a lower stile. I am very sorry I had not notice early enough, of the departure of the last caravan for *China*, because as the *Chineses* we formerly brought over, and who have taught our people here to be as good potters, and to make as fine vessels as any in *China*, are growing old and crazy; and as we would be the better, to have some more skilful hands from thence, I must beg your care to have twenty or thirty, of the best that can be hir'd at any expence, sent to us by the return of the first caravan. Our chief want is painters and bakers, tho' the truth is, we are already such masters in this arts, that we export vast quantities of our manufacture for real *China*; and it is, in my opinion, only to be distinguish'd from it, by its being differently, and perhaps I might say, better painted.

I am now to acquaint your Excellency, that his Majesty has made a new regulation, as to that noble foundation of the three Secretaries of the Embassy, which G. III. appointed to accompany all his Ambassadors at his own expence, (of 200 *l. per Ann.* each) in order

to breed them up to a perfect knowledge in state-affairs, as you well know. The King is pleas'd to signify to all his foreign ministers, that he has resolv'd to add one to their number, and will allow no person to receive the salary of Secretary, who has not spent four years at one of the universities, and will not oblige himself to spend six years, at each Court the Embassy is sent to, and to write in his turn all dispatches sent the Crown, and take the oath of secrecy and fidelity usual in such cases.

Mr. Secretary writes this pot, to have all these articles strictly observ'd and comply'd with, and an exact account transmitted to the Secretary, of these Gentlemen that are now with our Envoys, that any who do not come within these regulations, may be dismiss'd, and new ones nominated by his Majesty in their places; in all which I doubt not, Mr. Secretary will find an exact compliance on your part.

It is certain these are very useful improvements of that noble scheme; and as our Embassies have by these means, prov'd excellent nurseries to us for able Statesmen, and prevented our being the dupes and bubbles of other Nations, in matters of negotiation and treaty, as we too often were in the days of our ancestors; his Majesty and his Ministers abroad, cannot be too exact, in seeing his orders duly executed. There is also a particular article added to these instructions, which is, that if any one of the Secretaries of the Embassy, be ever known to be guilty of any indecency in his manners, or offends against sobriety, modesty, truth or honour in his conduct; he is immediately to be confin'd and displac'd, till his Majesty's further pleasure be known.

It is said, the famous Duke of *Cumberland*, so celebrated in our histories, who was son, or grandson, I forget whether, to that excellent Prince *George* the II^d, was the first inventor of this project, which has almost been as serviceable to our Country as ever his sword or counsels prov'd; and I am persuaded few of his many great actions, endear'd him more to his countrymen than this, tho' it was not actually put in execution, till *George* the Third's halcyon days.

As Mr. Secretary gave you a full account, of the dissolution of the last Parliament and the calling of this, I must now acquaint you, that they met last week, and are fallen to the dispatch of all matters recommended to them, with great diligence and application. As this was the first time of their sitting in their noble new Parliament-house in *Hide-Park*, I went with his Majesty there to see them; and indeed I think I have not beheld a nobler sight, than that beautiful room which has been built for their sitting in, and the august crowd of Lords and Commons, that met his Majesty in the house of Lords, which is no ways inferior to the other, except in size.

As the Peers were all in their robes, and the Commons in their *Venetian* Senators habits, you may imagine how glorious an assembly this was, with one of the greatest Princes at present in the Christian world, or which is more, of the royal Line of *Hanover*, speaking to them from the Throne, with all the spirit and elegance of *Cæsar* to his Senate, without his ambition and tyranny. For my part it mov'd me so strongly, that I was a little able to hide my tears then, as to conceal the pleasure it gave me, from your Excellency now; and tho' I have seen the States of *Hungary*, the Parliament of *Paris*, the Diet of *Ratisbon*, and the Senate of *Venice*, they look'd in my thoughts like boys in a school or a college, to them. The *Venetian* habit, which *Frederick* the II^d introduced, gives a vast air of solemnity and gravity to the Commons; and certainly how venerable a figure soever the Parliaments of our ancestors make in our imaginations now, they must have made a very absurd appearance to the eye, that survey'd them in so many party-colour'd habits, white, black, red, blue, grey, and with as many other variable dies as the rainbow, as 'tis plain from history they used to wear in their debates. Some have imagined, they used this method to distinguish their particular divisions, parties, and leaders by, like the factions of the *Prasini* and *Veneti* of old among the *Romans*; and there are some passages in our ancient *English* Poets and Historians, and particularly one in *Pope* that looks a little this way; but yet it is certain there is nothing of truth in this conjecture; and that the different colours in their cloaths, proceeded merely from the humour

and caprice of every member. And tho' some late authors maintain, that 'tis ridiculous to suppose an assembly, that so often determined the fate of Empires and Nations, would meet together in such an odd variety of different coloured suits, (like a regiment of Train'd-Bands, that were not able to cloath themselves one way) unless there were some politick view and meaning in it; or, at least, that they designed to distinguish their several religions by their colours; yet I can produce very clear proofs that all this is entirely mistake and fancy, and that what I have asserted, is the real truth of the matter.

I am sorry that they have abrogated the good antient custom of printing their votes, and that they now keep their debates and resolutions, so private and secret as they do, or else I should have had the pleasure of sending them all to your Lordship. However, I shall tell you one remarkable part of their proceedings, and that is, their voting that no person shall sit in that house that is not past 25, nor against whose conduct any thing criminal, dishonest, or immoral, can be evidently proved before the Secret Committee, which is always appointed to examine into petitions of this nature. At the same time to prevent the attacks of private malice, whoever petitions against a member on his account, is oblig'd to give security to prove his allegations, or be imprison'd for five years, as an infamous and scandalous informer. It two-thirds of the Committee vote the allegations duly proved, the member has his choice of having his case heard before the whole house; or, if he declines that, of withdrawing privately, and upon his non-attendance, his seat is declared vacated, and a writ is issued for electing a new member. Nay, they have bolted the doors of that house, against all who are engaged in many law-suits, or either distrest in their affairs, or involv'd in debt, or that have not been seven years possess'd of the estate that qualifies them to be elected, if the said estate be purchas'd by such members, and not descended to them. The reasons on which these important votes are grounded, are almost self-evident; and they have further added to them, that none shall be capable of sitting in that house, who is not at least two months of the year, resident in the Borough or Country that he

represents; and who receives any pay or salary, of any kind or nature soever from the Crown; both which are most useful and admirable resolutions concerning the elected; and indeed those concerning the members attendance in the house, on the great trust reposed in them by their country, are fully as important. These votes are, that any one absent one half of a sessions, without proof by affidavit of a proper cause approv'd by the house, vacates his feat; and every member who on the Speaker's circular letter, giving warning of an approaching weighty debate, presumes to absent himself without sufficient cause, shall be reprimanded on his knees by the Speaker. Nay, they have voted that any one who, during such debates, shall leave the house, or that shall presume to vote without hearing them, shall, at the bar, demand pardon of the house for the same.

To enforce these yet farther, they have resolv'd that the house shall be called over every *Tuesday* and *Friday*; and all that are absent twenty days in the session without leave, or sufficient cause shewn, and above all, when important matters are debated, shall be severely censur'd by the House for the first and second fault, and on a third commission of it, expelled. It is believ'd they will soon order heads of a bill to be brought in, to make all those votes and resolutions pass into a law; and indeed it seems of great consequence that they should.

I must confess, as a publick minister, I am less fond of such severe regulations; for tho' the loyalty and tranquility of these times, make them less to be feared at present, yet such divisions and discontents may arise hereafter, as may make them less favourable, not to say pernicious to the interest of the Crown. But when I consider, as a friend to my country, of what infinite service they would be to the banishing corruption, and mean-interested servile hirelings from that house, that should be sacred to truth, honour, loyalty, and the love, the eternal love of our country, I cannot but incline to them.

I have a thousand times weigh'd the chief arguments, for and against this important point in my own mind, and I must own I have ever found the certain advantages, so much transcend the possible inconveniences, that the ballance has still turn'd in favour of such regulations. Indeed our House of Commons thus model'd, would prove such a bulwark against rapacious or designing ministers, as well as against Princes of too enterprizing or ambitious spirits in future ages, and wou'd be such a security, to preserve the rights and prerogative of the Crown, and the privileges and liberty of the People, in the same equal channels in which they now run, pure and unmix'd; that I am persuaded his Majesty could not consult the happiness of, his successors or people more, than by turning these votes into a law. As the King seems to think in this way, possibly this may be done; and if not in this parliament, at least in this reign.

Your Excellency will be surpriz'd, after professing that these are my sentiments, when I tell you, that there is a numerous faction, started up already in this very parliament, to oppose all the measures I am taking for the publick good, and misrepresent the whole of my past administration. To mortify me the more (if such trivial changes in the most changeable of all things, the heart of Man, could mortify me) I find the faction is supported underhand by Sir *J---* *C---* and Mr. *L.* two persons that I little expected, and much less deserv'd such ungrateful returns from, after all I have done for them. In the mean time, as they keep behind the curtain, Mr. *M----* is the person who leads the faction; and indeed his great abilities entitle him to it, for as your Excellency well knows, 'tis with Men as with Deer, the best headed leads the herd. Yet this very Man have I favoured enough, to have tied him to my interest for ever; nor do I know any cause for his forsaking me, but that I have oblig'd him beyond a possibility of return; and when that is the case, **Tacitus* will tell us the natural consequence. The great outcry is rais'd about the publick accounts, and I know not what millions that are clandestinely sunk and evaporated

* Pro gratia odium redditur.

into air; as I doubt not I shall see all these clamours do, when I can properly clear myself, by laying my accounts before the house. Sir *R----d B----* is as loud as any, and rails with his usual blundering eloquence, but he has not talents even to serve a good cause; and tho' his abusive tongue can bruise like a cudgel, it wants edge to wound his enemy; or, as *Du Hailan* the *French* Historian said, he can blacken like an old cold cinder, but cannot burn.

In a few weeks, I shall see how far this blind and groundless malice will lead them, and shall give your Excellency an account of what these worthy intrigues produce. In the mean time, let me speak it without arrogance, I am secure, and almost careless of what may happen; for, believe me, my Lord, I am more willing to return to Fortune the trifles she has lent me, and resign the mighty envied posts which they pursue me for, (if my royal Master would approve of it) than ever I was to receive them. It is long since I have learn'd in this school of the world, where so few are educated, without feeling severely the smarting corrections of their master's rod; that there is little to be got in it worth the pain and trouble, and above all, our virtue, which we generally pay for the knowledge and experience we lay up there. Judge therefore, if when one finds malice, and rancour, and envy, are constantly the returns which are made those who happen to succeed better in it; if one can avoid being weary and sick, of the silly pursuits we are so eagerly engag'd in there, and fond of retiring from its noise and hurry. This is not the language of the Courtier, but of the Man and the Friend, whom your Excellency has known a little too long to mistrust his professions, or imagine he can dote at this time of life on the silly fopperies of place, preferment and power, which in the vigour and sun-shine of his days, he never put in balance with peace and retirement, with innocence and honour.

But I begin to grow grave, and therefore it is time I should take my leave of your Excellency, to whom I wish all the happiness, prosperity, and favour this world can give you. I wish them not to you as real solid blessings, but as pleasing imaginary satisfactions, and the best kind of appearances of happiness here, to blunt the edge of so

many real evils as we continually labour under. Above all, I wish them to you because they now and then afford us, the substantial delight of doing good to others, of relieving wanting merit, pulling down the oppressor, stripping the prosperous villain of his spoils, drying up the tears, and defending the cause of innocence in misery.

May I live (for the few years I can yet live) to see this the chief employment and business of your life in this world; and may not the errors and sins of mine, prevent my seeing you crown'd with the glory of it in another. I am, my Lord,

Your Excellency's, &c.

N----m.

To the Lord High Treasurer, &c.

Paris, March 4. 1697.

My LORD,

I Was honour'd with your Lordship's of *February* the 24th from *London* yesterday, which brought me new proofs, of that undeserved affection and regard, with which you have ever honour'd me. I know not whether to applaud most, your Lordship's care of our Country, or affection to your friends and my family, or to make my compliments to you as the best of Ministers or Patrons. But I hope you will believe me honest enough to wish, that our family should rather be depriv'd of your favour, than our Country should ever be robb'd of so able an head, or so sincere and zealous an heart, to consider and pursue her interest. If I do not deceive my self, I think I don't say this, with any little view to my brother's being made one of the Secretaries for foreign affairs (how greatly soever I am oblig'd by it) but from a real sense, of what the happiest Nation and the best of Princes owe you, for the labours of an illustrious life wasted in their service.

But your Lordship's mind, and the obligations you lay on your friends as well as your country, are above the little returns of words and compliments; and therefore I shall take a method to pay you my acknowledgments, that will be more agreeable to you, by shewing you that I have endeavour'd to discharge the trust, you have repos'd in me here. Pursuant to your commands therefore, and my instructions from the Secretary by his letters of the same date, on *Tuesday* last I demanded an Audience of his most Christian Majesty; to which I was immediately admitted, tho' that morning the Pope's Nuntio, and the *Spanish* Ambassador were both put off, with excuses of his Majesty's indisposition. Upon account of these excuses, (as I suppose) his Majesty receiv'd me in his bed-chamber, where I found

him accompanied with none but Mr. *Meneville*, his chief minister, who, as you know, leads him as he pleases. He receiv'd me, with a very great appearance of good humour and frankness; and as he had the memorial in his hand which I had given him the *Sunday* before, as he came from mass, he immediately cut off the formality of a prefatory introduction to what I had to say, by telling me he had carefully read and consider'd with Monsieur *Meneville*, the memorial I had presented him with, on the part of his *Britannick* Majesty, my Master. He told me he was perfectly convinc'd of the terrible train of consequences which must attend the establishing the Inquisition in *France*; and as he well knew the motives that made the Pope press for it, were only to increase his power, and that of the Clergy who adher'd to him in his Kingdom, he was willing and desirous to take any measures he could to prevent it. That he conceiv'd those propos'd in the memorial were well concerted, and would be of great service; but that he thought there was an omission in it, that was absolutely necessary to be supply'd, if we resolv'd to deter the Pope, from such a dangerous and insolent outrage on the honour of *France*, and the liberty of his subjects. As he spoke all this very quick, and with a good deal of action and emotion, as his manner is, he made a short pause here, and seem'd to expect my reply. Upon which I told him, that I was so confident of the King my Master's zeal, to lessen the unreasonable power of the Empire of the *Vatican*, and at least, prevent any new encroachments, as to what regarded *France*, that I was certain his most Christian Majesty's proposals, for additional measures for that end, would be cheerfully embrac'd. I would have gone on to desire that his Majesty would consider, that as all the extraordinary steps taken by my Master, were barely for the interest of *France*, I doubted not but all possible regard would be shewn, as to any further demands, to avoid unnecessary expence to *Great-Britain*' but he stopp'd me with his usual eagerness and quickness, to tell me, that the omission he complain'd of was, that of sending two Squadrons on the Coasts of *Italy*. I was so glad to find there was nothing further insisted on, that I told his Majesty, without hesitation, that he might depend on that

assistance, whether matters came to an open rupture with the Pope or not. That his Majesty of *Great-Britain* seldom fail'd to send a small one into the *Mediterranean* every year for the protection of the trading part of his subjects; and that I doubted not but he would send two much stronger and earlier than ever, to any stations which should be thought necessary for the service of *France*. He seem'd extremely pleas'd with this declaration, and turning about to Mr. *Meneville*, he whisper'd him so loud, that I plainly heard him ask him, have I any thing more to say? To which the other having answer'd so low, that I could hear nothing; his Majesty instantly turn'd to me, and laying his hand on his breast, said, I am deeply indebted to his *Britannick* Majesty. He repeated these expressions at least thrice; and then, as I found he continued silent for some time, I pull'd out the last Memorial which I receiv'd in Mr. Secretary's dispatch, and told his Majesty, that I was commanded to present it to him on behalf of my Master; and to let him know, that it was a copy of the several heads of things which our Ambassador at *Rome* was charg'd with to represent to his Holiness, against the establishment of the Inquisition in his territories. He took it from me, and just looking over the title, he gave it into Mr. *Meneville's* hands, saying, it is long; you must make an abstract, and report the substance of it to me; upon which words, Mr. *Meneville* said nothing further, but put it in his pocket, whispering something into his Master's ear. His Majesty then turn'd to me, and ask'd me, whether our Ambassador at *Rome*, had already deliver'd that Memorial to his Holiness, and obtain'd a favourable answer to it; to which I could only answer, that I look'd on that as certain, but as yet I had no account of it; and that when I had, I should immediately acquaint his most Christian Majesty with my intelligence. To this he made no reply; but turning his discourse on the sudden to the ambition of the papal See, he said, with surprizing emotion to me, they think to make my Kingdom a Province to *Rome*; but, says he, striking his hand on his heart, not till I and half my Army are first cover'd

with the sods of *Dauphine*; meaning, as I conceiv'd, that he would first die fighting on his frontier to *Savoy* and *Italy*. I told his Majesty, I hop'd neither of those unfortunate accidents would happen. I know not, said he, but I am sure one shall not happen without the other. If Providence had not disappointed all my best concerted projects, I had long before now secur'd the peace and honour of *France*; but it so pleas'd Providence, that every thing went contrary to my just designs. I did my best, and used my utmost endeavours; but all was to no purpose. Every body knows the event; I can blame no body but Providence; Providence would have it so, and I was forc'd to submit to its decrees. I observ'd he dropp'd some tears with these last words, and as I saw him in a great deal of trouble and concern, and having nothing further to speak to him on; I only begg'd Mr. *Meneville* I might soon have an answer to my memorial, and put an end to my audience, and immediately withdrew. The complaints against Providence, that made up the whole of the latter part of my audience, seem'd to me something very extraordinary, and brought to my mind the behaviour of *Francis I.* a predecessor of this King's, about 450 years ago, in somewhat the like circumstances. For when he saw his rival *Charles V.* had taken *St. Disier*, and was resolv'd to besiege him in *Paris*, he broke out into violent complaints against Providence, repining at its decrees; and said to his wife, my Darling, (for so he used to call her) go pray to heaven, that if against all justice *Charles V.* must be favour'd thus, that at least its partial providence, will allow me to die fighting in the field, before I live to be besieg'd in my capital. After all, these fine complaints of these mighty Lords of the world, that dare thus repine against and reproach the justice of their Maker, seem to me as impudent and silly, as the conduct of *Sorbier's** *Abbe St. Cyran*. That old Author tells us, the Abbe, as he was one day eating cherries in his room, endeavour'd still as he eat them, to throw the stones out of the window, which often hit against the bars, and fell on the floor; upon which he ever and anon flew into a fury, crying out, see how

* *Sorberiana*, p. 74.

Providence takes a pleasure to oppose itself against my designs. And indeed, my Lord, the mightiest undertaking of these rivals of Heaven, are, in the eye of infinite power, neither greater or nobler than the good Abbe's cherry-stones, that he was directing with so much care and prudence. I have hinted enough to your Lordship of the weakness of this Prince in my former letters; and as in Princes more than in other Men, to be weak, is to be unhappy; I believe there are few among his subjects, (as wretched as the subjects in *France* are) who are more uneasy in all the chief circumstances of life than he is. Indeed, by what I have been able to observe of the world, and the mighty monarchs of it, whom we envy and admire so much; I am persuaded this is oftner the case than we are apt to imagine. Crowns are such weighty, troublesome ornaments, that there are but two things that can make them sit easy on the wearer's head; either an ardent desire of doing great and glorious actions, and deserving well of mankind; or the senseless vanity of seeing one's self so high above others, as to the fopperies of power, riches, palaces, high living, and all the little tinsel shew of pomp, pleasure and luxury.

The first of these are seldom found, but in a few great spirits, who appear now and then like comets, to the amazement of the world; and are to be excepted from the general rules that others move by. The other indeed is often to be met with; yet so high a degree of it, and good success with it, is necessary to sweeten the cares of Princes; and so many disappointments and misfortunes in publick and private life befall them, and often such ill health, and other accidents, that level them with the rest of mankind; that we must believe them seldom at ease, tho' we should not take into the account the prodigious expectations they entertain, which are therefore the harder to gratify; and the violence of their passions with which they pursue them, which makes the least ill success the more insupportable.

However, this Prince has one good quality, which will make him serviceable to our present views, in spite of his weakness and unhappiness; and that is, a good degree of courage; which, with the help of two or three ill ones, much obstinacy, and a violent unforgiving tem-

per, will probably cut out more work for his Holiness than he can easily manage. The whole Nation is in great expectation what the event of our councils will be; and I perceive the Jesuits are in prodigious apprehensions, seeing so terrible an alliance likely to be form'd against them, as *Great-Britain, France and Germany*. They set all engines at work, to defame and asperse our sovereign and nation as hereticks and monsters, that are odious to God, and all good men; and they are as busy to expose and ridicule his most Christian Majesty, by spreading vile reports as to his personal frailties, and all the errors and mistakes imputable to him, as a Man or a King. They have writ two dangerous pamphlets lately, which are handed about in manuscript; one of them is a virulent satire against this King and his first Minister, *Meneville*: It is a sort of diary of his life for the last *Lent*, of which I shall transcribe you two days. First day of *Lent*. Got up betimes from Madam *Du Vall*, confess'd to Father *L-----* a *Dominican*, and got absolution; forgot to go to mass, and eat my breakfast; dress'd by the Duke of *C-----* the Count of *D-----* and Mr. *P-----* went to Mr. *Meneville's*, and ask'd leave to go to council; could get no answer, till he had consulted the *British* Envoy; got his consent, and went thither. Resolv'd on a war with the Pope, swore the ruin of the Church to the hereticks, past an arret against schools and colleges, as opening peoples eyes too much. Another against popular preachers and zealous bishops; went to dinner as soon as Mr. *Meneville* was ready, eat till I was sick, drank till I was fuddled ---- Mr. *Meneville* swears the Pope is an heretick --- deserves to be burnt, chain'd to *Trajan's* pillar, and make the Churches in *Rome* serve for faggots. Grew very merry, sent for Mrs. *Du Vall*; scolded her, forgot going to confession. Went to cards, my old luck, lost every thing I play'd for; cheated by Mrs. *Du Vall*, bubbled by Monsieur *Meneville*, laugh'd at by every one, pitied by no body. Went to the opera, six foot-soldiers cried *vive le Roy*, pleas'd to see such proofs of my people's love. *British* Ambassador bowed very civilly. Several of my own servants carry'd with much respect to me. Very fine musick, and a world of company. Madam *Du Vall* the finest woman I could see there --- went home, supp'd upon

flesh, got fuddled, threatned the Pope, swore heartily, commended the brave hereticks of *Great-Britain*, and their almighty fleets, talk'd over the great feats I would do when they help'd me, lost my tongue and my senses, sent for Madam *Du Vall*, and was carried to bed.

Second day; made Madam *Du Vall* get up first ---- call'd for Father *L----* the *Dominican*. confess'd, and absolv'd; heard mass in my chamber, while I eat my breakfast --- sick in my stomach, my head out of order, drank some brandy, took the air at *New Marly*, at noon; out of sorts, took a cordial, ask'd Mr. *Meneville's* advice, and took another cordial, grew better, got home, and din'd on flesh, could eat little, drank the more. The *British* Ambassador came to wait on me. The Pope a villain, Bishops rascals, Jesuits rogues, and Catholicks fools. The riches of the monasteries and convents, and the Lands of the Church, the best fund to maintain a war with the Pope ----- Monsieur *Meneville* will manage all. Mrs. *Du Vall* shall make the campaign with me, will give her an estate in church-lands; much pleas'd, heard a fine consort of musick, order'd a new tax upon *Guienne* to pay the band of musicians; saw Mr. *Le Blanc* dance; gave him a regiment for it; a great pity he's no soldier ----- *British* Ambassador went home. Call'd for supper, bad stomach, swallow'd wine enough, and eat some *Portugal* hams, to shew I was a good Christian, and no *Jew*. Made Madam *Du Vall* sing, and Mr. *Meneville* dance. A fine gentleman, a faithful subject, and an able minister; might get his bread by dancing, better than *Nero* by his fiddling. Drank abundance, talk'd more; begun to think, grew dull and melancholy, fell asleep in my chair, dreamt I was drinking with the *British* Ambassador and the Devil; waken'd in a fright, carried to my apartment, sate on my close-stool, and rail'd at the world, went to bed, and ventur'd to lie alone.

The rest is all of the same nature, very malicious; and, like all true malice, very dull. For this reason, I shall not trouble your Lordship with any more than a few short hints of another; in which they pretended to prove his *Brittanick* Majesty and his Parliaments are the publick incendiaries of *Europe*. That his Majesty has erected the house of commons into a sort of grand prerogative-court, where the

wills of all the crown'd heads of *Europe* are to be first duly prov'd and enter'd, with a *salvo jure magnæ Britanniae Regum si illis aliter visum fuerit*; and the next heir is to be admitted or rejected, as best suits the convenience of the present state of things, and the inclinations of the good people of *Great-Britain*. That no such will is to be deem'd authentick, unless the deceas'd takes care to have 100000 arm'd witnesses, to prove the validity thereof. That in case such will be pronounced valid, it shall not be construed to extend to bequeath to the heir, or his subjects, any foreign trade or naval power; but so far as they shall be dependent on, and subservient to, the interest and commerce of *Great-Britain*, ad no further. That in case any prince or potentate, nation or people, shall presume to construe it otherwise, the said prerogative-court do issue out a writ, call'd a *Classis major quæ scire faciat*; and settle all points of the said will thereby, as they judge proper; substituting a convenient decree and will of the said court, in the place thereof, of which the known rule is, *Salus Populi Suprema lex esto*. That the said court has pretended to compute, by their political arithmetick, that since the 16th Century to the 20th, the Princes of *Europe* have sacrific'd the lives of above 100 millions of the bravest of their subjects to Wars, begun and carried on for the most frivolous silly excuses imaginable; and sometimes, for little trivial piques of ministers and favourites against each other, for which an honest heretick would not turn off a footman. That therefore they have made a decree, that no monarchs in *Europe* shall presume to go to war till their quarrel is tried in the said court, and sentence presume'd there for war or peace, and to act accordingly. There is abundance of such awkward malice in the pamphlet, which is not worth repeating. I shall therefore omit it, to acquaint your Lordship with the resentments of a particular person, who may be able to do us more prejudice, with a few words to his master, whom he rules and governs as he pleases, than all the pens of the Jesuits, who think to govern the world.

I need not tell your Lordship, that I mean Mr. *Meneville*, who expostulated with me yesterday in a very calm and civil, but at the same time in a manner that shew'd a great deal of conceal'd resentment.

He met me at court, and ask'd me to walk with him in the King's garden; he talk'd to me a little on the Memorial I had given his Master, and then began a long expostulation, that has made me apprehensive we may have disgusted him too far. He told me, I very well knew the *French* sea-ports had never remain'd in our hands, or the last treaty of peace been sign'd between *France* and *Great-Britain*, but for him; which God knows, says he, I did not do for the sake of the pension then so solemnly promis'd me, or to provide for my family, but to serve my country, that was tearing in pieces. That your Lordship and I both knew he had not got it accomplish'd, if he had not ruin'd the Marquis of *M-----* who was violently for carrying on the war with *England*; and persuaded the *French* King he was a pensioner of the Pope's, tho' he said Marquis was Mr. *Meneville's* good friend, and as faithful and wise a minister as ever was in *France*. That three years after he had thus got the peace sign'd, his Majesty would have broke it again, but that he offer'd him a thousand arguments against it, and sav'd *Great-Britain* from that storm; and now he kept him firm to the scheme of our court, for humbling the Pope, and opposing the Inquisition; which last point, however, he insisted the less on, because it was the true interest of the Kingdom. That I very well knew how ill his pension had been paid, ever since it was first promis'd him; that there was now two years and an half due, and not a penny offer'd him. That your Lordship, (you will pardon the freedom of reporting this) manag'd your master's treasures like a banker, rather than a prime minister; and that if the friends of *Great-Britain* in foreign Courts were always thus us'd, we would find the scene chang'd suddenly. I would fain have interrupted him here, but he would not let me; so he went on to say, that if he could think of deserting *Great-Britain*, he might find his account much better with the Pope's Ministers, where he had been offer'd near double what we contracted for; but his Master's honour, and the interest of his Country, were too near his heart. However, as the forgetting real services, and remembering small disobligations, often made the best friends enemies, he desir'd I would consider well of it, and without a useless waste of words and

reasons; (which, says he, you are ready to give, and I will not receive) take care to answer these complaints, with the single argument, that can only justify your conduct to me. The instant he had said this, he left me without allowing me time to reply; and as I have faithfully related the whole of his expostulations, I humbly recommend it to your Lordship's consideration, to have the arrears of his pension instantly paid him. I am persuaded, the Pope's Ministers would give him vastly more than we do; and tho' he must, to oblige them, run counter to his Master's inclinations, and the body of the people; yet he has such an ascendant over the King, that he is able to manage him, and every thing by him, as he pleases. I shall add no more on this subject, but to beg I may be instructed very suddenly how to answer Mr. *Meneville*, with something more than good reasons and great promises, or my credit here will be but short-liv'd. In the mean time, I am persuaded, if he be kept our friend, all will go well, and we shall probably mortify the Pope sufficiently. Indeed his most Christian Majesty, has so vastly improv'd the strength of his frontier towns in *Dauphine*, by their new-invented method of fortification, that the strongest places in *France*, fortified after the old manner, are not strong enough to keep sheep from wolves, or geese from foxes, when compared with them. All the troops are ordered to be compleated without delay throughout *France*, and money is sent to *Swisserland* for remounting the cavalry; so that every thing here looks like preparations for war, and the Jesuits and their numerous party are evidently under great apprehensions of its breaking out. However, probably their interests in all Courts is so prodigious, and they have so many spies that lie within the bosoms of their enemies, that they will manage so, if possible, as to make all this storm blow over. A few months will clear up this matter, and I shall redouble my efforts to bring every thing to bear; being persuaded, such a crisis, when both *France* and the Emperor are warmly inclin'd to a rupture with the Pope, and to concert proper measures to curb his ambition, is not easily found.

In the mean time, my Lord, allow me to pass to less busy scenes of things, and to tell you, that after I parted with Mr. *Meneville* yes-

terday, I went to see the magnificent entry of the old Marquis *del Carpio*, Ambassador extraordinary from *Spain*. He had an infinite train of rich liveries, coaches and attendants, and made an appearance becoming that Monarchy in its highest splendor; but as he is a violent enemy to *Great-Britain*, and will certainly serve the Jesuits, (whose creature he is) all he can, I heartily wish him and his fine shew in *Madrid*. I knew him when I was in *Spain* very well, his name is *Haro*, and he has very considerable estates in *Andalusia*; and is on that account, and his zeal and bigottry, much consider'd by the Jesuits; but otherwise, he is both in his person and understanding, infinitely despicable. This entry cost him a vast sum of money, which I suppose the Jesuits, whose errands I am sure he comes on, will answer for him. The very coach, which he rid in cost near 6000 *l.* and brought into my mind the rich shrines for relicks, (to say nothing of some great noblemens palaces) which are so glorious and splendid without; and yet within, contain nothing but the decay'd remains of some worthless creature, which must now be reverenc'd as sacred, and regarded almost with adoration by the crowd. I shall leave no stone unturn'd, to get as early intelligence as I can, from the best hands, of the design of this embassy, which I am sure are no ways auspicious to our present views; and shall give your Lordship notice of them with all possible expedition. It is certain, that one part of his business is, to influence this Crown to give no sort of encouragement or assistance to the *Portuguese*, in the dispute which is arisen in *America*, between them and the *Spaniards*, and is likely to be carried on with prodigious violence. As the affair is perfectly new, and the whole of it sufficiently curious, I shall let your Lordship in a few words into so much of it, as I could learn at present. 'Tis a matter likely to be attended with prodigious consequences, and to engage both the pens and the swords of the two nations, with all the rage that either glory or profit, can stir up in them; for the quarrel is about nothing less than the bounds of their several Empires in the vast Continent of *America*. Your Lordship must remember to have read, how Pope *Alexander VI.* in the 16th Century, when the discovery of the new World was thought

little of, divided it into two hemispheres, the eastern and western; the first of which he bestow'd on the *Portuguese*, and the last on the *Spaniards*. For the first three or four Centuries, every thing was very calm and quiet, neither Nation having been able to penetrate and discover, much less to plant and occupy, the inmost parts of that prodigious Continent. But as of late years, *America* is grown vastly populous, and the inhabitants for this last Century, by the help of the natives, have carried their colonies and plantations thro' the remotest provinces; it happen'd the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* frequently met, and had furious contests and engagements, about the boundaries of their dominions. The *Portuguese* maintaining, that the *Spaniards* have intruded too far, and the others denying it, all the Geographers of each Nation, and the Mathematicians of *Europe*, have been engag'd of one side or other with the utmost fury and passion; and yet cannot agree about fixing the Longitude, differing, many of them, about 19 degrees. It will, in all probability, cost much blood and treasure, before this dispute be determin'd; and 'tis generally said, the Jesuits in *Paraguay*, who are jealous of them both, blow up the coals, and use all their arts to put things in a flame; which is no difficult task between two Nations sufficiently warm and resentful, and that have such vast tracts of a very rich fertile country, to contend about.

The *Spaniards* have lost a great friend in the Duke *de Richlieu*, who died here last week, in spite of all the heaps of wealth he had rais'd, by cheating the Nation, and ruining 8 or 10000 families. However, he died very comfortably among his Jesuits, to whom he left 10000 *l.* out of near fifty times that sum, to pray his soul out of purgatory. It is currently reported here, my Lord, that he had violent disputes with his confessor, what the value of his sins might be computed at, and the masses requisite to pray his soul out of danger. Tho' he was much afraid of going there, and heartily superstitious; yet he lov'd his dear money so well, that 'tis said it was not without great uneasiness he inserted that sum in his will. After all, there are so many people who wish him at the Devil, that I am terribly afraid, they will be apt to out-vote a few priests, who endeavour to pray him

into Heaven; and that the curses of those he has ruin'd, will probably drown the sound of the prayers, of these he had paid.

Your relation of the vast improvements in the royal Fishery and Plantation-companies, were extremely agreeable to me, on account of the advantages which our Nation, and the glory your Lordship's administration, will reap from them; but as to my private affairs, they were of no sort of benefit to them, having unluckily sold out about two months before. 'Tis incredible, my Lord, with what regard and honour you are consider'd in this Nation, upon the new regulations you have establish'd about those two companies, and in what terms they mention the whole of your ministry, and his Majesty's reign. As I am convinc'd, there never were praises better deserv'd, it gives me infinite concern to find your Lordship's stile so much chang'd from its usual spirit and force, and to hear you talk in so desponding a manner of the infirmities of age, your weariness of the world; and, which I fear is nearest your heart, the envy and malice of a generate race, and an unthankful age. But your Lordship's spirit is of a nobler turn, than to let your virtue be alarm'd from its own shadow, envy; which is so far from injuring, that it is ornamental, and a necessary help to it, and rather serves than hurts it. 'Tis true, your Lordship stands in need of such assistances; but in other people, the fear of its lashes makes them watch over their frailties, and avoid running into a thousand mistakes, which otherwise they would fall into. By this means, 'tis so far from hurting virtue, that, like the clipping of the sheers to the hedge, it makes it grow thicker and stronger from its wounds. Your Lordship has been too long used to it, not to know that it accompanies the actions of the great; like the dragons, gryphons, and other beasts and monsters, which the heralds give them, not as blots and deformities, but for the ornaments and supports of their coats of arms.

May you live many years to triumph over the groundless malice of your enemies, and enjoy the well-deserv'd gratitude and praises of your friends; may your Lordship long continue to serve his Majesty and your Country; and at last, in a good old age, loaden with years

and honours, retire to that grave, which you think of so often, and I hope will wait for so long; which is the sincere wish of, my Lord, your Lordship's, &c.

HERBERT.

To the Lord High Treasurer, &c.

Constantinople, May 1. 1798.

MY LORD,

SINCE I wrote to you the 29th of *February*, and the 16th of *April*, in return to yours of the 29th of *November*, I have never heard the least account from you; which is owing, I am sensible, to a want of ships sailing to this port, and no neglect or disregard of your friends, of whom your Lordship is but too observant and careful. In a few days, I flatter my self, I shall be made happy in your letters; and to know what hopes you can give me, either of the chief Physician for the Grand Signior's own service, or the professors of Astronomy, for whose salaries and provision I became responsible. I therefore hope there will be no hesitation or delay in procuring some worthy Gentleman to come and settle in the *Grand Cairo* college, which is at last so happily establish'd by my interest with the Grand Signior.

It is incredible, with what zeal and expedition such things are dispatch'd, when the order is once issued by the Port; for then all hands are at work, and in a few weeks they are able to raise very extraordinary structures. The College at *Grand Cairo*, and the Astronomy-school, I am inform'd, were entirely finish'd in this manner in a few weeks, tho' there are spacious apartments, two large halls, and a noble observatory built up, pursuant to the inclos'd plan I transmit to your Lordship.

I am impatient to hear something of the dogs I formerly wrote for to your Lordship; for I have been ask'd a thousand questions about them, their perfections, and their performances, by the Grand Signior, whenever he sees me; and he often sends for me, when they are the chief affair of state, he wants to settle with me. I am forc'd to answer him at random, as near as I can, to what I imagine will be the truth; and, as any disappointment would be intolerable and in-

supportable, I must conjure your Lordship, that all possible care to gratify his Highness, may be taken herein. I must repeat the same thing, as to a Physician, which is of vast importance: and may oblige, if complied with, considerably, and if neglected, may produce terrible consequences for so small a trifle. Since I wrote last to your Lordship, I have been three or four times at the Seraglio with the Grand Signior, entertaining him with your telescope, in which he takes more delight each day than other; and is grown so familiar with every one of the planets, that he visits them now by himself, without staying for any introduction of mine. Tho' he is not very fond of travelling upon the Earth, he frequently makes the great tour of the Heavens, and visits all the constellations in their turns; and begins to be confident, that in another age, we shall not only be able to see the inhabitants of the Moon, which would be useless, without any other benefit, but to invent engines to carry us thither.

I am so often sent for to the Seraglio on these accounts, that I am frequently call'd there the Sultan's Astronomer; but as I have made as many delightful excursions by Land and by Sea, as well as in the Air and the Heavens, your Lordship must allow me to describe some of them to you. One of the first I made this spring with him, was, to the Isles of *Papa-Adasi*, (as the *Turks*, or the *Princes*, as the Christians call them,) in a gilt barge, row'd by eighty slaves; and as the barge was entirely built for rowing, it is incredible with what prodigious swiftness we flew along the water, going at least three or four leagues an hour. As we went to hawk and shoot on these lovely Islands, the Grand Signior had several other barges, with his fowlers, ostragers, and falkners, and a vast number of setting-dogs, spaniels, and many casts of hawks of all kinds, who followed us at some distance. The Sultan keeps several families on the great Island, who plow and sow entirely to feed the wild fowl, letting a vast many acres of grain rot every year on the ground, that they may make their haunts there; and it being death to shoot one of them, but when the Grand Signior is on the Island, it is incredible what prodigious quantities resort thither. There are of all sorts and kinds on it; for even those that are of a

weak wing, and make short flights, as partridge, pheasant, quail, &c. and which could not easily fly hither, are by the Sultan's order carried there to breed. The Islands lie at the extremity of the *Propontis*, and tho' they are not many leagues round, have great variety of grounds. In the largest, towards the north, there is a sort of mountain; and as all the plains and valleys, and even the mountain itself, abound with natural woods, mix'd with fine vineyards, and arable lands and pasturage, beautifully chequer'd, there is not possibly a lovelier scene to be met with.

We came there early, and they having had notice the day before, the Sultan's horses which were kept there, were all at the sea-shore, waiting for him and his attendants. We landed opposite to his magnificent hunting-lodge, with great silence, and in an instant we were all mounted, and the select band of his sportsmen, with their dogs, haws, and guns, attending us. When we were got up into the Country, this great band divided itself into eight or ten several parties, which were for different kinds of game, and then all fell to their sport with such agreeable confusion of entertainment and pleasure, as was perfectly surprizing. I am persuaded, both their falkners, fowlers, dogs and hawks, are infinitely more skilful than ours; for I saw not one that did not perform their parts to admiration all the while we were in the field; and tho' both at our own and the Emperor's Court I have been often delighted with such sports, yet I never saw any thing comparable to these.

I will give your Lordship a short account of two or three passages, that gave me most pleasure that you may judge if I am unreasonable in applauding them so highly; and as you used in your youth to be fond of such entertainments, I hope it will still be agreeable to you, to hear of those of others.

I observe they use the same diversion as we do in *England*, of daring the larks with the Hobby, soaring over them aloft in the air, while the dogs rang'd the field till the nets are drawn over the poor birds that lie close to the ground, and are afraid to trust to their wings; but then 'tis their custom that the moment they are taken, they are

carried in a cage to the Emperor, who immediately gives them their life and liberty. Their goshawks fly the river at mallard, duck, goose, or hern, and the several kinds of large water-fowl; and all the time we were in the field, I never saw them fail to kill them at *source*, as they call it. But what was more surprizing, was, a large kind of falcon, which is so couragious, that I saw them seize on the fallow deer and wild goats, fastning between their horns, and flapping their wings in their eyes, till they run themselves dead, and the huntsmen come in and cut their throats.

But their fowlers are yet more extraordinary than their hawks: I saw one of them, call'd *Ibrahim*, who drove a covy of partridges into his nets, as our shepherds would drive sheep into a pinfold; which, as it was a method unknown to me, I shall describe to your Lordship. He had an engine made of canvass, exactly cut and painted, like an horse, and stuffed with feathers or hay; with his horse and his nets he went to the partridge-haunts; and having found out the covy, and pitch'd his nets below slopewise and hovering, he went above, and taking the advantage of the wind, drove downward. Then covering his face with long grass, and holding the engine so as to hide him, he stalk'd towards the partridges very slowly, raising them on their feet, but not their wings; and driving them just before him at pleasure. If they chanc'd to chuse a road contrary to the path he would have them take, he cross'd them with his horse, and by artfully facing them, forced them into the path that led to the nets, to my great surprize and pleasure.

But I saw this same man with more delight, taking the whole eye of pheasants, both cock, hen, and pouts, to the great entertainment of the Sultan and my self, who observ'd him from the top of a neighbouring hill. He had an excellent pheasant-call, all the different notes of which he understood, and made use of with such perfect skill, that having pitch'd his nets in the little pads and ways of the wood, which they make like sheep-tracts in the places where they haunt; and taking the wind with him, and his canvass horse, for they still run down the wind, he drove the whole eye, or brood, into his

snare, and brought them to the Sultan, who was much pleased, and rewarded him for his skill and diligence with a purse of money. It were a vain attempt, to think of describing the twentieth part of the diversion and sport we met with; but if your Lordship will represent to your self, a vast number of swallows in a summer's evening, on the bank of a lovely river, hunting for their prey, and pursuing with infinite swiftness and skill, the little flies and insects floating on the air or the water, or the tops of the grass, you will have a tolerable image of our sport, and the isles of *Adasi* this delightful day.

After all, your imagination will fall vastly short, both of the numbers of the pursued and the pursuers, and the transports and delight of the beholders: All nature, not excepting the great Lord of Nature the Sun, labouring to pay its share of tribute and homage to the Grand Signior's pleasure. But as I never should have done, if I attempted to describe half the diverting scenes and adventures of that day, I will shut them all up, with giving you an account of one of the last of them; when the Sultan being wearied, retired to a noble tent that had been set up for him, where in the shade we continued to enjoy the prodigious prospect, (for it was open from the bottom a few feet) and to refresh ourselves with drinking sherbet, chocolate and coffee. His Highness immediately order'd all the game we had kill'd that day, to be laid in their several heaps before him; deer, chamois or wild goats, on one side; and on the other, wild geese, duck and mallard, hems, cranes, pheasants, patridge, grouse, snipes, quails, rails, and a number of birds, that I know not how to name, being foreigners to our country, unless I make use of the *Turkish* language.

But as the Grand Signior resolv'd to wait for the Visier, whom he had sent three days before, to inspect the Architects and Engineers he was employing in the island *Tenedos*; just as we had sufficiently, like true conquerors, refresh'd ourselves on the field of battel, possess'd ourselves of the plunder, and reckon'd the slain, the Grand Vizier came. He gave his Highness a very particular and agreeable account, of that strong and noble Arsenal and Magazine, which he is building with such vast expence, by that harbour. It is true, the Port

is very ordinary; tho' even that is improving, by the vast mole he is running out into the sea, opposite to the ruins of old *Troy*. The Arsenal, when finish'd, will be of great importance, and put a bridle, as it were, on the mouth of the *Hellespont*, the *Propontis*, and *Thracian Bosphorus*; and will contribute a good deal to preserve the dominion of the *Archipelago*, that is, so much as our excellent Prince is pleas'd to allow him in those seas.

We had hardly receiv'd the Visier's relation of the fortifications there, when we were all order'd to embark in our several stations and barges, where our Galley-slaves receiv'd us with their usual salutation; and in a little time, by the help of so many wellplied oars, brought us to *Constantinople*. However, as the night overtook us in the middle of the channel, and the wind blew very high, tho' without danger, I observ'd the sea-water perfectly seem'd to flash fire, with the violent motion against the sides of the barge; so that I read plainly by it, to my great surprize. It put me in mind of *Moses's* expression in the first of *Genesis*, where he says *the Spirit of God mov'd on the face of the waters*; and then follows, *God said, Let there be light, and there was light*; and made me wonder some have not fancied, that as man was created out of the earth, so light was form'd out of the waters, and the divine motion given them, as suddenly and brightly as the flame starts out of gunpowder, when touch'd by the fire.

I forgot to take notice to your Lordship, that as the Visier brought with him the new plan of the *Dardanelles*, the Sultan bid me take notice of the *Romeli-iskissar*, (or the Castle that guards them on the side of *Europe*) which has been built up of late years very fine and strong, and fortified with the largest cannon in the world; and ask'd me, if I thought the ships of my King would be able to batter down that, as they had done the old one in his great Uncle's time? I was a little surpriz'd at the question; but I avoided answering it directly, as civilly as I could, by saying, I doubted their being able, and was sure they would not be willing. But as we landed immediately at the *Seraglio*, the Sultan only answer'd me with a smile, and a courteous nod; and ordering the barge to convey me safely cross the water to *Galata*,

I took my leave of this good-natur'd and generous Sultan, who wants only our Education and Religion, to make a great figure in the world. I got to my lodgings about two hours after sun-set, much pleas'd with the magnificent variety of one day's diversions; and was hardly set down on my sofa to repose myself, after so agreeable a fatigue, when my old Druggerman or Interpreter, *Abraham*, a learned *Jew*, whose conversations often entertain my solitary hours, came to me with a good deal of surprize and amazement in his face. I immediately saw something extraordinary had happen'd, and enquir'd of him what was the matter? My Lord, says he, I bring you an account, which if it proves true, will make the enemies of my nation, and the despis'd *Jewish* people, glad to lick the dust of their shoes. Here is Rabbi *Solomon* just come from *Tunis*, who is sent to warn our brethren, that the ten Tribes are discover'd in the middle part of *Africa*, where they retir'd in the days of their Captivity and affliction. He says they have a vast Empire there, and are very powerful, having near 50 millions of souls under their Kings, who are most observant of the Law, and have preserv'd their language pure and unmix'd, as well as their rites and ceremonies. The said Rabbi *Solomon* avers, that the great Messiah is risen among them, and hath chosen out an army of 500000 pick'd men, all as valiant as the *Maccabees*; that they have left all the strong holds of their Empire of *Gangara* and *Seneganda* well garison'd, and are in motion from the frontiers of those kingdoms, to cross the desarts of *Borno* and *Guoga*, and pass the *Nile*, seize on *Egypt*, and then the land of *Canaan* their Inheritance, and build up the fallen glories of mount *Sion* and *Jerusalem*. As I had a map of *Africa* in my room, I immediately search'd it for the kingdoms and desarts, my good Druggerman had settled his friends in, and found so far all was right; but desiring to know what authorities he or Rabbi *Solomon* had for this report, he gave me two letters from the Synagogue of *Tunis*, directed to the faithful *Jews* of *Stamboul* and its Provinces, willing them to be on their guard, and behave like men, for the Kingdom was about to be restor'd to *Israel*. Along with these he communicated to me, under the solemnest promises of secrecy, the Messiah's Mani-

festos; in which he exhorts his subjects and brethren to prepare to rise, for the restoring both the sword and sceptre, into the hands of the faithful and chosen of heaven; and commands them to be ready, to depart for *Jerusalem* to the solemn sacrifice, so soon as they had certain intelligence from him, of his being possess'd of *Egypt* and *Grand Cairo*. I read them all over (that is, the *Turkish* translation of the *Hebrew*) with much admiration; and asking *Abraham*, if he believ'd these to be genuine letters? he answer'd me very hastily and angrily, as genuine as the *Talmud*; and that it was universally known to all the *Turks*, and the merchants in *Stamboul*, that these things were true; and it is certain, I had heard for several days, of some commotions in the inland parts of *Africk*, of a strange people. I then ask'd him, what the *Jews* determin'd to do? Even, says he very eagerly, to obey the commands of their Messiah; and so soon as he hath conquer'd *Egypt*, to depart from the four winds under heaven, and be gather'd unto the brethren of the dispersion at *Jerusalem*, at the solemn sacrifice. He said this with tears in his eyes, and such emotion of heart, that I could not chuse but pity him, and his deluded people, who are as credulous as malice or love; and will probably, throughout this vast Empire, be standing with their ears prick'd up, and, like birds, ready to take wing with all they can carry with them, if the news of this Revolution continues.

He had hardly done talking of this new-risen Messiah, when the Chiaus from the Grand Signior entred my apartment, with I know not how many slaves, loaden with part of the spoils we had taken that day, and which in his Master's name he presented me with, by his order. Your Lordship may believe, my thanks were not the only payment I made, in return for this prodigious favour; but I must own, it gave me so honest and reasonable a pleasure, to receive so extraordinary and publick a mark of the Sultan's regard for me, that I thought it cheaply purchas'd. I made the Chiaus sit down by me; and, as if some revolution planets were risen on the world, he began to tell

me, that since the Sultan had come to the Seraglio, the Grand Visier had told him two surprizing pieces of news. Upon this the Chiaus related *Abraham's* story, very much in the same manner I have told it your Lordship; but with this addition, that the new Messiah was the strongest and most beautiful man upon earth.

The other account he gave me was, that according to a belief they ever have entertain'd in *Persia*, a great Prophet had lately appear'd there, who calls himself *Mahomet Mahadi*, the son of *Hossein* second son of *Ali*, who solemnly avers to the people, (who so many ages have been expecting him) that he lay hid all this while in a cave of the mountains of *Georgia*. He declares he is come from *Mahomet*, and is deputed and authorized by him to refute all errors, and reunite all in one belief, that there may be no more divisions and schisms, among faithful Mussulmen and true Believers.

He preaches on horseback, and made his first sermon in the city of *Maradel*; and seiz'd on the horse, which for so many Centuries has been kept for him there at the publick cost, *ready saddled and bridled. The Chiaus, who told all this with the gravest air in the world, said that he was followed by great multitudes; and that it was expected the *Turks* and *Persians* might by his means be united in Faith and Doctrine; but that the Prince of *Basora* and he were like to have violent struggles. As I desir'd he would explain the occasion of their difference, he told me, that the Prince of *Basora*† had all along pretended to an hereditary succession in the good graces and peculiar favours of the holy Prophet *Mahomet*. That in virtue of that interest he had in him, the Prince and all his ancestors had constantly, for such rewards and sums as they could agree for, given written assignments on the Prophet in heaven, for such places there, as the Prince recommended persons to him for. This privilege his ancestors and he, like our Popes, had posses'd undisputed, till now that unfortunately the new Prophet *Mahomet Mahadi* avers, that he is commission'd to declare, that the holy Prophet has abrogated the Privileges, formerly allowed

* *Vid.* *Ambass. Trav. in Persia.*

† *Vid.* ditto *Ambass. Travels.*

to the Princes of *Basora*, they having recommended many unworthy people to his best post in heaven; and that now the said privileges were entirely transferr'd to *Mahomet Mahadi*, the son of *Hossein*, the son of the blessed *Ali*. I ask'd the *Chiaus*, if these accounts were well vouch'd and confirm'd? He assur'd me they were; and that all men were alarm'd with them beyond imagination, expecting vast revolutions would attend them, unless some unforeseen accidents should intervene and prevent them. That the Grand Visier, by the Sultan's desire, had sent for the Mufti to consult with him hereupon; being apprehensive very dangerous commotions may arise on the side of *Persia*, if the utmost care be not us'd in it; and that it was believ'd the Grand Signior would be summon'd, to give an account before the new Prophet, of the fatal schism between the *Turkish* and *Persian* Mussulmen. The *Chiaus* having ended his extraordinary history, was pleas'd to withdraw; and as the good *Abraham* retir'd along with him, they left me to my own reflections on the amazing credulity, superstition and blindness of mankind. If either of these two accounts from *Africa* or *Persia* prove true, it is possible those populous territories, may be laid waste and destroy'd in the flame they may kindle. But the *Jews*, my Lord, are above all other nations foolishly credulous; this *Abraham* my Truchman, is really more knowing and judicious than most of his Tribe, and yet he reads the *Talmud*, the *Misnah*, and all the fabulous mysteries of the *Cabbala*, with as much veneration as the Pentateuch. He is as much persuaded that our tears were not salt, till *Lo's* wife was chang'd into a pillar of salt; that she has still her *Menses*; and that she was thus chang'd, because that out of malice she would not put down the saltseller on the table to the angels; as that *Sodom* was burnt. He believes stedfastly, that before the Decalogue was given the *Israelites*, God desiring it should not be confin'd to them, went to mount *Seir*, and offer'd it to the *Idumæans* descended from *Isaac*; but when they heard the sixth commandment, *Thou shalt not kill*, they got up and refused it; for that it had been said to their ancestors, (*Gen. xxviii.*) *By thy sword thou shalt live*. That upon this God offer'd it to the *Ishmaelites* descended from *Abraham* by *Hagar*;

but when they heard the seventh, *Thou shalt not commit adultery*, read, they refus'd their obedience to that command, since they had receiv'd a contrary one, namely, *Thou shalt increase and multiply*; upon which (he avers) God was forc'd to offer it the *Jews*, who took it without exception.

Nay, I've heard him maintain, that at his leisure hours in the sixth day, God created ten things privately; 1st, the earth that swallowed up *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*; 2dly, the whale that swallowed up *Jonas*; 3dly, the rainbow which he hid in the clouds; 4thly, the ram which was sacrific'd for *Isaac*; 5thly, the rod with which *Moses* wrought his miracles; 6thly, the manna for the *Jews*; 7thly, the stone of which the tables of the Law were made; 8thly, the devil and his accomplices; 9thly, hammers and pinchers, which men cou'd never have invented; and 10thly, the head of *Balaam's* ass. He has been still of opinion, (among a thousand other as absurd opinions) that as women cannot be capable of the covenant of circumcision, so they cannot be entitled to happiness in the next life; and that at the day of judgment, which will be on a *Friday*, *Adam* must be compleat, and therefore will reassume his rib, and so *Eve* will cease to be; and all women descended from her will be contracted into that rib, and be no more, and consequently not judg'd.

But it were endless to reckon up the traditions he holds, and I only quote these few, to shew your Lordship the wild superstition and credulity of this people, who make a mock of our faith as absurd, and yet are capable of ruining the welfare of their country and families, by following the first Impostor that sets up for a Messiah, and begins a rebellion that for a few months appears successful.

But we will dismiss him at present, to speak on something more agreeable; and to acquaint your Lordship, that I here transmit you the names of such of the *Greek* Popes and Bishops, &c. as are averse to submit to, and unite to the Church of *Rome*, which they look on as a superstitious and idolatrous usurper; and who have join'd unanimously in the Remonstrance, to which their names are annex'd, in petitioning for his Majesty's powerful protection against her. As it

is highly reasonable, to make some provision for the necessities, and even the ease of these deserving men, I do earnestly beg, that such a moderate stipend shall be annually settled on them, as may prevent their suffering too far, from the power and oppression of the Jesuits, for their maintaining the truth of their doctrines, and the equality, if not the preeminence of their Church over *Rome*.

But your Lordship must accompany me with the Grand Signior, in another excursion we made by water, for fresh air and the diversions of the field, a very few days ago; which may possibly give you some amusement to read, as it gave me infinite delight while I was enjoying it. I was summon'd last *Tuesday* by the Sultan, to attend early at the Seraglio the next morning; when accordingly we got aboard the same barges, with all the Falconers and Fowlers, Guns, Dogs, and Nets, that were necessary to make our diversion fully compleat. Your Lordship has heard of that little wonder of the earth, for beauty and riches, the Grand Signior's new house of pleasure, known by the name of the *Fanari Kiosc*, which he has finish'd with such immense expence at the lovely Promontory near *Chalcedon*. 'Tis built something after the manner of the King of *France's* house of pleasure at *New Marli*, but adorn'd with vast expatiating porticos of the finest pillars, and over them with close galleries of his Sultana's apartments. The whole is built in the middle of the finest garden, after the *European* manner, that is to be met with in the world; cut out into regular plantations of fruit and forest, and parterres of flower-gardens, mix'd with so agreeable an extravagance, that it seems to strike the eye and the imagination of the spectator, with too forcible a surpriz. For the extent of the gardens is so unbounded, the plantation of trees, both fruit and forest, are so numerous and so large, and the whole so skilfully interspers'd, with a vast profusion of parterres and compartments of flower-beds, fountains, cascades, vases, obelisks, temples, vistas, porticoes, walks and alleys; and all surrounded with so perpetual a serenity of the heavens, and fertility of the earth, that it looks like the Paradise, which God planted for the Lord of the world to dwell in. The gardens are so vastly extended, that they constantly

allow deer to graze among them; but they are such as they breed up, and prepare for this purpose, by hamstringing them, so that they can't run fast; and gelding them when their heads are grown, so that they never herd with other deer, nor cast their horns, but still wander about the gardens; where they strike the fancy very agreeably, with seeing so unusual an inhabitant of the parterre, browsing among the knots of flowers. The prospect from this great height is as astonishing, as all the other circumstances; for from hence we have a compleat view of the Grand Seraglio, its buildings and gardens, of the vast dome of *Sancta Sophia*, and the chambers of the Divan; the lovely Isles of the *Princes*, and the smooth glassy face of the *Propontis*, as well as the haven of *Chalcedon*; the beauteous bason and gulf of *Nicomedia*, and the rich hills and plains of fertile *Bythinia*, that lie below its view, in the finest irregular level that the eye can dwell on.

Nay, the whole city of *Constantinople* rising in its beauteous terrasses, street above street, and dome above dome, with all its gilded minarets and steeples, towers and cupolas, and mix'd with the surprizing verdure of the groves and gardens, and shades of cypress, and other ever-greens, which beautify the prospect of that city, lies perfectly under its command; with all the crowds of shipping, saicks, skiffs, boats and barges, that perpetually cover the face of the sea below it, and by their constant motion heighten the prospect extremely.

To this earthly paradise were we carried, my Lord, the *Bostangi Bassa* steering us, as his office obliges him; and as it is not over four or five miles from the Seraglio, we flew there in our vast row-barge in an instant, and found it surrounded by a high wall of full twenty miles circuit. This extent of ground is kept entirely under all kinds of beasts, both of forest and chase, and all sorts of wild fowl; having vast natural lakes, and artificial canals and rivers, for those that delight in the water, and great ranges of plow'd fields sown, and woods and coppices cut into walks and avenues, for the other kinds. Being never disturb'd, but just on odd times when the Sultan comes to hunt and fowl, the frequency and tameness of the game is surprizing; both birds and beasts starting and flying before you for a little space, and

then stopping their flight, and standing at a gaze about you, till the murdering hawk or gun, or the treacherous dog, teaches them to avoid the arts and snares, that Man is contriving for their ruin. Nay, in all the noise and confusion of the field, when such numbers were hunting on the one side, hawking on another, setting in this field, and shooting in some adjacent one; yet the herds of the beasts, and the flocks of the fowl, never attempted to betake themselves to the open country, but kept still within their belov'd confinement, and the delightful boundaries of the park-walls. Judge, my Lord, how lovely a scene this must make to one, who has so high a relish of the sports of the field, as the Grand Signior; where in every inclosure or coppice, you see new game rise before you, and find fresh employment for the faulkner, the huntsman, and the fowler. The truth is, we were marvelously entertained, for the three or four cooler hours of the morning; but as we wanted the delicious breezes of the *Papa-Agasi* Islands, and (besides the calmness of the day) there being not a cloud to be seen in the whole hemisphere, the Sun was so violently hot, tho' so early in the year, that one would have thought it had been in *July* or *August*, and made it impossible to move, under the violence of its rays, with any ease. We therefore retreated to the great *Salone* of the royal *Kiosc*, where in the fine porticoes to the north of the *Salone*, listning to the murmuring water-falls of one of the finest fountains in the World, we sate cool and undisturb'd by the Sun-beams. We staid a good while here, sitting on the *Sofas*, and musing after the fashion of the *Turks*, without speaking to each other, but now and then a few monosyllables; when we were agreeably surpriz'd, with the *Bostangi-Bassa's* approaching us with above 100 slaves, all loaden with different kinds of viands, the spoils of the field and the forest, the earth, the air, and the water. If there had been living creatures in the other element, the fire, as *Aristotle* pretends there are, I believe he had brought them too, and laid them as he did all the others, at the feet of his mighty Master. While we were at our sports in the field, the *Bostangi Bassa* had taken the slaves and barges, with all the nets, and had brought the tribute of the ocean for his part, mix'd with the spoils of the garden,

in a great many baskets and dishes, loaden with cherries, strawberries, apricots, melons, and other of their early fruits. The Sultan was much pleas'd and as it was near dinner-time, he order'd they should get it ready with all expedition; and as the *Turks* live on the simplest kind of food, that is as easily dress'd as 'tis digested; in a very little time it was serv'd up, in the north portico of the great Salone, where we were sitting. The Grand Signior, with his usual goodness, commanded me to dine with him; which I did with infinite pleasure, being delighted to receive every day, new proofs of his more than ordinary regard for me. Our meal, tho' it was chiefly rice, boil'd in the broth of different kinds of flesh, or else mix'd with bits of mutton, or the flesh of our pheasants and patridges, relisht very well; having the *Turkish* sauce to it, temperance, and heighten'd with (the more usual one of the Christians) exercise.

We had some dishes mix'd up with a sort of curdled milk, call'd Joghourt, and differently colour'd with saffron, or the juice of pomegranates and raspberries, and several other ingredients; and some fish and roast meats, or Kiabab (as the call it) of our venison and wild fowl, which we hardly tasted. To this we had the most delicious and wholesome drink, that ever the earth pour'd out of her breasts to her children, plain water, from the fountain we sate by, with a little fresh bread, (for they never eat it stale) to give it the higher flavour. Thus, without taking as many hours to it, as our gormandizing *Britons*, and other *Europeans* do, we finish'd our light, and therefore our pleasing and healthful repast; which, however, was a little lenthned out, with a lovelier desert of fruit, than I had ever seen so early in *May*.

And now I cannot but take notice to your Lordship, of a fashion that obtains here in all meals of fruit-kind, which I heartily wish were the mode in *Great-Britain*; and that is, the placing on the table a large *China* bowl, with a cover to it that slopes down into the vessel, with a wide aperture in the middle of the descent. Into this every body throws the melon-parings, the stalks and stones of the cherries, and the cores of pears and apples, the skins of gooseberries, and the stones of damsins, plumbs, &c. all which we Christians, in so odious

and filthy a manner, take out of our mouths flaver'd with our spittle, and lay expos'd to every ones eyes, on our plates or the table: Whereas this neat and cleanly vessel hides all that vile filth, and hinders the eye from being shock'd and offended with such heaps of nastiness. They call it *Ordoma*, which I know no word we have to answer; but it signifies a pot or *Privy* for the *Mouth*; and it is so universal of late among them, that those who can't buy *China* ones, have earthen ones of common potters ware; the *Turks* above all things, studying neatness and cleanliness.

But it is time, my Lord, to hasten to the sea-shore and our barges, whither the cool evening and the declining sun is calling us. Here you must now suppose us embark'd, and floating on the loveliest of all the basins in the earth, the smooth surface of the *Propontis*; flying with the incredible force of so many oars with vast rapidity on its crystalline bosom, unruffled with the smallest breeze. As we sate in the boat, I ask'd the Grand Signior, if the accounts of the *Jews* ten tribes being discover'd in *Africk*, and marching with their Messiah for *Egypt*, and of the Prophet *Mahomet Mahadi* appearing in *Persia*, were true. He seem'd a little surprize'd with the question; but as he had no mind to punish my curiosity with a harsh reply, he told me I must wait for the lame post, to be secure of the truth of such great events; by which I found plainly, there is more in those reports than I imagin'd, tho' probably less than *Abraham*, my Interpreter, and the *Chiaus* would have me believe.

Imagine us now, my Lord, landed at *Constantinople*, and retir'd to our different habitations, and the trouble of this letter shall last but a very little longer, than while I describe to you the exact figure and person, of one of the *Turkish* Santones or Dervises, as they are generally call'd. I found this extraordinary creature, sitting in my hall when I came home, from whence he would not retire by fair means, for all that my servants could say, till I came and gave him a piece of silver, to procure the favour of his quitting my territories. He was not one of those kinds of Monks, who live together in a particular community, under certain regulations; but a vagabond member, that counterfeit-

ed abstinence and sanctity, and a scorn for the World and all that was in it, in order to be admir'd and rewarded. He was a little creeping wretch, with a long red beard, that he continually stroak'd, and had cover'd his head with a tall sugar-loaf cap of blue linnen, with black strings and fringe sow'd to it, which hung down to his neck. He wore two sheep-skins for a coat, sow'd together like a sack, with two holes for his arms at the sides, and at the top and bottom for his head and feet: This he had tied about his middle, with a Buffaloe's tail, which was strung round with several little rings of red and white marble. He had a bracelet of the same creature's hide about his arms, and in his right hand he carried a wand, with a piece of ivory at the end, like a saw, to scratch his back where he could not get at it to claw it with his nails; to which splendid equipage, he had join'd a long thick club, as a weapon of defence, and an horn that hung over his shoulders by a string, to sound upon occasions, and gather the good Musselmen about him. Behold, my Lord, the dress of religion run mad, or putting on the mask of hypocrisy I would to God she never look'd better when so disguis'd, and we should have fewer of the Jesuite tribe cloaking the wickedness of their actions, under the sanctity of their habits; and yet fewer, who out of a furious zeal against such disguises, would strip religion as naked as the Savages of *America!* I wait with impatience for your next letters, and am,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's, &c.

STANHOPE.

PREFACE the III^d.

By way of *Postscript* to the Criticks.

WHEN I last parted with thee, my dear reader, with all the civility of a man that was in hopes never to meet thee again; I was just shutting up my defence, against all the objections that envy or ignorance cou'd bring, to hurt this inestimable performance. I little imagin'd then, that after having so entirely driven my enemies out of the field, they shou'd be able to bring any fresh forces against me. But, alas! I find that many-headed monster, an ingenious reader, is like the dreadful Hydra; and that no sooner an author, with the labour of an *Hercules*, has cut off one envenom'd head, and laid it groveling and senseless at his feet, but instantly a crowd of others, as poisonous and spiteful, rise up in its place to attack him. Accordingly I am assur'd, since I finish'd my second Preface, that there is started up one formidable objection, which I am oblig'd to answer, as it carries an air of truth with it, and is grounded on this; that these vast discoveries and improvements, these changes and revolutions of things below, which are mention'd in the subsequent letters, cannot possibly happen, nor consequently be true, many of them are so improbable.

To which I answer, in the first place, that for that very reason, because they are improbable and unlikely, I give credit to my good angel's prediction of them, and am confident they will come to pass. I will not say with *Tertullian*, *Certum est quia impossibile est*; but I will say, with all submission and modesty, that had my good genius design'd to impose on me in these matters, or I upon the wise, the judicious and wise reader, they would have been contriv'd with a greater approximation, (as the learned speak) and verisimilitude to truth. If they were mere fables invented to deceive, they would have been

model'd, to as near a conformity as possibly they could, to the least disputed realities, and would have put on the dress of probability at least, in order to impose on the credulity of mankind. There is a vast extent in invention and imagination; and if falshoods were design'd to be obtruded on the world by these papers, they might easily have been cook'd up, in the common appearances and resemblances of such things, as are frequently found out, and discover'd every day.

The small regard therefore that is shewn here, to such little tricks and subtilities, in many prodigious discoveries in arts and sciences, travels, revolutions and alterations of all kinds, and especially in the 4th and 6th volumes, ought to stand as an evidence of their truth; and that they are not forgeries and impostures, but real facts, which time will produce, and which are delivered to mankind with the carelessness and simplicity of an honest publisher; more sollicitous to reveal actual facts and events, as he receiv'd them, than to disguise them so craftily to the world, as to seem more likely to happen, and easy to be believ'd.

Were there occasion for it, and were I not apprehensive of enlarging this Preface too far, I could say a great deal here on that famous observation, *Aliquando insit in incredibili veritas, & in verisimili mendacium*; and convince my readers, how little weight any objection ought to have with him, that is bottom'd on this sandy foundation. But I hope I need not dwell much on this point; and indeed whoever are knowing and learned enough, to be acquainted with the infinite incredible verities in the world of science, the vast numbers of improbable and unimaginable truths, to be met with there, and the heaps of plausible errors and delusive falshoods, that men are so usually led away with; will never consider the improbability of some relations in this work, as an argument for any thing, but their being more unseign'd and genuinely true.

But, *2dly*, I have to answer, that there is nothing foretold here, which will really seem so very improbable, to those who know the infinite power of the great Source of all events below; who have consider'd the vast operations of nature, the force of our minds when

set on work by ambition and emulation, and the strange changes and chances, the revolutions, alterations and improvements, which attend all things here; as well as the vast fields of art and knowledge, which the new world hath brought forth among us, by the labours of different voyagers. Let such ignorant objectors therefore, that are buried in the present state of the earth, and think it will continue in a manner unimprov'd and unalter'd, let them, I say, look back, if they know any thing of it in former ages. Let them consider how absurd and incredible it would have appear'd, if a man, for example, at the building of *Rome*, had (thus enlighten'd) foretold the vast growth of that Monarchy, the overturning all others by that embryo state, the majesty of the pagan religion there, the birth and rise of the Christian, the breaking of the *Roman* Empire into several little scraps and pieces, which are now miscall'd Kingdoms; the spreading conquests of the Pope and his Monks, their disposing of crowns and sceptres, and temporal and eternal happiness at their pleasure, the reformation of Religion, and all the wars, factions and revolutions, which that spiritual Monarch occasion'd, to maintain his Empire on earth, and his interests and pretended alliances with heaven: Let them reflect, I say, if such a relation (or prediction) would not be receiv'd as more ridiculous and impossible, than those that are mention'd in these six volumes.

But the truth is, whoever knows any thing of the history of this globe, or the little wretches that crawl on it, and call themselves men and lords of it, would never raise so weak an objection. For what is it, but one constant scene of the most surprizing and incredible changes? How have the very face and features of it (if I may so speak) been perpetually torn and dismember'd, by deluges and earthquakes, by vulcanoes, tempests and inundations? as every one knows, that is acquainted with geography, or natural philosophy, or that will read the accounts of such matters, in good authors.

Strabo particularly in his first book, and *Pliny* in numberless places*, will instruct us sufficiently on this point; not to omit *Diodorus Siculus*, and especially where he gives us the account, how the vast overflowing of the *Pontus Euxinus* laid the whole *Archipelago* under water, destroying all the inhabitants, tearing up the mountains by the roots, and forming a new world of islands, that here and there peer up their rocky heads, amidst the deluge.

As to the amazing alterations, in the manners and customs of particular nations, who is there that is ignorant, how power and politeness, how arts, and arms, and learning, have been, from age to age, changing their seats, and, like the ocean, gaining ground in one place, while it loses it in another? How is *Greece*, the seat of freedom and knowledge, philosophers and patriots, become a nest of slaves and ignorants; and instead of those renowned Architects and Sculptors, that for so many ages crowded her cities with the noblest palaces, and taught her animated marbles almost to breathe and move, fill'd with rustick builders of clay cottages and huts, and cutters of saltsellers and mortars, as †*Tournefort* calls them? How is the mighty *Rome* grown the mother of superstition, cowardice and cruelty, who was once the chief nurse of the opposite virtues among men? In a word, not to dwell too long on so painful a subject; how has she fallen from her once exalted character, and exchang'd the generous sentiments and conduct of her ancient heroes, for the impious dreams of visionary Monks, the furious rage of Bigots, the little craft of Hypocrites, and the silly dotage of her mitred Monarchs?

As to the state of learning, to look no farther back than the last two ages; how is *Aristotle*, the father of science in former times, degenerated, in many respects, into the character of ignorance and infancy in this? How are the schoolmen, who gave laws to heaven and earth, depos'd and rejected, and their wrangling doctors succeeded, by the great improvers of knowledge, who have made such

* *Vid.* Plin. lib. 2. 3, 4, 5, and 6. See also *Reflessioni Geografiche* del P.D. Vitale Terra Rossa à cap. 13. ad 28.

† *Vid.* *Tournefort's Voyage*, Vol. 1, p. 156.

important and successful discoveries, in this wide world of matter and life, which the others had so long kept us strangers to? Besides, if we consider how few years are past, since we improv'd Astronomy by a true system, verified by demonstration, and founded Philosophy on actual experiments, not on imaginary notions and opinions; since the compass and the needle trac'd out the mariner's unerring road on the ocean, and war join'd fire to the sword, or muskets banish'd bows and arrows; since the invention of printing gave new lights and aids to the arts; since musick and painting had a new birth in the world; since regular posts were first invented, and set up by *de Tassis** in *Spain*, and trade and correspondence got wings by land, as well as by sea; since Physicians found out either new drugs or specificks, or even the secrets of Anatomy, or the circulation of the blood; since our own nations learn'd to weave the fleece of our sheep, or that even half of the earth had found out the other; and above all, if we reflect, that the small compass of time, which all these great events have happen'd in, seems to promise vast improvements in the growing centuries; it will not appear surprizing, and much less absurd, that such discoveries and improvements are allotted to our posterity, in these volumes.

Even as to trade, riches and power, how has the new world prov'd the great nursery and prop of the old, which as so long a weak and sickly infant, hardly thought worth the rearing or owning, tho' it is now grown one great source, of the strength, wealth and prosperity of those kingdoms, who almost grudg'd its support? Nay, as to Politeness and Literature, and the arts of Peace and War, to look no farther back than our own doors, and our own homes; how is *Great Britain*, within a small space of time, tho' once so despis'd and neglected in *Europe*, grown, under the care of a few good Princes, the seat of trade, and power, and learning, and the glory and admiration of the whole earth, even at this present hour; to say nothing of that progress foretold in this work, which she will daily make, (except under some administrations and reigns, and certain years of reigns) and is

* Strada de bello Belgico, Dec. 2. lib. 10.

now actually making, of growing still greater and more considerable? Away therefore with these objectors of improbability, who deserve as little to be regarded, as those who insinuate that I have copied all this work, from the famous *Mazapha Einok*, or *Enoch's Prophecy*, which *Ægidius Lochiensis* brought *Peireskius** from *Æthiopia*, and which was supposed to contain the history of all things, to the end of the World; tho' I solemnly aver, I neither handled, nor saw, or even believed such a work was, or is in being, whatever some learned men, both of the *Jewish* and Christian persuasion, alledge for its existence.

The truth is, this last insinuation is so trivial, as well as false, that I had not thought it worth mentioning; but that I might omit nothing which my friends, (to whom I entrusted the communication of the manuscript to others) assur'd me, the most ill-natur'd of their correspondents, objected against it. As I have always thought, malice should never be disregarded, how blind or stupid soever it appears; so I have left none of the silly remarks, of my opposers unconfuted; tho' if one takes a view of these objectors, the best of them will appear but like a child playing at blindman's buff, where the hood-wink'd triffler, catches at every thing he can, and runs about, the fool and jest of all around him, in a violent fume and hurry; and after guessing wrong at whatever he blindly stumbles on, is forc'd to let it go, and then falls to again, with the same success, and lays hold on another.

Without attending therefore any longer, to the answering the stupid malice of objectors, I shall proceed to give my friends, the learned world and posterity, some cautions about this work, and so conclude, and let it take its fortune.

And the first caution I shall give them is, that tho' I am confident all things deliver'd in these six Volumes, will inevitably come to pass; yet left hereafter any base *attempts might be made*, on the lives, honours, or fortunes, of some illustrious persons mention'd in them, in order to overturn such predictions, as seem to relate to them; I do

* Vita Peireskii per Gassend. Lib. 5. p. 395.

hereby forewarn posterity, not to entertain any designs, of destroying the credit of these papers, by such indirect methods.

As I freely own, I chiefly intend this caution, for my dear friends the good fathers the Jesuits, who may be too free with their pens, or their penknives, with such views, I think it would be in vain to urge against them, the *Wickedness* of such a procedure; for their zeal and piety is so prodigious, that if they believe it for the good of the Church; that single argument, will sufficiently sanctify any measures, which Men less holy and religiously given, would foolishly boggle at. I therefore shall only put them in mind, of the *Folly* of attempting such an impossible project, as the removing privately out of the way the persons, or publickly stabbing the reputation of such people, as are doom'd and foretold here to be their enemies.

Let me then beg of them, and all that are capable of acting, with their honest and furious zeal or artful wisdom, to consider, that besides the vanity of fighting thus, against unavoidable events, I have also in many places purposely so disguis'd Mens actions and characters in this work, that it will be impossible for them, to discern the real persons, till the very facts themselves, discover them to the World.

In the next place, I do hereby declare before-hand to *Posterity*, that if some things should seem, not to fall out exactly as they are foretold, that they, and not these incomparable productions, must bear the blame of it. Let them be assur'd, that those appearing failures, happen from one of these two causes. First, that either they do not understand what is or appears to be written, thro' the disguises I necessarily made use of, or that people may put, on their own or others actions, in order to elude such predictions; or, 2dly, Men are deceiv'd, either by reports of others, or their own fallacious senses, persuading them they have seen things happen otherwise, than they really have, and consequently the bare appearance of events,

ought not to be set up in opposition, to the undoubted truths here discover'd to them.

I remember well, an impertinent objection of this nature, was once made by the Queen of *Poland*, to a very renown'd and illustrious Prophet of the 17th Century*. who had dedicated to her an admirable work, in which he had foretold the ruin of the *Mahometan* Empire, by the arms of *Lewis XIII.* and *Urban VIII*; nor shall I forget the wise and judicious answer he gave her. For on his presenting his book to her Majesty, she pretended to censure one mistake he had run into, by not having known, that *both* the Heroes of his Prophecy, hapned to be some months dead, without having attempted what he foretold of them; to which the Author replied, (as I beg leave to do, to all silly objections of the like nature, which Posterity may raise against this Work) that pretended *facts*, are never to be set in competition, with unquestionable Predictions; and those that offer to do so, are not fit to be disputed with.

This therefore I request of them, in return for my labours in presenting them with these Volumes, that they fully assure themselves, that all I have or shall publish is true, and then let them depend on it, that whatever comes to pass, will in due time, (sooner or later) be accommodated to, and be found to tally with every thing, foretold in them.

But I must go yet further with my cautions, and that I may conceal nothing from posterity, I shall own, that I am in much less pain, for the verification of any Predictions in these letters, than I am left the few copies I print of them, may thro' envy or folly, or an utter ignorance of their worth, be entirely lost or suppress'd, before those times, when their truth and value will be confirmed. I therefore beg all, into whose hands these Repositories of truth, these invaluable Anecdotes of history shall fall, to preserve them with care, till the days of which they speak shall appear, tho' like the Prophet *Micaiah*, they are kept ever so close prisoners, till their truth or falshood be

* Vide *Bayle's* Dict. in the letter M on *Desmaretz*.

manifested to all. Besides, as it is much to be fear'd, my dear friends the Jesuits, (of whom, like that ill-boding prophet, these papers, to my great concern, do never prophecy good, but evil) may buy them up at immense prices, in order to suppress them, I must beg of posterity, that some Law may pass, that authentick copies of them; may be safely preserv'd in our publick libraries, and, like the Sybilline oracles, the consulted on the emergencies of state; and that it may be death or banishment, for any person to apply the leaves of them, either under pies or pasties, to pack up groceries, to line trunks, or cover handboxes, or make use of them in any mean filthy office whatever.

As to the *imitatorum servum pecus*, the little tribe of copiers, who will endeavour to foist their spurious writings on the publick, for the sequel of this I have now honour'd the World with; I am not much in pain, for any damage their maim'd productions may bring, to these immortal Archives of futurity. The truth is, I look on this sort of writers in the same light, as those silly kind of birds called *Dotterels*, which Mr. *Camden** tells us, by aping the motions and actions of the cunning Fowler, and imitating all he does, are soon caught hold of and destroy'd by *him*, whom they endeavour to mimick. Possibly the sublimity of that superior genius, which has enrich'd this nation with these treasures, may deter such creatures, from attempting so vile an insult; tho' alas when we hear the ingenious *Stephen Pasquier*†, complaining so gravely and judiciously to *Ronsard*, that no sooner *Jeane la Pucelle*‡, push'd by a divine inspiration, and as it were delegated from Heaven, came to succour the arms of *Charles VII.* but immediately two or three impudent wretches started up in *Paris*, and pretended to be commission'd, in the same celestial manner as she was; how can I hope this performance, will not meet with the like treatment, from base counterfeits.

* In his account of *Lincolnshire*.

† Les Lettres d'Estienne Pasquier, p. 17. a Lyon. 1607.

‡ The Maid of Orleans.

However, at the worst, I am prepar'd for this little misfortune, if it must be born; and tho' it is certain, that there seldom appear'd a glorious work, but it occasion'd a spawn of creeping plagiaries, to forge something as like it as they can; yet it is some comfort to consider, that the same thing which gives them birth, destroys these little abortions; and that like *Moses's* rod, it soon devours the false serpents, that pretend to imitate the miraculous product, of a superior power.

But really this sort of scriblers, does not alarm me half so much, as another race of impertinents, who are call'd Commentators, and pretend, (tho' with very different success) to improve books, just as Gardeners do their fruit-trees; upon which they graft and inoculate, all that their silly taste and fancy can furnish them with, while the mother-stock is quite lost and hid in the exuberant growth, that too often converts all its wholesome juices, to feed a barren superfluity of leaves. As I have great apprehensions, the vast reputation of this work, will occasion several learned blockheads of that tribe, to attempt something of this nature upon it, I do hereby in the face of the World, enter my protest in form against such proceedings; and all notes, observations, remarks, explanations, constructions, castigations, emendations, or various readings, which these animals may pretend to affix, to the native simplicity of the original text, of these venerable volumes.

I am loth to be particular on this head, for fear of giving offence, by reflections that may look too national; and especially where a people honestly zealous for their country's liberties, and that have so long been our good and faithful allies, may seem ill-treated. But as it is too shamefully notorious, that the *Dutch*, above, all the Earth, have a most violent turn to play the fool this way, I do hereby solemnly aver, let what will be the consequence, if any man among them, like a new *Mezentius*, thinks to tie the dead carcase of his comment, to this living work, I shall give him reason to wish, that his hand, like *Scævola's*, was on fire, when he employ'd it in such an attempt.

At the same time that I think it proper, to lay the world and them, under this severe restriction, I am ready to make them abundant amends, for my extraordinary sensibility in this point, by my easiness and condescension in another; and that is, by allowing a free liberty, for all nations and languages, not only in *Europe*, but the rest of the world, to translate it as often as they please, into their mother tongues, how rude or barbarous soever they may be. Far be it from me to wish, much less to endeavour, to confine that day-spring of knowledge, which by my means is about to rise upon the world, unto any particular corner of the earth, unto any little nation, sect, or tribe of people whatever! No! I have not such a narrow mind! Let it have its full course! Let all mankind make their best use of it! provided these two conditions be punctually observ'd: First, That some *Englishman*, who understands *French*, and, like the rest of our countrymen, can search to the bottom of things, may only be employ'd to translate it, for that superficial people of the other side the channel; and, secondly, That all judicious *Catholicks* do engage, (in return for my thus freely communicating it to them) that they will read it without bigotry or prejudice, or any silly fears of the Pope's authority, when he places it (as my good Genius has assur'd me he will) in the *Index Expurgatorius*, and prohibits the reading of it, under pain of lying half a century in the devil's* oven, or, which is much worse, in the prisons of the holy Inquisition, so justly rever'd by all good Christians.

And now, most dear Reader, (begging thou may'st not be afflicted at it) I must hasten to a conclusion of this *Geryon*-like monster of a Preface, which possibly, in such a nation as this, made up of Authors and Criticks, may never be read; or if it be, may have little weight with thee. Be that as it may, I cannot but wish, for thy sake, and what it introduces to thee, it were equal either to that of *Calvin* before his Institutions, or *Causabon's* to his *Polybius*, or *de Thou's* to his history,

* *A new name, which my good angel has given Purgatory' in the originals of these Letters.*

which are justly esteem'd the three master-pieces of all prefatory discourses.

I have ventur'd on the publick, and must stand to the sentence of that ever-changing Camelion, that lives only on what it catches with its tongue, to which I expect to become a prey. Yet am not I without hopes, that tho' some may be sufficiently ignorant and malevolent, to say this work I have given them, is like *Euclio's* house in *Plautus*, *quæ inaniis oppleta est & araneis*; yet others, *quorum ex meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan*, whose minds are more enlighten'd, and capable of judging of the true value of things, will have nobler thoughts of it.

I have taken due precaution for its protection, by dedicating it to the service of the world, thro' the hands of that illustrious Person, who will one day prove an ornament to these nations in his life, and a blessing to mankind, in the Heroes that are to descend from him; and am resolv'd not to prostitute the subsequent parts to any but Patrons, that, like him, understand what a treasure I present with him; lest I seem to copy the silly authors of this age, who dedicate their books to such ungenerous and insensible creatures, that one would think they were imitating *Diogenes*, who us'd to beg of statues, to teach him to bear the coldness and neglect of those persons, to whom he applied for relief, protection and favour.

Nevertheless, I would not be thought in publishing this admirable performance, to have aim't at so poor an end, as making the great men of *Europe* pay court to me, for any advice of instructions I may give them; or to oblige those who sit on the thrones of the world, to pay me tribute and homage, as they us'd to do to the famous *Peter Aretine*. On the contrary, I declare beforehand, neither Kings or Queens, Princes or Princesses, Noblemen or Ladies, Knights or Gentlemen, Ministers of State or Merchants, must expect any favour from me, or directions for their future conduct, and true interests of their descendants, but as they shew themselves real friends to my native Country, and the civil and religious Rights, of these happy Nations.

To have done; As I appeal to Time, the great parent of truth, for the verification of all I publish, and to Posterity, (which, as *Tacitus* speaks, *decus suum cuique reppendit*) for that honour and deference, which I already behold them paying, to my faithful labours; so I appeal to all the sensible, the learned, the judicious and worthy spirits of the present age, from the judgment and censures, of the common herd and mob of mankind; that is, Lawyers without probity, Physicians without learning, Soldiers without Courage, Citizens without honest industry, Knights and 'Squires without common Sense, Clergymen without piety, Noblemen without honour, Senators without regard to their country, Patriots without integrity, and Scholars without genius, judgment, or taste!

F I N I S .

Preface (The Fourth)

Prevision

Should the future help the past?

Liam Gillick, 1998

What's the scenario? A constantly mutating sequence of possibilities. Add a morsel of difference and the results slip out of control, shift the location for action and everything is different. There is a fundamental gap between societies that base their development on scenarios and those that base their development on planning. It could be argued that the great Cold War divide in socio-economic structuring was rooted in the different kinds of results that you get if you apply either one or the other technique to working out how things might end up in the future. And it is claimed that scenario thinking won. Our vision of the future is dominated by the "What If? Scenario" rather than the "When do we Need More Tractors? Plan". Yet what is the quality of this scenario mentality and how is an awareness of it connected to the work of some artists now? Scenario thinking dominates Western cultures within politics, economics, film, television and literature. At one extreme a destabilised sense of doubt is crucial to the success of capitalist structures. Yet the nature of scenario thinking is deeply rooted in other forms of activity. It is a defining characteristic that is common in postmodern societies. It is crucial to the risk taking and delicate balance sought by those who wish to exploit resources and people yet it is also the tool of those who wish to propose change. Within this text I will attempt to expose the rise and continued success of the scenario as a tool that is inherently linked to capitalism and the strategising that goes with it and show how deeply embedded it has become in film and television. The production of scenarios is one of the key components required in order to maintain the level of mobility and reinvention required to provide the dynamic aura of so called free-market economies. And scenario production is not limited to global economic theory, it is reinforced by other areas of production, notably through a

mainstream film and television structure that developed in America and is now common across the world. Artists also corrupt our dormant sense of how scenarios play with our desires and situations at any given time. Using scenario production and heightened awareness of its techniques and results in order to expose us to a mixture of play, resistance, potential and critique without the necessity to resort to the presentation of documentary evidence alone in order to ape the socio-anthropological research of those who work in the service of scenario production. Focus upon the scenario as a territory takes artists within the blurry border zone that was kept at a distance by modernist formalism, allowing the proposal of parallel strategies that remain responsive to society and capable of identifying moments of change.

The scenario as a construct is inextricably linked to a specific set of ideologies. It is best used for the control of situations where there is the requirement to disguise control. The World Bank produce them, IBM do it, Robert McNamara came up with them, NATO struggle with their implications but so do Greenpeace, road protesters and the new Euro-communists. Scenarios offer an attractive mirage of choice and options while often proposing limited solutions, it is unclear whether such thinking requires defeat or merely greater attention and awareness. In any situation where one is faced by a lack of consensus, scenarios are used in order to predict various permutations and potentialities in relation to the development of society. As such it is essential for an artist to be aware of the temporal and strategic games that take place in and around the pre and post production phases of their work, the way it fits into the scenario mentality and the way it is used in order to back up a specific ideology.

“Espionage and subversion in an Industrial Society” was first published in Britain in 1967. Subtitled “An examination and Philosophy of Defence for Management”, the book marks out a territory that had been fought over since the emergence of industrial development in Western countries in the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth centuries. From a brief glance at the contents page it is clear that the author, Peter Hamilton, is the kind of person who supported a value system that would now be described as right wing conservative. Of course, throughout the book he is careful

to avoid expressing support for any specific political party while it is clear from his precise desire to protect emergent globalised corporate life that his background and ideology are clearly defined. There is a general tone that lays out a number of scenarios and suggests that the values that they attempt to preserve are the way things have been and will always be except that those values are now under threat. Yet this is to look back upon the text from a late Nineties perspective. Hamilton's role in the mid-Sixties would have been perceived as more dynamic. Part of a new generation of management oriented strategists, bringing wartime espionage experience to the service of the ever expanding, ever more international world of corporate activity. He was part of a development in thinking that would find figureheads in Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan later on in the late seventies and early eighties, almost a nostalgic throwback to the illusion of the nineteenth century capitalist pioneer. Part of a group of people working hard to defeat social, economic and political changes by putting forward scenarios that predicted dire results if any major power shift were to be made by developed nations, yet avoiding overt class based snobbery or an excess of assumption. Hamilton employs experience and neo-science. It is of some interest that the book was published in the year before students and workers took to the streets throughout the Europe in the spring of 1968. It is books such as Hamilton's that reminded corporate Britain and America about the perils of permitting change or revision to social and economic structure through a focus upon details and use of scenarios rather than moral imperatives. It is worth quoting the information about the author that was printed on the dust-jacket of the 1969 reprint of the book in order to glean biographical motivation.

“Peter Hamilton has spent most of his working life in the security/intelligence world. His first appointment of this nature was in China in 1943 when he was appointed to the British Military Mission, Chungking. He served under the command of US General Wedermeyer who was successor to General Stillwell. Highlights of the following years were three years fighting Communism in Malaya both in the intelligence and combat senses, three years in Cyprus as Security Officer to the Government, and two years in Rhodesia as Security Adviser to the Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead. Since then he has turned his attention to the fight

against crime in England with Chubb and Son Limited, the world-wide security group. Described in the *Illustrated London News* of 18 June 1966 as 'one of the outstanding "security theoreticians" team of Chubb', he is mainly concerned with theory, especially conceptual analysis of security against crime. He has broadcast and given numerous lectures on the subject.

The shift from fighting fascism to fighting communism is clearly charted, a familiar route that underpins the development of the scenario as a tool for the adjustment of post-war international power relations. Unsurprisingly there is very little concentration within the text upon social changes in the form of neo-anthropological study, therefore little attempt to understand changing trends in society in general. There is an assumption that our values and desires are basically constant across different time periods, or should at least appear to be so. There is an assumption made about the primacy of Western democratic systems above all others but few instances where the definition of such structures can be played out and examined. The book sets up a condition of crisis that must be overcome in order to maintain a standard of life commensurate with a developed consumer culture. It attempts to provide intellectual ammunition to those who opposed the increasing power of workers through the union movement by cartoonising the efforts of unions to breakdown established power structures and fuelling a common anxiety at the time about communist take-over of large industrial organisations in Britain rather than trying to understand why a power struggle might be taking place in the first place. In common with many similar texts that form the base reading material in corporate life, it makes no attempt to play with the democratic shifts in society that the book claims to want to protect at all cost. The rise of movements such as the Red Army Faction and Brigade Rosso in the following decade would have been Hamilton's greatest fear, and the lack of foresight inherent in his scenario structures ensured that he could not predict the changes to be wrought just one year later that would splinter off into many directions, including direct action. While it may seem unfair to single out this one forgotten text for examination, "Espionage and Subversion in an Industrial Society" can be seen as a useful example of the kind of structure that dominates predictive thinking in the second half of

the Twentieth Century. The scenarios laid out in this and other books like it, only focus when they are concerned with situations that could provoke potential loss of profit or hinder the complex, hard to maintain, processes of free-market capital.

In some senses scenarios such as those laid out in "Espionage..." are common from the beginning of the industrial revolution onwards. A shift towards the protection of capital as a relatively autonomous concept held in the hands of entrepreneurs and away from the preservation of territory, money and honour in the hands of a head of state and their aristocracy. An attempt to counter the perceived threat that might come from those groups of society who had most to gain from improved education systems. Education in this context is always a difficult issue tied in with religion and fear. For early capitalism to thrive it needed a slightly educated, or at least disciplined work force. And once this process began, the balance of power between education and the requirements of capitalism were always being fought over. It is no surprise therefore that education is the area which created most anxiety for Nineteenth century reformers. By the late Sixties and Hamilton's book, education is not an issue, information is the key.

The conflicted feelings of early reformers, especially in Britain, which had not gone through a republican revolution in the late Eighteenth century, cannot be underestimated and are possibly at the root of the development of the scenario mentality. But at the early stage progressive proto-capitalists were worried about the mob rather than any specific group of organised workers. We only have evidence of anxiety between individuals rather than the organised creation of scenarios. While pamphlets appeared, such as those put forward by Harriet Martineau in Britain, there was little in the sense of organised scenarios and a great deal of prediction and warning. We know that Erasmus Darwin and his more famous brother Charles were terrified that their beliefs and subsequent scientific findings would emancipate the workers of the new swollen industrial cities to such an extent that they would no longer be held back by their sense of place in society – that the biological research and findings of Charles Darwin would imply that there was no God given hierarchy to

social formation and such a realisation would lead to panic and revolution on a large scale. Scientists of this modern period were often caught between the perceived objectivity of their empirical researches and their ideological attachment to a specific sense of social structure. The Darwins were a low church, non-conformist family, therefore Charles and Erasmus were brought up in an environment that encouraged a value system whereby the kind of hierarchical structures found in Catholicism were collapsed. Finding a ready audience and a great deal of influence in the dynamic developments in French, German and Scottish biological research, it was this background that enabled Darwin to embark on his scientific project. Yet it is also important to remember that the Darwin family intermarried with the Wedgwood family for some time before Charles's birth. The Wedgwoods were protocapitalists, operating factories in the late Eighteenth century for the production of their still famous pottery. Charles Darwin's grandfather, also named Erasmus, met frequently with the Wedgwood industrialists and other early factory owners in the Birmingham area of England to discuss new and dynamic ideas within a situation where the universality of established religion was collapsing. They shared an interest in technology and development. Yet by the time of Charles's youth, the family status had already shifted enough to ensure that his education would be completed under the umbrella of social status that was more openly bourgeois in character. It has been argued that it was this shift of social status, combined with his background and devotion to work that enabled Darwin's ideas to become so well known. It was his use of social disguise and mobility that allowed him to secrete ideas with a radical base under a cloak of amateuristic respectability. Yet there was to be a drawback for him. An ability to be aware of the significance of his findings would ensure that Darwin was more than aware of the implications that his research would carry for social structure in general. As a result he withheld many of his findings until he was an old man, and could be quite sure that their distribution would not lead to social upheaval on a grand scale. The ability to engage in an early scenario mentality, the playing out of a number of possibilities based upon the use of a multiplied circumstances, events, populations and intellectual tools, is at the heart of the crisis of early capitalist development. Some were aware of the potential of strategy, if only in their reluctance to contribute

to the mass of new ideas and ideologies that were pulling at the emergent working class. A few, like Marx, did embark on a project of analysis amid the confusion of mid-century revolt and the obvious plight of the new urban work force. Planning and action versus scenarios and speculation was about to begin.

By the 1960s enormous changes had been made to the work place with the continued development of the concept of universal education, which had been ongoing since the guilty reformers of the Nineteenth century had first realised their need for a slightly educated yet disciplined population. Yet this century long development of education within a scenario mentality bore varied results. Planning had not yet been defeated by scenario play. The post war devastation of Europe gave social planning a new lease of life. In Britain it was a short life, the first public housing tower blocks were demolished in the late Sixties and early Seventies. In this context the scenarios that appeared to most disturb Hamilton, author of "Espionage and Subversion" were the ones that involved the introduction of rouge individuals into the work place. Radicalised, politically dynamic cuckoos operating within a responsive work force – the operation of the outside agitator manoeuvring within a large corporation, educating fellow workers and attempting to mobilise revolt. Today our sense and use of scenario tools goes beyond the anxious predictions of the corporate sphere and governmental agencies, it is thoroughly embedded in multi-national entertainment media such as film and television while the fear of the subversive has somewhat subsided in contemporary Europe and America. The terrorist, taking direct action, trivialised the role of the hot headed agitator and was much more film-worthy. What if the plane is blown up? What if the boss is kidnapped? All in place of what if they strike for a longer tea break?

Looking back at the time just before a main event inspires questions and wonder. This is an effect that has been heightened by the changes wrought to fiction through the development of film and television in the dynamic context of American capitalism with its combination of state control and an flickering sense of Eighteenth century free-will. Although similar structures existed in literature and play writing, no story medium has

altered our conception of “just before” quite as much as the introduction of the screen as a receptor for projected images. Yet there are elements in common between film and television and earlier theatrical presentation. A desire to play with time, or more correctly an awareness of the way a story can be compressed and played with in order to convey ideas without having to operate in real time. These games came into greater focus once film adopted the same theatrically based compression of time and location that had been employed on stage and in books rather than presenting visual tricks or documentary alone. Within screen projected time games there is a greater potential for the development of “prevision”. By “prevision” I mean something different to prediction, a word derived from the idea of saying something before it happens and quite divorced from the literary tool of dramatic irony with its audience awareness and character ignorance. I want to create an idea of “before vision” meaning both the awareness of something before you see it and the ability to see something from the past in full technicolour glory. It is arguable that “prevision” is uniquely enabled by cinema and television. When you are confronted by a screen you are faced by the projection of “prevision” combined with anticipation as an overloaded technique in order to hold attention and to differentiate the medium from those that came before it. Although this effect is slight, and hidden within a sense of occupation of the present, especially in most television, the concept of “prevision” has also become a subject for television and film in the way that it did not necessarily become a subject for theatre and literature. While an evening of television might include news, interviews and reality shows, all apparently heightening a sense of the present or recent past, it is the fact that we are ready with scenario mentalities based on the medium’s connection with “prevision” that drives these “present” forms of television. The desire to make news and reality shows entertaining usually means the introduction of “previsionist” strategies that have been developed and heightened within the medium as part of television’s development during a western capitalist consensus. And of course some television and film uses this sense of “prevision” as its subject matter or the base of its plot-lines. It is therefore worth considering the more extreme forms of “prevision” as they are presented to the receptive audience within an American context and then distributed to the rest of the world.

So consider the film “Back to the Future” or television programmes such as “Time Tunnel” or “Quantum Leap”. In these examples we are faced by plot-lines that are effective due to their reliance upon an excess of “prevision” in order to catch our attention. We do not keep watching due to the classical dramatic irony of theatre and some cinema, but because we are watching a character involved in the exercise of “prevision”. Such films and television programmes are usually rooted within the arrival of one or more characters at a situation just before one or more key historical events. The degree of significance varies. The event may only be of extreme historical importance to the character, such as the first meeting of his or her father and mother, or it may be that the character arrives in a context which is clearly of global significance, such as Germany in the late 1930s. Whatever happens, there is always the chance that they might initially arrive in the middle of nowhere, as is often the case in “The Twilight Zone”, but it is soon clear that they are just temporarily on the edge of some significant place or time, and that temporary dislocation heightens the psychological crisis of the character concerned. In these situations, the characters are inevitably faced with the same kind of moral dilemma over and over again. The question is always clear. Do they interfere with the known course of history and therefore save the unwitting people they have been thrust upon? – or do they allow events to pile up towards a resolution that they already know. Do they press on in the hope that the individual or group that they have come across are able to escape destiny due to their own skill or do they at least offer a cryptic warning. Should they make a move? Should the future help the past?

Characters placed within a potentially ideal situation where they know what might happen next are inevitably caught up in a mess of problems. Maybe because their situation is against a received and ideologically based sense of time and space, they must be punished by having to face a dilemma, a crisis or a series of problems. In the Sixties series “Time Tunnel” for example, it is as if a secret wing of the military are being punished for playing with time travel therefore finding their key “test travellers” caught in a constantly flickering state of movement through time, doomed to travel forever while headquarters fights to fix up the machinery. All of this works towards our sense of stability in relation to the past. History

in the movies is adjusted. In order to save our sense of the present the past has to eventually appear to return to a fixed sequence of events. As a result the audience is faced with a curious situation, where historical moments of great cruelty or terror lead to a reluctance on the part of the characters to act in a grand or dynamic way. And it is initially strange that there should be any problem around the decision of whether or not to act on a known crisis that is about to take place. The reasons for the characters to remain caught within a trap of inactivity are, of course, due to the demands of a classical narrative structure. There is a constant tension between the requirements of the "prevision" scenario and the apparent needs to limit the concerns of the central character to those within reach of an averaged out concept of audience. Due to such conventions, the characters caught in these action/inaction dilemmas tend to be focused upon themselves and their immediate surroundings rather than looking for the source of their peculiar problem. The explanation for such a situation is complex, a rationalisation normally based upon all or some of the following elements. The first character excuse is capture by the agents of those in power at the time he or she has turned up in. A good example of this is the movie "Planet of the Apes", starring Charlton Heston as an astronaut flung into a simian future. The second element is incapacity due to injury or fear. This involves either disablement of the main character or those he or she has been forced or chosen to help. The most commonly used element is the conceit that time is running out. A lack of time to complete a task which leads to a conflict between the key protagonist and the onward shift of the scenario. At this point the implications of the scenario are only clear to the character and to us, not the rest of the participants in the drama. The central character of a "previsionist" scenario rarely books a ticket right to the source of the event. They don't rush to Dallas if they appear in 1963, in order to save the president's brain, but they might try to save a child from intercepting the bullets. The shifted time traveller tends to focus upon some existential crisis surrounding an ordinary individual, rather than one of the key participants in a historically notable event. It is essential for the neo-American version of the prevision scenario that the historically determined event takes place, as it has been agreed to have happened. It is also clear that the story lines tend to privilege the rogue individual working alone, in an exercise of eighteenth

century free-will mixed with a frontier mentality. It appears that a central strength of the scenario is based upon the reinforcement of events derived from the particular ideology that generated the history in question. Of course in these fictional cases it is necessary to prod the scenario into action. Give it motion with a twist.

A common technique awaits the viewer at the end of the story. The erasure or restoration of a person's image in a photograph, as in "Back to the Future". Evidence is presented of a temporal shift while history is restored to its correct course. And of course some directors reverse the process, fucking history and creating horror. Think of a late shot from Stanley Kubrick's film "The Shining" set around 1980. Towards the end of the film, as the camera moves back from a close-up of Jack Nicholson's face, it is revealed as part of a crowd of people celebrating new year's eve in the 1930s. More disturbing examples exist. There is a famous photo of Hitler as a face in the crowd during The First World War. Another form of potential horror. The appearance in a photograph is always loaded with potential or hindsight. With this in mind, the manipulation of the photographic image, from Stalin to Forrest Gump has remained crucial to the development of constantly shifting, "previsionist" scenario play.

All these examples tell us as much about our interest in time slips and a desire for "prevision" as much as they are a demonstration of it. Their success relies upon our internal questioning whenever we are faced with morally straightforward options which are hard to carry out due to the complexities of circumstance. We have all had dreams where we attempt to deal with a number of situations that we remain powerless to alter. It is a common nightmare for people who have been involved in a traumatic event to replay their inability to act or to prevent the event from taking place. This scenario dream link connects to other popular cultural tendencies at a time of crisis such as the popularity of psychic networks and preachers of apocalypse. Along with the dream link is the continual play we make with apparent "prevision" in our daily lives. Coincidence is given cosmic potential in the hands of professionals. The potential of the human brain expressed in terms that are common within superstitions across many cultures.

It seems that there is a constant flickering between the eager presentation and reception of “prevision” scenarios within the fictional context of film and television posed against a concurrent desire for and fear of such situations in daily life. There are times when the screened scenario sensibility and human fear come together. Some environments are potentially more loaded than others. Aeroplanes for one. If you are nervous of flying, planes are where the full force of “prevision” scenarios come into play. Film, superstition and fear mixed together. On a recent flight I found, much to my mixed horror and hilarity, that the crossword puzzle I was completing contained the following solutions. Inferno, life, airliner, loss. An appalling and hysterical combination that could only lead to a safe landing. Stories like this quickly become apocryphal, which is why the crossword writer probably included such a sequence of solutions. It has often been reported that during The Second World War the Normandy landings were threatened by the appearance in The Times crossword of most of the code words for the beaches. The recurrence of apparent “prevision” remains appealing.

While a play upon the potential of “prevision” is a key element of Twentieth century scenario constructions, manifestations of “prevision” have of course occurred as a fictional tool across longer periods of time. The ghosts of Shakespeare’s plays and the seers of Greek tragedy tapped into the same mind games for different, yet similar reasons. Attractive to us due to our knowledge of our death as the only true certainty, these earlier forms of dramatic “prevision” were rooted in a threat of a suspended after-life. Human value systems and moral constructions do not remain consistent, but certain neurological tendencies appear to work across cultures and times. Some structures and techniques have always played on our ability to be aware that there might be a future and that there seems to have been a past.

There is no doubt that “prevision” and the encouragement of an audience to take part in predictive scenarios moves in and out of popularity depending upon collective circumstances. Alternatively the situation can provide a specific tightening of “previsionist” terms. It might be useful to use the example of twentieth century war once more. Between 1939

and 1945 there are few cinematic examples of “prevision” in a British cinematic context other than the presentation of an immediate sense of foreboding or a resigned acknowledgement of impending tragedy. Films such as Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger’s “A Matter of Life and Death” are more about the fight between existence and transcendence, a struggle between two perfect options, life in heaven or life on earth. Of course, earthly life wins, thanks to a trial conducted in front of the massed dead from earlier conflicts. In the recent remake of Wim Wender’s film “Wings of Desire”, “City of Angels”, we witness an angel who fights to be allowed to descend to earth. A flight from perfect boredom to perfect insecurity with the promise of physical love. During the late Fifties, with the development of technology and the burgeoning space race, a scenario form of “prevision” emerged once more. Conceptually softened by relativity and quantum theory, the old ghost games of Shakespeare took a new lease of after-life. The “ordinary” person, and remember that American astronauts were always promoted as ordinary and extraordinary simultaneously, could project themselves into a potential time-slip dilemma once more. Our understanding of the flexibility of time and space through developments in mathematics and physics ensured that the old seers became time bandits. And with technological developments in the hands of the military combine along with its beneficiaries, a particular combination of logic and weird circumstance could be juggled together. The earliest effective mind-slip television series in America was “The Twilight Zone”. By the Nineties we had “Quantum Leap” and “The X-Files”. It is now arguable that we are suffering from an overdose coincidence series. An excess of “prevision” in television and cinema. A movie titled “Armageddon” is possibly the ultimate, especially when the means of production remain essentially in the hands of a religiously confused yet economically dominant country such as America.

Yet not all “prevision” entertainment has had its scenarios based upon war, trauma and millennial hysteria. “Groundhog Day” played with a repetitive scenario where every day remained the same. The reluctant central character caught within a repetitive drive for freedom from sameness with only the tools of cynicism to help him. “Prevision” takes over his life. But there is a subtle time play in the film that allows room for manoeuvre.

“Groundhog Day” embodies a constant play upon the fact that when you know the scenario and its going to be the same tomorrow as today, then there remains room for the trapped central player to move around the locked operators within the repetitive scenario. These characters, whose behaviour is predictable, are still allowed time to act and respond, while their initial behaviour in any situation will remain the same unless they come into contact with the overdosed “previsionist”. For example, he knows that every day at a certain time there will be an old friend who is an insurance agent at a specific place in the street. After that initial knowledge has been absorbed, the central character can play with that repeated meeting towards many different ends. The success of the film is based upon our pleasure in watching those movements between predictable events. The knowledge of when and where everyone else is going to be creates time-gaps within which to develop skills that can be brought to bear upon those who will be ready to receive them. Skills such as ice-sculpture to impress Andie McDowell, the anticipation of desires, and the ability to be in place to prevent accidents.

So the concept of “prevision” and play with scenarios is rooted as one of the major strands within our entertainment culture. Yet it never dominates or completely disappears. It runs alongside more generalised modern categories from comedy to tragedy. The current brand of western “prevision” and scenario play is completely linked and inter-twined with powerful organisations and tools which control both our sense of how to deal with the near future and spin our memory of the recent past until it shows a face that is comforting or useful for those in control of the means to spin it. There is a difference between such film and television representations and early science fiction that is worth exposing. With books such as Edward Bellamy’s “Looking Backwards” and H.G. Well’s “The Time Machine” first reading results in our marvelling at the author’s sense of “prevision” rather than that of the central character, who instead is forced to accentuate the dramatic time shifts involved by asking leading or rhetorical questions. Yet this marvelling at the author’s ability to predict a future should not come as any surprise. As I have pointed out before, those who think about the future affect the future as much as thinking about the past changes what has already taken place. In these texts of

the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth century, the central character is disempowered and merely a witness to the authors sense of the future. The key figures are not in control of the scenario and remain detached from the circumstances surrounding them.

Contemporary British politics are embroiled in a reassessment of scenario strategies. With the election of the Labour Party last year we witnessed a victory of scenario thinking over classical leftist planning. Young people who worked for the British New Labour party during their years in opposition are not quite so young anymore. They developed their rhetoric during nearly twenty years of a Thatcherite grab-fest of opportunism, graft and social upheaval, and now they have finally accessed a degree of power. Yet new governments do not have sufficient room for all those who had worked on strategy and planning. One of the notable elements of those Labour years in opposition, from 1979 to 1997, was that, by 1983, a new generation of people felt that Labour were never going to win an election unless they changed their image and strategy. Stop exposing the decision process to open scrutiny. Dump planning and start juggling scenarios. After election day, those who could not squeeze into the official offices were left out in a grey zone, winking at their friends and colleagues inside, continuing to talk and prepared to keep on helping. The brightest or most pushy are now working for companies who lobby the new government. Paid consultants who help those who are in pursuit of contacts, information and influence. And it is these people who have recently come under moral scrutiny without a concurrent shift of critical understanding in relation to their constantly changing role and context. The election hung upon scandals surrounding Conservative Members of Parliament accepting cash to ask specific questions in the House. Yet the relativism of Labour's current position is not as easy to designate. There is no direct exchange taking place between clients and Members of Parliament, instead we are faced by displacement strategies where scenarios are put together in order to provoke a sense of access and prior information. These insider-outsiders are operating in a centre ground of control that is constantly changing hands and is always mobile. Access and the rumour of access are the tools of any lobbyist, yet in a context where there are few clear laws of open government such as a

written constitution and a freedom of information act, the new generation thrive, tooled up with an ability to weave a bendy course, meandering through relativist justification in a constant search for the multi-layered space between one set-up and another. Never able to leave the lobby and floundering when they do. We are all caught within the scenario play of late capitalism. Some artists manipulate the techniques of “prevision” in such a way as to allow the motivation to show.

